

EVERYDAY ENACTMENTS OF HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS IN POST 1994 APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA  
A Phronetic Case Study of Being Human as Occupation and Health



Franciscus C.W. Kronenberg



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**Cover image:** It depicts an artistically touched photograph taken by the researcher of the contested robed, but originally naked, sculpture of Sarah Baartman. This work of art (2000) was created by the South African artist Willie Bester. It was clothed during a ritual performance by #RhodesMustFall womxn and non-binary people on 9 March 2006. They intended to symbolically restore the humanity of the Khoikhoi woman Sarah Baartman, and to commemorate the birth of the #RhodesMustFall movement. The sculpture was at that time located in the Chancellor Oppenheimer Library, Upper Campus, University of Cape Town, South Africa. For background information regarding the contestation of this artwork, see Appendix XV.

**EVERYDAY ENACTMENTS OF HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS  
IN POST 1994 APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA:  
A Phronetic Case Study of Being Human as Occupation and Health**

By

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the

Division of Occupational Therapy  
Department of Health & Rehabilitation Sciences

University of Cape Town

September 2018



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(University of Cape Town)

## DECLARATIONS

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It was submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Occupational Therapy) to the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Cape Town. It had not been submitted before for any degree or examination at the University of Cape Town or any other university.

Plagiarism Declaration: This thesis has been submitted to the Turnitin module and I confirm that my supervisors have seen my report and any concerns revealed by such have been resolved with my supervisors.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While I can attest to the intensely personal and at times overwhelming solitary nature of a doctoral journey, it simultaneously embodied a profoundly collective and collaborative quest. From the decision to embark on this research project, as it progressed and culminated into the thesis, I drew upon a breadth and wealth of meaningful, generative relationships. Together these reflected a complementary mix of social, academic and instrumental supports. Many more people than can be named and thanked here, contributed in one way or another to the unfolding and finalization of this work. However, I am especially grateful to:

The Universe, our Creator, for bestowing upon me a deeply humbling experience of conceiving, sustaining and completing this knowledge generating project.

'Riccardo', Fatimah, Solitude, 'Nomhlaba', 'Kate', 'John', 'Mrs Nzozi', 'Hatungimana', and James, and the persons you invited along, for generously sharing from your lived experiences, for providing the soil in which this thesis was grounded and from which it grew.

The collectives of students who made up the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall campaigns. Since 9 March 2015, your sustained activism justly disrupted the 'Rainbow Nation' narrative, pushed me to dig deeper and importantly, confront 'my Rhodes within'.

My formidable team of supervisors and mentors: Prof Harsha Kathard, for your unwavering confidence in the potential contribution this study might have, and encouragements to stay the course when confronted with personally challenging circumstances; Prof Debbie Laliberte Rudman, for your 'outsider-insider' interrogations, offering a more 'global gaze' on the study's local South African context and phenomenon of interest, and Prof Elelwani Ramugondo, your seasoned understanding of case study was key whenever my book-knowledge of this methodology got me stuck and needed un-locking.

A/Prof Mershen Pillay, prior to data collection, for engaging me in a series of 'critical conversations', which helped with situating myself as the researcher.

The UCT Postgraduate Centre and Funding Office and Postgraduate Studies Funding Committee (Faculty of Health Sciences), respectively, having awarded me with an Ada & Bertie Levenstein Bursary, and a University Research Associateship.

Peers Dr Amshuda Sunday, Dr Pam Gretshel, Dr Matumo Ramafikeng, Dr Vic McKinney, and PhD candidates Maps Motimele, Bradley Bordiss and Roshan Isaacs, for 'lekker' sharing wholesome 'doctoral-food-for-thought'.

A/Prof Madeleine Duncan, for sharing from her memories regarding OTASA's Truth and Reconciliation submission and SAAOT during Apartheid; A/Prof Helen Buchanan (OTASA President), for sharing OTASA's transformation efforts; Maria Schwarz (WFOT president during 1990-1994), for sharing memories and archival materials regarding WFOT's responses to Apartheid South Africa.

Occupational therapy students and faculty at universities in Europe, Asia, North and South America, New Zealand and South Africa, for having afforded opportunities to engage with the underlying concerns and ideas of this research, allowing 'thinking differently' to grow and mature.

Marilyn Conibear and Matthew Bishop from the OTDbase Canada, for generously granting me access to this excellent online indexing and search service.

UCT librarians Alex D'Angelo, Amina Adam, Nuroo Davids, Mary Shelton, for your dedicated assistance, and fellow UCT Research Commons 'comrades', for sharing your sustained commitment to research.

A/Prof. Julie Berg and senior lecturer Kelly Phelps, members of UCT Faculty of Law, for offering legal counsel regarding an ethical dilemma.

My dad Theo Kronenberg, my brother Bernard and aunt Francien, for assisting with informing parts of my biographical account 'Situating the Researcher'.

Aoife Lennon-Ritchie, for very thorough editorial interventions which helped improve the clarity and presentation of the manuscript.

Makhulu, for being 'the rock' of our home and for sharing regular moments of good laughter, balancing the seriousness of this study with a healthy dose of humor.

Elelwani, my First Lady and Soul Mate, *ndi a livhuwa*, for accompanying me on this deeply humbling journey...and Masana Nelly and Isha Tshiala, for all the love and hope you gave and give...daddy LOVES YOU VERY MUCH!

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to:

**Theo Kronenberg** (1933) and **Nellie Rutten** (1938–2006), together  
you laid a solid foundation

**Lindelani Mphaphuli** (1971–2017), generosity of spirit and love,  
unassuming and unwavering

**Norman White** (1953–2017), brother-man for real, ‘Everything on  
the One’, the beat of humanity

**Silvia Sanz Victoria** (1973–2018), listening to hear and engaging  
with deep honesty

## ABSTRACT

**BACKGROUND:** Two challenging concerns prompted this research. The first was post 1994 South African society's historically entrenched dehumanized/ing condition. And the second was the ill-positionedness and ill-preparedness of occupational science accompanied occupational therapy to do something about it. Appropriate concepts to imagine and generate potentially humanizing and healing responses to violent-divided-wounded human relations were found to be lacking in both professional and public discourses. This study therefore conceived of and applied an original conceptual depiction of being human as 'enacting humanity affirmations'. Two questions were asked: how are affirmations of our humanity enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa? And, how is human occupation and health implicated in enacted humanity affirmations? Consistent with the values and power rationality nature of the first research question, this study was philosophically grounded in critical contemporary interpretations of Aristotle's intellectual virtue *phronesis*, and the African relational ethic *Ubuntu*.

**METHODOLOGY:** Case study was heuristically employed as both a method and the object of study, along with narrative enquiry to generate storied exemplars. Maximum variation sampling aimed for heterogeneity of participants. The stories which made up the instrumental collective case were selected on the criterion of encountering likely resonance within South Africa. Situated within a dehumanized/ing context, incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations were handled as bounded systems. Information was gathered through and from multiple methods and sources, including narrative interviews, participants' reflective journals, multiple documents review, and researcher's notes. Data analysis proceeded from co-constructions of nine case narratives, an across-case thematic analysis, to thesis building. Together, these informed what this study's case is about, what it is a case of, and for. Critical reflexivity was exercised by on-going attention to power issues in research interactions, and attempts to enact reciprocal gestures and shared decision-making.

**FINDINGS/DISCUSSION:** This study is a case about everyday enacted humanity affirmations which present as remarkable, disrupting seemingly normalized systemic oppressive power dynamics. Three main themes emerged: 'spectra of relational agency possibilities'; 'embodied-embedded radical sens-abilities'; and, 'never forget how made to feel'. Interpretations and discussion of these findings make this study a case of revealing and disrupting the violent deceptive western(ized) ontological and epistemological premise that being human is a given for all. Redressing historically inflicted harm done to our humanity necessitates that the geo- and body-political epistemic positions, from where to generate applicable understandings of human occupation and health, are delinked from 'whiteness'.

**CONCLUSION:** This study builds a case for advancing an understanding of being human as occupation and health. Being human was found to be radically relational, and not a given but a political potentiality which manifests on a continuum of enacted harmful negations and salutogenic affirmations of our humanity. Also, cultivation of our being human as shared identity-integrity can advance humanity-health. These insights allow for potentially humanizing and healing societal responses to violent-divided-wounded human relations. This has implications for how occupational therapy and occupational science can position and prepare for being a humanizing and healing resource through research, practice, and education.

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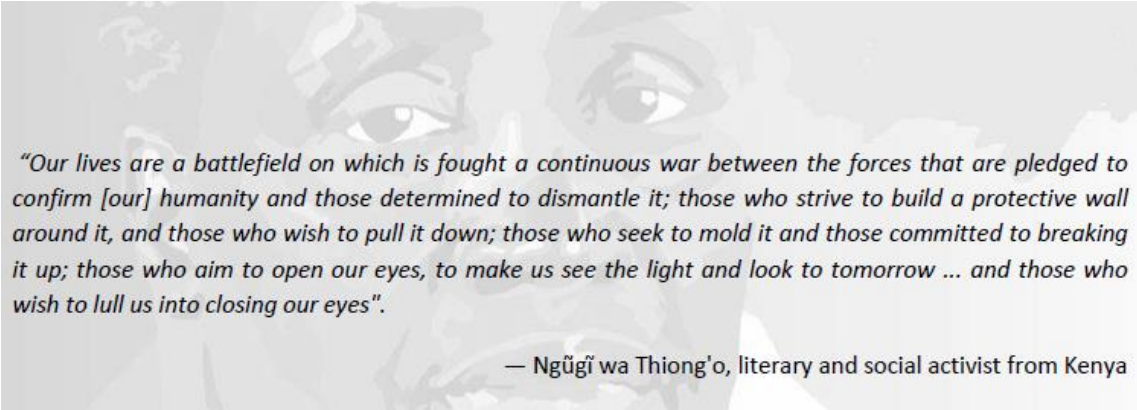
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## CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION



*"Our lives are a battlefield on which is fought a continuous war between the forces that are pledged to confirm [our] humanity and those determined to dismantle it; those who strive to build a protective wall around it, and those who wish to pull it down; those who seek to mold it and those committed to breaking it up; those who aim to open our eyes, to make us see the light and look to tomorrow ... and those who wish to lull us into closing our eyes".*

— Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, literary and social activist from Kenya

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's translated phronetic, that is, practical knowledge, citation comes from his book "Devil on the Cross" (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 50), originally written entirely in his mother tongue Gikuyu, after declaring he would no longer write in the colonial English language. Although his book depicts a critical examination of Kenyan society in the post-colonial era (1963 onward), the quote also speaks powerfully to this study's geo-historical context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa. It provides the reader with an acute sense of the study's underlying *urgency* (pressing concerns), *commitments* (values), and *coherence* (logics). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's bearing witness serves as a kind of 'phronetic access code' through which to 'obtain entry' to this doctoral dissertation about everyday enactments of humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa. In a context deemed dehumanized/ing (see Chapter 2.1), this instrumental collective case study with embedded narrative enquiry, intended to generate practical knowledge about being human, and to impel us to respond to South Africa's vital need to heal the wounds of the past and nation building (RSA, 1996).

Regarding this study's epistemological positioning, Thiong'o also provides a helpful cue. His statement reflects a category of knowledge that is neither theoretically scientific, or *episteme*, nor technical or applied scientific, or *techné*. Yet it reflects a profound insight, arguably having universal relevance and applicability. Thiong'o's statement embodies *phronesis*, practical knowledge or wisdom, 'a conception of determining how one should act' (Ellet, 2012, p. 15), which resonates with the nature of the study's main research question. In other words, phronesis is about knowing how to navigate and negotiate possibly conflicting values in everyday situations that are often characterized by unequally distributed relations of power. For a more detailed explanation, see Chapter 3.1.2.

## 1.1 Locating the Study and Positioning the Researcher

Broadly speaking, the study is located in the field of health and rehabilitation sciences, and specifically on what I have framed as ‘the moving line between occupational therapy and occupational science, considering the on-going debate regarding their relationship’ (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 21). I must note that in South Africa to date, occupational science has only been adopted at some of the eight occupational therapy programs, with still only a handful of articles published in the *Journal of Occupational Science* by South African authors.

What makes the profession of occupational therapy and the discipline of occupational science unique is their shared ontological appreciation of humans as occupational beings. In this thesis, however, I disrupt what I regard as the predominantly apolitical and ahistorical approach to theoretical and practical knowledge generation about humans as occupational beings. I explicitly recognize that humans are political animals who, as members of the one and only human race to which we all belong (Sobukwe, 1959), are historically divided and unequally positioned in terms of power relations, and consequently, access to resources. Humans as occupational beings embody a contextually embedded dynamic interplay of subjects who occupy (resources available to them) and objects of occupation (subjected to being resources to advance imposed ends, for example maintaining the status quo). This interplay manifests on a continuum of oppressive and liberating practices.

Proponents of both occupational therapy and occupational science are committed to generating knowledge about the core concept human occupation: occupational therapy by definition in relation to health—what we do on a daily basis impacts how we are doing, and occupational science includes and goes beyond this relationship (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015). For a more detailed explanation hereof, see Chapter 3.2.1.

I must also disclose from whence this research was conducted. Mignolo called this ‘the geo- and body-politics of knowing and understanding’ (Mignolo, 2011, p. 60). Meaningfully influenced by witnessing up-close the unfolding #RhodesMustFall students’ campaign at the University of Cape Town and all the deep levels of contestation it generated from 2015 onward (Rhodes Must Fall, n.d.), my positionedness in this research project embodied a particular set of historically privileged/ing identities. I am a white, cisgender male from the Netherlands, who is afforded the choice not to be registered with the Health Professionals Council of South Africa, not to be member of any professional organization and

not to be employed as an occupational therapist in South Africa. Nonetheless, the educational and community-based work I do on a daily basis in South Africa and internationally, is fundamentally informed and guided by my constantly evolving appreciations of humans as occupational beings and how that which occupies us influences our health and wellbeing, indeed, the premise of occupational therapy. However, the multiple privileges that spring from my combo of identities had to be and were rightfully troubled. Instead of denying my privileges or resisting their disruptions, which can be regarded as acts of violence in their own right, I opted to acknowledge and take responsibility for them (also see Chapter 4.1 – Critical Reflexivity). My black South African spouse and I share parenthood of two daughters (ages 12 and 10) who have dual South African-Dutch citizenship, and I am a permanent resident of South Africa. As a family, we have chosen and are committed to making South Africa home. What both inspired and sustained my motivation to do this study and carry it through was an unsettling realization that the need to heal, in order to build South Africa's society, has been forsaken. This research has allowed for deep learning regarding what and how my family and I may best help bring this about (also see Appendix I – Situating the Researcher).

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

Post 1994 South Africa is stuck in a historically entrenched dehumanized/ing violent-divided-wounded condition, and conventional occupational science accompanied occupational therapy is ill-positioned and ill-prepared to enable this society to meet its vital needs of healing and nation building.

This concise statement of problem will now be elaborated on by juxtaposing aspirations held by and complex gaps confronting post 1994 South Africa and the occupational science accompanied profession of occupational therapy.

### ***Aspirations***

Stephen Bantu Biko envisioned that ultimately the great contribution by Africa would be in the field of human relationship, 'giving the world a more human face' (Mbeki, 2007, p. 9). The preamble of our 1996 Constitution was founded on the principle that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity', and spells out a need to 'heal the divisions of the past and commit to nation building' (RSA, 1996, p. 1). In this context, occupational therapy and occupational science are mandated to exercise their ethical-

political responsibility (Galheigo, 2011; Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006) to become a contextually responsive resource to South Africa (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015; Watson, 2008), really putting to work their own dictum that humans shape and are not merely shaped by their historical conditions.

### ***Complex Gaps***

Notwithstanding the perceived gains of becoming another democracy in Africa and crafting a progressive constitution, almost 25 years after the fall of the Apartheid regime in 1994, South Africa in 2018 does not belong to all the people who live here. Additionally, our society seems helplessly stuck regarding how to go about healing and nation building. We, that is the people who make up humanity in South Africa, appear to be caught in a vicious cycle of violence-division-woundedness, a deep historically entrenched dehumanized/ing condition (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015). Whilst the Truth and Reconciliation Commission intended and attempted to start a process of healing, the National Development Plan appears to have conveniently absorbed this complex need, assuming it will come right when the ailing economy has undergone full-blown 'neoliberal therapy'. It simultaneously ignored the long historical trajectory of intentional, systematic violence, operationalized through mercantilism, slavery, colonialism, and Apartheid, which prescribed and engineered this intervention as the ultimate panacea (Coleman, 2013; Fogel, 2015; Hassen, 2011; NPC, 2011, 2012; RSA, 1996, Stanley, 2001; TRC, 1997; Tutu, 2014).

Occupational therapy in South Africa also is very much a product of our society's Apartheid history and fabric (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015). This profession does not (pre)occupy itself with South Africa's wounded human condition. Its proponents primarily focus on enabling certain groups of individuals to function within this sick society, not on treating its contextual ills. Within this context, I suggest that one possible root-cause of this conditioning may be the apolitical, a-historicized ontological and epistemological foundations of the profession's defining phenomenon of interest, humans as occupational beings, which appears to be based on the thesis that 'being human is a given'. A long term review of history to date however, overwhelmingly evidences man-made violent categorizations of and divisions between humans, lesser humans, and non-humans, producing the anti-thesis 'being human is not a given' (Guajardo, Kronenberg, Ramugondo, 2015; Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015). Therefore, becoming an enabling resource to South Africa in processes of humanizing and healing calls on occupational therapists to recognize, and engage with and in 'the politics of being human'.

I contend that what South African society and occupational therapy appear to overlook or neglect may constitute precisely that which seems to also be vitally lacking in the public and professional discourses and material practices, namely: critical awareness, sensibility, and practical knowledge regarding how what we have been doing and keep doing daily with and to others and ourselves tends to negate rather than affirm [our] humanity. As such, instead of allowing for the healing of our violent-divided-wounded human condition, harm is being perpetuated. This realization poses a pressing incentive to approach studying the human occupation and health relationship from a different philosophical and theoretical positioning.

If the complex gaps mentioned above, at a broader societal level and in our profession and discipline, are not adequately addressed, South Africa will most likely continue to embody and be embedded in radicalized 'us' versus 'them' battles between historically racialized and unequally situated groupings of people. This not only obstructs instead of promote healing and nation or rather humanity building, but likely further escalates existing manifestations of violence-division-woundedness.

This statement of problem is further explained and substantiated in Chapter 2 – Background to Context of Study.

### **1.3 The Study's Key-Statements**

#### **1.3.1 Research question**

For this study the overall research question is:

*How are affirmations of humanity enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa?*

The sub-question is:

*How is human occupation and health implicated in enacted humanity affirmations?*

#### **1.3.2 Aim**

The aim is to describe and explain how everyday humanity affirmations are enacted in the dehumanized/ing context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, and to explore how human occupation and health is implicated in these instances.

#### **1.3.3 Objectives**

- To illuminate, unpack, and analyze everyday enactments of humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

- To illuminate, unpack, and analyze factors pertaining to agency and structure, and their interactions, which enable and constrain everyday enactments of humanity affirmations.
- To illuminate, unpack, and analyze how the human occupation and health relationship is implicated in enactments of humanity affirmations.

#### **1.3.4 Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to generate practical knowledge (phronesis) about being human—enacting humanity affirmations, in contemporary everyday South Africa. This knowledge is to provide an impetus for occupational therapy and occupational science to reconcile the impacts of generating predominantly ahistorical and apolitical understandings of humans as occupational beings. This is to allow imagining, repositioning, and newly generating discourses and practices in tandem with other social actors, to enable ‘we the people’ to disrupt and replace South Africa’s vicious dehumanization cycles, to liberate ourselves in the present from the past and to carve out a future that is dignified and worth living for all the people who make up this society (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015).

#### **1.3.5 Conceptualization of key-terms**

Congruent with the phronetic nature of the main research question and this study’s heuristic approach to generating practical understandings, rather than confirming or strengthening dominant a priori knowledge, I devised and used conceptualizations of key-terminologies that I thought would best serve this study’s purpose. The descriptions below are kept brief. Chapter 3.2.1 offers more detailed explanations.

##### ***Everyday***

All humans inhabit and are inhabited by the ‘everyday’. This does not deny social and other differences between them but recognizes a common grounding in the mundane, routine, practical world, which tends to get overlooked or taken for granted as an always available source of learning.

##### ***Enactments of Humanity Affirmations***

The phrase ‘enactments of humanity affirmations’ constitutes a neologism. I coined it for the purpose of this study. It reconceptualised the phrase ‘being human’, intending for it to be

studied as a practical rather than a theoretical concept. Hence, enactments of humanity affirmations refer to embodied instances of being human in context.

### ***Post 1994 Apartheid South Africa***

The phrase refers to the particular geo-historical context which is most often termed post-apartheid South Africa (Makhosezwe Magubane, 1994; Padayachee & Desai, 2013). The prefix 'post' points to the period following the enactment of 36 years of institutionalized racial discrimination (1948-1994). In the neologism 'post 1994 apartheid South Africa', 'apartheid' is positioned after the year 1994 to confront the denialism of our contemporary South Africa's dehumanized/ing societal human condition. While Apartheid laws did get replaced by a Constitutional democracy in 1994, the Apartheid era's entrenched harmful legacies live on in too many minds and hearts, and in the relationships between the peoples who make up this deeply unequal and divided society. See Chapter 2.1 for a substantiated appraisal of post 1994 apartheid South Africa's human condition.

### ***Agency–Structure***

This concept, intentionally hyphenated to indicate that I appreciate the two notions not dichotomously but as interdependent, refers to the case narratives' protagonists' embodied-embedded internal dispositional (agency) and situational external (structure) attributes. It was used to help explain how enactments of humanity affirmations occurred as a dynamic interplay of agency–structure (adapted from Archer, 2000 and Sewell, 1992).

### ***Human Occupation and Health***

This study conceptually foregrounds an appreciation of the human occupation and health intersection. However, here I offer short-hand descriptions of how I understood these core-constructs on their own.

Whereas Hocking (2003) and Watson (2004) referred to human occupation as both ordinary and extra-ordinary things that people do every day, depicting the concept's broad scope, for this study's analytical purposes and beyond I conceptualized human occupation as *'that* which occupies contextually embedded and embodied resources available to humans' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 25).

Pushing beyond medical model understandings and applications, the notion of health is understood both as a means and an end, respectively referring to an interconnected set of resources (social, spiritual, ecological, mental, and physical), and as a complex continuum of

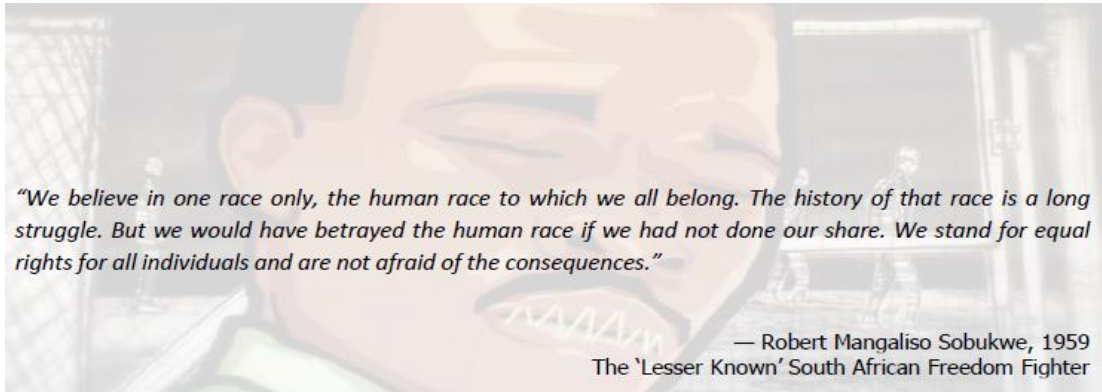
dynamic states of ill-beings and well-beings (Antonovsky, 1979; WHO, 1998). This continuum of states can be appraised, and significantly changed, by how we look after our health using the afore-mentioned collective means.

Chapter 3.2.1 offers a more detailed explanation of the concepts human occupation and health, and how they intersect.

#### **1.4 Outline of Chapters**

**Chapters One and Two** set the stage by presenting the context and rationale for the study. **Chapter Three** grounds the researcher's gaze, positioning this study philosophically and theoretically in critical contemporary interpretations of Aristotle's intellectual virtue phronesis, and the African relational ethic, Ubuntu. **Chapter Four** provides the rationale and methodological detail of how this study was structured and carried out as a heuristic qualitative research design, employing case study with embedded narrative inquiry. **Chapter Five** findings, presents nine exemplars of enacted humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa. These storied examples embody intricate dance-like interplays between everyday incidents, embedded instances, and structural contextual constraints. **Chapter Six** findings, presents an instrumental collective case of everyday enactments of humanity affirmations, a counter-narrative to its dehumanized/ing context. These findings, which emerged through an across-case analysis, highlight three themes that are each supported by sets of categories. **Chapter Seven** discussion, interprets and discusses findings in consideration of dominant understandings of human occupation and health, focusing on five specific points, sewing up the various threads of this study into a cohesive argument of how everyday enacted humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa allow seeing how being human ties in with occupation and health. **Chapter Eight** concludes this doctoral work with an articulation of the thesis and why this study is ground-breaking, followed by an acknowledgment of limitations and implications for further research, practice, education of professionals and policy to inform change.

## CHAPTER TWO - BACKGROUND TO CONTEXT OF STUDY



*"Transformation is still a huge bone of contention in the profession. There's a group that says 'Apartheid is over, enough already, let's move on and stop talking about it. We don't need to transform' [...] And there's a group that says 'It's still here and part of us. We want you to know how we feel. And we still have not transformed.'"*

— OTASA President, Helen Buchanan (personal communication, 16 May 2016)

This chapter substantiates the Statement of Problem (Chapter 1.2) and offers background to contextualize the rationale and significance of this study. The Background to Context of Study is made up of two corresponding sections: Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal, and Review of Public and Professional Discourses. How I have understood and applied these section headers will be explained, before my reviews and interpretation of key-issues are presented.

### 2.1 Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal

The historicized dual occupational appraisal was based on a called for political framing of what is arguably the primary concern of traditional and dominant occupational therapy: from focusing on exclusive "I's"—how certain (groups of) individuals are doing in their everyday contexts within a given society, to foregrounding an inclusive "we"—how are we doing together as humanity within and beyond a given singular society. The historicized dual occupational appraisal was designed to examine the humanity condition, firstly of post 1994 South Africa, and secondly, of the profession of occupational therapy as embedded within this society and in terms of its relevance and responsiveness to South Africa's monumental challenges 'healing the divisions of the past and nation building' (RSA, 1996, p. 1). Imagining and plotting alternative ways forward also calls for a critical examination of the historical trajectory that has produced, and to some extent seems to reproduce, contemporary South

Africa's multiple hugely complex challenges. The dual occupational appraisal is historicized because knowing who and where we are and want to go, calls for an understanding of where we are coming from. Aligned with this study's phronetic approach, I considered 'our sociality and history to constitute the only solid ground under our feet' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 41). 'Historicizing' here is also analogous to an intention to get a sense of the aetiologies, the historical origins, and evolution of the results of the 'Dual Occupational Appraisal'. Although this politicization of occupational therapy's main concern was primarily designed and used to contextualize and inform the rationale for this study, I anticipate that it holds global applicability potential.

I start with examining the particular humanity condition of present day South Africa, and next the positioning and preparedness of occupational therapy in relation to the first occupational appraisal. This order is deliberate because I regard a profession to merely be an instrument or a resource, and its social validity is ultimately to be determined by its effectiveness in responding to a society's vital needs.

### **2.1.1 How are 'we as humanity' doing together in post 1994 South Africa?**

This appraisal question was formulated, asked, and answered within the context of this doctoral study. I identify 'we' as referring to 'humanity', aligned with how I appreciate the phrase "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity," in the preamble to the Constitution (RSA, 1996). Ideally, to enact and affirm that every single one of us matters as do all of us together, this question should be personally asked of each and every one of the >57 million people who live in South Africa today (Worldometers, n.d.). To inform the 'approximation' of this examination, I drew from a variety of sources: articles, books, video-clips, social media platforms, government reports, everyday personal communications with others, and my own lived experiences. Also, note the occupational nature of the intent of the question, which can also be interpreted in terms of 'how do we occupy our humanity and what is our humanity occupied by?'

### **2.1.2 Occupational appraisal I**

Recognizing the actual and perceived gains of having become another democracy in Africa and having crafted a very progressive Constitution, it is easier to bring together 'a right mix' of words that get along on paper than to realize relations of power and structural material conditions that allow their embodiment in everyday life. Almost 25 years after the end of Apartheid (1994), 'we the people' who live in South Africa are not doing well together. In

actual fact, the extent even to which a ‘we as humanity’ exist is problematic. South Africa appears to be helplessly stuck regarding how to go about ‘healing’ and ‘nation building’ (RSA, 1996). ‘We the people’ appear to be caught in a vicious cycle of historically persistent dehumanization dynamics, causing our society to remain deeply violent–divided–wounded. Post 1994 South Africa continues to embed a dehumanized and dehumanizing human condition. This occupational appraisal informed my framing of this study’s geo-historical context in terms of ‘post 1994 apartheid South Africa’ (Adu-Pipim Boaduo, 2010; CSV, 2010; Manda, 2014; Matebeni, 2015; Mbembe, 2011; NPC, 2011; Nwadeyi, 2016; Posel, 2011; Ramphele, 2012, 2016; Smith, 2012; Stanley, 2001; Tutu, 2011; Tutu et al, 2011, 2014).

The phrase ‘dehumanization dynamics’ in this appraisal refers to ‘an on-going, seemingly self-perpetuating history of systematic violations of [our] humanity, rendering some people by other people as less than human, or even regard them non-human’ (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015, p. 22). These dynamics manifest through the exercising of asymmetrical relations of power, backed by ideologies and mechanisms such as racism, patriarchy, classism, sexism, heteronormativity, and ableism. But also through endemic indifference, particularly, but not limited to, those who are privileged and hold power (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, Ramugondo, 2015). I propose that these dynamics manifest on a continuum of enactments of humanity negations and affirmations with, respectively, actual and potentially harming and healing implications for our health and wellbeing (see Chapter 3.2.1, Humanity—Occupation—Health Continuum).

One does not need to search hard for evidence to verify the above occupational appraisal, it is embodied in what we occupy ourselves with and what we are occupied by. A multitude of media platforms including newspapers, headlines posters on light-poles, television, radio, and social media flood our minds and hearts on a daily basis with manifestations of this appraisal. By way of illustration, here are some particularly disturbing examples:

*Rapes:* One in four women is raped. Months-old babies to 94-year-old grandmothers are sexually assaulted (Faul, 2013; Jamaica Observer, 2013; Matebeni, 2014);

*Intimate femicide:* The murder of women by intimate partners is the most extreme consequence of intimate partner violence. A study showed that a woman died every six hours at the hands of her husband or boyfriend (Abrahams et al, 2012; Matthews et al, 2008,);

*Afrophobic attacks*: Recurring waves of nation-wide xenophobic attacks against immigrants (Haffejee, 2015; Oderson, 2015; Tromp, 2008);

*Marikana massacre*: On 16 August 2012, a large crowd of men walked out on strike from a platinum mine at Marikana. South African police opened fire, shooting down 112 miners, killing 34 (Davies, 2015);

Lack of access to safe and hygienic toilet facilities (Wainwright, 2014);

On-going *institutional racism at universities*, exposed by widespread students' movements which call for a decolonization of higher education (AlJazeera, 2015; Cooper, 2015; Vorster & Quinn, 2015);

Eruptions of *online race hatred* (Manyi, 2016; Makhanya, 2016; McKaiser, 2014; McKenzie, 2016; Mngxitama, 2016; Mokwena-Kessi, 2014; NemaKonde, 2016; Pilane, 2016).

The *Life Healthcare Esidimeni Scandal*, which involved the deaths of 144 people (mental health patients), from causes including starvation and neglect, after they had been transferred by the state from a private health care provider (Life Esidimeni) to non-governmental organisations, despite warnings that these were ill-prepared to provide the specialised care they required (Chabalala, 2018; Makgoba, 2017). The incident has been called the greatest cause of human rights violation in post 1994 South Africa (Bornman, 2017; Pijoos, 2017), and as Munusamy pointed out: 'The human suffering that preceded the deaths is unimaginable' and 'The pain of the families having to make peace with the manner in which their loved ones perished is immeasurable' (Munusamy, 2017, p.1).

### **2.1.3 Historicizing the appraisal**

Attempting to approximate an understanding of contemporary South Africa's dehumanized society's 'violent-divided-wounded' vicious cycle appraisal may best be served by employing a *longue durée* approach, giving priority to long-term historical structures over events (Braudel, 1980). South Africa's long enduring history of violence originated centuries before the institutionalization of Apartheid. It goes back to the dawn of the slave trade, and the African continent's colonization. This arguably started for South Africa in 1652 with the arrival of Dutchman Jan van Riebeeck and the founding of the Cape Colony in Cape Town ('Arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck', n.d.). It is therefore not historically inaccurate to say that South Africa, and the same seems to be true for most nation states on the African continent,

was born by and into a vicious cycle of structural, cultural, and direct violence, conceptualized by Johann Galtung as the triangle of direct-visible and indirect-invisible violence (Galtung, 2004). Another deeply troubling illustration of this violence constitutes what is referred to as the 'Scramble for Africa' ('Scramble for Africa', n.d.). During the period of New Imperialism (1881 – 1914), European powers invaded, occupied, colonized, annexed and controlled ninety percent of African territory, with the exception of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Liberia, which remained independent (Bratlinger, 1985). In 1884, the German statesman and aristocrat Otto von Bismarck hosted *The Berlin Conference*, where the European colonization and trade in Africa was regulated. This gathering marked the starting point of what is widely referred to as the *Conquest of Africa* (Bratlinger, 1985).

The following observations and assertions by authors from Africa also serve to historicize the vicious cycle of violence-division-woundedness and its underlying dehumanization dynamics. Whilst Ramose (1999) describes Africans as 'injured and conquered people' (p. 44), Adesanmi points out that 'Africans are seeking to understand and restore their violated humanity' (Adesanmi, 2001, p. IX). In his monumental publication 'A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002,' Sampie Terreblanche recognizes that '350 years of patterns of unfree black labour in South Africa have actually dehumanized people' (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 405-406).

Adu-Pipim Boaduo (2010) spells out the intentional nature underlying historical dehumanization practices: 'colonialists deliberately instituted systems of rule that propagated the dehumanization of Africans in any part of the continent that they settled through acts of dehumanization, the Apartheid system created and nurtured social injustice, education inequality and socio-political segregation' (p. 129).

Achille Mbembe (2011) described the oppressors' [ope]rationalities that have been unleashed upon multiple generations of black bodies until the present day:

'Here [Africa], under conditions of slavery, colonization and apartheid, brutal forms of dehumanization have raised, in the starkest terms possible, the political and moral dilemmas of human difference. A racially exclusive ideological discourse in the heyday of conquest and occupation, 'humanism' was predicated on the belief that a difference of colour was a difference of species. Race in particular did not simply become a crucial, pervasive dimension of colonial domination and capitalist exploitation. Turned into law, it was also used as a privileged

mechanism for turning black life into waste: a race doomed to wretchedness, degradation, abjection and servitude' (p. 188).

And lastly, underscoring that dehumanization lives on as a pervasive and entrenched harmful social practice, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gathsheni problematizes that "Fifty years after the celebration of decolonization the 'European game' which denied Africans agency continues to prevail and coloniality remains a reality" (Ndlovu-Gathsheni, 2014, p. 39), and Manda (2014) laments: 'Despite the change from Apartheid to a democratic government, South Africa continues to experience multiple-woundedness through domestic and gender-based violence, injuries, HIV and AIDS, xenophobia, and crime', [which he argues] 'hamper true political and economic development as so many people have to live with pain' (p. 123).

#### **2.1.4 What is being done to transform South Africa since 1994?**

Now, how has post 1994 South Africa thus far responded to her seemingly chronic dehumanized/ing condition? One of society's driving forces is the State, which however does not equate with 'us'. It does not embody 'we the people' who make up humanity in this society. Our government was however democratically elected and thus given a mandate to represent and advance our collective interests. The rhetoric used by the State's National Planning Commission (2012) underscores this point: 'It is up to all South Africans to play a role in fixing the future' (p.1). Whilst one cannot possibly do justice here to fully address the question 'What Is Being Done to Transform to Date?', I made an attempt by foregrounding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), and the National Development Plan (NDP).

Arguably, 'the TRC, set up in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995' ('TRC', n.d., p. 1), was South Africa's most significant endeavour to date to initiate a process of healing. Its mandate was to 'bear witness to, record, and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparation and rehabilitation' ('TRC', n.d., p. 1). Considering the ultimate intent of the act, I wondered why the TRC did not also focus on and include the sharing, across racial and other socially engineered divides, of testimonies from people who actually did what was right in everyday contexts dominated by direct and indirect violence. As Arch Bishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, the TRC's chairperson, recalls: 'Ours was not to judge the morality of people's actions, but to act as an incubation chamber for national healing, reconciliation and forgiveness. No matter on which side we stood, we all were in need of

healing. As members of the commission we were ourselves wounded healers' (Tutu, 2014, p.1).

Determining the effectiveness of the TRC involves a process that is complex and difficult to evaluate in simplistic terms (Le Grange, 2014). A few years ago the Arch Bishop spoke out in public about the 'unfinished business of TRC healing': "To use a medical analogy, the soul of Apartheid South Africa was on its deathbed, fundamentally crippled, shot through with the cancers of immorality and inequity, and financially bankrupt. In the 1990's a new superintendent took over the hospital. South Africans dared to dream of a miraculous recovery. The superintendent appointed a matron, on a contract basis, to blow some momentum into the recovery process. The commission succeeded in its mandate to stabilize the patient sufficiently to move it out of intensive care into a general ward. But then the government decided further treatment was unnecessary. Our soul remains profoundly troubled. The symptoms are all around us" (Tutu, 2014, p. 2). The troubling concern that Tutu transmitted here underscores my own unsettling realization that that the need to heal, in order to build post 1994 South Africa, has been forsaken (see Chapter 1.1).

Krog (2012), highlights two criticisms of the South African TRC by Mamdani and Braude: 'those who benefited from a crime against humanity have walked off scot-free, and those who killed, maimed, and tortured were given amnesty. Since the structural injustice which black people suffered has not been properly tackled by the TRC, the rights and freedoms of equality in the constitution remain a chimera. The entire South African population has thus been given the license to be as corrupt and criminal as they want in taking what they have been denied, or in protecting what others want to take away from them' (p. 2). Additionally, it can be argued that, instead of disrupting, the TRC's demand for forgiveness and reconciliation without reparation may have perpetuated post 1994 South Africa's dehumanized/ing societal condition.

In 2000, out of the country's TRC process, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), a non-governmental organization and think tank, was forged. In the 2015 South African Reconciliation Barometer (annual public opinion survey), Hofmeyr & Govender (2015), revealed that the country remains afflicted by its historical divisions: '61.4% feeling that race relations have either stayed the same or deteriorated since 1994, with only 35.6% of the sample indicating they don't experience everyday racism; 67.3% of all respondents noted that they have little to no trust in their fellow citizens of other racial groups; and the bulk of respondents identified income inequality as a major source of social division' (p.1).

In 2011 the National Planning Commission (NPC) carried out a diagnostic (NPC, 2011), which established a baseline for the National Development Plan (NDP) (NPC, 2012). Input was sought from all sectors of society to articulate a 'Vision for South Africa 2030' and to diagnose barriers standing in the way of realizing the vision, which was really already articulated in the Preamble to the Constitution. In order of priorities, the NPC (2011) report lists nine key-challenges:

- i. 'Very high unemployment;
- ii. Poor educational outcomes;
- iii. Crumbling infrastructure;
- iv. Spatial patterns that marginalize the poor;
- v. Resource intensive economy;
- vi. High disease burden;
- vii. Public service performance is uneven;
- viii. Corruption;
- ix. South Africa remains a divided society' (p. 15).

The NDP (2012) draws out how these challenges are to be addressed by 2030, by meeting the key strategic objectives 'eliminating poverty and reducing inequality through increasing employment and raising per capita income' (p. 24).

While the NPC's diagnostic, and NDP and the South African Reconciliation Barometer provide a relevant baseline and working documents for government and other stakeholders, there's a significant 'but' that needs to be spelled out. These reports appear to largely neglect the long persisting history born out of the violence of everyday dehumanization dynamics, which, the occupational appraisal suggests, underlies the vicious cycle of violence-division-woundedness that post 1994 South Africa is occupied by. In turn, this dynamic perpetuates the cycle in seemingly mundane everyday actions. Consistently foregrounded are consequences, without any consideration about the extent to which these were/are intended. And these consequences are primarily framed as instrumental challenges—*eliminating poverty and reducing inequality*, calling for an instrumental approach to 'fix' them—*increasing employment and raising per capita income* (NDP, 2012). Virtually ignored is the particular historicity of the challenges at hand, which constitute a matter of profoundly problematic values and unequal relations of power that continue to occupy our society's human condition. Therefore, I identified 'restoring [our] humanity' to constitute a vital need, suggesting that such a project is foundational to economic and social development.

The NPC's development plan was positioned and is deeply invested within and therefore [ope]rationally governed by globalized dominant neoliberal-capitalist political and economic power structures (Coleman, 2013; Fogel, 2015; Hassen, 2011; NPC, 2011, 2012;

Stanley, 2001). This then logically explains why the nature and priorities of the key-challenges, and how their underlying causes were identified and examined, are so straightforwardly aligned with this particular economic development approach. However, historically within capitalism, this approach implied almost by definition separate development—which cynically echoes how Apartheid policies were framed. That is, the generation and maintenance of wealth by and for the rich at tremendous expense to the poor and the environment. In the documentary *The End of Poverty* (Diaz, 2011), the American economist William Easterly asserted that “capitalism built on colonialism and Apartheid on colonialism, which had very negative lasting consequences that we still see today in countries that are poor. Colonialism in fact is one of the big reasons why poor countries are still poor, leaving a legacy of violence, with as its most obvious example the slave trade” (Easterly, cited from documentary by Diaz, 2011).

The historian Clifford Cobb explains that “One of the legacies of Colonialism is that the poor countries of the Third World are continuing to export raw materials to the countries of Europe and North America to produce and export finished products. This stems from a practice that was developed long ago and the intention was to make sure that the countries of the Third World remain backward and remain dependent and are never able to develop” (Cobb, cited from documentary by Diaz, 2011). The narrator in the documentary emphasizes that during the colonial period, no equality was tolerated between white man and coloured man by Church and State and that the mental colonization, the colonization of the mind, was one of the worst consequences of colonialism. This strongly resonates with Steve Biko’s assertion that ‘the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed’ (Biko, 1978, pp 101-102). Yet, the NPC sells economic development to the public as the one and only panacea for all the ills that obstruct South Africa to become a home for all who live in it, united in our diversity by 2030.

The NPC’s narrow economic approach to treating the historically persistent social ills of perverse poverty and inequality by ‘increasing employment and raising per capita income’ (NDP, 2012, p. 24), seems based on the restrictive assumption that the most important indicator for uniting us as human beings narrows down to a contestable set of economic variables. Who is and who isn’t human, or who is more and who is less human, appears to be largely determined by their worth in terms of their economic assets configuration. This appears to be at the core of the dominant neoliberal rationality that governs our society and global state of affairs (Chomsky, 2000; Coleman, 2013; Fogel, 2015; Harvey, 2005; Hassen, 2011; NPC, 2011, 2012; RSA, 1996, Stanley, 2001; Strether, 2014).

That we must push beyond neoliberal [ope]rationalities in order to bring about healing and building of our society is underscored in a workshop report from the Poverty and Inequality Initiative at the University of Cape Town:

‘Social cohesion is perhaps one of the most difficult yet fundamental challenges facing South African society. It speaks to the glue that binds us together, forging a common sense of identity and sense of belonging. It speaks to a willingness to extend trust to outsiders, to respect fellow citizens and uphold their dignity, and to be moved to action in the face of persistent inequality. While there is widespread agreement that social cohesion influences economic and social development, and that nurturing a more cohesive society is an important policy goal, *knowledge of how to effectively promote a more cohesive society is lacking*’ [emphasis added by researcher] (Poverty and Inequality Initiative, 2014, p. 1).

A few exceptional moments, post 1994 South Africa, allowed experiences of ‘we’ and ‘united in our diversity’, for example the first democratic elections in 1994, the Rugby World Cup in 1995, and the FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2010. However, during more than a decade of living and working in South Africa, I have personally witnessed, alone and with others, many ‘local’ unreported everyday instances of enacted affirmations of ‘we’ and ‘united in our diversity’. These seem to be key not only in keeping hope for a better today and tomorrow alive, they may also hold important cues, and opportunities to learn, how ordinary everyday people resist dehumanizing forces, and defiantly commit to the survival of that which makes them, and all of us, human.

In summary, ‘How Are We Doing Together as Humanity in Post 1994 South Africa?’ The first historicized occupational appraisal revealed that our society remains occupied by a vicious cycle of violence-division-woundedness. Post 1994 South Africa struggles with conceiving and addressing how to occupy itself with the vital needs of healing and nation building, and consequently, the restoration of our humanity. One major obstacle appears to be a lack of ‘we’, that is, a common identity that can allow all who live in South Africa to experience a (renewed) sense of belonging, which is foundational to exercising collective agency to respond to our society’s mission.

Building-up from Robert Magaliso Sobukwe’s historically radical 1959 proposition that there is only one race to which we all belong (‘Sobukwe Inaugural Speech’, n.d.), I suggest that we, across historically constructed divides, adopt ‘humanity’ as our common

identity. From this position we are open to learning what 'our humanity' is about, becoming conscious of, and newly sensitive to, how in everyday incidents our humanity is negated or affirmed by what and how we do to ourselves and each other, either further harming our already wounded human condition, or effectively contributing to healing it.

In the next section, I will examine the positioning and level of preparedness of the profession of occupational therapy to respond to the above appraisal. To be clear, the intent here is not to judge the profession's actions or lack thereof but to better understand what is to be done, ambitiously phrased as to enable South Africa to humanize, heal, and ultimately liberate itself from the dehumanizing shackles of colonialism, Apartheid, and neoliberal-capitalism (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015).

### **2.1.5 In response, how are 'we as a profession' doing?**

Considering the profoundly troubling and complex nature of the first occupational appraisal—'post 1994 South Africa caught in a vicious cycle of violence—division—woundedness, a historically entrenched dehumanized/ing social condition', this cannot but make an examination of the second occupational appraisal, a very sobering and humbling exercise. It holds up a mirror to all who together embody the phrase 'we as a profession'. It urges us to critically interrogate what we have done and not done, what we are doing and are still not doing, what we are and still are not thinking of doing, in response to the above appraisal.

How the phrase 'we as a profession' is to be understood will now be clarified. I regard professions and academic disciplines firstly as institutions, as a particular category of technologies or instruments. These are employed by and embedded within systems of particular governmentalities, that is, the organized practices (mentalities, rationalities, techniques) through which subjects (professionals) are governed and influenced (Rudman, 2010). Secondly, professions and disciplines are embodied by collectives of subjects, people who share a more or less common identity, ethos, telos, and particular ways of doing things (Freidson, 2001). Ellet Jr. (2012) pointed out that 'professions are to provide a needed social or public service as their *raison d'être*', and, importantly, 'there exists a broad range of autonomy both for the individual and for the occupational group to practice according to its own judgment' (p. 13). Mary Reilly, in her landmark 1961 Eleanor Clarke Slagle lecture, asserted that society demands that its problems be answered, mandating any group wishing to exist as a profession to identify 'the vital need of man which we serve and the manner in which we serve it' (Reilly, 1962, p. 90). Drawing from Reilly, arguably the most relevant

uniting principle in occupational therapy is our shared identity as a health professional, our unique appreciation of and commitment to generating applicable understandings of humans as occupational beings. Additionally, the phrase 'we as a profession' refers to a collective of qualified occupational therapists and those in training, people who regard their everyday practice to constitute occupational therapy, be it traditional or emergent. In the context of this study, this implies that membership of the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa (OTASA) and registration with the Health Professions Council of South Africa are not a criterion for being included in the phrase 'we as a profession'. For example, I am not a registered member of either structure, yet I identify with 'we as a profession' and I am committed to sharing responsibility for occupational therapy becoming a more socially responsive resource.

Recognizing that professions are made up of people, it is important to be cognizant that just as people do not exist in socio-historic vacuums, neither do professions. Therefore, an examination of the question how 'we as a profession' are doing in response to 'how our post 1994 South African society is doing', calls us to recognize that 'we' simultaneously embody being products and co-producers of the dehumanized/ing societal condition in which we are embedded. In this regard, it is relevant to know that research by a group of South African psychologists revealed that 'besides constitutional and legislative guarantees and sporadic interventions by a few community-based organizations, South African society has yet to generate a comprehensive and systematic strategy to address the legacy of racism' (Duncan, Stevens, Bowman, 2004, p. 385), a core-mechanism of dehumanization. I consider this omission a wake-up call for occupational therapy to commit to contributing to the generation of such a strategy.

#### **2.1.6 Occupational appraisal II**

Although the profession of occupational therapy shows some signs of positive developments since the association's constitution and name change back in 1996 (from South African Association of Occupational Therapists [SAAOT] to Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa [OTASA]) (Watson, 2008), the profession does not concern itself with post 1994 South Africa's wounded humanity condition. By and large, occupational therapists are still primarily positioned and prepared to focus on interventions, education, and research to enable certain groupings of individuals to (continue to) function and participate in our violent-divided-wounded society. Whilst the need to transform occupational therapy has been and continues to be recognized by some (thus not all) groups within the profession (see

17 May 2016 citation from OTASA president at beginning of this chapter), it continues to struggle with reimagining and rebuilding itself (Watson, 2008), and to push beyond what I opt to frame as 'doing the same things differently'. In order to become a relevant resource for South African society to heal the wounds of the past and allow for nation or humanity building, at least the following two challenges must be effectively addressed.

Firstly, 'we as a profession' still have not systematically examined, and thus cannot recognize and reconcile how our current position and operations might be affected by the dehumanization dynamics of the pre and post 1994 racist ideologies, constituent discourses, and material practices by and into which we too were socialized. Hard questions that cannot be avoided include who has our profession served and trained, and how might we be complicit in sustaining an unequal society? Secondly, our profession manifests sustained resistance to challenges to its dominant Eurocentric and Judeo-Christian worldview, identity, and subsequent knowledge and skills base, and to making space for emerging identities, epistemologies, and practices of the 'South' (Guajardo, Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2015; Joubert, 2010). This challenge may resonate with Manfred Max-Neef's call for an 'anti-neoliberal occupational therapy' at the 2010 WFOT world congress in Santiago de Chile (Max-Neef, 2010).

The macro-context of this study was intentionally framed 'post 1994 apartheid' instead of 'post-apartheid' South Africa, to explicate upfront that 'the past is far from being of the past', it still heavily (pre)occupies us. When pondering this occupational appraisal, what struck me as unsettling is that 'we as a profession' seem to continue to maintain an undeniable and unacceptable blind spot regarding how our human condition may be either harmed or healed by what we do with and to ourselves and others. This is ironic, considering the premise upon which our profession was founded, namely, a special appreciation of the symbiotic relationship between what people do and their health and wellbeing, that is, how they are doing. Also, one of the principles of our profession's Code of Ethics is 'non-maleficence'—asserting an obligation not to inflict harm intentionally. Granted, this pledge is intended to be primarily upheld within the institutional contexts of individualized health care interventions (OTASA, 2015; WFOT, 2016). However, when 'we as a profession' are to critically historicize this principle, that is, superimpose it on the everyday life context of our post 1994 apartheid society, then doing nothing about South Africa's deeply violent humanity condition is factually harmful.

John Stuart Mill, as cited in Frey and Frey (2011), captured this realization as follows: "Let not any one pacify his conscience by the delusion that he can do no harm if he takes no

part, and forms no opinion. Bad men need nothing more to compass their ends than that good men should look on and do nothing” (p. 1). And in a similar vein, Martin Luther King Jr had asserted: ‘We must learn that passively to accept an unjust system is to cooperate with that system and thereby to become a participant in its evil’ (King Jr., 1963, p. 464). Therefore, ‘we as a profession’ must be alert to and mindful of the risk of taking part in what Zimbardo has called ‘the evil of inaction of passive bystanders’ (Zimbardo, 2004, p. 16). This is particularly imperative considering OTASA’s 1997 Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) submission (OTASA, 1998), in which the organization declared its ‘earnest intention to inform all occupational therapy staff and students about the necessity for vigilance in all matters concerning their accountability, honour, and service responsibilities’ [and] ‘the Association is resolved to speak out against any practice or event that threatens or harms the rights of our clients in the future’ (OTASA, 1998, p. 2, also see Appendix IX). Yet without us exercising ‘occupational consciousness’ (Ramugondo, 2015), defined as ‘on-going awareness about the dynamics of hegemony and recognition that dominant practices are sustained through what people do every day, with implications for personal and collective health’ (p. 488), we would likely overlook the pitfall behind the ‘our clients’ rhetoric in OTASA’s declaration of intent, which originated in and primarily advances neo-liberal healthcare market services to people who can afford these (Fransen, Pollard, Kantartzis & Viana-Moldes, 2015; McGregor, 2001; McQueen, 2014; Mooney, 2012; Sakellariou & Rotarou, 2017).

The next section presents an attempt to historicize the occupational appraisal of the profession in South Africa. As Duncan (1999) reminds us in her 18<sup>th</sup> Vona du Toit Memorial Lecture: “It is important for occupational therapists to seriously consider their bit in the calabash of the past. We not only need to learn from our mistakes but we also need to learn how to demonstrate our moral accountability to the vulnerable and marginalized in society by being aware of the ideology for the basis for our actions” (p. 4).

### **2.1.7 Historicizing the appraisal**

Firstly, to contextualize this section more broadly, it is important to emphasize that Apartheid was not merely imposed on professions but they formed part of its architecture (Marks, 1990; Faul, 2013). The profession of occupational therapy was introduced in South Africa in 1943 by ‘two intrepid occupational therapists from Britain’ (Davy, 2003). In her 2006 auto-ethnographic doctoral study, Joubert (2006) described this historical moment as follows:

“Contentious [...] conceived by a father who was the bastard of an unhappy but fitting union between post-colonialism and apartheid, and a mother whose European, expatriate roots were firmly buried in the loam of ‘Home’, thousands of miles across the sea from the ‘savage’ continent of Africa” (p. 218).

Joubert recognizes two historical facts that resonate with the two major challenges that I had identified in the appraisal, specifically a thorough examination of how dehumanization dynamics of the past may still embody our profession today and, on-going resistance to rightful critiques of her Eurocentric foundations. And it is perhaps telling that to date, documentation regarding the problematic origins and subsequent evolution of occupational therapy in South Africa, including first persons’ accounts and experiences, are still lacking, particularly non-white and black voices.

The current OTASA website offers a very short history of the association, which only hints at difficulties caused by Apartheid laws, including a claim that ‘the majority of occupational therapists were opposed to those regulations, as they affected health care’ (Davy, 2003, p. 1). Yet Duncan, who assisted Watson with writing up OTASA’s TRC submission, indicated ‘As a profession we needed to be able to say we could have been more vociferous in marching’, comparing occupational therapists with the social workers who had said, ‘no matter what happens, if anybody gets mobbed by the security police and put in the back of a van, you also put us in the back of that van, and it was on the front of the newspaper, they put themselves on the line, in harm’s way’ (personal communication, Madie Duncan, 7 March 2016).

Interestingly and ironically, the South African Association of Occupational Therapists (SAAOT) was inaugurated in 1945, the same year the United Nations was founded, with South Africa as one of the original 46 signatories (UDHR, n.d.). When in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly (UDHR, n.d.), the then called Union of South Africa abstained, as in that same year, after the general election, during which the black majority population was already denied the right to vote, Apartheid as an officially structured policy was introduced (‘A History of Apartheid in South Africa’, n.d.). Regardless of the fact that this system of segregation overtly violated any number of articles in the Human Rights Declaration (Danchin, n.d.), in 1952, after the first Grand Apartheid laws had already been put in place, ‘SAAOT became one of the ten founder members of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT)’ (Davy, 2003, p. 1). Likely influenced by international boycott campaigns against the Apartheid regime that had

emerged during the 1960's, some WFOT member countries had 'vigorously lobbied' (Watson, 2008, p. 19) to exclude SAAOT from the world body. It took however up to 1987 (35 years into Apartheid) for a WFOT delegation to visit South Africa to investigate the profession's state of conduct under Apartheid (Duncan, 1999, p. 4). In a summary of the WFOT report, Claxton (1988) states that they found an 'active but competent group who need to develop strategies for better use of the political power they possess. Few signs of discrimination were found although they are working in a system that still condones Apartheid. It became increasingly clear that in spite of the political climate, South African occupational therapists ascribe to the same philosophy as their colleagues in other countries' (as cited in Duncan, 1999, p. 4). The delegates saw 'white South African occupational therapists acting with care and client-centered competency in meeting the impairment needs of their patients but being apathetic in their political activism and ethical awareness of the impact of injustice on the social health and human dignity of their black clients' (Duncan, 1999, p. 4).

Yet the WFOT constitution stipulates that it is a non-political organization, explained in one of its fundamental beliefs as 'it will not take a position on a political agenda of any particular national or international party, or of any nation(s), unless it relates to the WFOT's purpose' (WFOT website). Today, the WFOT defends a similar position regarding Israel, another founding member (1952), and Palestine, a WFOT member only since 2006. Additionally, considering that Occupational Therapy Codes of Conduct and Ethics have traditionally developed as rules supplementary to law, and typically specify 'what to do' and 'how to behave' in clinical encounters with individuals and groups of clients (Brockett, in Duncan, 1999, p. 4), it is not surprising that the WFOT decided not to exclude SAAOT from their organization. I wondered to what extent this decision and the rationale that informed it, may in fact have fed into the strong opposition within the profession against recognizing and engaging with the impact of the wounds of the past on South Africa's transformation process post 1994. For detailed insights into how the WFOT positioned itself and was challenged by Apartheid South Africa, see Appendix VIII.

Another source I used to inform historicizing occupational therapy's occupational Appraisal was the South African Journal of Occupational Therapy (SAJOT). As part of her master's thesis, Ramugondo (2000) had reviewed and only found four articles published between 1954 and 1991 that addressed the impact of Apartheid policies on the large majority black South African people, indicating: "One cannot help but wonder around such

reticence in investigating such issues as racism and oppression, or the consequences of being a black South African” (pp. 8-9).

Although Duncan (1999), Joubert (2006, 2010) and Watson (2008), have to some extent publically recognized and challenged occupational therapy’s problematic history in South Africa, it is telling that Ramugondo’s (2000) still unpublished masters thesis appears to be the only critical historical review to date carried out by a black South African occupational therapist. At the start of the new millennium, she identified obstacles and recommendations to advance transformation, particularly regarding the learning environment, most of which are still pertinent today:

- Occupational therapy departments are socializing agents, and cultural racism is either unintentionally affirmed and promoted by educators, or questioned and opposed;
- Eurocentrism dominates the curriculum. Black subjectivities in occupational therapy discourse are excluded; all subjectivities should influence curriculum;
- Black African students remain underrepresented;
- Occupational therapy cannot afford to be apolitical;
- Remove barriers to education to allow participation of students from diverse social and cultural backgrounds (Ramugondo, 2000).

Email consultation with colleagues at the eight occupational therapy programs found that within their contemporary curricula, the history of the profession in South Africa appears to be, at best, merely briefly touched on during a lecture on another main topic, as a chronological listing of mile-stone moments, without any critical engagement with the history. For example, OTASA’s TRC submission is not formally included. As a consequence, new generations of South African occupational therapists likely remain unaware of this historic document, let alone how it came about and why.

For additional more detailed historical information about occupational therapy in South Africa, see Appendix VII.

### **2.1.8 What is being done to transform the profession since 1994?**

Although the need to transform has been and continues to be expressed since the early years of South Africa’s democracy, engaging with our society and occupational therapy’s Apartheid history and legacies continues to encounter serious resistance from within the

profession. This resistance manifests in the association, education, research, and in practice (see quote by OTASA President at opening of this chapter).

As part of the process of 'addressing the country's violent past, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) included a two-day hearing of the health sector, intended as an important step towards promoting reconciliation, transforming health services in South Africa, and promoting a human rights culture among health professionals' (Van der Merwe, 2010, p. 1). In 1997, the late Prof Ruth Watson wrote a TRC Submission from the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa (OTASA, 1998), for the Health Sector Hearings. The document, counting a mere 549 words (also see Appendix IX), testifies about the profession's role during the period 1960–1994. In this submission, OTASA acknowledged its shortcomings resulting from having stayed out of politics and having failed to join others' outcry about the health impacts of Apartheid politics. The association's 'individual members, and the people who they sought to serve, had been denied a space within the association to share their personal burden of guilt and despair' (OTASA, 1998, p. 2). Recognizing that it cannot change its past, OTASA committed to playing a constructive part in the new South Africa (see Appendix IX). Watson (2008) acknowledged that 'occupational therapists' naivety about the role of politics in professional and public affairs had blinded them from seeing millions of people being denied their right to meaningful and health-promoting occupations' (p. 21).

Reviewing the first decade post TRC submission, Watson (2008) also again underscored the importance of political engagement: 'Politics can never be left out of the equation if equalization of opportunities is to occur' (p. 21), and reminded colleagues of OTASA's 1997 commitment 'to try to do good things for the present and the future to promote peace' (p. 19):

'If we want to act in all matters without prejudice then positive steps are needed not only to avoid discrimination and to ensure that opportunities are open and available to everyone, but also to positively uphold such developments. One way of doing this is to create an environment that is conducive to debate about how the lasting effects of the legacy of apartheid, and the ongoing impact of the cultural capital accumulated by whites, continues to influence OTASA's progress. It is important to remember past injustices because redemption depends on accountability and forgiveness' (Watson, 2008, pp. 20-21).

Some twenty years later, consultation with OTASA president Helen Buchanan offered the following insights about how the association's 1997 intent had since materialized:

*'Since 2010, OTASA renewed a commitment to transformation and it underpins most everything that OTASA has been doing since. A transformation statement was drafted and discussed at the Council meeting in 2012. People were very unhappy with the document, indicating that OTASA did not need to transform. Transformation is still a huge bone of contention in the profession. There's a group that says "Apartheid is over, enough already, let's move on and stop talking about it. We don't need to transform." And there's a group that says "It's still here and part of us. We want you to know how we feel. And we still have not transformed." I think it is hard because I don't know how it can be addressed. Instead of carrying on working with the 'transformation statement', Exco decided to rather focus on persuading the members why OTASA needs to transform. In order to hear from people who are members and non-members, where they think occupational therapy should be going and to learn how we [OTASA] can be more relevant to all occupational therapy staff, a National Listening and Dialogue (NL&D) campaign was launched in 2015, also to give people an opportunity to raise those hurts. Transformation is about OTASA the organization, in order to transform practice to become relevant for the country, what the needs of the country are and in order to do that we want everyone on board. Also, one of the NL&D campaign questions was "where do you view occupational therapy in 2020, when we celebrate our 75th anniversary?" It's also about a vision of what occupational therapy could be in South Africa' (personal communication, Helen Buchanan, 8 May 2016).*

Although the process of transforming the profession continues to present as a complex challenge, the past two decades or so, 'also bear evidence of relevant contributions by South African occupational therapists to globally emergent rationalities (discourses, ideas, and theories) in occupational therapy and occupational science' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 22):

- Three WFOT keynotes (Ramukumba, 2002; Watson, 2006; Ramugondo, 2018);

- New concepts: occupational choice (Galvaan, 2014); occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2012) and collective occupations (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013);
- A special edition of SAJOT that focuses on Theorizing about Human Occupation and Health (Ramugondo, Galvaan & Duncan, 2015);
- Co-edited Indian-South African landmark publication 'Concepts in Occupational Therapy: Understanding Southern Perspectives' (Dsouza, Galvaan, & Ramugondo, 2017).

And historic, 'for the first time ever on the African continent' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 22), in 2018 OTASA co-hosted the 17<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists. The theme was *Connected in Diversity, Positioned for Impact*.

Now we transition from the 'Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal', which substantiated the hugely challenging post 1994 societal and professional conditions, which I had only briefly articulated in the Statement of Problem (see Chapter 1.2), to a 'Review of Public and Professional Discourses'. Both these sections intended to contextualize the study and to underscore its significance.

## **2.2 Review of Public and Professional Discourses**

This section consists of a review of public and professional discourses to identify and verify apparent gaps in awareness and knowledge with regards to everyday 'enactments of humanity affirmations' in post 1994 South Africa, focusing on the presence-absence distribution of these and related notions in these discourses.

It is important to note here that 'discourse' is understood sociologically, framed as a productive force because it shapes our everyday thoughts, ideas, beliefs, values, identities, and what we do with and to ourselves and each other. Cole (2008) succinctly explains: 'Discourse produces much of what occurs within us and within society. Also, it is embedded in and emerges out of relations of power, because those in control of institutions, like the media, politics, law, medicine, and education control its formation. By virtue of giving structure and order to language and thought, discourse structures and orders our lives, our relationships with others, and society. It thus shapes what we are able to think and know at any point in time. Some discourses come to dominate the mainstream and are considered truthful, normal, and right, while others are marginalized and stigmatized, and considered wrong, extreme, and even dangerous' (p. 14).

In this review, I consider *public discourse* to refer to on and off-line communicated issues of public culture which carry a great deal of weight in a given society, and material practices (Biakolo, 2013; Duncan, Stevens & Bowman, 2008, p. 366), and *professional discourses* foreground those of occupational therapy and occupational science.

The 'Statement of Problem' (Chapter 1.2) indicates that our society, occupational science accompanied occupational therapy is to overcome an apparent blind spot in their public and professional discourses and material practices. What seems to be dramatically lacking is critical awareness, sensibility, and practical knowledge regarding how what we have been doing and keep doing with and to others and ourselves in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa tends to negate rather than affirm [our] humanity. As such, this causes further harm instead of allowing for the healing of our violent-divided-wounded human condition.

In carrying out the reviews, geo-historically framed within the context of post 1994 South Africa, I used internet search engines ('google.co.za' and university library data bases), and tapped into a wide variety of sources, including books, journal articles, internet platforms, position papers, and policy documents. A search with the study's main phrase *enactments of humanity affirmations* yielded zero matches, making it a neologism. Alternatively, I used the notions *humanity*, and *humanness*, along with related forms (verbs, nouns, adjectives): *humanity-inhumanity*; *humanness-inhumaneness*; *humane-inhumane*; *humanized-dehumanized*; *humanizing-dehumanizing*; and *humanization-dehumanization*.

A summary of public discourse will be presented first, followed by the findings of a review of occupational therapy and occupational science discourse.

### **2.2.1 Public discourse in post 1994 South Africa**

An admittedly crude Google search for general and scholarly articles with the above mentioned terms in combination with the phrases 'post 1994 apartheid,' and 'post-apartheid South Africa,' found a disproportionate 'presence—absence' distribution of the direct matches of 'positives' (humanity, humanness, humanizing, humanized, humanization, humanized) versus 'negatives' (inhumanity, inhumanness, dehumanizing, dehumanization, dehumanized). In other words, 'negatives' appeared to dominate the mainstream discourse, causing 'positives' to remain in their shadow. And, considering the global popularity of Wikipedia, the search found that there exists a page for 'dehumanization' ('Dehumanization', n.d.), yet no page for 'humanization'. Also, instead of direct matches, results tended to feature terms associated with the key-terms 'humanity', for example 'human rights', 'human

development', 'human needs', 'human solidarity'. 'Humanness' often appeared in association with references to 'Ubuntu'. There were only two direct matches, the 2015 article '*Can post-apartheid South Africa be enabled to humanize and heal itself?*' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte-Rudman, & Ramugondo, 2015), and Charles Manda's article '*Becoming better humans in a world that lacks humanity: Working through trauma in post-apartheid South Africa*' (Manda, 2014).

I found the 1994 publication 'The Healing of a Nation?' (Boraine & Levy, 1995) relevant to mention here, given that the question mark in the title still appears to apply some twenty-four years later. Boraine and Levy (1995) acknowledged that there exists 'no quick fix, no magic formulae which will remedy the sickness that reached endemic proportions leaving many victims in its wake' (p. XIV).

As I have already pointed out and problematized in this chapter's section 2.1.4, apart from the oversight in the NPC's diagnostic overview (NPC, 2011)—which does not include the 'healing of our wounded humanity' in its nine challenges, the TRC did not seem to have considered inviting and hearing about 'positives', that is, everyday instances in which people had stood up and spoken out against systemic injustices. Arch Bishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's following assertion, drawing from Ubuntu, is pertinent: "We are humanized or dehumanized in and through our actions toward others. My humanity is caught up, bound up, inextricably, with yours. When I dehumanize you, I inexorably dehumanize myself" (Tutu, 1999, p. 31). I contend that 'the interrelated human occupation and health dimensions of the 'actions' to which Tutu refers are critically important sites of investigation for occupational therapy and occupational science' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 22, also see Chapter 8.2.1).

Another book that surfaced in the review of public discourse which resonated closely with the focus of this study is '*The Humanist Imperative in South Africa*' (De Gruchy, 2011a). It engages the question 'how we understand what it means to be human together in South Africa today and how this is to be embodied in our social life' (De Gruchy, 2011b, p. 1). The book offers an eclectic compilation of 'views, issues and arguments, ranging from the poetic to the scientific, all under the horizon of humanism as a binding curiosity rather than as a compulsory metanarrative'. Ubuntu also features as a guiding thread, viewing human beings as 'intertwined in a world of ethical relations and obligations with all other people from the time they are born', while concurring that South Africans, 'instead of attempting to define Ubuntu, talking about how to live ought to be prioritized' (Beilharz, 2012, p. 134-136). However, I point out that this publication also differs with this study on at least two counts.

Firstly, the 'we' and 'our' in *The Humanist Imperative* refers to 'privileged, well-educated, financially secure, and mostly white males' (De Gruchy, 2011a, p. 12-13). Secondly, the book seems to primarily epistemically explore what it could mean to be human, thinking and talking about being human in South Africa today. This study on the other hand, invited voices from differently situated individuals who live in South Africa to speak to the topic, foregrounding not themselves but lived examples of enacted humanity affirmations. And additionally, it suggests that what is needed is to generate phronesis, practical knowledge about *how to actually be human*, enact humanity affirmations, in post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

The finding that there exists an apparent gap, neglect, or absence of a positive (self) regard for 'humanity' in our public discourse possibly correlates with the appraisal, that the people who live in South Africa occupy and are occupied by a dehumanized/ing social condition. We know about how to feed 'negatives', which is overwhelmingly evident in the discourse that dominates the mainstream on and off-line media, as captured by Desmond Tutu's words: "Our soul remains profoundly troubled, the symptoms are all around us" (Tutu, 2014, p. 2). Therefore, it is more urgent to bring existing 'positives' out from the cold long shadow into the public discourse.

The following section presents the findings of an extensive review of occupational therapy and occupational science discourses regarding the notions of 'humanity', 'humanness', and related forms derived from these terms, exposing a serious gap in their body of knowledge of humans as occupational beings.

### **2.2.2 Occupational therapy and occupational science discourses**

In the Statement of Problem (Chapter 1.2), occupational science accompanied occupational therapy in South Africa is considered ill-positioned and ill-prepared to meet post 1994 apartheid's major transformation challenges, particularly the vital needs of 'healing' and 'nation [humanity] building'. To establish a baseline regarding what might be missing in occupational therapy and occupational science's body of knowledge about humans as occupational beings, and the intersection of human occupation and health, a thematic analysis was used in an extensive review of the profession and discipline's discourse, within and beyond South Africa (see Table 1). I considered 'humanity' and 'humanness' as fundamental concepts, because whenever 'we humans' ascribe this quality to some yet deny it to others these attributions and denials have very real implications for our wellbeing.

SOURCES	Journals OT & OS (>20.000 articles) (1970-2016)	Key-text books OT & OS (28) (2000-2016)	OT Practice Models (6)	WFOT Position papers (2004-2016)	WFOT Min. Standards (2016)	WFOT Congress (1954-2018)	AOTA-AOPF (2013)	AOTA Slagle Lectures (1955-2016)	SAAOT/OTASA Conferences (1976-2016)
MATCHES	Title Abstracts Keywords	Titles Chapters Index	Keywords Index	Body of text	Body of text	Themes Keynotes	Body of text	Title Abstracts Keywords	Themes Keynotes
humanity	11	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
inhumanity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanness	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
inhumaneness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humane	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
inhumane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanized	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanization	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanization	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanizing	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanizing	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 1: Literature Review - Absence of Humanity Terminology in OT-OS Discourses**

As in the review of public discourse, the search focused on the presence-absence distribution of the key-terms in titles, abstracts and/or key-words in articles; indexes in books; general matches in policy and other relevant documents of professional organizations. More detailed information about all the sources and the findings of the review can be found in Appendix X.

The overall review yielded a striking absence of significant direct references to the notions ‘humanity’, ‘humanness’ and their related forms, making the focus of this study all the more relevant. A consultation I had with the Executive Editor of the Journal of Occupational Science (JOS) corresponded with the overall review’s findings:

*‘My recall is that the terms you’re looking for have not featured highly in JOS. My impression is that we’ve only scratched the surface on the possibility that occupations might be dehumanizing, or that the conditions that determine people’s occupations might have dehumanizing effects’* (personal communication, Clare Hocking, 10 February 2016).

Although an index section review of 28 key-text books did not find a single match for the search-terms, I happened to be familiar with one reference that spoke directly to this study’s key-phrase ‘humanity affirmations and enactments’. In ‘An Occupational Perspective of Health’ (Wilcock, 1998), Ann Wilcock cites the American psychiatrist John Sanbourne Bockoven (1972) from his book ‘Moral Treatment in Community Mental Health’:

“Occupational therapy is a neglected source of community re-humanization” (p. 217), and “Occupational therapists could and should assume effective leadership roles in humanizing [American] occupational life by emancipating it from standardization and conformity?” (p. 222). I believe that Bockoven also intuited the untapped, not yet realized potential of occupational therapy and had attempted to nudge the profession toward providing leadership in social change, whatever it was that may have allowed him to see this potential. I imagine that Bockoven had witnessed first-hand and over time the work done and impact had by the occupational therapists he had worked with.

A problematic consequence of the striking absence of the cluster of humanity terminology is that these concepts remain neglected and thus untheorized. This significantly impacts our profession and discipline’s positioning and preparedness to be a sufficiently vital and unique resource to post 1994 apartheid South Africa. It is beyond the scope of this review to determine possible causes of this gap in our body of knowledge. However, I regard this loud absence not necessarily as an indication that the notions ‘humanity’ and ‘humanness’ and forms derived hereof, are considered irrelevant by these fields. More likely, the meanings of these terms are inferred in more commonly used terminology such as ‘humanism’, ‘human rights’, and ‘human development’. However, in light of the Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal, it is pertinent that the profession and discipline commit to generating historicized critical in-depth understandings of humans as occupational beings and the human occupation and health interrelationship (see Chapter 3.3 – Theorizing Human Occupation and Health from the ‘South’).

In **summary**, this chapter provided a detailed background to the larger context of and rationale for this study. Firstly, a ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ substantiated post 1994 apartheid South Africa’s historically entrenched dehumanized/ing condition, and the ill-positionedness and ill-preparedness of occupational science accompanied occupational therapy as a health agent to do something about it. Secondly, an extensive literature review revealed that appropriate concepts to imagine and generate potentially humanizing and healing responses to violent-divided-wounded human relations were found to be lacking in both professional and public discourses. Hence, this study conceived of and applied an original conceptual depiction of being human as ‘enacting humanity affirmations’. The next chapter grounds the researcher’s gaze, and elaborates on the philosophical positioning of this study’s theorizing of human occupation and health from the ‘south’.

## CHAPTER THREE - PHILOSOPHICAL GROUNDING AND THEORIZING FROM THE 'SOUTH'

*"De-imperialization entails the acceptance of non-Western people as human beings with ontological density equivalent to that of Western people, and both Africans and Westerners have to decolonize their minds and their practices if another world is to emerge."*

— Sabelo Ndlovu-Gathsheni, 2013, p. 350

The intent of this chapter is to introduce and explain the philosophical stances *phronesis* and *Ubuntu* grounded in a critical paradigm. They position the researcher's gaze and guide conceptualizing and theorizing human occupation and health from 'the south'.

### 3.1 Critical Grounding of the Researcher's Gaze

Before explaining how 'critical' was understood and applied in this study, I will explicate what prompted me to ground it in this paradigm. I remained mindful of OTASA's Truth and Reconciliation Commission submission (OTASA, 2008) which admitted to harmful consequences which resulted from the association having stayed out of politics during the pre-1994 Apartheid era. I took to heart Watson's (2008) admonition that occupational therapists cannot be 'naïve about the role of politics in professional and public affairs' and that 'politics can never be left out of the equation if equalization of opportunities is to occur' (p. 21). Also, as a researcher I cannot remain aloof from politics, because as Albert Einstein pointed out, 'observing silence in political matters, such restraint may signify a lack of responsibility' (as cited in Cassidy, 2009, pp. 207-208). Hence, I recognize as critical that knowledge and its generation are inherently political (Said, 1979), that is, I had to remain reflexively aware when and how power dynamics were at play in my knowledge seeking endeavour. I found Flyvbjerg's inversion of the Baconian dictum 'knowledge is power' particularly insightful in this regard. Whilst agreeing with Bacon's maxim, Flyvbjerg (2001) considers 'power is knowledge' as more important because 'power defines what gets to count as knowledge and power defines physical, economic, social, and environmental reality itself' (p. 155). In the words of Foucault (1980), 'power produces rationality and truth; rationality and truth produce power', emphasizing that the production of truth is 'thoroughly imbued with relations of power' (as cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 124-126).

Appreciative of the anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod's (1991) 'every view is a view from somewhere and every act of speaking, a speaking from somewhere' (p. 141), this doctoral study integrates three 'somewheres'. Recognition that a deeply problematic

‘politics of being human’— interplay between power and rationality in defining humans, sub-humans, and non-humans—underlies the research question, the ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ (see Chapter 2.1), and the virtual absence of explicit ‘humanity terminology’ in occupational therapy and occupational science discourse (see Chapter 2.2.2), prompted me to paradigmatically ground the study in critical contemporary interpretations of phronesis and Ubuntu. This particular grounding allowed to ‘synergistically use Aristotle’s intellectual virtue phronesis—to guide theorizing about knowledge production, and the African philosophy of critical humanism Ubuntu—to guide theorizing about human occupation and health’ (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman, & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 20).

How to understand each philosophical stance as they were used in this study will now be explained starting with ‘critical’ — ‘the soil’, followed by ‘phronesis’ and ‘Ubuntu’ — ‘the seeds’.

### **3.1.1 Critical as radical transformative**

Critical in this study refers to a historicized positioning towards the politics of being human, recognizing the existence of only one race, the human race, committed to challenging and changing a globally dominant history of unequal relations of power which produced and reproduces violent divisions between groupings of socially constructed humans, sub-humans, and non-humans. Critical as radical transformative, implies that a genuine commitment to addressing post 1994 South Africa’s vital needs of healing and nation, or rather humanity building, calls for ‘radical treatment’, that is, interventions at deep historical root-levels. Such a praxis is to transform or remove anything that harms or conspires against [our] humanity (Dussel, 1998, 2001; Freire, 1996; Giralico, 2006). Sayer’s rather phronetic interpretation of critical also resonates with ‘radical transformative’: ‘critical is about developing understandings of avoidable human suffering and flourishing (wellbeing), and because humans are capable of both, we need to evaluate our situations, what is good or bad and what to do, as we cannot afford to repeatedly get our judgments wrong’ (Sayer, 2009, p. 769).

Let me illustrate how a critical grounding guided decision-making during the research process. For example, I reframed South Africa from ‘post-apartheid’ into a ‘post 1994 apartheid’ society. This reframing resonates with Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s questioning of whether

post-colonialism came to an end or merely morphed into coloniality<sup>1</sup>. Ndlovu-Gathsheni (2014) called on “African people to wake up from the dangerous habit of normalizing coloniality and rise up to embrace decoloniality to enable them to unmask the constitution of Euro-American modernity and to pass critical judgments on the enduring impact of slavery, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, neocolonialism, and neo-liberalism that constitute coloniality” (p. 47). Another example, considering the problematic absence of the notions ‘humanity’ and ‘being human’ in dominant western(ized) ontological and epistemological foundations of occupational therapy and occupational science, compelled me to generate ‘southern’ conceptualizations of humans as occupational beings and human occupation and health (see Section 3.2). Lastly, a positioning in ‘critical soil’ required me to push beyond classical and traditional discourses of phronesis and Ubuntu, and instead employ emergent, contemporary and critical interpretations of these philosophical categories (see Figure 1) (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman, & Ramugondo, 2015).



**Figure 1: Philosophical and Theoretical Foundation**

### **3.1.2 Phronesis: foregrounding practical values and power**

The critical grounding of Aristotle’s classical conception of phronesis in the particular context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, prompted me to ‘draw from Flyvbjerg’s contemporary interpretation of this philosophy’ (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such a nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day’ (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243).

2015, p. 23). Flyvbjerg (2004) pointed out that for Aristotle *phronesis* *only* involved appreciative judgments in terms of values, addressing questions such as 'where are we going? Is it desirable? If not, what are we going to do about it?' (p. 384). For Flyvbjerg, *phronesis* *also* involves understanding the practical historical-political realities of any situation, in other words, integrated judgment in terms of values *and* power. Hence, Flyvbjerg (2004) raises additional explicit questions about power and outcomes: "Who gains and who loses, and through what kind of power relations? What possibilities are available to change existing power relations?" (p. 384). This then also calls into question 'whose conceptions of knowledge and their constructions may count more than others' (Santos, 2014, p. 189), which resonates with Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013b) detecting an 'epistemic rupture in the air whereby a previously dominant epistemic order becomes exhausted, opening the way for a new one' (p. 46-47). Additionally, Praeg's (2012) concern with 'the historical conditions for the possibility of knowledge on and from Africa today' (p. 56), also implicates questions of power and their outcomes that Flyvbjerg (2001) raises as part of *phronesis*.

But let us look a bit closer at the ontological context from which *phronesis* emerged. Aristotle had 'identified three intellectual virtues: *episteme*—scientific, theoretical knowledge; *techne*—technical, applied scientific knowledge; and *phronesis*—practical knowledge or wisdom' (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 24), or 'reasonableness' (Black, 1972). See Table 2 in which these three kinds of knowledge and their main characteristics are juxtaposed (adapted by researcher from Flyvbjerg, 2001). According to Flyvbjerg (2004), for Aristotle *phronesis* was the most important of the three because it is 'that activity by which the theoretical and practical instrumental rationality of *episteme* and *techne* is balanced by value and power rationality' (p. 283).

*Phronesis* involves 'the good example and context-dependent knowledge, guiding practices that are good for Man' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 77). In this study, this meant discovering conceptions of determining how being human is enacted through humanity affirmations in situated contexts, making case study with embedded narrative inquiry a most appropriate heuristic research design (see Chapter 4).

EPISTEME	TECHNE	PHRONESIS
<b>Kinds of Knowledge</b>		
Scientific knowledge: 'knowing (theoretically) why to do'	Technical knowledge: 'knowing (practically) how to do'	Practical knowledge: 'knowing (ethically) what to do'
<b>Characteristics</b>		
Universal, invariable, context-independent	Pragmatic, variable, context-dependent	Pragmatic, variable, context-dependent
<b>Orientations</b>		
Production of theory, 'the identification and explanation of universals'	Production of 'tangible things'	Value-judgments and action in specific situations
<b>Rationality It Produces</b>		
Theoretical instrumental rationality. Judgments informed by analytical rationality	Practical instrumental rationality (governed by a conscious goal) Judgments informed by technical rationality	Practical value and power (substantial) rationality ('reasonableness') The art of practical judgment
<b>Analogous Contemporary Terms</b>		
Epistemology, epistemic	Technology, technique, technical	None. It has disappeared from modern language.
<b>Research Would Be About</b>		
Uncovering universal truths and laws about the topic studied	Arriving at better applied understandings of the topic studied	Deliberating about (incl. questioning of) values and interests related to the topic studied ('power of example')
<b>Human Occupation and Health Would Be Treated As</b>		
Theoretical concepts	Technical concepts	Practical concepts
<b>Key-Questions</b>		
Key-questions: What is knowledge? How can it be acquired? To what extent can knowledge pertinent to any given subject or entity be acquired?	Key-questions: How to make or produce [something]? What skills are required? What tools can be used? How are the tools to be used? What steps are to be followed?	Key-questions: Where are we going?; Who is gaining, who is losing, and by what mechanisms of power?; Is it desirable? What are we going to do about it?

**Table 2: Overview of Aristotle's Three Intellectual Virtues**

I further draw from Aristotle's 'Nichomachean Ethics' (1976) to contextualize why phronesis was most suitable to this doctoral study: "Considering that the particular nature of the research question—*How are affirmations of humanity enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa?*—does not call for 'purely' scientific or technical knowledge, I sought knowledge of a different kind, knowledge to advance 'the ability to deliberate rightly' (13:11,40a24-b12). Such knowledge might then inform and guide when and how human occupations may indeed promote health and/or prevent harm. "That which people can do (enact) to affirm humanity and promote health is a variable, given that 'it may be done in different ways or not at all' (1140a24-b12). Considering that scientific knowledge is invariable—'it is distinguished by its objects, which do not admit of change, these objects are eternal and exist of necessity', as in 'the necessary truths of mathematics' (1139b15-30), this knowledge was not considered best suited to answer the main research question. Technical knowledge would also not be suitable because it constitutes production aimed at an end other than itself, a skill used to produce something. Understanding health in terms of enactments of humanity affirmations cannot be reduced to a technical competence. This then leaves phronesis as the most appropriate intellectual virtue and philosophical stance. Aristotle argues that 'what remains, then, is that phronesis, practical knowledge/wisdom, is a

true state, reasoned, and capable of action with regard to things that are good or bad for Man', because it considers 'things which admit of change, for example the contingencies of everyday life' (1140a24-b12)" (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 24).

Again, a critical grounding calls for historicization, to point out that when Aristotle introduced his three intellectual virtues, 'slavery was common practice in Ancient Greece, as in other places of the time and most ancient writers considered slavery natural and even necessary' ('Slavery in Ancient Greece', n.d., p. 1), regarding only the citizens of the polis, or city state, as human beings (Dussel, 2012). Olusoga (2015) pointed out that 'for much of the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> Century until today, during which Europeans and Africans connected through trade, empire and migration, the old continent has viewed the people of Africa through the distorting veil of racism and racial theory' (p. 2). Initially enslaving Africans was defended because they were regarded heathens, but then racism, intersected with slavery, became institutionalized to give rise to colonialism in Africa, and later Apartheid (Fredrickson, 2003). And, historically, 'scientific racism, the use of ostensibly scientific or pseudoscientific techniques and hypotheses to support or justify the belief in racism, racial inferiority, racialism, or racial superiority, has received much credence in the scientific community, although this practice is now generally considered pseudoscientific' ('Scientific Racism', n.d., p. 1).

In Chapter 2, it was suggested that the regeneration of Africa and South Africa in particular was to be advanced by drawing on the continent's unique attributes. The next section elaborates on one such attribute, *Ubuntu*, an African philosophy of critical humanism.

### **3.1.3 Ubuntu: African philosophy of critical humanism**

For the purpose of this study, I adopted Leonhard Praeg's reference to the African philosophy *Ubuntu* as 'critical humanism', which focuses on and is fundamentally concerned with 'the relations of power that systematically exclude certain people from being considered human in the first instance' (Praeg, 2014, p. 12). This concern strongly resonates with why I had coined the notion 'occupational apartheid' (Kronenberg, 2013; Kronenberg, 1999) (see Appendix I – Situating the Researcher). It also speaks to this study's Statement of Problem (see Chapter 1.2), which exposes that occupational therapy's philosophical foundation of western humanism is rarely, if ever, critically historicized. Doing so would expose modern and enlightened science's complicity in the colonial enterprise, which had

deployed a highly politicized notion of humanism to justify the dehumanizing practices and structures of colonialism (Omar, 2012, p. 143). Mogobe Ramose (1999) relevantly situates this critique and concern in the context of post 1994 South Africa, pointing out that ‘Africans are an injured and conquered people, and this is the preeminent starting point of African philosophy in its proper and fundamental signification’ (p. 44). And Praeg argues that ‘to do African philosophy, to posit and address the question of Ubuntu is always, inescapably first and foremost, a political question’ (Praeg, 2014, p. 12).

Drucilla Cornell, the American philosopher and feminist theorist, supports *Ubuntu* for two reasons: ‘firstly, as a new humanism, a new ethical vision of “being human together”, which strongly resonates with this study’s ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’, calling for a thoroughgoing philosophical, political and ethical critique of racist Western modernity. And, secondly, because it offers us ‘a way of renewing and reinvigorating the philosophical and political project of human solidarity and, if one takes “revolutionary *Ubuntu*” seriously, radical transformation’ (Cornell, 2014, p. 170). This is congruent with this study’s grounding in and interpretation of ‘critical soil’ (see Figure 1).

I found Cornell and Van Marle’s (2005) interpretation of *Ubuntu* particularly relevant and useful for imagining a repositioned theorization of human occupation and health in the context of understanding and addressing post 1994 apartheid South Africa’s dehumanized/ing condition:

“*Ubuntu* in a profound sense, and whatever else it may be, implies an interactive ethic, or an ontic orientation in which who and how we can be as human beings is always being shaped in our interaction with each other. This ethic is not then a simple form of communalism or communitarianism, if one means by those terms the privileging of the community over the individual. For what is at stake here is the process of becoming a person or, more strongly put, how one is given the chance to become a person at all. The community is not something ‘outside’, some static entity that stands against individuals. The community is only as it is continuously brought into being by those who ‘make it up’, a phrase we use deliberately. The community, then, is always being formed through an ethic of being with others, and this ethic is in turn evaluated by how it empowers people” (Cornell & Van Marle, p. 206).

This quote offers clear ontological, epistemological and practical pointers for this thesis: 'one is to be given a chance to become a person' appears to underscore my suggestion that 'being human is not a given' (Chapter 1.2 – Statement of the Problem); the implied 'interactive ethic' seems to support my conceptual reinterpretation of 'being human' as an 'enacting humanity affirmations'; and the conceptualization of community and how its wellbeing is to be evaluated speaks to my suggested need to politicize occupational therapy's primary concern, committing to understanding and promoting how we are doing together as a society (see Chapter 2.1).

In summary, critical contemporary interpretations of a mostly neglected western and an often misconstrued or misappropriated African thought, respectively *phronesis* and *Ubuntu*, were brought together in this study to guide theorizing from 'the south', particularly with regards to human occupation and health. *Phronesis* allowed the nature of the research question and the practical knowledge of values and power that it called for to be identified. In recognition and rejection of the historically dominant divisive individualistic ontological stance of humans, *Ubuntu* offers a practical conception of humanity, allowing the generation of alternative understandings of human occupation and health.

### **3.2 Theorizing Core Concepts from the 'South'**

How does the proposition of theorizing core concepts from the 'south' connect with this study's grounding in critical contemporary appreciations of *phronesis* and *Ubuntu*? The intent of this study was to generate understandings of being human from occupational perspectives of health, as enacted humanity affirmations, to help conceptualize how South Africa may go about addressing its vital needs of healing and humanity building. This calls for theorizing that is grounded in the 'south', which I established as critical interpretations of *phronesis* and *Ubuntu*. Additional interpretations of the 'south' that are useful here are those proposed by sociologists Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Raewyn Connell.

Santos pointed out that cartographers, since modernity, have produced fraudulent maps, scales and symbolisms, Mercator projections of the world, indicating that the 'north' and the 'west' are not really the north and the west but 'the center', making the 'south' and 'east' the periphery. Importantly, he added that the 'south' is not really the geographical south but it is *a metaphor for unjust suffering caused by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy* [Italics added for emphasis by researcher]. Therefore, there exists a 'south' in the 'north', and there exists a 'north' in the so called 'imperial south' (see this chapter's opening

quote from Ndlovu-Gatsheni), that is, imperial elites that benefit from epistemological injustice of the 'north', claiming that only scientific knowledge is valid (Santos, 2012).

Santos (2012) coined 'epistemologies of the south', which manifest as 'sociologies of absences and emergences' in which 'the former embodies an inquiry aimed at explaining that what does not exist, may in fact be actively produced as non-existent, that is, as a non-credible alternative to what exists' (p. 52). For example, in this study, the identified virtual absence of discourse regarding 'humanization practice' as compared to existing evidence of 'dehumanization practices'. And, a sociology of emergences is committed to illuminating 'the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies, that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge' (Santos, 2003, p. 238), which in this study are everyday enactments of humanity affirmations which occur in spite of the dehumanized/ing tendencies of the context in which they occur.

Relevantly adding to Santos' conceptualization of 'south', Connell (2007) uses the similar notion 'southern' and interprets it 'not to name a sharply bounded category of states or societies, but to emphasize relations—authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation—between the intellectuals and institutions in the dominant European and North American metropole and those in the world peripheries, those groups and identities that sit outside the hegemonic conception of society' (pp. viii-ix).

Three examples of occupational concepts relevant to this study that had already emerged from the 'south' are: occupational apartheid, occupational consciousness, and collective occupations (see definitions in Table 3). *Occupational apartheid* (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2004) was coined and conceptualized in a research with so called street children in Mexico (Kronenberg, 1999) (see Appendix I – Situating the Researcher). Occupational therapy had never regarded this population as occupational beings deserving our attention, presenting as an example of what Santos described as 'actively produced as non-existent' (Santos, 2012, p. 52). Occupational apartheid speaks directly to my framing of this study's geo-historic context as 'post 1994 apartheid South Africa'. I exercised *occupational consciousness* (Ramugondo, 2015, 2009) throughout this study, including theorizing, as on-going critical reflexivity through a human occupation lens. And lastly, the notion *collective occupations* (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013). Although the selected cases in this study foreground instances of interpersonal enactments of humanity affirmations, this conceptual lens enabled me to recognize and appreciate when such manifestations involved communal efforts. Furthermore, the 'Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal' (Chapter 2.1) and the 'Snapshots Shackles' which contextualize the nine case narratives (Chapter 5), both illustrate

embedded-embodied collective occupations which manifest as enactments of negations of [our] humanity.

### **OCCUPATIONAL APARTHEID**

Systematically enacted negations of humanity to divide and subjugate collectives of people to the benefit of some at the expense of others. This is done through (oftentimes intersecting) oppressive social mechanisms (ex. racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, ableism, neoliberal individualism), master-minding unequal access to resources that can sustain dignified living for all.

### **OCCUPATIONAL CONCIUSNESS**

Ongoing awareness of the dynamics of hegemony and recognition that dominant practices are sustained through what people do every day, with implications for personal and collective health (Ramugondo, 2015).

### **COLLECTIVE OCCUPATIONS**

Those occupations that are engaged in by individuals, groups, communities and/or societies in everyday contexts, which may reflect an intention towards social cohesion or dysfunction, and/or advancement of or aversion to a common good. Collective occupations may have consequences that benefit some populations and not others (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013).

**Table 3: Examples of Occupational Concepts Emergent from the ‘South’**

In brief, theorizing the interrelated core concepts from the ‘south’, allowed learning how to conceptualize going about healing and humanity building. I did not regard existing definitions of human occupation and health appropriate and useful for gathering and analyzing data in this study. Therefore I opted to construct critically grounded phronesis and *Ubuntu* inspired conceptualizations of these interrelated core constructs.

#### **3.2.1 ‘Southern’ conceptualizations of human occupation and health**

Rather than starting with a presentation of dominant western definitions of human occupation and health and offer alternatives, my intent here is to propose ‘southern’ conceptualizations of occupational therapy’s interrelated core constructs. This proposition was guided by this study’s purpose (see Chapter 1.3.4) and critical philosophical positioning. These ‘southern’ conceptualizations were imagined as bringing about strengthened connectivity with our particular ‘local’ human condition. In the introduction chapter I briefly explicated my ontological appreciation of ‘humans as occupational beings, simultaneously constituting subjects who occupy, and, direct objects of occupation’ (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013, p. 3). I contend that dominant definitions of human occupation and health are primarily based on the first part of this premise, ‘humans as subjects who occupy’ whereas the critical phronesis and *Ubuntu* inspired ‘southern’ conceptualizations foreground

the second part, ‘humans as direct objects of occupation’. To illustrate how this is to be understood within the context of the study, I depicted post 1994 South African society as ‘embodying an embedded dehumanized/ing condition’. The ‘southern’ conceptualizations of human occupation and health allow contemporary everyday South Africa to be examined and explained as a society that is made up of >57 million people whose objectified minds, hearts, and relationships continue to be occupied by deeply violent persistent historical forces (ex. racist neo-liberal hyper-individualization and commodification) which strip away the majority of its subjects’ actual and/or perceived sense of agency and dignity.

‘Southern’ conceptualizations of the interrelated core constructs human occupation and health, are presented in Figures 2, 3 & 4. Their backgrounds feature an inverted upside-down world-map. This critically grounded visual depiction symbolically situates theorizing and knowledge generation in the ‘south’ as ‘a center’ in its own right. It is not meant to suggest ‘reverse colonization’ but rather to disrupt historically dominant unequal relations of epistemic power between ‘the center’ and ‘the peripheries’.

### **Human Occupation**



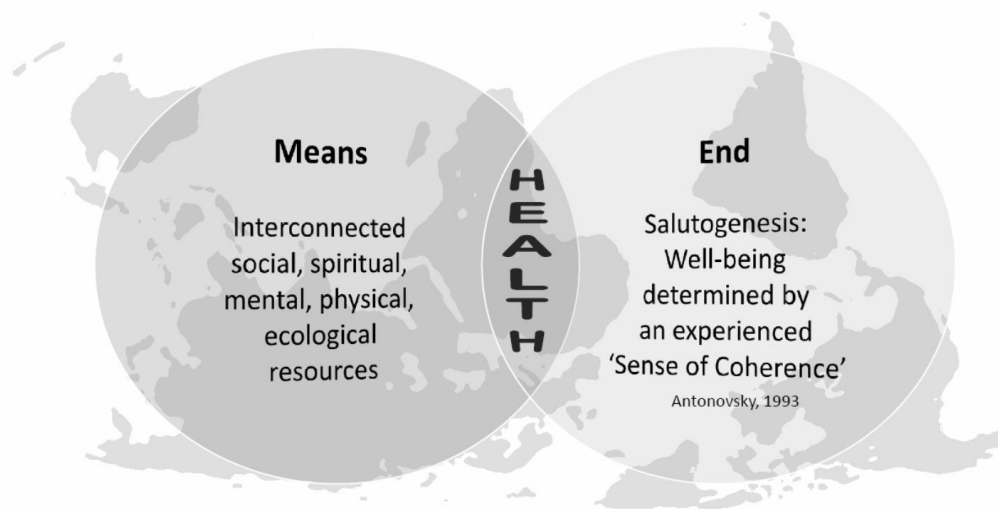
**Figure 2: ‘Southern’ Conceptualization of Human Occupation**

The term ‘*that*’ in the definition of human occupation refers to and combines both sides of the conceptualization depicted in Figure 2. For analytical purposes, influenced by situated historical conditions, human occupation possibilities manifest dynamically, dialectically ‘on continuums, for example: doing-not doing; ordinary-extraordinary; political-apolitical, meaningful-meaningless, social-asocial, historical-ahistorical; constructive-destructive; intentional-unintentional; health promoting-harming health; non-violent-violent’

(Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 25). The phrase *contextually embedded and embodied* refers to a dynamic interplay of people’s internal dispositional and situational external attributes (Sewell, 1992), in other words, agency—structure. Borrowing from Barker (2005), agency refers to ‘the capacity of humans to act independently and to make their own free choices’, and structure, in contrast, refers to ‘the recurrent patterned arrangements or structural conditions which influence or limit the choices and opportunities available’ (p. 448). And *resources*, refers both to means and opportunities. Resources as means can be ‘internal and external, individual and collective, private and public, material and immaterial’ (Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 25).

With respect to the notion *humans*, I point out that since 31 October 2011, more than seven billion occupational beings live on planet earth (United Nations, 2011). Such a statistic implies a set of common characteristics that allow humans to be identified and counted as such, which Sobukwe referred to as ‘the one and only human race’ (Sobukwe, 1959). However, as pointed out in this study’s ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’, human history reveals structural divisions by some groupings of humans of other groupings, hence, being human in this study is framed as political.

***Salutogenesis: The Origin of Health***



**Figure 3: ‘Southern’ Conceptualization of Health**

A pathogenic approach to health, foregrounding factors that cause disease, was unsuitable for this study. Instead, I let myself be inspired by Aaron Antonovsky’s (1979) salutogenic orientation to health because it focuses on humans making use of internal and external

resources available to them in ways that promote human flourishing and wellbeing. Salutogenesis allowed the generating of a ‘Sense of Coherence’ theory, a broad orientation to view health in relation to how persons understand their life and their essence of existence. Antonovsky suggested that the extent to which people view their environment as comprehensive, manageable, and meaningful would determine their sense of well-being. *Comprehensibility* refers to the ability for people to understand what happens around them. *Manageability* pertains to whether a person is able to manage a particular situation independently or supported by significant others in their social circles. And *meaningfulness* refers to the capacity to discover meaning in situations (Antonovsky, 1979).

**Relationship Human Occupation and Health**

**Humanity—Occupation—Health (HOH) Continuum**



**Figure 4: ‘Southern’ Conceptualization of Relationship Human Occupation and Health**

The premise of occupational therapy is based on a suggested symbiotic relationship between human occupation and health. My ‘southern’ conceptualization changed ‘human’ into ‘humanity’, positioned separately yet interlinked with occupation and health. The original dyad transformed into a triad conceptual configuration, which is presented as a Humanity—Occupation—Health (H-O-H) continuum. Figure 4 may serve the reader as a signpost, an important underpinning to make sense of what is to come. It allows for locating manifestations of the harmful human occupations identified in the ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ (see Chapter 2.1) and the salutogenic human occupations presented as everyday enacted humanity affirmations in a dehumanized/ing context (nine case narratives and ‘shackles snapshots’ in Chapter 5). The images of the ‘chains’ respectively

symbolize oppressive and liberating human conditions. Humanity and health are interlinked by the notion 'our', which underlies *Ubuntu*.

Figure 4 suggests the potential and actual capacity of human occupation to influence the health of individuals and society by negating or affirming our humanity. In other words, human occupation can 'feed' dehumanization or humanization dynamics and as such either cause harm or hold potential to heal and promote wellbeing. This resonates with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's citation which opens Chapter 1.

In **summary**, setting the stage for the methodological approach to gathering information, analyzing data and interpretation and discussion of the findings, this chapter positioned and elaborated on the researcher's gaze. Consistent with the values and power rationality nature of the first research question, this study was grounded philosophically in critical contemporary interpretations of Aristotle's intellectual virtue *phronesis* and the African interactive ethic of *Ubuntu*. Imagined as bringing about strengthened connectivity with our particular 'local' human condition, three occupational concepts relevant to this study that had already emerged from the 'south' - occupational apartheid, occupational consciousness, collective occupations – were highlighted, along with 'southern' conceptualizations of human occupation and health and their suggested symbiotic relationship.

This next chapter presents the rationale and methodological detail of how this study was structured and carried out as a heuristic qualitative research design, employing case study with embedded narrative inquiry.

## CHAPTER FOUR - HEURISTIC RESEARCH DESIGN: CASE STUDY WITH EMBEDDED NARRATIVE INQUIRY

*"As black people search for and find ontological density through connecting with their creator, should white people perhaps learn the language of suffering? The alternatives are otherwise scary: resisting black strength, and committing suicide!"*

—Elelwani Ramugondo, 28 March 2016

This chapter provides the rationale and methodological detail of how this study was structured and carried out as a heuristic qualitative research design, employing case study with embedded narrative inquiry. This design enabled generating practical knowledge (phronesis) about being human, conceptually reframed as enacting affirmations of [our] humanity, in the dehumanized/ing everyday context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

Instrumental to decision-making throughout this study, in addition to methodological considerations and choices, was practicing critical reflexivity. The opening quote of this chapter is an example of critical reflexivity. It includes a reference to ontological density, which can be understood as a consideration of the degree to which one actually exists as a human being. The 'Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal' exposed occupational therapy's ahistorical, ontologically, and empirically false premise 'being human is a given' (Chapter 2.1), when in everyday reality subjects are made 'distinguishable' by degrees of ontological density, producing categories of people: humans, sub-humans, and nonhumans. Critical reflexivity prompts us to position ourselves in relation to the forces that (re)produce such violent divisions and deliberate how to respond.

I will now explicate why I employed critical reflexivity, what it means, and how it was used to shape this study.

### **4.1 Critical Reflexivity: Mitigating Dehumanized/ing Research**

The particular focus and phronetic nature of this study prompted me to be particularly mindful of and sensitive to the risk of enacting the research in a way that could be experienced as a negation of our humanity. By 'our' here I refer specifically to the participants, the research subjects, and myself, the researcher. Attempting to mitigate treating those who were researched - my participants - as 'mere mines of information to be exploited' by me - the researcher - as 'the neutral collector of facts' or 'the observer as an impersonal machine' (England, 1994, p. 84), I exercised on-going critical reflexivity.

The adjective critical is to be understood as radical transformative (see Chapter 3.1.1), reflexivity refers to 'self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of myself as a researcher' (England, 1994, p. 84). Exercising critical reflexivity led me to self-discovery, personal reflections on the influence of my identities and positions in the research; analyses of my reciprocal relations with the participants and how these affected the study; and critical considerations on assumptions, expectations, and boundaries of this study in context (Gemignani, 2016).

I already acknowledged in the introduction (Chapter 1.1) that I embody a set of multiple intersecting identities and subjectivities (white, European, cis het, middle-class, male). While these grant me with significant unearned privileges in relation to most of my nine participants and the large majority of the population that makes up contemporary South Africa and the world at large, I am ignorant of lived experiences of suffering caused by enduring oppression. How I personally identified with and conducted the researcher role (identity) intersected with the ways in which I had to situate myself in relations to power (subjectivity). That is, I was mindful of how I was subjected to/by the forces of academic, societal, and legal conventions, economics, historical conditions, and, generally, the material world, leading me to understand subjectivity as being part of the process that naturalizes my relations to power and my place within them (Stroupe, n.d., para 1).

How then did critical reflexivity enable me to mitigate the risk of conducting this research in a manner that could have dehumanized both the research subjects and the researcher? By remaining critically conscious of, and sensitive to, how unequal relations of power could play out between us, and whenever possible I attempted to level the playing field of our research interactions. I will offer three concrete examples of how this was done.

Firstly, rather than conducting the study by performing the role of researcher and interacting with the participants as acting out their role, I consistently positioned and engaged first and foremost as Frank Kronenberg with them as unique persons in their own right. What I did was to allow the researcher and participant roles to materialize organically, by establishing reciprocal relationships that were based on empathy, mutual respect, and trust, that is, feeling safe with each other. Also, just as I invited them to share of themselves and from their lived experiences, I too disclosed personal content, including the concerns and hopes that had prompted me to do this study, and family related matters, which we discovered was a topic of shared interest. I did not hold back on showing my authentic emotions in response to the experiences that the participants shared. I explicitly acknowledged that they together embodied the main source of knowledge and my role as a

researcher was to honour their contributions by answering the research question and sharing the new knowledge we generated together with the world.

Secondly, whenever this was appropriate and possible, we shared decision-making power. For example, how the core-concept 'humanity' was to be understood; which of the participants' examples would be selected to make up the collective case; how the single case narratives were co-constructed, that the participants had the final say on the contents (member checking); and lastly, that they decided whether a pseudonym (a name of their choice) or their real name would be used.

Thirdly, critical reflexivity allowed me to appreciate that during the initial stages of the study, that is, proposal writing and pre-data gathering and analysis, I was primarily intellectually preoccupied with trying to 'get' how a doctoral study was to be performed. This was also evident in the so called critical conversations that I had invited an experienced peer to conduct with me before embarking on data gathering (see Appendix I). These reflexive sessions had intended but did not really unearth and interrogate my 'hidden' positionalities and assumptions about how these might play out and affect the study. However, such significant self-discovery did occur during the data gathering, analysis, and writing up stages. In retrospect, a number of consecutive critical incidents provoked profound, called-for, meaningful disruptions of the research journey, connecting me with the study's urgency at deeper levels, pushing beyond intellectual engagement, allowing for more visceral and spiritual connectivity with the dehumanized/ing context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa. These incidents – being robbed (twice); witnessing from up-close the UCT students' #RhodesMustFall campaign and its (on-going) consequences; and experiencing deep personal and professional betrayal – are elaborated on in Appendix I – Situating the Researcher. Exercising critical reflexivity enabled me to process these harmful complex experiences in ways that undoubtedly enriched the study's overall findings and thesis. Lastly, these incidents became imposed opportunities to learn what Ramugondo, in the opening quote to this chapter, referred to as 'the language of suffering', a kind of refined interpretation of the saying 'who feels it knows it'. These experiences also pointed to decolonial approaches to doing research, not only to mitigate that such an enterprise may unfold in a dehumanized/ing way, but to enable it to manifest as enacted affirmations of our humanity in its own right (see Chapter 7 - Discussion & Chapter 8 - Conclusion).

## **4.2 Heuristic Research Design: Case Study**

The choice of methodologies and methods and the study's implementation was primarily determined by the research question. I explicitly recognized the phronetic nature of this study's research question 'How are affirmations of humanity enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa?', and asserted that it neither calls for knowledge that is scientific theoretical analytical (episteme), nor purely technical applied scientific knowledge (techne), that is, it does not constitute an instrumental rationality question. Instead, it calls for practical knowledge (phronesis). It was fundamentally an inquiry into values and a relational understanding of power rationality.

This realization anticipated a journey of discovery and hands-on learning, informing and guiding me to consider a heuristic research design most appropriate for answering the research question. Not having a priori thought-through definitive theoretical propositions regarding 'enactments of humanity affirmations' pushed me to be content with the fact that there are no hard theories to prove or contest, believing that learning is certainly possible (Eysenck, 1976). It was a research process that reflected Moustakas' (2001) basic philosophy that 'in every learner, in every person, there are creative sources of energy and meaning that are often tacit, hidden, or denied' (as cited in Hiles, 2001, paragraph 2). I trusted that 'enactments of humanity affirmations' could be empirically researched heuristically, through 'hands-on' discovery, not through a straight-forward rules-based hypothesis approach.

These deliberations led me to adopting VanWynsberghe and Khan's (2007) precise and encompassing redefinition of case study, which reconciles various definitions of case study research: 'case study is a trans-paradigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves the careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected' (p. 80). At its most basic level, heuristic refers to an interactive approach to wondering, learning, discovering, constructing, and curious examining, to find out the essence of the case. A heuristic approach focused my attention, 'locating and constructing the unit of analysis, the phenomenon for which evidence was collected' (VanWynsberghe & Khan, 2007, p. 81).

### **4.2.1 Case research: the power of exemplars**

Instead of using it solely as a methodology or research design per se, as it is often defined (Basse, 1999; Merriam, 1988; Orum, Feagin, & Sjoberg, 1991; Yin, 1994), I appreciated and used 'case study as both a process of inquiry, i.e. methodology about the case, and the product of that inquiry' (Stake, 2008, p. 121). The focus of case study is a 'unit of analysis' or 'bounded system', treating its 'context' as equally important (Stake, 2008). Therefore, more

than a methodological choice, case study was first and foremost a choice of what was to be studied, 'bounded systems'—everyday enactments of humanity affirmations, within a particular context—post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

Case research is particularly suitable for generating data to address “the dynamic question ‘how’ in addition to the more structural ‘why’, concerned with both *verstehen* (understanding) and *erklären* (explaining), to investigate and interpret effects of social phenomena in relation to process” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 136). This speaks to Flyvbjerg’s assertion that “concrete case knowledge is more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals, which cannot be found in the study of human affairs” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 304), and that “the power of example and transferability are underestimated in scientific development, in other words, it is possible to generalize on the basis of single or few cases” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 305). The incidents-embedded instances that were selected to make up this study’s collective case therefore represent storied exemplars of enacted humanity affirmations.

#### **4.2.2 Type: instrumental collective case**

Stake (2008) identifies and appreciates three types of case study: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. An intrinsic case study is undertaken primarily because ‘one intends to generate a better understanding of a particular case, not because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem’ (p. 121). An instrumental case study examines a particular case mainly ‘to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization, that is, the case itself is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role and it facilitates our understanding of something else’ (p. 122). And an instrumental study, extended to a number of cases constitutes a collective case: ‘there is even less interest in one particular case, and several cases may be studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or a general condition’ (p. 123).

During the data collection and analysis stages I struggled a bit to get clarity on the type of case study I was conducting. Stake’s clear conceptual depictions of, and distinctions between, types of case studies ultimately helped me understand and apply my collective case study as pursuing an external instrumental and not an intrinsic interest. However, because case study did not offer tools to access and construct the storied exemplars that were to make up the collective case, narrative inquiry bridged this gap. Narrative interviewing was then used as a tool to identify and co-construct with my participants the instrumental case stories, intimately drawing me into their experienced life worlds. These

interactions organically brought about human connections which I think had ‘caused my mind’ to foreground my participants’ experiences of their particular enactments of humanity affirmations, making it an intrinsic case study. Reading Stake then, helped me to put the process back on the called for instrumental case track. Everyday incidents-embedded instances constitute the collective case. The individual participants’ stories are of secondary interest. They inform knowledge generation about the study’s case under study: everyday enactments of humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa, beyond the particular individual participants’ experiences hereof.

#### **4.2.3 Key-features of case study**

Case study consists of three key-features: boundedness, context, and multiplicity of sources and data collection methods. Each of these features will now be briefly explained and contextualized within this study.

##### ***Boundedness***

Binding of the case is necessary in that it helps put parameters to, and allow for, a detailed examination of a single example or ‘bounded system’, a term coined by Louis Smith (Smith, 1978). Here it is important to distinguish between the bounded system—what the case is about, and the unit of analysis—what it is a case of. Whereas the former had to be framed to allow focused data collection and analysis, the latter emerged from the data, or, borrowing from Stake, *‘you don’t choose the case, the case finds you’* (communication with second co-supervisor Elelwani Ramugondo, 1 December 2016).

A number of authors offered different developmental factors to binding cases, for example binding in spatial, contextual, time, activity, and/or definition terms (Creswell, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake 1995). Flyvbjerg (2011) explains that “a case typically evolves in time, often as a string of concrete and interrelated events that occur ‘at such a time, in such a place,’ and this constitutes the case when seen as a whole” (p. 301). In this study I used a combination of developmental factors to bind the cases: definitions of everyday incidents and particular ‘time-place-activities-actors’ parameters. These were appreciated as ‘slices of people’s everyday lives’ and what they portrayed as instances described where, when, how enacted humanity affirmations had occurred.

### ***Context***

Flyvbjerg (2011) points out that ‘when the parameters for the bounded system have been drawn, it becomes clear to the researcher what gets to count as case and what becomes context to the case’ (p. 301). And Stake (2010) asserts that ‘cases to be studied are situated in particular milieus or embedded in a number of contexts, historical, cultural, physical, and also of interest are the social, economic, political, ethical, aesthetic, and personal’ (p. 127). In this study, the collective case was made up of nine exemplars which were bounded as everyday incidents-embedded instances, geo-historically framed within post 1994 apartheid South Africa. In carrying out this study, juxtapositions of case and context data enabled the selection of the nine exemplars, which were to provide possibilities for encountering resonance: ‘wow, if this happens in this situation, maybe, given that I’m also in a situation like that, I can relate’.

### ***Multiplicity of Data Sources and Collection Methods***

Case study involves the use of a multi-method data collection strategy, gathering information from many different sources. This allows for the generation of detailed, in-depth, rich data, or ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973), on the phenomenon of interest. This resonates with Nietzsche’s (1969) radical point regarding the importance of detail: ‘all the problems of politics, of social organization, and of education have been falsified through and through because one learned to despise “little” things, which means the basic concerns of life itself’ (p. 256). To me this also speaks to the easily overlooked or taken for granted mundane nature of the everyday. The primary data construction method that I used was narrative interviews with nine participants and key-informants (identified by participants), which made the stories that emerged from these interviews the main source of data. Other methods and sources included participants’ reflective journals, multiple documents analysis, and researcher’s notes (Table 4, Section 4.5).

### **4.3 Embedded Narrative Inquiry**

While case study helped frame and situate the collective case of everyday incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations within the context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, to guide information gathering, analysis, and reporting (Stake, 1998) I embedded narrative inquiry as an additional methodological framework (see Figure 5). For Flyvbjerg (2001), ‘narrative inquiries start not from explicit theoretical assumptions but with an interest in a particular phenomenon that is best understood narratively’ (p. 137). This

study's phenomenon was conceptualized as 'enactments of humanity affirmations'. What this neologism was about had to be heuristically informed by tapping into narrative accounts of people's lived experiences.



**Figure 5: Joint-Methodological Frameworks: Collective Case Study and Narrative Inquiry**

#### **4.3.1 A narrative (way of) knowing the case story**

Narrative inquiry seeks to understand human action and experience through stories, based on a belief that human beings live storied lives and that every person has stories to tell (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006; Polkinghorne, 1995). A number of authors recognized narrative as an ancient method and possibly humans' most fundamental form for making sense of experience (MacIntyre, 1984; Mattingly, 1991; Rasmussen, 1995; Ricoeur, 1984). And MacIntyre (1984) regarded human beings as 'story-telling animals' (p. 214), and that 'the notions history and action are equally fundamental' (p. 216).

Following on, Mattingly (1991) considered narratives to 'give meaningful form to experiences we have already lived through and they provide us a forward glance, helping us to anticipate situations even before we encounter them, allowing us to envision alternative futures' (p. 237). And Barret and Stauffer (2009) described a story as 'an account to self and others of people, places, and events and the relationships that hold between these elements' (p. 7). Thus, to access everyday instances which the participants had experienced as affirmations of humanity, involved reflection on past events and the telling of stories about their contextually embedded experiences.

Polkinghorne (1995) explains that narrative inquiry basically offers two methods of investigation, analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. Analysis of narrative collects

participants' stories as data, identifying overall themes or categories which offer insight into the phenomenon under study. Narrative analysis involves data collection of significant events or happenings which after further analysis result in stories (Polkinghorne, 1995).

In this study, I used narrative analysis, firstly, to produce nine storied exemplars (First Level Analysis, Chapter 5), and secondly, to arrive at and unpack the three themes and categories in the instrumental collective case (Second Level Analysis, Chapter 6). Rather than simply generating a reproduction of observations, the purpose of narrative analysis is 'to provide a dynamic framework in which a range of disconnected data elements are made to cohere in an interesting and explanatory way' (Du Preez, 1991, p. 23). In the words of Josselson, in this study narrative was applied to 'seek some understanding of the patterns that cohere among cases and aspects of their protagonists' lived experiences that differentiate' (in Trahar, 2009, p. 6).

Connelly and Clandinin (2006) indicate that 'narrative inquiry requires three dimensions to be simultaneously explored to fully understand the human experience, these are: temporality, sociality, and place' (p. 479). Put differently, the experience of the narrator is embedded in a particular physical and social context, and is time-bound. Considering these three dimensions brings to the fore, key aspects of the participants' experiences: when and where something was done (by and/or to them), and how that had made them feel. Also, Barton (2004) highlights the collaborative nature of narrative inquiry, which manifested in this study in the co-construction of the case narratives between the researcher and the participants. This collaboration simultaneously preserved the participants' ways of knowing whilst allowing other interested parties to obtain a deeper understanding of their experiences.

In summary, it was through participants' narrative accounts of enacted humanity affirmations that understandings of how being human is 'done' within the context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa came about.

#### **4.3.2 Interplay of stories and contexts**

Just as the bounded case and its context are distinguished yet considered to be dynamically related, this interplay also manifests between stories and their context. Throughout the data collection process, I remained sensitive to apparent dehumanized/ing tendencies of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, mindful of how this particular contextual condition may influence the participants' sharing of experiences and the co-constructing of the case stories. One consequence of this impact was that 'the question of being human' appeared to be

either overlooked or taken for granted by some of the participants. But when during the narrative interviews they were offered the opportunity to reflect on and speak to this question, it allowed for discovering or creating meanings where these had either not been sought or expected to have been found, that is, their lived experiences in the context of their own everyday life.

#### 4.4 Selection of Participants and Cases

##### 4.4.1 Maximum variation sampling participants

Recognizing the impossibility of drawing a sample that is representative of the total diversity of contemporary South Africa, to maximize the utility of the gathered data, I chose a purposive (Creswell, 1998, 2007), information-oriented (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 79) maximum variation sampling strategy for selecting participants through whom to access and generate a collective of instrumental cases. A number of key-contacts made recommendations in ‘selecting participants with a specific purpose in mind’ (Neuman, 2006, p. 222). See Table 4 – Summary: Maximum Variation Sampling Participants.

N = 9	Race	Gender	Age	Identified by
1	Black	Male	>30	Colleague of participant in Competition case
2	Black	Female	60+	Exec Director NGO that participant Taking a Bus case attends
3	Black	Female	>30	Academic at university that participant Dressing Up case attends
4	Black	Male	>30	Coordinator Cultural Exchange Project that participant in Welcoming case attends
5	Colored	Female	30-60	Researcher (Bullying)
6	Colored	Male	60+	Fellow poet of participant in Writing case
7	Colored	Male	>30	Prison pastor of participant in Becoming a Tenant case
8	White	Male	30-60	Third supervisor (Speaking Up in Public)
9	White	Female	>30	Third supervisor (Robbery)

**Table 4: Summary: Maximum Variation Sampling Participants**

Although race, gender and age were used as the main categories, the sample of participants embodied additional diversity through the intersectional identities class, nationality, ability status, and sexual orientation.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines intersectionality as ‘the complex, cumulative manner in which the effects of different forms of discrimination (such as racism,

sexism, classism, homophobia, ableism, xenophobia, ageism) combine, overlap, or intersect' (Merriam-webster, n.d). In other words, oppressive ideologies do not operate in isolation from each other but different kinds of prejudice can be amplified in various ways when they are embodied together, as experienced by marginalized people or groups. Critical reflexivity guided me in the process of co-constructing and analyzing case stories with the participants, most of whom embodied intersecting disadvantages, positioning them at a higher risk of being dehumanized and harmed by compounding forms of discrimination. For example: John and Denzel, the protagonists in *'Speaking Up in Public'* are quadriplegic males. While they shared disadvantaging disability and privileging cis-gender identities, John (white, middle class suburb) admits that Denzel (coloured, low income township) would be like him if he had his access to resources. In the *'Welcoming'* case, Alice and Hatungimana (and I, the researcher) are foreigners in South Africa. However, Alice (like me) is a white educated immigrant from Europe and Hatungimana is a black refugee without matric from a war-torn country in Central Africa. He suffered xenophobia, Alice did not (and neither did I). And a third example, in *'Dressing Up'*, Nomhlaba embodied the combined intersectional identities of black, cis-female, lesbian, and working class, exposing her to racism, gender/sexism, homophobia, and classism.

#### **4.4.2 Criteria for recruitment of participants**

Recruitment of participants was guided by a set of four basic criteria.

- 1) Reside in the metropolitan City of Cape Town (for logistical convenience)
- 2) Have lived for a minimum of 5 years in post 1994 South Africa (the particular geo-historical context of the cases)
- 3) Have an intrinsic motivation to share their lived experiences and a willingness to keep a diary and/or make other relevant life documents available
- 4) Have the ability to reflect on and to communicate their experiences and thoughts

Participants whose mother tongue or preferred first language was not English were given the option of involving a translator. None of them however opted to do so.

#### **4.4.3 Recruitment strategy and gaining access**

After being granted ethical approval (Appendix II – HREC REF: 552/2012), I implemented the strategy to recruit and gain access to the participants. Guided by maximum diversity

sampling and by tapping into my social networks (Table 4), a number of well positioned individuals (key-contacts) were asked to recommend and connect me with participants who met the selection criteria. I had originally aimed to recruit between six and nine participants. Ultimately, I collaborated with nine individuals due to the positive regard that was established during the first encounters and because the experiences that each of them shared were relevant, rich, and diverse.

To avoid coercion, I first contacted the participants in an identical manner using a *Recruitment Script* (Appendix III) over the phone, and when possible via email. A hard copy of a brief *Information Sheet* (Appendix IV), which outlined the main purpose of the study was also provided. Some of the participants required me to further explain some aspects of the study when we met in person.

I was sensitive to the fact that the interview process would heavily rely on trust and relationship building. Once they had agreed to participate, *Informed Consent Forms* were signed (Appendix V) and meeting dates were set up with each participant for the initial set of interviews. Apart from getting a feel for each other, the first encounters intended to explain the topic and get an idea of how questions had to be pitched in order to elicit story-telling.

#### **4.4.4 Sampling and selection criteria for the cases**

The units of analysis in this collective case were not the participants but everyday incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations that had emerged from narrative interviews with the participants. As Flyvbjerg (2001) had pointed out, ‘one can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and formal generalization as a source of scientific development is overvalued, whereas the power of the good example is underestimated’ (p. 77). This study intended to appeal and speak to most if not all people who live in contemporary South Africa (referred to as ‘readers’ below), recognizing that they are differently and unequally affected by the dehumanized/ing tendencies of its post 1994 apartheid societal condition (see Chapter 2.1). The following criteria were used to select cases that I thought a diversity of readers would identify with, because:

- 1) Readers themselves have a lived experience similar to the ones shared by the participants;
- 2) Readers know someone close to them who had such a lived experience;
- 3) If readers continue to live in South Africa, the probability that either they themselves or someone close to them will have such an experience is relatively high. In other words, the power of the instances to serve as ‘generalizable good examples’ significantly hinges on their narratives’ resonance potential for the readers.

#### 4.5 Data Gathering Methods

Following case study design, data gathering was carried out using multiple methods and sources: narrative interviewing with participants (audio-recorded and transcribed), participants' reflective journals; in-depth interviews with key-informants identified by participants; multiple documents review; and researcher's notes (Table 5). How each of these methods was understood and applied is explained in the sections below.

METHODS	SOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Narrative interviewing participants	Narrative accounts participants	Gain access to, co-construct and analyze participants' storied experiences of enacted humanity affirmations and factors that enabled or constrained these (storied exemplars)
In-depth interviews with key-informants	Narrative data key-informants	
Participants' reflective journals	Participants' reflections (on their enacted humanity affirmations)	
Multiple documents review	Internet pages, publications, journal articles, government reports, statistics, video-material	Situating the storied exemplars in the macro-context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa
Researcher's notes	Researcher's observations and reflections	Enrich the narratives and contextualizations of the cases

**Table 5: Data Gathering Methods – Sources – Objectives**

The overall data gathering process, including member-checking, took place over a period of two years (see Table 6). This was longer than I had originally planned. Two unanticipated events contributed to this delay: requiring formal permission from the Department of Correctional Services to gain access to and interview key-informants (further explained below); and two robberies, during which my laptop, iPhone, external hard-drive and hard-copy materials got taken. These media contained data that were lost and had to be collected anew.

YEAR	ACTIVITIES
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethical approval</li> <li>- Pilot interview</li> <li>- Participant recruitment</li> <li>- Initial interviews with participants</li> <li>- Participants record reflections in journal</li> <li>- Interviews with key-informants</li> <li>- Collection of documents from various sources</li> <li>- Application to DCS requesting permission to conduct research</li> </ul>
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conditional approval DCS</li> <li>- Second round of interviews</li> <li>- Third round of interviews</li> </ul>
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Member checking</li> <li>- Multiple documents reviews</li> <li>- Review of researcher's notes</li> </ul>

**Table 6: Data Collection Activities**

During the early stage of data collection, one participant shared an instance which involved two individuals who had been sentenced at correctional facilities. The participant and I regarded them as key-informants who could add significant insights and layers to the case. This called for an amendment of the original research proposal which then required renewed approval from both the scientific and the ethics committees at the University of Cape Town. Additionally, in order to gain interview access, assuming they were open to this, I had to formally request permission from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) in Pretoria. Government officials from the DCS had warned me at that time that I would have to 'live with great uncertainty' regarding how long this process might take and whether permission might be granted at all. However, given the particular nature of this study, I was committed to making sure that I would do all I could to allow the voices of the two offenders to be heard and inform the findings. In the end, this whole process delayed the overall data gathering process by about half a year. The delay was both right and well worth it.

#### **4.5.1 Narrative interviewing with participants**

The basic idea of narrative interviewing is 'to reconstruct social events from the perspective of informants as directly as possible' (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p. 4). I deemed this method appropriate and useful for this study to elicit detailed information about the participants' experiences and views regarding everyday enacted humanity affirmations within the context of post 1994 South Africa. In preparing for conducting the narrative interviews, I drew from an adapted version of Bauer's (1996) five phases: preparing the interview, initialization, main narration, questioning phase and small talk.

During the *preparation phase*, I formulated trigger questions which Wengraf called ‘*single questions*’ (Wengraf, 2004), focusing on what Gremler framed as ‘critical incidents’ (Gremler, 2004). Their purpose is to elicit rich storied lived experiences of the informants as they choose to tell them. I had piloted a set of ‘trigger questions’ with two individuals who also matched the selection criteria. For example: ‘*Can you tell me about any daily life situations post 1994, when you were treated like a human being?*’, ‘*Between 1994 and today, do you remember any instances, when you were made to feel like a human being [...] when you were respected for the person you are?*’ What I learned from this pilot helpfully informed how I went about conducting the narrative interviews with the participants. What happened after asking a single trigger question, instead of responding more or less directly, the interviewees started talking more generally about themselves and their lives within the given time period. As I allowed for this free sharing, and listened with my more familiar understanding of the research question, I was able to hear content that the interviewee may not directly relate to enacted humanity affirmations but which to me pointed to everyday instances that matched the selection criteria. At such moments, I only briefly interjected, asking ‘hold on...rewind a bit...can you tell me a bit more about [something in particular]?’

In the *initialization phase*, I used examples to support the participant in getting a picture of the topic (Bauer, 1996) and participants’ experiences of enactments of humanity affirmations in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

During the *main narration phase*, instead of interrupting my participants, I attempted to pay attention and encourage their narration to reach a natural end through non-verbal gestures. I only interfered in the participants as they shared their experiences, to probe for obtaining more clarity during the phase when immanent questions were asked (Bauer, 1996).

During the finalizing small talk stage, when the micro-recorder had been turned off, I brought the interview sessions to a close with more relaxed conversation. It has been acknowledged that additionally important information may have arisen from such interaction (Bauer, 1996). Therefore, immediately after the interviews had been terminated, I consistently documented what was shared during this final stage in my researcher’s notes. These then also added to rich descriptions when constructing the participants’ stories.

All nine participants were interviewed between 3 and 5 times (37 in total), because time-investments varied for the data gathered to reach a saturation level, that is, to allow co-constructions of coherent, in-depth single case stories. The interviews took place at many different locations, always determined by the criterion of convenience to the participants

(e.g. their home, work place, a restaurant, a public park, an NGO site, a university campus, a mall). The effective length of the interviews varied between about 30 minutes and 2 hours. This was determined by a mix of factors, including participants' availability of time and their readiness to share, and unanticipated interruptions or influences beyond our control.

The interviews were all audio-recorded and I took notes on topics they referred to using the key-words they used. I also jotted down my own observations and thoughts, during the interview as well as immediately after, sometimes including a debriefing session which was not audio-recorded.

#### **4.5.2 Participants' reflective journals**

During the overall period of data gathering, participants were provided with blank (A5) journals and asked to document weekly any research relevant memories of experiences, thoughts, and/or questions they had in between our interviews. Initially, to assist with reflecting and recording, a set of narrative trigger questions had been provided, such as: *When do you feel treated as a human being or what makes you feel respected and valued as a human being, for example, in your home or community environment, work place or generally in South African society?* I collected and reviewed these documents ahead of the interviews, which allowed them to inform and guide the data which was increasingly focused data gathering, analysis, and co-constructions of the case narratives. Although all the participants had initially agreed to journaling, two of the nine struggled with this task, one due to suffering episodes of mental epilepsy and the other to lacking the discipline of writing, preferring to share experiences orally.

#### **4.5.3 In-depth interviews with key-informants**

In some of the selected cases, when it became clear who the protagonists in these everyday incidents-embedded instances were, the participants identified some key-informants to be interviewed so as to inform and add breadth and depth to the stories under construction. Table 7 provides an overview of these key-informants.

#	CASES	KEY-INFORMANTS
1	<b>Becoming a Tenant</b>	Girlfriend Roommate Rental agency staff (2)
2	<b>Robbery</b>	Ex-Boyfriend Offenders (2) Department of Correctional Services Officials (2) Criminal law experts (2)
3	<b>Speaking Up in Public</b>	Person with a disability Mother of child with a disability
4	<b>Welcoming</b>	Hosts (2)
5	<b>Writing</b>	Singer, composer

**Table 7: Overview Key-Informants**

These in-depth interviews were held when the case narratives had significantly taken shape. The participants' stories under construction were then shared with key-informants who were then invited to speak to them (unstructured interview approach) from how they had experienced the incidents-embedded instances. It was unfortunately not possible to also interview the protagonists in the cases '*Bullying*': the Muslim sister at madrasah the participant had defended, and the Muslim sisters who had bullied her; '*Competition*': members of the jury; '*Dressing Up*': the supermarket customer who became a friend; and lastly, '*Taking a Bus*': other grannies the participant had enjoyed social interaction with. This was not possible as access to these people was restricted, either because their whereabouts were not known, or because they no longer lived in Cape Town.

#### **4.5.4 Multiple documents review**

After the everyday incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations had taken shape, the way they were named and framed then guided me to explore, identify, and review a multiplicity of documents. My inductive approach meant that documents surfaced as important through the in-depth interviews, and thus were not predetermined. This review allowed the gathering and analysis of secondary data (internet pages, publications, journal articles, government reports, statistics, and video-material), that is, data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose (Smith et al, 2011). This data was used primarily to construct the situated contextualizations ('Shackles Snapshots') for each of the nine case stories, characterizing 'post 1994 apartheid South Africa', and for the continued in-depth analysis of previous data sets (Fielding, 2004).

The criteria for selecting data from a multiplicity of document sources that I used were that they had to speak to the particular incidents-embedded instances and substantiate the dehumanized/ing condition of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, as explained in the ‘Occupational Appraisal I’ (Chapter 2.1.2). Whereas Table 5 (Section 4.5) indicates which document sources were used and their objectives, Table 8 gives examples of different kinds of documents that were reviewed, and a brief description of the types of data that were analyzed in relation to which cases. For an overview of all the documents that were reviewed and analyzed to inform the ‘Shackles Snapshots’, see Appendix XI.

DOCUMENTS	DATA
National Planning Commission, Diagnostic Overview (2011). Online: <a href="http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/npc_diagnostic_overview.pdf">http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/npc_diagnostic_overview.pdf</a>	Data indicating how spatial legacy of Apartheid still marginalizes the poor (Taking a Bus)
Peté (2015). Penal Discourse and Imprisonment in South Africa: PhD Thesis. Online: <a href="http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/13141/Pet%C3%A9_Stephen_Allister_2015_Vol.2.pdf?sequence=2&amp;isAllowed=y">http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/13141/Pet%C3%A9_Stephen_Allister_2015_Vol.2.pdf?sequence=2&amp;isAllowed=y</a>	Data indicating long record of repetitively failing penal system in South Africa (Becoming a Tenant & Robbery)
Statistics SA (2016). Quarterly Labour Force Survey Quarter 1: 2016. Online: <a href="http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02111stQuarter2016.pdf">http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02111stQuarter2016.pdf</a>	Statistics regarding very high rate of unemployment, particularly among the youth (Competition)
Statistics SA (2014) Poverty Trends in South Africa: An examination of absolute poverty between 2006 and 2011 Online: <a href="http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-06/Report-03-10-06March2014.pdf">http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-06/Report-03-10-06March2014.pdf</a>	Statistical figures regarding perverse (and growing) levels of income inequality (Bullying)
Davids, Van Wyk, Khumalo & Jablonski (2016). The phenomenon of skin lightening: Is it right to be light? South African Journal of Science. Online: <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/sajs.2016/20160056">http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/sajs.2016/20160056</a>	Research on skin-lightening: why it is done, side-effects of products, worth of the industry that fuels it (Dressing Up)
AfricaCheck (2017). FACTSHEET: South Africa's 2015/16 crime statistics Online: <a href="https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-south-africas-201516-crime-statistics/">https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-south-africas-201516-crime-statistics/</a>	Statistics on robbery crime (Robbery)
Eastwood, V. (2013). Bigger than the army: South Africa's private security forces. CNN. Online: <a href="http://edition.cnn.com/2013/02/08/business/south-africa-private-security">http://edition.cnn.com/2013/02/08/business/south-africa-private-security</a>	Data evidencing a booming private security industry against a backdrop of a failing criminal justice system (Robbery)
Watermeyer, B. (2013). Silencing lives of struggle: how Disabled People South Africa has sacrificed the politics of protest. Online: <a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-09-19-silencing-lives-of-struggle-how-disabled-people-south-africa-has-sacrificed-the-politics-of-protest">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-09-19-silencing-lives-of-struggle-how-disabled-people-south-africa-has-sacrificed-the-politics-of-protest</a>	Data exposing how the voice of people with disabilities has been gradually lost (Speaking Up in Public)
Hiroopoulos, A. (2015). Stats needed to shed light on SA's xenophobic violence. AfricaCheck, African Centre for Migration and Society Online: <a href="https://africacheck.org/2015/09/22/comment-stats-needed-to-shed-light-on-sas-xenophobic-violence/">https://africacheck.org/2015/09/22/comment-stats-needed-to-shed-light-on-sas-xenophobic-violence/</a>	Data informing a need for collecting statistical data to get a better idea of xenophobic violence in South Africa (Welcoming)
SA History Online (2017). The challenges of the written word. SA History Online-Towards a People's History. Online: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/challenges-written-word">http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/challenges-written-word</a>	Data regarding black history of the written word Decidedly Held in Check (Writing)

**Table 8: Examples of Documents Reviewed and Data Analyzed**

#### 4.4.5 Researcher's notes

The researcher's notes included a record (mostly as iPhone notes and audio-recordings) of my own observations and reflections regarding interactions with participants and key-informants, and more generally on-going thinking about the whole research process. These notes have probably been my closest ‘sparring partner’, given that note taking allowed me to express unconditionally anything that was on my mind at any given moment, and which could always be revisited. These notes have significantly helped decision-making in the shaping and re-shaping of this research and the writing up of the report. Unfortunately, some of the earlier records got lost during the first robbery. I had hoped that they had been saved in the iCloud but they were not.

## 4.6 Data Transformation

### 4.6.1 Narrative analysis of the embedded cases

As briefly referred to under data gathering, I analyzed data through narrative analysis, generating 'emplotted narratives' (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15). My role as researcher was to co-construct a plot that linked the incidents shared by participants in their interviews, thereby attributing meaning to them in fulfilling a purpose or reaching a goal. Underscoring the complementariness of case study and narrative inquiry, I had to ensure that the collected data were indeed relevant to the phenomenon under investigation, which Polkinghorne (1995) also referred to as 'a bounded system of study' (p. 15). In other words, I had to delineate clearly what the case is about, namely, everyday incidents of enacted humanity affirmations in the dehumanized/ing context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

Given that the incidents that were shared occurred in the past (period 1994 to date), the stories were generated retrospectively. I had come to appreciate the rather open-ended nature of the main research question and the set of initial trigger questions that derived from it. This led me to allow the participants to initially speak more generally about themselves and their lives post 1994. What helped with the identification of the cases and then the emplotment of narratives, was to conceptualize the notion 'everyday' as 'incidents' and, embedded within them, the phrase 'enacted humanity affirmations' as 'instances', geo-historically contextualized in post 1994 apartheid South Africa (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Incidents-Embedded Instances within Context

In addition to this organizing framework for bounding the case in context (interrelated meso—incidents, micro—instances, and macro—geo-historical levels),

narrative fictional techniques further guided the dynamic iterative process of gathering and analyzing data. Fictional techniques were also used to help the reader to better understand the case stories, to provide deeper meaning, use imagination to visualize situations, and put themselves in the shoes of the protagonists. Basically, these techniques are literary elements such as the setting, plot (sequence of events, i.e. backstory, flashback, flash-forward, and foreshadowing), theme, characters, perspective or voice of who is telling the story (first person, second person, third person close, and third person omniscient) and style of structure (Warner, 2017). This combination of analytical tools helped with configuring the happenings that were shared by the participants into plots. Polkinghorne (1995) described a plot as 'a narrative structure through which people understand and describe the relationship amongst the events and choices in their lives' (p. 16).

As the plots of the contextualized incidents-embedded instances began to take form, what aspects were relevant gradually became more apparent. Happenings that participants and researcher did not consider critical for the development of the plot were then excluded. This meant the stories generated were given coherence, order, and meaningfulness, organizing them into wholes.

What served as an exemplar of how to use fictional techniques in writing up the nine individual case narratives, was a short story from Malcolm Gladwell's book "Blink" ('Tragedy on Wheeler Avenue' in the chapter 'Seven Seconds in the Bronx: The Delicate Art of Mind Reading' (Gladwell, 2005, p 242-244). This captivating and thought provoking story attempts to integrate multiple points of views of various 'characters', providing a rich contextualization of the place.

#### **4.6.2 Documents analysis**

In addition to reviewing documents as a supplementary data gathering method which also informed the construction of the participants' narratives, this eclectic data source was primarily used to inform situated contextualizations ('Shackles Snapshots') of the nine single cases (also see Tables 7 & 10, and Appendix XI).

Document analysis also involved an iterative process of superficial examination (skimming), thorough examination (reading), and selecting relevant content (interpretation) (Bowen, 2009). I combined elements of both content and thematic analysis. Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain that content analysis to entail a first-pass document review, to identify meaningful and relevant passages of text, basically to separate them from data that are not pertinent.

Thematic analysis on the other hand constituted ‘a form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis’ (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 4).

The purpose of analysing data from the multiple documents was to inform contextualizations of each of the nine exemplars of everyday enacted humanity affirmations that makes each occurrence remarkable. In other words, considering the macro-level structural conditions that these contextualizations refer to, what happened becomes more significant. Thus, firstly, the overall focus was on structure-agency constraints, and secondly, I used the now framed incidents-embedded instances to close-in on more specific contents in the documents.

#### **4.6.3 Data management and levels of analysis**

Data gathered for the collective of nine single cases was recorded, indexed, and stored in preparation for analysis. This data included:

- Raw materials, composed of audio-recordings of interviews with participants and key-informants (voice-memos on iPhone)
- Entries from participants’ reflective journals (Word docs)
- Researcher’s field-notes, on-going observations and reflections (iPhone)
- Partially processed information, made up of interview transcriptions and all versions of write-ups (Word docs)
- Collection of documents, mostly downloaded from internet (PDF docs)
- Social media exchanges with participants and key-informants (WhatsApp & Facebook)

See Table 9 – Data Management at Three Levels of Analysis. As suggested by Creswell (1998) and Miles and Huberman (1994), an index system was developed specifying all types of data gathered and analyzed (processed), keeping back-up copies at different data storage devices.

<b>Level 1</b>	<b>Identify Select Highlight</b>	Potential Content in Nine Transcripts Cases Conceptualized as Everyday Incidents-Embedded Instances Most Relevant Content in Transcripts
	<b>Comparing &amp; Reflecting</b>	Co-Construction of Case Narratives, Using Fictional Writing Techniques Identify Key-Constraints ('Shackles'), Construct Snapshot-Contextualizations
<b>Level 2</b>	<b>Comparing &amp; Reflecting</b>	Across Nine Case Narratives Set of 'Elements of Circumstance Questions' revealed 'Constant Features' Conceptualization Agency-Structure revealed 'Enablers & Constraints' Use of 'Phronetic Quote' revealed 'Implication Core-Constructs'
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Theorizing Findings</b>	From Critical Interpretations of Phronesis and Ubuntu—Showing an Expansion and Complexification of Interrelated Core-Constructs

**Table 9: Data Management at Three Levels of Analysis**

In line with the proposed actions in this study's objectives, the process of transforming the gathered data involved three subsequent steps: illumination/description (making visible), unpacking/analysis (fleshing out), and analysis/interpretation (interpreting) at three subsequent levels: within the nine case narratives (First Level), across the collective case (Second Level) and theorization, thesis building (Third Level). How this was done will now be elaborated on in the sub-sections below. The intent behind data transformation was to present the cases in such a way as to evidence both their plausibility and remarkability. By this I meant that the exemplars' persuasiveness on the one hand relied on their believability, and on the other hand, that rather than outliers, that they reflected strikingly commonplace occurrences, anticipated to resonate widely within South Africa's diverse populations.

	<b>Level 1 Analysis</b>	<b>Level 2 Analysis</b>	<b>Level 3 Analysis</b>
<b>AIMS</b>	<b>Selection &amp; Construction of Case Narratives &amp; Within-Case Analysis</b>	<b>Across-Case Analysis</b>	<b>Theorizing</b>
<b>LENSES</b>	Everyday Incidents (Component A) Instances (Component B) Context Constraints (Component C)	'Constant Features' Adapted Questions (Hermagoras of Temnos, 1 <sup>st</sup> Century BC) 'Enablers & Constraints' Conceptualization Agency-Structure (Sewell, 1992; Archer, 2004) 'Phronetic Quote' (Maya Angelou, 1928-2014)	Grounding: Critical contemporary interpretations of phronesis & ubuntu 'Southern' conceptualizations: Human Occupation & Health Pre-Study Major Study (Swedberg, 2012) Continuum: 'Humanity—Occupation—Health' (Kronenberg et al, 2015)
<b>OUTCOMES</b>	<b>Nine Storied Exemplars</b>	<b>Three Themes &amp; Sub-Themes</b>	<b>Thesis</b> 'Epistemologies from the South', Santos, 2007 Occupational Apartheid, Kronenberg & Pollard, 2004 Occupational Consciousness, Ramugondo, 2015 Collective Occupations, Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013

**Table 10: Overview of Aims, Lenses, Outcomes of Three Levels of Analysis**

#### 4.5.3.1 First level analysis

The first level of analysis constituted an iterative process of three consecutive steps of decision-making:

- 1) selection of exemplars
- 2) co-construction of exemplar-narratives
- 3) within case-analysis of the exemplar narratives

Each case was composed of three interwoven components A, B, and C respectively describing the everyday incidents (meso), the instances (micro), and the context (macro).

Table 11 situates the nine selected cases in terms of how their chosen titles are to be understood and how they were bounded (where did it 'begin' and 'end' and 'who was involved').

#	Names of Cases	How Names of Cases Were Understood	How Cases Were Bounded
1	Becoming a Tenant	'Becoming a Tenant': the process that a person has to successfully navigate. This typically involves following a formal application process and adhering to a set of property letting policy criteria. A 'tenant' is a person who occupies land or property rented from a landlord.	It 'begins' with the main protagonist and his girlfriend deciding that they wish to live together in the apartment at the rental complex where she and a colleague of hers were already tenants. It 'ends' with the completion of the formal application process to get him added to the occupants' lease from the rental company.
2	Bullying	'Bullying': a distinctive pattern of deliberately, repeatedly harming and humiliating others, specifically those who are in some way smaller, weaker, younger or in any way more vulnerable or of lesser power than the bully. Bullies are made, not born.	This case 'begins' with [Fatimah] attending her weekly Islamic study group at Madrasah, where she meets and over time befriends a local Muslim sister. And it 'ends' with [Fatimah] defending her against belittling commentary by fellow study group members.
3	Competition	'Competition': a contest between rivals. In this case the act or process of competing occurs within the context of a series of auditions, consisting of a practical demonstration of a candidate's suitability and skill to 'win' a paid for opportunity to perform at a global sports event.	It 'begins' with the performer having learned about a 'job opportunity'. He then registers for auditioning, receives an invitation, goes to the theatre, performs, hears out and responds to the jury's feedback and judgment. It 'ends' with him leaving the theatre.
7	Taking a Bus	'Taking a Bus': making use of a particular means of motorized road based state subsidized public transport to reach a destination of choice. A bus allows for a higher number of passengers to be mobile together at one time.	It 'begins' with the protagonist's intention, why she wants to take a bus, followed by when and to where. The journey undertaken consists of a joint round-trip (protagonist and researcher) to a major shopping mall, from home to home.
8	Welcoming	'Welcoming': offering hospitality, involving hosts and guests, especially in one's home. However, hospitality stems from the Latin root word 'hostis', which can mean guests or friends but also enemy, foreigner or stranger. The latter negative meanings might instead invite 'hostility'.	It 'begins' with the launch of a pilot cultural orientation program by an organization that fosters integration between migrants, refugees and South Africans. It 'ends' with the protagonists, a host couple and their guest, last encounter at the hosts' home. The case covers a 'cycle' of six encounters during the a 20 months period.
9	Writing	'Writing': understood broadly as expressing ideas, experiences, opinions through textual means. Although one can 'write' solely for oneself, this study primarily focuses on 'writing' with an audience in mind, 'writing' intended to be read by others. 'Writing' requires literacy, that is, the ability to read and write.	It 'begins' with a reader's first encounter with the writer's work. This inspired her wish to write music to words of others, prompting her to personally ask the writer's permission to use his poems. It 'ends' with handing over of a copy of the final mix of an music album that used the writer's work.
4	Dressing Up	'Dressing Up': understood broadly as a deliberate intent to look one's best, ultimately to feel good about oneself. Whereas most everyone enacts the daily ritual of getting dressed, 'dressing up' takes this act to another level. One may wish to 'fit in' or rather, to 'stand out' with one's looks.	Two distinct 'dressing up' incidents are presented, respectively 'beginning' when protagonist is selected to feature in her supermarket's 40 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary advert, and when she is a student at university. The case 'ends' with the protagonist's reflections on responses to how she 'dressed up'.
5	Robbery	'Robbery': a robbery occurs when armed perpetrators threaten or use violence against their victims in order to steal their belongings. Robberies are also referred to as 'violent property crimes' (South African Police Service).	A broad interpretation of 'beginning' and 'end' of the case and who were involved was used. It starts with the lead-up to the actual confrontation between 'perpetrators' and 'victims'. It 'ends' with the perpetrators having been caught, put on trial and serving their sentence, and the victims finding some closure.
6	Speaking Up in Public	'Speaking Up in Public': speaking one's mind, freely expressing one's support for someone or something; speaking out about a public issue. 'In public' means 'not private; open to or affecting or concerning the people as a whole', in this case, advocating for the needs and rights of people living with disabilities in South Africa.	It 'begins' with an invitation to attend a consultation meeting and it 'ends' with the response by another participant to the main protagonist after he had spoken up and just before he left to go home. The opportunities that resulted from this 'speaking up in public', particularly in relation to their implications for health, will also be regarded as part of the case.

Table 11: Overview Names, Conceptualizations and Bounding of Cases

The criteria for case selection were used (see Section 4.4.4), guiding the researcher and participants to jointly identify from a range of examples which cases were most suitable. These were then provisionally named in terms that would reflect everyday incidents with which a diversity of people who live in South Africa would be able to identify (component A). Data gathering then proceeded in a more focused way and allowed bounding the cases and getting an initial idea of their particular situated contexts. Application of fictional writing techniques helped with the co-construction of the case narratives.

Guiding within-case analysis, allowing identification and provisional naming/framing of the instances of enacted humanity affirmations, was the question, 'what was experienced in relation to what was done in the incidents' (component B). The order in which most participants appeared to remember incidents-embedded instances informed the order of foregrounding the experience of affirmations, before the unpacking of the enactments.

Lastly, the researcher used the conceptualizations of the incidents-embedded instances to guide the identification and gathering of data that then informed the so called 'Shackles Snapshot' (constraints), illustrations of the dehumanized/ing context in which the cases unfolded. For example, *'Taking a Bus'*—everyday incident; 'Freedom of Movement & Social Interaction'—instance of enacted humanity affirmation; and 'Spatial Legacy of Apartheid Still Marginalizes the Poor'—context 'Shackle Snapshot' (component C).

#### 4.5.3.2 *Second level analysis*

The main research question and sub-question provided the main frame through which more specific questions were generated to guide the across-case analysis, allowing for the emergence of a collective story of enacted humanity affirmations in the everyday dehumanized/ing context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa.

To analyze content relevant to the study's first objective—to illuminate, unpack, and analyze everyday enactments of humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa—I focused on what appeared as 'constant features' in experiences and doings across the nine case stories. The locus 'constant features' was operationalized in terms of what the Greek rhetorician Hermagoras of Temnos had defined as 'elements of circumstance' (Vollgraff, 1948, p. 257), basically asking who, what, when, where, why, in what way, by what means questions. Thus, what had helped me to spot and highlight the constant features across nine everyday incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations was the following set of 'elements of circumstance' questions:

- What appeared to be their nature?

- By whom were they done and experienced?
- What constituted them?
- Why and how often did they come about?
- And lastly, when and where enactments took place and affirmations were felt and who were reached and impacted by what was done?

To analyze content relevant to the second objective—to illuminate, unpack, and analyze factors pertaining to agency and structure, and their interactions, which enable and constrain everyday enactments of humanity affirmations, I used a combination of Sewell's (1992) and Archer's (2004) conceptual understandings of agency—structure as analytical lenses to help describe and interpret embodied—embedded enablers of the enacted humanity affirmations across the case narratives. Archer (2004) may regard the enabling factors to be 'causal powers proper to agency itself [...] that human beings have the powers of critical reflection upon their social context and of creatively redesigning their social environment, its institutional or ideational configurations, or both' (p. 306). What is foregrounded are person and structure related factors that seem to have shaped case narratives' actors' capacities 'to disrupt and transpose cultural schemas' (Sewell, 1992) that dominate post 1994 apartheid South Africa (also see Chapter 2) and '(re)mobilize resources' (Sewell, 1992) in ways that allowed for enactments of humanity affirmations to come about. These were then juxtaposed with constraints, presented as 'shackles snapshots' across the case narratives.

And lastly, analysis of data in response to the third objective—to illuminate, unpack, and analyze how the human occupation and health relationship is implicated in enactments of humanity affirmations. The intent was to explore the conceptual goodness of fit between the findings generated by the main research question *and* the 'southern' conceptualizations of human occupation, health and their symbiotic relationship. What strongly guided my analysis were data consistently foregrounded in all of the nine case stories, participants talking about vivid memories of how they felt about something that had been done to them. I then serendipitously encountered the following quote, oftentimes attributed to the late African-American author, poet, and civil rights activist Maya Angelou: *'I have learned that people will forget what you said. People will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel'* (Angelou, 2014). I found it relevant and useful for two reasons: firstly, it appears that phronesis constituted the main source that shaped her learning, and; secondly, this quote captures an accessible, powerful pointer to appreciating how a salutogenic orientation of health is implicated in the enacted humanity affirmations.

#### 4.5.3.3 Third level analysis

The aim of the third and final level of data analysis was to inform the study's thesis building, centrally involving theorization. To guide this process, I drew from Swedberg (2012), who regarded the act of theorizing as 'deeply personal in the sense that you can only theorize well by doing it yourself and drawing on your own experiences and resources' (p. 2). He encouraged researchers to theorize their own empirical work, rather than to use others' ideas, or to confirm one's pre-existing ideas (also see Section 4.2 – Heuristic Research Design). His suggestion also made sense in light of the phronetic nature of the research question, calling for a practical knowledge. Hence I used his general structure of the process and basic rules of theorizing.

Swedberg (2012) conceptualized the theorizing process as consisting of two phases, an early imaginative 'Pre-Study' phase of theorizing or discovery, followed by a 'Major Study' phase or justification' (p. 9). I had not entered the research process with a clearly theorized idea of what I was looking for, but rather with an intuitive sense of it, trusting that 'it exists', and driven by a sense of urgency and passion that it must be found and uncovered, accepting the risk of being mistaken.

However, throughout, theorizing was grounded in *critical soil*, which kept me alert of when and how historically perpetuated unequal relations of power played out in the case stories; *phronesis* allowed seeing when protagonists made value judgments, determining how they were to act in particular instances; and *Ubuntu* enabled me to identify a core feature across all cases and to see how a 'southern' conceptualization of human occupation and health was implicated in the everyday enacted humanity affirmations.

I proceeded by following Swedberg's (2012) general strategy that 'empirical data should ultimately drive the theorizing process, hence, going from facts to ideas and theory' (p. 7). For example, Table 12 illustrates how this iterative process unfolded in the shaping of the research question. The conceptual refinements of key-constructs in the research question were informed by understandings which had evolved gradually between the pre-proposal-stage (2010) until the finalization-stage of the manuscript (2017).

2010	<b>Being human</b> in South Africa today, how is it done? (pre-proposal)
2011	What <b>deeds of others</b> do people who live in South Africa (across the racial divides) experience as <b>affirming their humanity</b> ?
2012	How does <b>our humanity</b> become <b>affirmed in everyday life</b> in the context of <b>post-apartheid</b> South Africa? (approved masters proposal) How does our humanity become affirmed and <b>enacted</b> in everyday life in the context of post-apartheid South Africa? (upgraded doctoral proposal)
2014	How is our humanity affirmed and enacted in everyday life in post-apartheid South Africa?
2015	How is humanity affirmed and enacted in everyday life in <b>neo-apartheid</b> South Africa?
2016	How are <b>affirmations of humanity enacted</b> in <b>everyday</b> neo-apartheid South Africa
2017	How are affirmations of humanity enacted in everyday <b>post 1994 apartheid</b> South Africa?

**Table 12: Theorizing: Evolution of Main Research Question**

While Swedberg (2012) suggested that ‘one needs to proceed beyond knowing rules to develop a skill in theorizing’, he offers four preliminary rules ‘to bring the context of discovery’ into a theorizing process’ (p. 17). I will briefly name these rules and how I applied them in this study.

***Rule 1: Observe and Choose Something Interesting***

The narrative interviews with participants and in-depth interviews with key-contacts deeply immersed me in empirical material. I had already conducted a ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ (Chapter 2.1) of the context, which made me aware of the dehumanized/ing condition that post 1994 South Africa continues to be occupied by. And the stories shared brought to the fore experiences and occurrences that spoke to the research topic. However, what was required was appropriate language to name and conceptualize them.

***Rule 2: Name and Formulate the Central Concepts***

Grounded in critical interpretations of phronesis and *Ubuntu*, I conceptualized experiences as ‘affirmations’ and doings as ‘enactments’ of humanity (in the trigger question referred to as ‘being human’). And the ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ and the review of public and professional discourses (Chapter 2) urged and justified ‘southern’ conceptualizations of human occupation and health (Chapter 3.2.1), and a reframing of the context, from ‘post-apartheid’ to ‘post 1994 apartheid’ South Africa.

***Rule 3: Build out the Theory***

To help with bounding the cases and situated contexts, the preliminary data prompted the central concept to be theorized in a way that allowed the phenomenon to have some kind of structure. This generated the analytically useful phrase ‘incidents-embedded instances’, with incidents referring to ‘everyday’ instances embedded herein, to ‘enactments of humanity affirmations’. To gain a better grasp of the phenomenon under study, analogies and metaphors that I used heuristically included *pas de deux*, ‘a dance for two performers’ and ‘an intricate relationship or activity involving two parties or things’; ‘two sides of the same coin’; and, ‘username and password combination to obtain connectivity and access to resources’. After having conducted a second level across-case analysis, the metaphor *capoeira*, ‘a martial art infused dance’, served to understand self-enacted affirmations (this is further explained in Chapter 6.1.1 - Embodied—Embedded Relational Agency).

***Rule 4: Complete the Tentative Theory, Including the Explanation***

Next I formulated a tentative theory of everyday enacted humanity affirmations in context. The original traditional configuration ‘Human Occupation—Health’ was conceptually transformed into ‘Humanity—Occupation—Health’, presented as a continuum of manifestations of human occupation and health.

Although this ended the theorizing process for the Pre-Study discovery phase, transitioning into the Major Study justification phase, the theorizing process remained iterative, without a straightforward order of beginning, middle, and end. Theorization from the ‘south’ (see Chapter 3.2) for thesis building in the Major Study phase revealed that an expansion and complexification of existing dominant theoretical and applied understandings of human occupation and health within occupational therapy and occupational science is called for, helping to bridge the particular knowledge gaps that were identified in the ‘Historicized Occupational Appraisal’ of the profession.

**4.7 Criteria Used to Advance Trustworthiness**

Cognizant that there exist different paradigmatic underpinnings of criteria for determining the quality of qualitative research, while remaining mindful of the phronetic nature and heuristic research design of this study, I ended up using an eclectic combination of guidelines, including some that are ‘not associated with specific paradigms for conducting quality research’ (Morrow, 2005, p. 250). Table 13 offers an overview and brief description of the criteria that were used.

Criteria	Brief Description	Authors
Credibility	Internal consistency, ensuring rigor in research process and communicating to others that we have done so	Gasson, 2004, in Morrow (2005)
Transferability	The extent to which reader can generalize findings to own context and address how far a researcher may make claims for a general application of their theory	
Dependability	The way the study is conducted must be consistent across time, researchers, and analysis techniques	
Plausibility & Remarkability	Does this account and interpretation of the case narrative seem plausible, does it present as believable to any reasonable person, based on the anticipated wide resonance factor for which it was selected. And is it extraordinary, considering the contextual constraining conditions within which it occurred.	Researcher (2017)
Participatory Consciousness	There exists an awareness of a deeper level of kinship between the knower and the known [...] emotion is seen as an integral part of human relationship between the knower and the known, and 'being with' the participant replaces mere observation	Heshusius, 1994, in Morrow (2005)
Adequacy of Interpretation	Immersion in the data is essential; analytic framework should be articulated; the writing or other presentation of the findings should exemplify a balance between the researcher's interpretations and supporting quotations from participants	Morrow (2005)

**Table 13: Criteria Used to Advance Trustworthiness**

What follows is a brief explanation of the strategies that were used to advance criteria for trustworthiness in this study.

### ***Credibility***

Multiple engagements with participants took place over a two year period, including participant checks (on-going reflections and elaborations) and co-analysis; so called 'Prison Break'<sup>2</sup> peer debriefing sessions were held with fellow doctoral students and supervisors; and, I conducted on-going critical reflexivity (including exercising occupational consciousness) on my own thoughts, feelings, and reactions to participants' sharing experiences and to contextual constraining data (also see Section 4.1). Credibility was further enhanced by offering rich descriptions not only of participants' experiences of enacted humanity affirmations but also of the constraining conditions of the contexts in which those occurred.

### ***Transferability***

I provided relevant information about myself as the researcher (Appendix I – Situating the Researcher), the research context, processes, and participants, in Morrow's (2015) words, 'allowing the reader to decide how the findings may transfer' (p. 252). What enhances the transferability of the findings to populations in other contexts that embody dehumanized/ing conditions, are the anticipated 'resonance factor' criteria by which the exemplars had been selected.

<sup>2</sup> 'Prison Break': a space for sharing critical reflexivity regarding the research process. It was initiated by and for a small group of doctoral students and their supervisors at the University of Cape Town during 2015/16.

### ***Dependability***

I provided intellectual and physical audit trails (Section 4.7.1, Figures 7 & 8), both of which allow the reader to track the emerging research design by following a detailed account of research processes and activities; influences on the data collection and analysis; the themes and categories that emerged, and; analytic notes.

### ***Plausibility & Remarkability***

To advance the study's integrity, the coherent collective case narrative that I intended to provide to the reader constitutes a coming together of various elements, stitched into a whole by Ngugi wa Thiongo's quote that opens the introduction chapter. These elements include:

- Research question (Chapter 1.3.1)
- Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal: detailed context information underscoring the urgent need for this study to come about (Chapter 2.1)
- The philosophical grounding in critical contemporary interpretations of phronesis and *Ubuntu*: guiding the continuous reflexive, iterative process of theorizing (Chapter 3.1)
- Heuristic research design employing case study with embedded narrative inquiry: generating nine storied exemplars (First Level analysis, Chapter 5) from which three across-case themes emerged (Second Level analysis, Chapter 6), and a thesis was arrived at (Third Level analysis, Chapter 7 & 8). Also see Audit Trails 4.7.1.

### ***Participatory consciousness***

I managed the issue of subjectivity by exercising participatory consciousness, 'the awareness of a deeper level of kinship between the knower and the known' (Heshusius, 1994, p. 16), in which 'emotion is seen as an integral part of the human relationship between the knower and the known, and 'being with' the participant replaces mere observation' (Morrow, 2005, p. 255). This type of full attention has been referred to as merging, being present, empathic relating, or "a holistic apprehension of reality as mutually evolving" (Heshusius, 1994, p. 20). (Table 12). The term participatory consciousness was coined by Heshusius, who rejected 'the subjectivity-objectivity dichotomy' because it represents 'an alienated mode of consciousness that separates the knower from the known' (Morrow, 2005, p. 255). This was in line with the phronetic nature of the study, which foregrounds values and power

rationality and eliciting relevant rich data called for an engaged 'being with' the participants (also see Section 4.1 – Critical Reflexivity).

### ***Adequacy of interpretation***

Another transcendent trustworthiness standard related to credibility and plausibility that I found useful was 'adequacy of interpretation' (Morrow, 2005, p. 256), particularly regarding the presentation of the Level 2 analysis findings, which exemplify a balance of my interpreted themes and sub-themes that are supported by quotations from participants' case narratives.

In addition to having described the strategies that were used to advance criteria for trustworthiness in this study, I put together two audit trails to provide the reader with an overview of key-decision-making moments during the overall research process.

#### **4.7.1 The intellectual and physical audit trails**

The intellectual audit trail (Figure 7) offers a synopsis of how my thinking evolved throughout all phases of the study. Rather than taking a deductive approach where one would rigidly stick to the objectives as initially set out, I allowed for an iterative process, which was guided by emerging insights.

The physical audit trail (Figure 8) documents all keys stages of this research study and reflects the key methodological decisions (Carcary, 2009).



Figure 7: The Intellectual Audit Trail



Figure 8: The Physical Audit Trail

#### 4.8 Ethical Considerations

As a framework for ethical considerations, I used Guillamin & Gillam's (2004) distinction of two different but complimentary dimensions of ethics in research, procedural ethics and ethics in practice. Procedural ethics prompted me to reflect on what Guillamin and Gillam (2004) explained as 'fundamental guiding principles that govern research integrity, and ethics in practice proved to be 'a valuable discursive tool to allow talking about, validating, and better understanding difficult, unexpected ethically important moments' (p. 265). When

and how these ethical dimensions were considered will now be briefly described, starting with procedural ethical principles, followed by an ethics in practice situation.

### ***Respect for Persons***

The participants had been informed about the purpose of the study and what their involvement would entail during what period. This information was communicated in plain language both in writing and in person during initial individual orientation meetings. Before they had signed an *Informed Consent Form* (Appendix V), it was made clear that at any time they had the right to withdraw from the study.

### ***Respect for Beneficence***

To ensure that the participants felt at ease during the narrative interviews, these spaces presented as opportunities to express their views and experiences in a safe and contained environment. As I attended to participants' story-telling, given the relational aspects of narrative inquiries, I intended to go beyond adhering to the 'do no harm' principle, by remaining mindful to 'not be judgmental and by suspending any disbelief on my part' (Clandinin & Murphy, 2007, p. 647). During a number of moments, participants expressed gratitude for the opportunity of having been listened to, "unconditionally" and "feeling heard" as two of them described their experiences. Such feedback importantly confirmed to me that data gathering had been conducted in a manner that proved beneficial to participants. And honestly speaking, way beyond the purpose of the interviews, I experienced these as enactments of our humanity affirmations in their own right.

### ***Respect for Justice***

This principle, understood in terms of distributive justice, interpreted by Guillamin and Gillam (2004) as 'a fair sharing of the burdens and benefits of research across the whole community' (, p. 270), *also* informed the decision to use stories from every participant to make up the collective case of the originally proposed sample of 6 to 9 cases.

### ***Respect for Autonomy***

This focus of this study was minimally defined and invited participants to actively contribute to shaping it through sharing from their narratives. In other words, I intended to make the research their own project jointly with me, instead of treating them as 'subjects', they were participants who were 'not being used as mere means or tools by the researcher' (Guillamin

& Gillam, 2004, p. 271). And, as was already pointed out under 'Respect for Persons', informed consent forms were signed after participants came to 'an understanding of what the project was about, what participation would entail, ultimately to make their own free decision about whether, and on what terms, to participate' (Guillamin & Gillam, 2004, p. 271).

### ***Respect for Anonymity***

The pseudonyms used in the final case narratives were chosen by the participants (including key-informants) themselves to ensure the confidentiality of their identities. However, exceptions were granted in three of the nine cases. In one case, both the protagonists happened to be public figures. In two other instances, participants did not want their real names turned into pseudonyms. They indicated that this would defeat why they had agreed to participate in the research, namely, to have their voices heard. This was resolved by letting the respect for the dignity and integrity of the participants as persons take precedence over the principle of anonymity. Or, to draw from Guillamin & Gillan (2004), 'honoring the importance of the individual as the decision maker for his or her own life' (p. 271).

### ***'Ethically Important Moment'***

During the research process, one unexpected 'ethically important moment' played out, which I had to acknowledge as an 'ethics of practice' situation, think it through reflexively and respond appropriately (Guillamin & Gillan, 2004, p. 269). It occurred within the context of data gathering for the '*Robbery*' case, and resonated with a combination of two procedural ethical principles, specifically respect for person and beneficence, but also justice and anonymity.

I had been committed to allowing the voices of two offenders, key-informants in this study's '*Robbery*' case, to be heard as part of the story. Gaining access to them required formal permission from the Department of Correctional Services. During my first interviews with them, totally unexpectedly, I had become privy to troubling factual information relating to the sentences that each of them was serving. The dilemma was two-fold, what was I to do, if anything, with what was shared with me in relation to 1) key-informants; 2) my participant. Regarding the first point, the interview with the key-informants had taken place in the office of the head of the correctional services facility, with her present. I shared what was disclosed by them with her and two of her colleagues. They also indicated feeling

troubled by it, but at the same time did not know how best to proceed. With regards to my participant, I intuited that she would likely want to know what I had found out, but I felt uncertain about possible legal implications of disclosing information to her. Hence I consulted with two law professors (fields of ethics and criminal law) at the University of Cape Town. One of them pointed out, 'all research may cause harm, but we must mitigate the extent of harm'. On both counts, from them I learned that the law does not provide any rules to decide what to do and that it was my call to make. This of course strongly resonated with this study's phronetic and heuristic approach. Ultimately, I decided to not pursue trying to 'resolve' the situation regarding the key-informants in the correctional service facility, which I may have done had they been participants. I remain unsettled over this decision, particularly given my awareness of the short-comings of the Criminal Justice System. One of the law experts admitted, 'warehousing offenders, we know it does not work'. And I disclosed the information (mistaken conviction) to my participant, preparing and involving her in making the decision, all of which she indicated to have much appreciated. I understood that what I had exercised was 'situational ethics', which took into account the particular context of my decision when I evaluated it ethically, in the absence rules or moral standards.

In **summary**, case study was heuristically employed as both a method and the object of study, along with narrative enquiry to generate storied exemplars. Maximum variation sampling aimed for heterogeneity of participants. The stories which made up the instrumental collective case were selected on the criterion of encountering likely resonance within South Africa. Situated within a dehumanized/ing context, incidents-embedded instances of enacted humanity affirmations were handled as bounded systems. Information was gathered through and from multiple methods and sources (narrative interviews, participants' reflective journals, multiple documents review, and researcher's notes). Data analysis proceeded from co-constructions of nine case narratives, an across-case thematic analysis, to thesis building, informing what this study's case is about, what it is a case of, and for. Critical reflexivity was exercised by on-going attention to power issues in research interactions, and attempts to enact reciprocal gestures and shared decision-making.

The next chapter presents the first level of findings, nine exemplars of enacted humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa. These storied examples embody intricate dance-like interplays between everyday incidents, embedded instances, and structural contextual constraints.

## CHAPTER FIVE - NINE EXEMPLARS OF ENACTED HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS IN POST 1994 APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

### 5.1 Overview of Nine Case Narratives

This chapter presents nine exemplars of enacted humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa. These storied examples embody intricate dance-like interplays between everyday incidents—embedded instances *and* structural contextual constraints. I acknowledge upfront that the brief contextualizations ('Shackled Snapshots') do not and cannot do justice to real life multi-layered complexities of what Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o called 'forces determined to dismantle humanity'. However, this study intended to foreground 'forces that are pledged to confirm [our] humanity' (opening quote, Chapter 1).

I invite the reader to engage with the cases as everyday yet remarkable humanizing narratives that run counter to the dominant story of contemporary South Africa's dehumanized/ing societal condition.

Table 14 depicts an overview of the nine exemplars. The background portraits of the participants are deliberately veiled. The everyday incidents are named first, followed by signifiers of the instances, and short phrases that encapsulate contextual dehumanized/ing tendencies.

<p><b>Taking a Bus</b></p> <p><i>Freedom of Movement &amp; Social Interaction</i></p> <p>Spatial Legacy of Apartheid Still Marginalizes the Poor</p>	<p><b>Speaking Up in Public</b></p> <p><i>Listening ... Being Heard</i></p> <p>People with Disabilities: Much about Them, without Them</p>	<p><b>Writing</b></p> <p><i>Reading ... Being Read</i></p> <p>Black History of Written Word Decidedly Held in Check</p>
<p><b>Robbery</b></p> <p><i>Having a Conversation ... Making a Human Connection</i></p> <p>Failing Penal System, Booming Security Industry</p>	<p><b>Dressing Up</b></p> <p><i>Noticing ... Being Noticed</i></p> <p>Politics and Commodification of Fair Skin and Straight Hair</p>	<p><b>Competition</b></p> <p><i>Judging... Being Judged</i></p> <p>Neo-Liberal Market: Our Ultimate Judge</p>
<p><b>Becoming a Tenant</b></p> <p><i>Honoring Honesty ... Being Given a Second Chance</i></p> <p>Warehousing Offenders, No Housing Support Ex-Offenders</p>	<p><b>Welcoming</b></p> <p><i>Hosting ... Being Hosted</i></p> <p>Toss-Up between Hostility and Hospitality</p>	<p><b>Bullying</b></p> <p><i>Standing Up for Underdog ... Being Defended</i></p> <p>Privileges Denied yet Exploited</p>

**Table 14: Overview of Nine Exemplars of Enacted Humanity Affirmations in Context**

To keep contextual constraints constantly present in the mind of the reader within the nine narratives of everyday enacted humanity affirmations, this content is inserted throughout as text-boxes (visually symbolized by 'shackles').

The presentation style for each story varies in order to best present the stories, and to reflect how they were told.

## **5.2 Becoming a Tenant**

Riccardo is a 29 year old colored gentleman. He was born in Atlantis but grew up in Elsiesrivier, a predominantly colored Cape Town suburb. He comes from a family of five, his parents, two sisters, and he, the eldest sibling. His retired dad was a carpenter who used to work in a factory. His mom also worked in a factory until the late nineties. Although Riccardo describes both his parents as blue collar, this changed for his mom. She felt that she deserved more than just factory work. She did matric, studied counseling and then enrolled in pharmacy studies, doing TB and HIV research. Riccardo's parents divorced while he was awaiting trial late 2003, shortly before he went to Pollsmoor prison. The divorce had a major impact on Riccardo.

[Riccardo]: *"One of the key-factors was that I failed my matric (age 16-17), that's when things went horribly bad. I wasn't that much affected by my family circumstances, we were not poor off people, but more so by my surroundings. I had good education. I never failed before at grade level. I grew up in the Anglican church, baptized, confirmed and all that stuff. Mom was in the Mothers Union, dad was in the Church's Men Society. And at that moment, to be in the Anglican Church society also meant status in our community. The music and the artists that I listened to, that was in baggy clothes, that wasn't 'a go' in my house. The thing that I could do plus size in, was in my track suits. I think things changed when mom left the factory, when she got perspective into who she was, but it also raised major issues inside her relationship. When one person wakes up the next day, 'hey I want more, I am more', you know, to that extent, that's the understanding that I got now. That time I couldn't understand why was there more arguing, more friction. But I was busy with my own thing, within the life that was accepted within the home and on the streets. I kind of lived two lives. I remember that I used to hang my jeans low, and as soon as I turned the corner, to come inside of the house's view, I would pull my pants up, you know. So basically, I wouldn't say failed education, although that seems to also be within the stats as a lot of people don't reach their matric. The failed matric was major because that was when I started to drink, heavy into alcohol and drugs with my buddies, even selling drugs. Even though I was never a*

*gangster when I was outside of prison, we did a lot of stuff that gangsters do. And that kind of scared me, how dangerous we were, because we didn't have that framework that gangs have, structure, discipline, codes of conduct. The stuff we did, it really breaks my heart when I think about it now."*



In 2003 Riccardo took part in a robbery and was sentenced to eight years. After serving 3.5 years in various correctional services facilities in the Western Cape, he was on parole until December 2015. In South Africa, persons on parole have been placed into a system of community corrections. So, before serving his full sentence, Riccardo was released from prison, to serve his remaining time outside of jail. This allowed him to return to 'normal' community life although he had to comply with a number of conditions and under the supervision of correctional officials.

At the time of living under parole conditions, Riccardo was staying at his mom's house in Elsiesrivier and he was employed part-time, earning a very modest monthly salary of R1800 (USD 140) as a facilitator for a non-profit. This organization aimed to inspire change and responsible living for offenders-students at correctional services facilities. Working with the founder and others in this organization allowed Riccardo to discover his purpose: *"I'm finding my goal. I think I'm finding my thread what am I passionate about. What would I like to see, how would I love to contribute to society."* Around June 2013 he met and befriended Chandre, a 26 year old colored woman. At that time, Chandre already shared an apartment with Henrik, a 24 year old white male at Ocean View Rentals (pseudonym), an entry-level development in the quiet suburb of Brooklyn. Chandre and Henrik worked as chefs at a five star Cape Town hotel at the V&A Waterfront. Riccardo used to visit Chandre from Elsiesrivier by taking a train to Nyanga and from there a taxi to Gugulethu. During the week he would meet her at the main train station in town and from there they would take a train to Maitland and a taxi to the Ocean View apartment complex, a journey of about one hour forty five minutes. They would spend two hours together maximum and at 6 pm he would return home, often receiving warnings from his parole officer for arriving late at home in

Elsiesrivier, after 7 pm. At some point Riccardo intended to move to a place in Brooklyn, down the road from Ocean View. He and Chandre went to check it out together.

Chandre: *"We went there. The place didn't look anything like a room. Not even a dog can be in there, it was that small. How can you rent a place like that to a human being? You can't live in a place like that. You might as well stay in jail then. Why would you stay in something like that? I told Riccardo, 'No, you are moving in with me.'"*

The Ocean View apartments complex is situated in the suburb of Milnerton, a low income residential area just off the N1 freeway, a few kilometers north-east of Cape Town's city center. Ocean View aims to attract two segments of the market, first-time homeowners and the investor-buyer. The demographic make-up of tenants: regular income from R6000 (USD 470) to R15.000 (USD 1175) per month, ages 25 to 40 (plenty of young families), racially a fair mix of white, colored, and black. The company is managed from an on-site office by the owner, an office manager and a team of administrators, maintenance, and in-sourced security personnel. The apartments are owned by individuals, and investors - companies and trusts. Ocean View markets itself as a '24 hours high-security complex with Biometric Access Control', and this becomes apparent at the heavily secured entrance gate of the complex. All visitors must sign in and get signed out, have their ID documents checked, and car license plates registered. Staying over without formal approval is not allowed. Becoming a tenant requires a formal rental application process, which includes finger-printing, in order to obtain access through the security gates at all times.

**Prisons Chronically Overcrowded** – In his doctoral research 'Penal Discourse and Imprisonment in South Africa', Peté evidenced that the South African penal system has followed and still follows 'a pattern of repetitive failure', problematizing 'chronic overcrowding resulting in perpetual warehousing of most offenders as a mechanism of social control and all that this entails: "an inability even to attempt the rehabilitation of prisoners; huge inroads into the basic human rights of prisoners as infrastructure is put under unbearable strain; the facilitation of brutal gang activity; a massive strain on prison personnel; and many other evils" (Peté, 2015, p. 578).

Riccardo initially moved in without being added to the lease. He and Chandre had only just started their relationship, and though Chandre had been prompted by the rental office to formally add Riccardo to the lease, it had slipped their minds to do so. This matter re-surfaced when Chandre and Henrik received a notice from the rental office that they were behind on their rent. This turned out to be a miscommunication. It had bothered Riccardo that Chandre and Henrik were not able to stop by the rental office due to a clash between

their work shifts and Ocean View office hours. He therefore went there himself, hoping to get the issue sorted.

### **5.2.1 Honoring honesty - being given a second chance**

[Chandre]: *“Riccardo, I think we should move in together. Because if we’re only gonna see each other every two days for two hours or so, I don’t know, if we gonna make this work you might as well move in here with me, so we can spend more time together.”*

[Riccardo]: *“I went down to the rental office and Sandy [rental office administrator] asked me, ‘So, who are you? Are you living with Chandre and Henrik?’ I said ‘Ja, I live here’. And she said, ‘No, because your name is not on the lease’. And that’s when the application process to become a tenant started.”* Sandy informed Riccardo about the procedures: *“Listen here, you must pay for an application form, fill it in, sign and return it to us.”*

**Policies/Research Emphasize Housing Support** – In the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, the principle strategic document aimed at directing the management and service provision of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) over the next twenty years and beyond, stipulates that one aspect of the integrated support system includes arranging suitable accommodation for destitute offenders in consultation with other role players (Department of Correctional Services, 2005). Research consistently evidences that ex-offenders who are homeless are more likely to be reconvicted (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002) and stigma makes finding adequate housing one of their many challenges (Muntingh, 2005). Lack of housing can lead to further problems, such as accessing children in care, health services and benefits. Therefore, to effectively combat recidivism in South Africa, extended government social services must include provision of housing (Samuels, 2010).

*“After I came home from work, Chandre and I sat down to complete the rental application form. Chandre had filled in her part and now I was doing my part. They asked questions about personal details, banking information, employment and a proof that I would be able to afford staying here, all quite easy to fill out. But then under the header ‘General Details’, I read the following question: ‘Have you ever had any judgments/defaults granted against you? Yes/No. If ‘Yes’, please give details’. I showed it to Chandre.”*

[Chandre]: *“Don’t answer that. Don’t say anything there. I don’t even remember this query in the form that I had originally filled out. Or perhaps I didn’t pay attention to that part of the application form, because I didn’t do anything bad before. So when Riccardo came and moved in here, this became a whole different story. When that question was asked, I got very nervous. I thought, what’s gonna happen? Are they gonna treat him bad? Will he be able to live here with me and stuff like that. Because his parole officers must always come in here and check if he’s in here. So I was thinking, yoh, it’s gonna cause a lot of trouble. People are gonna think that we’re doing something wrong here man. I was also thinking like, okay, we’re gonna put him on the lease first and we see how it goes. See how people are gonna*

*react and all of that. Cause people talk. People talk. And the security guards here, they're very strict. The other day they didn't want to open the gate for him when he didn't have the key. So that's why I was concerned about him. And the whole jail thing, you know when people are coming out of jail, their minds, I don't know man. I was afraid they're not going to allow him to live here."*

**Correctional Services Not Responsible** – A follow up with a DCS Deputy Director, who had consulted with respective Community Corrections Offices, reported that they (DCS) are 'not responsible to secure any houses for ex-offenders/parolees'; 'no housing are thus provided by Correctional Services to ex-offenders/parolee's; and that 'CS only monitor the suitability of the addresses provided by the ex-offender/parolee' (Email communication, 12 December 2016 – Appendix XI).

What helped was that Henrik, with whom Chandre already shared the apartment, in no way objected to Riccardo being added to their lease. [Henrik]: *"Yeah, I don't really have like a preconceived idea. I can see where it goes. But I like Riccardo. We came a long way, me and him."* Henrik however did share some of Chandre's preoccupations regarding how Riccardo's disclosure of his parole status might be treated in the lease application process, as illustrated in the following impromptu exchanges between them:

[Henrik]: *"Riccardo has tattoos. It's a stigma bro. That's the sad thing about tattoos. People think that people with tattoos are bikers, you know."*

[Chandre]: *"And do drugs, they kill people, they rape. And now he's coming out of jail and now they're gonna think 'Oh shit'."*

[Henrik]: *"Oh shit, this 'bra' [slang for 'brother'] is a criminal."*

[Chandre]: *"Ja, he's a criminal, be alert, you know. And when Riccardo and I go out to the mall and his tattoos are exposed, I feel so uncomfortable, because people are always looking, and thinking, 'Oh shit, what is he, is he a gangster? What's going on? Because he's got a '26' number [the name of one of the major gangs] here on his arm."*

[Henrik]: *"Well, at the end of the day, tattoos tell a story, and that's his story, that's where he came from."*

[Chandre]: *"Ja, but you need to know the person, that's a way different thing. My main thing was, what else people are gonna treat him here, because security is very heavy and tight and him coming from jail. So that was just on my mind the whole time, the whole jail thing, you know."*

Although Chandre urged Riccardo not to disclose his criminal conviction record, he told her: *"What you mean, 'what you gonna put there?' I just put, 'armed robbery, ten years*

*ago', the facts. Because I don't see why I should answer it any otherwise, you know. When I opened myself up, I had no expectation of what's gonna happen. No man, that's who I am."*

Chandre's response then was: *"That's right, cos Riccardo must be who he is now, honest! Let's just see how it goes and then he filled it in."*

The next morning Riccardo went to the office in person to drop off the form: *"I gave in the form to one of the administrators, and she asked me, 'Oh, you filled in everything and so on, confirmed the room number, and then said, 'thank you'."*

Now this application form needed to be passed on to Sandy, who handles all of the follow-up interviews with the applicants. After that Riccardo had some work to do at the internet café when he received a call on his cell phone.

[Riccardo]: *"Hi."*

[Sandy]: *"Riccardo, hi, this is Sandy at the Ocean View Rentals office. We have received your forms."* And then they started chatting, going through the form, everything that Riccardo had filled out.

**No Statistics on Housing Ex-Prisoners** – Direct consultation with the National Operations Manager of NICRO (National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders) learned that *"Unfortunately, NICRO does not keep any statistics related to the problems that parolees face in terms of housing. The Department of Correctional Services might be able to assist you"* (Email communication, 19 September 2016 – Appendix XI).

They talk and talk, the conversation lasts about half an hour. It was small talk at first, and then Sandy jumped right into it, talking slowly with breaks in between all the words: *"Oooh...I see...you've been... convicted ... for robbery ... some ten years ago?"*

[Riccardo]: *"It's a very sensitive issue. 'I don't feel like talking about it. Ja, but yes it is as it is there on the lease application."*

[Sandy]: *"Okay, okay. So, so, how're you doing now?"*

[Riccardo]: *"No, I'm fine"*.

When she then asked him if he worked, Riccardo anticipated that she was probably thinking that when you've been convicted, it would be difficult to find a job.

[Riccardo]: *"I work for a non-profit, ja, I've been with them for over a year now".*

[Sandy]: *"Oh, so what do you guys actually do?"*

[Riccardo]: *"I facilitate a program."*

[Sandy]: *"Oh, that's nice, so where do you work?"*

[Riccardo]: *"We work in underprivileged communities such as Uitsig, Gugulethu, Nyanga, with kids, you know, and to rehabilitate parolees."*

[Sandy]: *"That's nice. So you are actually sowing back into the community?"*

[Riccardo]: *"Ja, lovely stuff".* Then Sandy got even more personal, and asked: *"Why do you want to live down here?"*

[Riccardo]: *"To be completely honest with you, I don't want to be in the northern suburbs. I grew up there you know. A big insecurity with me was not wanting to be influenced by the energy of my surroundings there, making me vulnerable, walking with old friends, putting the 'wop' [swag] in my walk again. And my girl is down here and she's not moving anywhere, so I thought now it'll be nice to be here with her."*

[Sandy]: *"So what's your relation with Henrik and Chandre?"*

[Riccardo]: *"No, Chandre is my girlfriend."*

[Sandy]: *"Oh, your girlfriend. How long do you plan on staying here?"*

[Riccardo]: *"I'm planning until after December 2014. We are also looking for a house. We found one with quite affordable premiums in Strand and maybe we'll move there in 2015."*

[Sandy]: *"Oh, lovely stuff man. Okay, I'll pass your application on to our office manager. But you must know that it is not in my hands to give the go-ahead. It's not up to us, but the landlord, the owner of your flat. I'll call you after I have an answer from that person, okay."*

[Sandy]: *"Our first reaction to reading Riccardo's disclosure was 'Oh no, not again'. You see, a few years ago we had a tenant whose husband used to break into people's houses here on the complex. So we thought, 'Okay, so here we have a supposedly reformed criminal who had also been locked up for robbery. But really we can't have another situation like that year again. At the end of the day it's gonna come back to us, you know. But I wasn't thinking negatively. I had spoken to the lady at the community center. And when showing his declaration to my colleagues I told them, 'I feel when someone can be this honest, then why shouldn't he be given a chance? Many people don't put that in the application form and you'll only find out afterwards.'" Sandy's colleague Soraya added: "And everybody deserves a second chance, also if you're a criminal."*

[Sandy]: *"Usually, people who are reformed go back to their family because that's basically where they start over again. But I often find or see that this does not go well. Unless they're on parole and do some type of social work or community service, they tend to go back to what they used to be doing."*

**Stuck in Endless Loop** – "What is most interesting about the many discussions and debates that have taken place over many years in the public media on the issue of chronic overcrowding in South African prisons is the remarkable similarity of these discussions and debates. The points made and the concerns expressed have remained the same over an extraordinarily long period of time. Over and over again, year after year, the same problem is identified, the dreadful consequences of overcrowding are spelled out in lurid detail, similar reasons are put forward as to its cause, and similar solutions are proposed. The debates seem, somehow, to be stuck in a loop, destined to be repeated from year to year, decade to decade, and even from one century to the next (Peté, 2015, pp. 591-592, p. 291).

[Riccardo]: *"When I came back from the internet café, I was informed that all is okay. They would draw up a new lease for the three of us to sign. And then I still needed to do finger-printing for the gate, for the boom to open."*

[Chandre]: *"I felt very much relieved when the lease application got approved. I didn't wanna think about the whole thing anymore, just moving forward, you know, just go with the flow."*

[Henrik]: *"What's done is done. At that point it was taken care of. I was also very positive because we're getting Riccardo to come live with us, which was exciting. It's like another breath in the house. I love having someone here man."*

[Riccardo]: *"Chandre was actually surprised, because we never chat before, with, I wouldn't say authority, because in some neighborhoods you hear that police is not to be trusted, government is not to be trusted, but people who hold a policy, you know. And I had a nice chat with them."*

[Riccardo]: *"You know what I got from this application process, that when there's complete honesty, you know, you get desired results. And it's a really thin line, your desires and possibilities got to go hand in hand when you sent that message out. Because as soon as you close yourself to the possibilities, you're gonna be fear stricken by what could happen and then you'll get that result. Because you keep yourself in that fear cage, that you've named 'get into trouble', 'not accepted', 'doubt', or whatever. For me it's like a kind of matrix that the Universe is set up in, and it doesn't matter what your words are. Your words are just a small part of it, but it's also what energy you put out there. And if your energy is 'trouble', if your energy is 'doubt', then that's what your results are gonna be. As soon as you're gonna open up, you let people see, that people accept this is who I am, and this is what I do. You can get results that you could not have imagined."*

In case you're wondering what happened with Riccardo and Chandre since, they got engaged on August 5<sup>th</sup> 2015 and soon after his parole ended in early 2016, they tied the knot.

### 5.3 Bullying

Fatimah is a 38 year old Cape Malay mother of two sons aged 14 and 18 and one daughter aged 9, whom she raised practically on her own until she remarried a few years ago. Fatimah is a deeply devoted practicing Muslim. A few years ago, she lost her job as a hairdresser in a southern suburb of Cape Town. She's since been working off and on for very low wages as a sales person at a retail store at a mall. Fatimah owns a humble home in Delft South. This predominantly colored and black township is situated on the outskirts of Cape Town, some 30-40 km's east of the Central Business District, adjacent to Cape Town International Airport. Although Delft South is known as being notorious for its high crime rate, substandard schools, and very high unemployment rate, Fatimah deeply appreciates her community.

[Fatimah]: *"If you live in a community like this, it's not charity people want but opportunity. It's a chance in life. Everybody think if you live in Delft, 'oh God, people like us we love hand-outs'. That's not the case. Why not empower them to help themselves? But it's like this is a lost community. Evens your own family is scared to come into this community or they think they beyond it. [...] My mom grew up in a staunch Islamic family at a time that for females to seek knowledge, Madrasahs wasn't as accessible as today. So basically, that was the person her parents taught her to be, by teaching her the little knowledge they had and taking it to heart. That made her who she was and still my example today. She lived Islam. She was a symbol of who every Muslim woman should be. And I became a responsible mom because I was blessed with one. They always asked me 'who is my role model?' I would never say a superstar or a doctor. I do have utmost respect for Madiba but I would put my mom before Madiba. She passed away six years. She used to tell me, 'the only time you look down on people is when you're trying to help them up'. It's an Islamic quote that she showed me how to live. I still reflect on the tough lessons she taught me, not leaving me always with a smile on my face you know. She taught me what I needed to hear, not what I was happy listening to. She was the most humble, sincere, big-hearted woman I've ever known my entire life. So whatever I do in life, I sit back and I think, would my mom be proud of me today if I did this or that? Would she approve? My mom was a people's person. She always rooted for the underdog. Even if the underdog didn't believe in themselves, they would when she was done with them. [...] During childhood I suffered a disease linked to my nervous system. But my mom raised me to be confident, to be proud of who I am, not feeling sorry for myself."*

## Privileges Denied yet Exploited

[Fatimah]: *"I always had the sense of seeing the bigger picture, because I felt when people are staring at you, labelling you. My mom refused that her child should back down and be perceived as victim. Life doesn't owe you anything. It's character that defines who you become. So throughout my life, I'm treating people the way I feel I would have want people to treat me, that is, honestly from the heart. I learnt to respect life, to appreciate, be grateful for the little things in life. I learnt to stand up and just say thank you God, my family survived another day. I taught my kids to be humble and to have belief."*

*"Without belief and high self-esteem, there's no chance in this cruel world for kids. It's the knowledge you empower them with. Tomorrow you're not there, you can't give anymore. But the things you left them with, they can give back to the world. Its lessons I'm teaching them that money can't buy. The greatest gift I can give to my kids is leaving behind my way of thinking, the way I see the world. I always taught them, whenever you walk out of my door, check your intention, is your intention sincere? Whenever you start out your day, it cannot be started without knowing your intention. You intend to go to school to make a difference in your life. You not going to school to satisfy me. You going to school to have a better future, better than what I had and I can encourage you along the way in whatever you want to do."*

[Fatimah]: *"You must also know how to get along with people, how to fit you in at any level. If it's in a hut, if it's in a mansion, if it's with doctors and lawyers, researchers [laughs at researcher], or if it's just with everyday people you just have this utmost respect for because they just have this courage to survive. Where my community is concerned, people respect me for being a working mom. All my neighbors have the utmost respect for me because I respect them. I help where I can, by educating somebody, by rearing somebody in the right direction, by using my knowledge about housing, empowering somebody to help themselves, showing kindness to kids, not turning away anybody, you know, loving their neighbor."*

*"I was never ashamed of where I come from. And my clients in the hair salon used to adore and respect me for that. When they tipped me they said, 'Fatimah, now buy another*

*brick for your house'. I used to find it humorous. I never feel offended by things like that. People that enters my life should know me for what I am, accept me for who I am. You cannot love me if you do not accept me for who I am.*

**Public Outcry & Support for 'Bullied' White Waitress** – In April 2016, a black South African Rhodes Scholar (Oxford University) posted on Facebook his comments on an incident that had occurred at a café in Cape Town. He and his friend had refused to pay a white waitress a tip and instead caused her to cry over a note they left on their bill: 'We will give tip when you return the land.' (Mishra, 2016) The waitress then shared on social media: "I was down to my last R10 (USD 0.75). I had to move out of my place because I hadn't earned enough to cover even half my rent and I had nowhere to stay. My mom was having chemo and is struggling financially. The incident was just the last straw" (Behr, 2016). The incident went viral, mostly condemning the 'privileged Oxford scholar' and defending the 'white working class waitress'. Two online crowd-funding campaigns sprang up to raise money for the waitress, purportedly in a show of solidarity against racism and bullying, generating about R150.000 (> USD 11,000) for the waitress (Shea-Kruger, 2016; GoodThingsGuy, 2016; Hunter, 2016; BusinessTech, 2016).

*Coming from poverty, it shouldn't matter, it should matter who I am. A lot of good hearted people come from here. I mean, people that goes extra miles. I can tell you teachers that work themselves to death to make a difference. They come to school, not knowing what to expect, the dangers you know, and they underpaid and unappreciated. What do you think I'm gonna appreciate more, someone who gives you thousand bucks or a single mom who offers free labor, who physically helps you do something, who stands by you, you know, that people's heart and courage? And one thing that seriously offends me is if you look down on me or anybody else. In every community, no matter rich or poor, there's the good and bad people. So don't only focus on the bad when it comes to a poor community. When they look down on you because you live in Delft, I just wanna make it clear, that it's a fact that I'm a bond free property owner. Many can't say that in the big houses in Constantia [very affluent suburb], they owe the bank. First National Bank don't know me. I'm very proud of that. They say about my community, 'it's the ghettos of Delft', they call it in Afrikaans 'die gat end van Delft', the nastiest hole of Delft. But I call it 'Upper Delft South'. Don't belittle my community, because I do think a lot of my community. There is people here that is making amazing memories, and that have happy fulfilling lives. We not morbid, we not ugly, we the most beautiful people in the world."*

The bullying occurred at a Madrasah, during a tri-weekly Islamic studies gathering in Delft South during the Islamic festival *Eid ul-Fitr*, which marks an end to Ramadan, the fasting month. Madrasah is a meeting place for Muslim females of all ages.

[Fatimah]: *"I went to Madrasah to broaden my knowledge and in the same time you build up a bond with sisters in your community that's maybe less privileged or not so strong willed as you. You come across different personalities, even with ignorance, you know ignorant people that's got the understanding that they better than others, because they*

*more well-groomed than the poorer person. But 'ten to one', they don't have as much heart as that people. They don't have as much 'yaqeen in Allah' [repository of liberating experience in Islam]. They don't have as much 'sabr', enduring pain, as that poorer person. And Allah loves people with 'sabr'. That's Allah's most loved 'insha', creation. The madrasah is walking distance from our homes. My friend's name is Shariffah but we call her 'Riffah'."*

### **5.3.1 Standing up for underdog – being defended**

Fatimah just draped a nylon cape around my neck, wetted my hair a bit and as she starts cutting I ask: 'So, what's this story you wanted to tell me about treating someone and being treated as a human being?'

[Fatimah]: *"Ah, it's about Riffah, that girl at our Islamic studies group at Madrasah. You know, when you look at a person and you think you know her but actually you don't? When you give a person a chance, you approach her with respect, you befriend, take time, smile, have a friendly chat. You never know, that person could open up and expose herself who she really is. And I could clearly see, Riffah got a good heart. But also she was very oppressed, evens by her fellow sisters. You can clearly see that poverty had an effect on her. She's like innocence but had to grow up before her time ... there's something left behind. You can see the struggle, the stress. But inside she's just this fun loving little girl that never got to be that. She had to grow up and the scars of poverty was left behind. And she's afraid to come out who she is. Riffah is looking after her very old mom who is dependent on her. She sells spices and stuff on the road, just to be the income for them. And she's got a little girl whose hair I did, for free now during Eid, my 'Act of Kindness' for that day."*

**'Selective Kindness'** – "The fact that R100 000 could be collected in a few days to make up for a white waitress being spurned by a black patron is obscene. Despite what organizers may claim, this can no longer be celebrated as an outpouring of kindness. This is a message from white people to black people: we still have the financial muscle to show you who is boss. There were no crowdfunding drives to raise money for Cynthia Joni, the middle-aged domestic worker beaten up by a white man in Kenilworth because he believed she was a prostitute. I didn't see any for Muhammed Makungwa, the Malawian gardener *sjambokked* on his way to work in Rondebosch. I must have missed one for taxi driver Michelle Nomgcana, urinated on from the balcony of Tiger Tiger nightclub...some people deserve kindness a lot more than others" (Davis, 2016).

[Me]: "Act of Kindness?"

[Fatimah]: *"You know, just bring a smile on the little girl's face. We used to go to Madrasah, Islamic studies. Always when I come in I greet everybody. They happy to see me because I'm the joker. I used to go to her and say, 'Hey, it's good to see you', and give her a hug. And she used to think, 'Oh, what do I want from her?' But she never used to speak a word for herself. You think she can't speak, so oppressed she'd become from people ill-*

*treating her because she's poor. When you poor, nobody gives you respect, that's imprinted in her brain already. So, every time for four hours we studied together and little by little I start speaking to her, showing her concern, asking how she feeling today, where was she, I missed her. Or I smile or say a kind word or whatever. One day I said, 'You know, you should look up, because you've got beautiful eyes'. And she smiled at me. And I said, 'No gosh, really, I mean it, you've got beautiful eyes. I wish I had green eyes, because I would never look down if I had green eyes'. And I lift up her chin literally and said, 'You shouldn't look down, you should look up'. And she smiled and then whenever she saw me, she looks up and she never looks down."*

[Fatimah]: *"Because she knows I treat her with respect. And the days went on and we became friends. We had this connection. When we sit in Islamic studies, she used to pull my pants. With time she became more free and playful with me. Then I used to turn around and smile and blow her a kiss, you know."*

[Me]: *"How old is she, you think?"*

[Fatimah]: *"She's 20 odd, no, she's almost 30! Her daughter is like my daughter's age, 8. And she's a good mom. Her daughter is always clean, neat, fed, going to school. So one day I told her, 'You should come visit me'. So she said, 'Seriously?' I said, 'Yes'. She came one day during Ramadan. And she had nothing to eat. But she didn't ask anything, ey!"*

**Workplace Bullying and Capitalism** – A 2014 study, drawing from a voluntary sample of 999 teachers, shed light on perpetrators of work place bullying (WPB) in South African schools. Stats show that teachers, rather than supervisors are responsible for WPB. The bullies' encompassing desire to be part of the superior in-group lies at the heart of their negative behavior. The abuse of power will however not be possible without overt and covert consent of the school as organization and society as a whole. Findings from this study thus feeds into the discourse that the highly competitive capitalist economy, a marker of most workplaces worldwide, promotes the bullying of the weak by the strong (De Wet & Jacobs, 2014, p. 575).

*"But basically, I know, I'm a person that can see straight through. I'm a good judge of a situation. And I said, you know what, I've got mielie-meal [ground maize] and this and that and gave it to her. She said, 'Ja, thank you'. And another Muslim sister came to tell me that she can't believe that I actually gave her something, just out of myself without her having to beg or ask. You know, she didn't ask me."*

[Me]: *"First time in her life maybe?"*

[Fatimah]: *"Maybe. And afterwards I told her, you should talk more, you should stand up for yourself because people is gonna walk over you the rest of your life. She started talking to me that was the second step. And everybody at madrasah noticed. You get the posh ones that like to keep themselves up there, and you get the ones that's really poor. I was one, I can*

*say, I do okay for myself, I'm always well-groomed. So me befriending her, it's like not in the same class, it's not in the same category. But that's me being me. I love the underdog. I love being amongst the poor. I love making the difference. She didn't look down anymore. And when me and her was standing together she would have a conversation. But as soon as somebody else came to stand there she would clam up and that ended the conversation."*

[Me]: "Do you know why?"

**South Africa: Among Most Unequal Societies Worldwide** – The Gini coefficient measures income inequality, ranging from 0 to 100, whereby 0 is absolute equality—'everyone earns the same', and 100 is absolute inequality—'one person is getting all the dosh and everyone else nothing'.

Country	Gini Index	Bottom 10% Share (%)	Top 10% Share (%)
South Africa	65.0	1.1	53.8
Namibia	61.3	1.5	51.8
Botswana	60.5	1.1	49.6
Zambia	57.5	1.5	47.4
Honduras	57.4	0.8	45.7
Central African Republic	56.3	1.2	46.1
Lesotho	54.2	1.0	41.0
Colombia	53.5	1.1	42.0
Brazil	52.7	1.0	41.7
Guatemala	52.4	1.3	41.8

South Africa's Gini coefficient ranges from about 65 (expenditure, incl. taxes) and 69 (income, per capita, incl. salaries, wages, social grants) in 2011. This would make South Africa one of the most consistently unequal countries in the world (Statistics SA, 2014).

[Fatimah]: "Some of our fellow sisters, she doesn't trust them because they look down upon her. They would make hideous remarks, you know, nothing positive, always negative. Or they would 'joke' and she'd feel offended. You know, at madrasah we take our shoes off. So one day her socks were dirty and smelly. She didn't have another pair of socks. She sat there and could hear them saying her feet were smelly and socks dirty. But nobody would help her. You now, if you're a Muslim sister you uplift a Muslim sister. You say, tomorrow you come to my house, you don't do that in front of a crowd. You call her aside and you tell her I'm gonna help you. Be part of the solution, don't throw fire on the problem. You don't know her condition. You can't say you don't have a decent pair of socks for her! Riffah then told me that her socks were dirty because of her shoes. She only has one pair and it had holes in it. But the other sisters were too concerned about themselves. So after that I started joking with her, me being me, you know distracting herself. And I could see some of my other sisters think, 'Why am I so with this scruffy person?' So one day when they said something bad to her, I came into her defence, 'You know what, you see, look at me, I'm better dressed than you are'. I was angry that day. But can you see this [gestures by touching clothes], this is clothes. It's the inside of a person that matters, not the outside. You look at her, you judge

her, you don't help her. But I'm gonna tell you something, her heart is much better than yours. It's so rare, something you can't buy. So stop judging people. And stop hurting each other. Because we here in the world to uplift, to create a sisterhood, for helping each other."

[Me]: "How did the persons who belittled your friend respond to your defense?"

[Fatimah]: "I'm a very confident assertive person if I want to voice my opinion. So they was shocked by my approach and felt embarrassed about what they had done. Somebody actually confronted them, called them out, held up a mirror in front of everybody else. They're just used to taking Riffah for a nothing and I was tired of it."

[Me]: "Did they get your message you think?"

[Fatimah]: "I'm somebody that makes myself very clear. There's no misconceptions. I make sure you understand."

[Me]: "Afterwards, did they change their attitude towards Riffah?"

[Fatimah]: "They did. Before, everybody they would take her for a nothing and when we befriended, their attitude changed. So if she's not good enough for you, I'm not good enough for you. That's how it works."

[Me]: "Was she actually there when you came to her defense?"

[Fatimah]: "Yes!"

[Me]: "The intention of the group is, like you said, 'sisterhood'..."

[Fatimah]: "Yes, the intention, never lose sight of the intention. Why did you come to Islamic studies? To grow as a better person. So what was your intention? Do you want to hurt this person or do you want to uplift her."

[Me]: "How is she doing today? Is she still attending Islamic studies?"

[Fatimah]: "Today, Riffah is okay, still poverty-stricken. But I think that she have a different outlook on life, that everybody in this world is not cruel. There is still people out there that cares."

[Me]: "How did you feel about standing up for her 'against' your Muslim sisters at Madrasah?"

**Confronting Societal Bullying** – Bullying practices manifest as unwanted aggressive interpersonal behaviors that involve real and perceived power imbalances, but also as 'societal bullying, the sorts of social hierarchies that are common in all human societies in which dominant members are given special rights and privileges, including the right to exploit those who are lower down in the hierarchy. Research emphasizes that rather than targeting a few bullies for blame, we must examine how we are all involved in societal enactments of dominance and subordination. We must consider that the health consequences seen among children who are bullied are the same as those seen among children who grow up in poverty' (Lantos & Halpern, 2015, p. 22).

[Fatimah]: *"I'm an advocate for the underdog. I just love fighting the good fight. What can you teach somebody? Teach her courage, because you human. You've got the same rights I have. You just as special as I am. I swear I think I'm special so you better think you're special. Nobody's gonna belittle me, you know. And I'm not gonna allow to belittle anybody."*

Fatimah finished up my haircut, brushing off loose hairs around my neck. She holds a hand-mirror in front and one behind me asking with a smile if I'm happy with it. I confirm with a broad smile. And as she starts sweeping the hair on the floor, I comment again what I appreciate the most about her haircuts, they press the pause button on everyday life and allow for an unpretentious honest sharing of reflections about things that matter.

## **5.4 Competition**

This story presents a first person account by a young musician-poet. He applied and was invited to audition for a paid opportunity to perform at fan park stages during the 2010 FIFA soccer World Cup in South Africa.

*"Yebo<sup>3</sup>, I am Solitude, but at birth, some 23 years ago, my gogo<sup>4</sup> had actually named me 'Monwabisi'. I remember how back then certain radio personalities were idolized. One of them was 'Monwabisi', a preacher who hosted a gospel program that my family liked to listen to. I think that may have had to do with how I got this name. But when I then started to think about what it means - 'The One Who Brings Joy' - I felt obligated to look within, find myself and fulfill it. And 'joy' doesn't come alone and it doesn't just come 'out of the blue'. It requires you to be in a space where you are able to cater it. And so it happened that I was writing a song for my sickly youngest brother and then the word 'solitude' came and I was just gonna add to make rhymes and stuff. But when I then looked up its meaning - 'the state of being alone' - immediately I identified with it. Probably because at that time I was feeling miserable myself, you know like, 'I'm alone in the world and no one really understands me'. But I then tapped into deeper depths of the actual meaning of 'isolation', beyond the negative side of being separated from the rest. I looked at 'solitude' positively, as the only place where you're able to find peace, which is when you're alone. And that's how I came up with another definition of 'solitude', not 'the state of being alone' but 'peace within', it's 'inner peace'. That's why I called myself Solitude and hopefully that at a certain point that will lead me to be 'Monwabisi', 'The One Who Brings Joy'. I mean, how can one possibly cater happiness to other people, without having actually had an opportunity to be at peace with*

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<sup>3</sup> Informal South African an expression of affirmation, isiZulu for 'yes'

<sup>4</sup> Grandmother

oneself? It's not something that we can easily tap into. A lot of people do continuously say that it's in the mind, that we're too caught up in the outside world, and that we don't have time to be in solitude, to be alone, find peace and then be happy. But let me tell you a bit more about myself and where I come from."



*"My parents never really had a good relationship and my mom had left town for work and to look for greener pastures. So my three siblings and I were raised by my gogo in Steynsburg, a small town of a few hundred households in the rural Eastern Cape. Afrikaans was the first language I spoke at home, but since 1993, when I started school, isiXhosa and English have become my preferred active languages. Old as she already was, my gogo worked at a local fast-food restaurant. She single-handedly not only provided for our basic needs, but also for her own children, who were actually my aunts. I had the responsibility to go up the mountain to fetch wood to cook, so we didn't struggle with paraffin and all that other stuff like electricity. We didn't have it for a while, even when it was available. But gogo was able to kind of make that whole poverty thing not be felt in a way, because she would just make sure we don't go without food, even though there were times we wouldn't have, but she would always make do. At age 12-13, towards the end of December 2000, I came to Cape Town to continue my schooling in Grade 8. At that time I lived with my mom and stepdad and some of my aunts in Harare, 38 Section, Khayelitsha, Cape Town's largest township, some 30 km's from the city's center."*

*"I believe in community and community building. My creative life as a musician-poet extends to my commitment to community development. My desire is to put my thoughts and experiences into the world so that I can enter into a larger conversation with people in different places and continue to be creative and support others in finding their purpose in life. Back in 2010, with only eleven weeks to go before the kick-off of the FIFA World Cup, I heard that the City of Cape Town had launched a public audition process to identify and select the best local emerging artists to perform at the City's official events during the forthcoming soccer world cup in South Africa between 11 June and 11 July 2010."*

**Auditions as Cattle Calls** – “Auditions could be for a part in an advert, as an extra in a movie, as well as for actors, musicians, and/or dancers in a show. It's not unusual to hear auditions for parts in an advert being referred to as "a cattle call", where potentially hundreds of wannabe performers turn up. For the 2010 World Cup entertainers in Cape Town, PANSA auditioned many hundreds of individuals and groups for a limited number of places. It will always be like that unless there are more theatres and performance venues, and more people who attend theatre or local live music events. Personally, I see little use for data that tracks this, and can see little application for that data in the day to day business of PANSA, except to tell people they have a 1% or 5% chance of being selected. And I think they would already know that” (Email communication 26 September, 2016 – Appendix XI).

*“Auditions were open to all artists over 12 years of age. To audition, it was compulsory for artists to get registered with PANSA, the Performing Arts Network of South Africa, which had been appointed by the City to manage the whole auditioning process. So after registering, I got invited to a first round audition on 3 April 2010 at the Theatre in the District in Woodstock. On that date at that place I got to perform my song in front of a panel of four judges, all theatre experts: two males, two females, one of whom was black, one white, and two were colored. At a later stage, I read in a newspaper article that over a period of five weeks some 3000 artists had gone through a hard audition process, competing against each other at five venues across the larger Cape Town area. After qualifying, we artists were required to sign off on contractual conditions which stipulated that we would refrain from making any ‘religious or political statements’ in our performances, offering example phrases like ‘Jesus is the savior’ and ‘Free Palestine’. Although I had already written a socially critical song about FIFA, I knew that to make it through the auditions, I would have to present songs that were much lighter in terms of content. The one I performed in this audition was called ‘Feel Good Song’.”*

#### **5.4.1 Judging - being judged**

*“Li-li-li, li-li-li, li-li-li”, my cellphone’s ‘ululation’<sup>5</sup> ring tone went off, indicating that I just received an SMS, saying: ‘Congratulations, you have been invited to a first round audition for the 2010 World Cup tournament. We expect you on 3 April 2010, 18h00 for 18h30 at the Theatre in the District at 106 Chapel Street, Woodstock. Be on time!’ ‘Yebo!’, I’m saying out loud to myself, an opportunity to perform and actually get paid by FIFA. You know, I’ve been told they’re paying up to 1500 Rand for just 15 minutes on stage!”*

*“When I went there, I didn’t pay any attention to how I was dressed. I often wear this kind of hoodies, casual slacks, ‘takkies’<sup>6</sup> and a cap. I kind of dress the same way always.*

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<sup>5</sup> A celebratory long, wavering, high-pitched vocal sound resembling a howl with a trilling quality. It is produced by emitting a high pitched loud voice accompanied with a rapid back and forth movement of the tongue and the palatine uvula (‘Ululation, n.d.).

<sup>6</sup> Informal South African English word for tennis shoes.

*During all of the auditions and performances I did the same thing. I just go as I am. I guess it speaks to who I've become as a person. And listening to poetry helps me actually interpret life, I mean it is therapy. By saying that, Alicia Keys has a poem that says 'Prisoner of Words'<sup>7</sup>. It's speaking to how people don't express themselves often enough, in a sense that at times they lock in certain things that would actually serve to imprison them for a long time. But I also find that they could also be prisoners of images, meaning people who want to look a certain part but not be that part, right? So as Julia Cameron, author of 'The Artist's Way', argues, 'Some people spent more time trying to look like an artist than being that artist'. So my key-focus is being an artist and not looking like one."*

**Winning Matters, Not Losers** – Consultation with representatives from the Performing Artists Network of Southern Africa (PANSA), a national network of individuals, NGOs, service providers and mainstream institutions that are engaged in the practice or support of the performing arts in all forms learned that no data exist and are gathered in South Africa regarding: *who get to take part in auditions, how many are turned down; what being turned down means and does, along with contextual background about available avenues for those with creative talents to get anywhere meaningful in SA.*" A follow-up inquiry asked about PANSA's stance, whether the requested data might be relevant and useful to have. Their reply was: "Auditions are a bit like competitions. As many as 100 people might audition for one part. Nobody bothers to track those who don't get selected." (Email communication 14 & 26 September, 2016 – Appendix XI).

*"It is late afternoon on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April and my bhuti<sup>8</sup> Simpiwe is driving me from Langa township to the auditioning place in Woodstock in the Southern suburbs. Traffic is heavy due to yet another serious road accident on the N2 so we're arriving a bit late, around 7 pm. It's already dark. I jump out of the car and rush into the building where a guy immediately gives me a bit of a shout for not being on time. He pins a paper number on my shirt. I appear to be the last person to audition today. I sit down in an empty row of chairs in a passage and wait to be called in. So here I am, admitting to myself that I'm a bit nervous of this 'audition thing', thinking 'Yoh, this is the moment', you know. 'I'm gonna actually do the audition'. My mind is racing with different kind of things that could come out of this, you know, they'd dangled professional training, media attention, big audiences, payment and stuff like that. But I'm trying to not let it overwhelm me. After only a few minutes wait, the guy says, 'Ja, you can go now'. I follow the paper arrows and walk through a door that leads directly onto the stage. From one moment to the next I'm confronted with a panel of four judges. They're sitting behind a table in the audience section of the theatre. A DJ guy comes up to me and asks for the CD with my instrumental back-up. I hand it to him. He runs up to his sound-room and indicates to want to do a quick sound check, and then... 'eish'<sup>9</sup>, dead silence!*

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<sup>7</sup> Def Poetry: Alicia Keys- "P.O.W" (Official Video) Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AkSObnpCimA>

<sup>8</sup> Xhosa term for brother.

<sup>9</sup> Used in South African English and Afrikaans to express exasperation or disbelief. The word was first transliterated from the Xhosa language to Afrikaans, and then into South African English.

*It appears that their CD player does not recognize the format of my recording. Here I am, standing alone on stage in the spot light. I must deal with the situation and tell the judges: 'I'm sorry, what happened is that the CD won't play, but I think I can still do it, you know, unplugged'. Actually, I always like a kind of set up where I know everyone is listening, that's when I want to emphasize what I'm saying. So it was not bad for me. I was enjoying it as well. When I write my songs, I don't listen to instrumentals, I don't depend on that. I use them afterwards. The judges tell me: 'Go for it'. I grab the mike and instead of the CD kicking off my performance, I start rapping into the silence, the chorus and the verses of my 'Feel Good Song'.*

CHORUS:

Nod your head lift your fingers in the air  
 move slowly side to side to this feel good song  
 spread the word here and there everywhere  
 gather your family and friends and bring them along

Verse

This is a type of joint you gotta play in any kind of season so  
 we stay on point to keep you happy that's the reason  
 with these brothers on a track you can't go wrong  
 Mashonisa did the beat we got a feel good song for  
 all of my people who've been stressing for a while  
 depressed and oppressed now it's time to put a smile  
 in your face, we gotta get rid of the frown in the place  
 am talking to the green and the brown  
 the boys and the girls and I mean to everybody that DJs with the toys  
 spin this on any party for folks in the suburbs and folks in the hood  
 if you feeling kinda down we here to make you feel good  
 lift up your spirit, lighten up the mood  
 tell me if you hear it if you hungry this is food  
 food for your thought, food for the soul  
 it's love that we got and to share it is goal

Verse 2

Ndinombono wezomveku mzi ka Phalo  
*(I have a vision of the youth black nation)*  
 Ziphiwe ngesakhono kodwa kukhokel'inkathalo  
*(blessed with talent/skill but they put love/care first)*  
 abazali benebhongo neqhaviya besith' ukzala kuzelula  
*(parents feeling proud saying 'to give birth is to is to free yourself'*  
*besitsho belilizela bechiphichiph' inyembezi zolonwabi nezevuyo*  
*(saying that ululating and dripping tears of joy)*  
 I see the world where everybody man is all smiles  
 andikwazi ukulinda *(I can't wait)* till the day I see my mom cries  
 tears of joy coz her son has made her so proud  
 yilomogcobo *(celebrations)* and my sister screaming out loud  
 giving my all and killin it for the fun of it  
 tearing my soul to my people for no benefit  
 am not offending anybody there's nothing to hate  
 gather together let us all break the border gates  
 udlulil' unogumbe ndinombono wesosizwe sigutyungelwe lulonwabo  
*(the storm has passed I have a vision of the nation that's covered in joy).*

*“As I was rapping away, I could see some of the judges nodding and bopping along, making me feel that the song seemed to be getting to them. I finished, coming full circle to the ‘dead silence’ from where I had started...thinking ‘are they perhaps expecting something more?’ So I say, ‘Ja, that’s it’. The first three judges now take turns giving me feedback, really positive, like, that they were gelling into the melody, which was nice, and how they could get even the idea of the instrumentals in the background, even though they weren’t there. And they also thought that it was well constructed. Now it’s the last judge’s turn, the colored guy. He clearly wasn’t digging it. He kept saying that he found it ‘monotonous’. And to be honest, as he is talking I am thinking I don’t really know what ‘monotonous’ means. But because he also kept throwing in the phrase ‘benefit of the doubt’ I understood that there was something wrong. Yet in my mind I’m trying to figure out how I could’ve made it less ‘monotonous’, because I have crazy respect for what comes from somebody else, especially when it has to do with the way I do things. It gives me an opportunity to see myself in someone else’s eyes, it fascinates me. So I’m thinking that probably I’ll have to work on the way I rap, you know. Because I didn’t fully understand ‘monotonous’, I didn’t know what I needed to improve,*

*which really is all I can do when I rap you know, is to sing what I'm saying. But it bothered me that he repeatedly said that luck is getting me to the next round, not the quality of my performance. Like, I may have won over the other three judges but not him. Yes, I think that's how I interpreted what he was saying. So he finished and now one of the other judges asks me if I have anything to say."*

**Neoliberalism: Competition Defining Trait of Human Relations** – In a world governed by competition, those who fall behind become defined and self-defined as losers (Monbiot, 2016) or scroungers, taking advantage of our social security system (Verhaeghe, 2014). Neoliberalism has brought out the worst in us. It is an economic system that rewards psychopathic personality traits has changed our ethics and our personalities (Verhaeghe, 2014). Neo-liberalism appears to have become our everyday 'ultimate judge', prompting us to recall the words of Neville Alexander (South African political activist, educationalist and academic, 1936–2012): 'Once the commodity value of people displaces their intrinsic human worth or dignity, we are well on the way to a state of barbarism' (Klees, 2014).

*"I look straight at the colored guy and simply say: 'Uhm, sorry sir, I would like to actually mention something that you would need to remember when I come back. It's that I won't be using my name 'Solitude' anymore, but 'Lucky', because you emphasized how lucky I am that I'm gonna be in the next round'. Everyone now laughed, but not him. He says: 'Oh, you think this is a joke?' And I'm like, 'No, it is not a joke. It's the truth. I'll change my name to Lucky'. I didn't laugh when I said this. I just felt I had to add a little bit of humor in the way I said it. If I wanted to argue and be rude, I would've told him, 'Dude, you think you're smart and all but the reason it was monotonous is because your system failed'. But I didn't even entertain that. I intended to respond in a packaged 'soft blow' kind of a way to his 'being lucky' judgment. It wasn't so much the contents of his feedback but more so how he delivered it, a bit hostile, this 'benefit of the doubt' phrase. So I was kind of mocking, not him as a person but how he'd gone about judging me. I mean it was the best way to get my message across to this judge. I mean it's not something that I find easy to tell people the honest truth about themselves and when I know how it will impact them. This was pure improv and it kind of communicates to the person who and how I am."*

*"When I look back, what made me feel human is both the moment when I said that I would rename myself 'Lucky', and when I actually shared the song that I wrote about how I felt about the World Cup. What I attempted to voice back to that judge is that I felt that he was reducing me from who I actually am. His judgment did not contribute positively to my self-esteem, to my being, to me being myself. And, beyond just that incident, I feel that the only time that I'll attain freedom is when everyone acknowledges the power that they hold within and attain the very same respect that everyone tends to get. But not in the way that is determined by society. I mean, if you want to have any form of dignity you have to work and*

*have money, must be able to provide, and all those things. But it should be something that, you know, human life itself is important. You cannot just go and shoot 34 people in Marikana, as if it's nothing. As much as we can point fingers at, you know, the system, at the core we lack to value human kind. And this is one part that we tend to forget. But this attitude needs to be challenged. So if you were to ask me what 'being human' means, I'd say, actually, we are made to be human. When I responded to that judge, besides just being myself, I was trying to affirm, 'no, don't think you are smarter than me'. It was a moment that I took a stand, you know, don't be fooled by the fact that I had to audition in order to perform at a FIFA stage. I'm on their turf, I have to play according to their rules. But I guess this is the way it works at most of the platforms where people have to audition. The other day I was listening to DJ T-Bo Touch, where he was saying that he chases artists out of his studio, because sometimes he doesn't even bother to listen to their music when they come to him, because he would just first look at the way they're dressed, and then be like, 'Oh, who do you think is gonna take you serious if you dress like this'. As Julia Cameron said, spending more time on looking like an artist than being one. I see this a lot, for example in televised competitions, like 'So You Think You Can Dance?' and 'South Africa's Got Talent'."*

**Women and Young People at End of Job Line** – South Africa's unemployment rate has risen to 27.1% in the second quarter of 2016, the highest it has been in 13 years. This translates into 5.873 million South Africans of working age (15-64) without jobs. A breakdown of these stats by age and gender reveals that job opportunities for South Africa's young people are way below global average, particularly affecting graduates who face an unemployment rate of 65,5%. These stats include discouraged young job-seekers who have given up trying to find a job. Women also remain the most vulnerable to the forces of the labor market, especially women of color who mainly hold low-skilled jobs (Statistics SA, 2016).

*"But I think there's more constructiveness that can come out of their approach. I don't know where this attitude or this mentality of being harsh towards people is coming from. Sometimes contestants may lack a sense of the bigger picture, that it's a game in a way. But that doesn't mean that you have to kill their dreams, which I'm sure happens in some cases, how they actually take in such judgments. The competitions, I mean the whole thing is like an act now, the judges bring an attitude towards the people who are displaying their stuff. You can see that they sometimes forget their roles, and start acting out of character, at times showing favoritism. I've also seen judges breaking into tears. I don't know if it's something that's supposed to get certain people talking or maybe get people moved, 'oh, so-and-so was touched by so-and-so's performance', which is great if that really is what happened. When I'm moved, I get goose bumps, especially when people sing, I get so cold I just cringe, I actually feel it in that case. But I hardly get that in those TV programs. When judges are not*

*authentic and make performers feel small, they become caricatures instead of real characters and viewers may respond accordingly. People who are in the position of laying judgments, sometimes they abuse their power.”*

*“When I responded to him, my intention was not to do to him how I experienced what he did to me, but to make him realize in a ‘packaged’ way that he didn’t need to do what he did. I mean the other three judges saw the same thing. I was just trying to make him realize that at the end of the day, as much as you’re a judge, you’re not better than me. I had to undergo the audition in front of the judges and required their approval to reach the next round. That didn’t make me less of a person, you know. I understand and have respect for the role and the responsibility that comes with being a judge. Hence I thought that it was abuse of power, that I feel that he was using that power to kind of put me down. If his intention was to motivate me, I didn’t feel motivated.”*

**TINA: There Is No Alternative** – A neoliberal macro-economic framework underlies South Africa’s National Development Plan (Hassen, 2011; NPC, 2013; NUMSA, 2013). This indicates that Margaret Thatcher’s dictum ‘TINA: There is No Alternative’, which she used to justify a neo-liberal revolution in Britain starting back in 1979, is still alive. The central value of Neo-liberalism is the notion of competition: between nations, regions, firms, and of course between individuals. Competition is supposed to allocate all resources, whether physical, natural, human, or financial with the greatest possible efficiency. Because competition is always a virtue, its results cannot be bad. For the neo-liberal, the market is so wise and so good that like God, the Invisible Hand can bring good out of apparent evil. Basically, the operational principle was ‘don’t worry about those who might be left behind in the competitive struggle...people are unequal by nature...this is good because the contributions of the well-born, the best-educated, the toughest, will eventually benefit everyone...nothing in particular is owed to the weak, the poorly educated, what happens to them is their own fault, never the fault of society (George, 1999).

*“I felt like he was failing to acknowledge the fact that there’s something that has led to the impression that he’s getting. He was using that against me instead of saying, ‘Okay, I would actually love to hear this with the instrumentals, so that I hear what it feels like’. That a constructive judgment and it builds me, it doesn’t demoralize me because it makes me feel more like, ‘Okay, I need to make plans so that it’s there’, you know. I think what I was also trying to say to the judge has to do with being humbled, it’s a very important tool. It doesn’t make you a less of a human being, it makes you more of a human being’. If we fail in being humble, it has its own ways of teaching you to ground yourself, what makes you who you are is who you are, not what you have or who you are made to be.*

*“Then the judges thanked me and send me off, ‘We’ll see you at the next audition’. I walked off stage, alone as Solitude—‘Peace Within’, with a wink towards Monwabisi’—‘The One Who Brings Joy’.”*

### **5.5 Dressing Up**

Nomhlaba first introduces herself and her background to the reader. Next she shares two distinct affirmations of her unique personhood and how these impacted on her, respectively, featuring prominently in a supermarket’s 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary advert, and being a student at university.

*“You’re asking me to introduce myself, well, my name is Nomhlaba. I’m a 31 years old, black, South African woman and I am lesbian. I come from a lower class background. I won’t say dire poverty, like ‘we didn’t eat’, but ‘poor’ because we can’t get some of the things that we like to get in life. I’m trying to get there though. I was born and raised in Soweto by my grandparents and two of my aunts in one household. I’ve got four siblings, two half-sisters, one half and one full brother. My mom was a back-up singer for musicians. When I was six, they went to perform outside the country. Everybody returned but her. She only came back when I was fifteen. I stayed with her for one year but things didn’t work out so I went back to my dad. He was working before I was born, not sure where but I’ve seen a picture with a factory and some big machines. I think he lost his job when I was a couple of months old and since then he’s never worked until when I was about seventeen, when he started selling stuff in trains and as a street vendor outside the hospital. I was socialized into religion by my aunt who is hard-core Christian. She took me to church since I was only three days old. She has no children, not married. Since my dad wasn’t working, my aunt took care of me in terms of buying me clothes and whatever I needed. But my grandmother was the first woman whom I loved unconditionally. No matter what happened, she was my icon. I feel like most that I’ve done in my life, I wouldn’t have done if it wasn’t for her. She welcomed me to her home, accepted me unconditionally. She was the first person who was open about me when I came out, ‘I love you the way you are, you’re still my boy-girl’, you know.”*

DAILY NEWS

TUESDAY 18/06

## **Politics and Commodification of Fair Skin and Straight Hair**

*“At age eight I had a huge afro. But later, growing up I was tom-boyish. My other aunt, the non-Christian one, she had a hair salon at my house. So people expected me to have nice hair all the time, yet I just wasn’t into the whole hair thing, I was just boyish, my head shaved bald. This started to worry my well-respected Christian family. And at my aunt’s church, women were not allowed to wear pants and do their hair. Hair had to be short, no earrings, no make-up, and no trousers. According the Bible, you’re not supposed to ‘fry’ your hair or whatever. So at church, as I didn’t like the look of short hair, I just went bald.”*

*“What got me into modelling? Well, being too tomboyish, although I didn’t care, modelling was to help me get in touch with my feminine side. Then, around age fourteen, people kept saying that I had a nice body and should do modelling. So I entered a beauty pageant and won. Okay, that was a great feeling, I continued. But as time went on, I got really bored with it and also the sexism during some of the shoots, it was just, ‘ughh’. But my modelling experience did help me run my own little business for a while, doing make-up and nails for weddings, anniversaries, 21<sup>st</sup> birthdays, and what not. And I had a job at ‘Italian Divine’, a beauty salon run by a Nigerian guy.*

**Afro Hair Likened to a Bird’s Nest** – An online petition against racist practices which has gathered more than 10,000 signatures called on authorities to ensure that the ‘school’s code of conduct does not discriminate against black and Muslim girls’ (Agence France- Presse, 2016). Mr. Panyaza Lesufi, Gauteng Province Member of the Executive Council of Education, visited Pretoria High School for Girls to probe #StopRacismAtPretoriaGirls concerns (Pather, 2016): “There’s no doubt the hair debate is about much more than hair. It’s about how we deal with social cohesion after years of apartheid rule. I will never forget how the pupils related the incidents they experienced at the school. They spoke about how they were insulted, called monkeys, a dirty k-word, that afro hair was likened to a bird’s nest and some were given a brush and told to look at themselves in the mirror and neaten themselves up.” (Lesufi, 2016).

*“I think I’ve got a pretty good sense of style. I know how to mix and match my clothes. The modelling that I’d done kinda taught me and the fact of course that my granny, my ‘first lady’, was chic. She always looked on point and it was kinda like ‘her thing’ to be looking good. She used to work as a domestic for this white lady, Mrs Meyers, for twenty-five years. Every now and then Mrs. Meyers would hand her old clothes to my granny and she made these look good on herself. So my thing of using second-hand clothing to look unique came from that. It works out well because that’s where you find unique clothes that are also affordable.”*

*“I finished matric in 2004 and at 21 I started working as a cashier at a ‘Pick n Pay’ (PnP) supermarket. Saved some money and moved from my sister’s apartment into my own place. I bought my own furniture. Everyone I grew up was just craving my life, saying things like, ‘Oh- my-gosh, you’re so independent’. I just didn’t feel that, no-no-no, I’m supposed to*

*be doing more. I'd wake up every morning dragging my feet to that place. In my head I knew I was destined for bigger things. I knew I wanted to be in varsity and get a degree. I wanted to help people but not 'with groceries', people who don't have enough. However, working for PnP did boost my confidence. I'd make sure that I dressed the uniform like I'm a model going to an airport or a hostess. I'd look my best and as if I was enjoying it. I guess the dressing up part was making me feel good about myself. Because customers would come to my till, and be like, 'Oh-my-gosh', you walk this uniform', it was kinda my thing. And other girls in PnP started like dressing like me. They cut their skirts and bought stockings."*

*"I first and foremost dressed up for myself, but liked it when others noticed and liked it, you know. I guess, part of me was just trying to convince myself that I'm okay with my life, that I'm doing so much better than my peers. Many of the girls I grew up with didn't finish matric, were pregnant, not married, some having second children."*

*"And here I was the only one in my community still standing, holding a job. Some elderly persons in my street were like, 'We're so proud of you, we wish some of these kids would just do it like you'. Okay, PnP cashiers made 2800 Rand (USD 220) a month, sometimes a bit more, depending on how many hours you work. Yes, it's a job, someone needs to do it, we all have to eat, but it wasn't a job for me. It was just not self-fulfilling."*

**Weaves/Braids Industry Annual Worth R800 Million** – The industry is thought to be worth more than \$1bn worldwide (Davids, Van Wyk & Khumalo, 2016), which comes close to the South African weaves and braids industry with an estimated worth of R800 million a year (Patta, 2012). Research points to a complex of reasons for the increasing consumption of these products: strong links to persistent racism (colonial histories of slavery and oppression), the perceived social benefits of lighter skin (low self-esteem and hopes for social and economic advancement), and the marketing expertise of the multinational cosmetics companies now involved in their production (Davids, Van Wyk & Khumalo, 2016).

*"And part of me, the dressing up part, was still trying to push the whole 'I'm still a model' type-a-look, hoping that I get scouted by this customer who owns a big modelling agency, when he comes to pay at my till. But 'pffff', that never happened. I only got to varsity in my thirties, although I was supposed to be here ten years ago. I mean, you start at 18 and graduate when you're 21-22. But back then there was no money to come to university. I was actually a 'Top A' student in Grade 11, but at the end of that school year my dad committed suicide. And coming back for my matric year was very hard, because I blamed myself for a fight we had four days before he killed himself. In that year I started to self-destruct, failed my matric and had to repeat. I had given up the dream of getting a bursary. But also, I didn't even know about financial aid. I only learned about bursaries that were out there and how to access them when I got to 'OUT' magazine."*

*"I had moved to Pretoria and came out when I was 23-24. Before that I just didn't wanna hear and even understand what lesbianism was. I just knew that I was only attracted to girls and it just felt weird. But when I came out I started researching and see, 'oh-my-gosh, all of this is happening under my nose?' I then volunteered as a peer educator at 'OUT', the LGBT magazine. There my activism started and strengthened, through meeting many like-minded passionate gay people. Part of me applying to UCT was inspired by ['Naledi', pseudonym], one of the girls I worked with closely."*

### **5.5.1 Noticing - being noticed**

*"Back in 2007, to celebrate PnP's 40th anniversary, they created a TV commercial featuring over a hundred employees, mostly cashiers and till packers in PnP uniforms, selected from supermarkets all over Jo'burg. My location manager had put me forward as a suitable employee, successfully 'selling' me to the production team with the line, 'she's very vibrant and looks different with her hair'."*

**Skin-Lighteners: White Makes You Win** – Despite the legal banning of skin-lightening products in many countries, their usage is on the increase globally, also in South Africa where 35% of women use lighteners, responding to the marketing that 'white makes you win'. The products can seriously damage skin caused by the ingredients mercury, hydroquinone, potent corticosteroids and retinoid (Medical Brief, 2016; Davids, Van Wyk & Khumalo, 2016). In an episode of her investigative and current affairs show '3rd Degree' which was titled 'It's Just Hair Isn't It?', Debora Patta said 'it [skin damage] is a risk many are prepared to take' [...] as one female interviewee put it, '[w]e can't discover a cure for Aids, but we know how to straighten black women's hair' (Patta, 2012).

*"The commercial was shot at Mary Fitzgerald Square in the inner-city suburb Newtown. We're a big group of mostly black and colored females. We're wearing our PnP uniforms and I had a Mohawk. Mind you, this hairstyle wasn't in fashion at that time. So basically, I platted my hair in corn rows, but in a mohawk kinda style. So it was going up like a set of curls, and there'd be a maroon-black weave in front, just for the fringe. It was definitely a very unique hair style. And many people commented like, 'Oh, wow, that looks really nice'. And after a while, I saw other people doing that same hair and I was like, 'yay, I was first'. I'd actually done it just a week before the advert was shot. So here's what happened at the shoot, which took a total of about five shots. In the first three takes, I was standing somewhere in the middle of the big group. Then when the camera went up to capture the whole crowd, the camera guy spotted my hair. Somebody called out, 'who's the lady with the nice chicken-like looking hair style?' A colleague yelled out, 'she's from our store' and the producer then called me to the front saying, 'her hair-thingy kinda captures it'."*

*“This is how I got to feature prominently in the actual TV advert, ja, that hair [laughs], because the uniform alone wouldn’t have made me stand out and be noticed. And ‘oh-my-gosh’, that commercial was then showing all over the country for a full month. Everyone was texting having seen me and how much they liked my hair style. And also in the store, people would come ask, ‘Are you that advert girl?’ Such a nice feeling you know.”*

*“And then there was this colored dude in a wheelchair. He was a regular customer. So he went to pay at till number one. I was at till number two. And as he’s paying, he looks at me and says, ‘I know you’. His cashier starts laughing. Then he says to her, ‘No-no-no-no, I know her from that PnP advert’, propelling his wheelchair to my till: ‘What do celebrities like?’ And I was like, ‘Celebrities?’...teasing him, ‘Oh, I’m dying for those boots that I saw at this boutique here at the mall’. And he says, ‘Okay, meet me there at lunch time’. And I’m like, ‘Okay, but I was just joking, but getting a chocolate would be nice’. So later at lunch time, he was waiting for me at the shop: ‘Hey Nomhlaba, howzit? Wanna get those boots now?’ Again I said I’d just been joking but he insisted that we enter the shop, ‘Which boots do you like?’”*

*“I pointed at them saying, ‘OMG, I die for those boots’. He said, ‘Okay, go take them’ I said, ‘What?’ ‘No, seriously, no strings attached. I don’t want anything from you. I don’t want you to sleep with me. I don’t want you to be my girlfriend. I just wanna do something nice for you’. And he bought me that pair of boots that cost 400+ Rand (USD 31). I could’ve never afforded them with my salary, with all my bills. And I’m like, ‘Wow, thank you’. ‘It’s my pleasure. I see you some other time’. I was so excited, the next day I wore them at work, you know, I was like ‘rocking them boots’. And I was so happy. And from this moment onward, we became like best friends.”*

**Complicity Corporate Sector** – ‘In corporate South Africa, notions of ‘good hair’ are debated and the fact that many black female newscasters on national TV, especially the English and Afrikaans channels predominantly wear weaves and braids, showcasing apparent complicity of the corporate sector in reinforcing the idea that braided, relaxed or weaved hair is the most ‘professional’ looking, while dreadlocks are assumed to be untidy and unprofessional’ (Nyamnjoh & Fuh, 2014, pp 57-58). “There is a constant fight to normalize natural Black beauty. We are trying to normalize this sort of beauty. That you can be that dark-skinned and still be in the context of a beauty shoot. Black South African women have been told they are not attractive for far too long. They were told their skin was too dark or their hair was not straight enough.”– Mathahle Stofile, Beauty activist (Riley, 2016).

*“In 2011 I moved from Gauteng Province to the Western Cape to become a working student in social sciences at the University of Cape Town (UCT). When I got here, it was the first direct exposure to people of different colors, it was like too much diversity for me. I felt like I don’t fit in with white and Indian people cos I never went to a multi-racial school. I was*

*always with black people, in NGO's and at Pick n Pay. So, to actually be able to sit next to a white person and have a conversation with them, it was very difficult for me. But I kinda learned to just step out of my comfort zone and like just let things happen. I'm now 31 and in my final year doing gender studies and sociology. I now more consciously think of myself as a black South African woman and I'm unapologetically sex gendered. It's not something that I was socialized into. Even when I came out, I was okay with not being 'butch' or identifying as a lesbian. I want people to see me as a person before they see my skin color, my gender, my sexuality and everything else."*

*"And I'm very bold in terms of my dress code. I don't like dressing like everybody else. I always choose items that nobody has. I get most of my clothing from second-hand shops because there I find unique clothes that are also affordable. Nobody else on campus will be wearing these clothes. You'll be the only one. Unlike buying at Mr. Price [a South African retail store], then 'fifteen thousand of us' wear the same T-shirts on the same days. And I like to keep my clothes for long. I still own clothes from way back in 2003. They still look very good. And because people don't have these clothes now, I'm able to 'rock them' and look good in them [smiles all over]. For instance, what I'm wearing now, it's actually not a dress but a top. But because my body allows me to wear it as a dress, it works. And people don't know, so they look at me and go, 'Oh gosh, cute dress'. And this was a style from 2006. Few people still own these, because they wore them till they finished. I saved mine, I put it away. And now four-five years later, I'll wear it again and it looks nice and people ask me, 'Where did you get that?' [laughs]. I'm a very observant person. I always look around. I read the spaces I'm in. And I see people who look at me with, 'Oh, she dresses very nice, so she can't be from a poor family', or, 'She dresses very unique', you know, 'she is very bold, very confident in the way that she walks'. The first thing people see when they look at me is a black, heterosexual woman. Though I identify as a lesbian, I don't dress stereotypically, you know, in manly clothes. It's a personal choice because I'm very comfortable in my own skin as a lesbian being all feminine. But people seem to have this perception that if you're a lesbian, you have to look or dress a certain way. I try to break those boxes. I don't want people to box me. So some days I feel like dressing up 'masculine looking', and other days I feel like 'feminine looking' and sometimes I'm just 'androgynous'."*

**Politicization and Commodification** – ‘The politicization and commodification of identities in an intrinsically hierarchized world of unequal encounters and relationships is well exemplified by the resilient debates and divisions on ‘natural African hair’ versus ‘fake or non-African hair’ that resonate with similar, often racialized, debates and divisions around nature and nurture, primitive and civilized, authentic and acculturated or fake, tradition and modern, past and present, local and global, good and bad, human and non-human.’ (Nyamnjoh & Fuh, 2014, p. 57).

*“I think most people don’t wanna be looked at and labelled according to what they see. If I were to wear torn clothes and look all scruffy, it will certainly give people that idea or opinion that, ‘oh, poor Nomhlaba’, you know, ‘she’s from a poor family, shame...this and that’, and I don’t want that. I had too much pity in my life with everything that I went through. So, where this all comes from, me wanting to look good all the time, it’s been building my-self up from all the things that I lived through in the past. I faced a lot of hardships that put me to where I am today. And I told myself, I’m continuing moving forward, I’m not going back.”*

*“Coming back to campus at the beginning of the year, I knew very well that most of the black students would have braids, because everybody wants to look good on the first day after the long holidays. I decided to go and make mine red. I knew most black people will definitively go for blond or for black or another color. I mean, with white women, the fiber kinda doesn’t hold because it’s like too similar to their soft hair, so you kinda can’t plait this [referring to my hair]. So they [whites] can change their hair color, this one [touching her own hair] they can’t have. It’s one of those things they can’t share with us black people, you know [laughs amused]. Because, most black people they feel like, white people have taken so much from us, but there are certain things that we like to preserve for ourselves, like dreadlocks. But now you do see white people having dreadlocks, but’ it’s mostly hippies, and their dreadlocks don’t look very nice. Few people know how to maintain it well.”*

## **5.6 Robbery**

None of them had intended or could have really been prepared for the bedroom encounter which occurred that early Sunday summer morning, around 4-5 AM, in Britannia Bay. ‘Them’ here refers to two unrelated South African pairs of persons: Kate and Donovan and Nathan and Shane.

Kate is a 28 year old white female, employed as a health professional, and her older white boyfriend Donovan is a freelance photographer. Both hail from relatively affluent middle class families. It’s Friday and they leave Cape Town for a weekend away at her

family's vacation home in Britannia Bay, a small quiet picturesque town on South Africa's west coast. The next day, two of Kate's white male friends, Connor, who is tall, and Pete, who is short and a chef, join them. They enjoy a nice relaxed Saturday evening together, having a *braai*<sup>10</sup> and plenty of drinks around a little bonfire at the beach right outside the house. Kate and Donovan decide to call it a night. They want to catch enough sleep to get up fresh on Sunday morning.



The other pair is Nathan, a 28 year old absent father of a six year old son, and a member of the '28' prison gang, and his 29 year old friend Shane, a member of the '26' prison gang. Both had joined the gangs to protect themselves when in jail. Nathan comes from a very low income family:

[Nathan] *"You see, I grew up in a poor community, man. But my parents were good. They struggled to get me somewhere. And even they wanted to send me to college and that can change my life and do something. I have an older sister (29) and brother (34), I'm the youngest, and I was spoiled, sometimes."*

Shane comes from a 'broken family', he was partly raised by his aunt because his dad had passed and his mom is, according to a local police captain, 'a homeless drug addict who just like Shane mostly lives in the bush'.

Both Shane and Nathan are Cape colored males. As kids they grew up and played together in the same neighborhood in Stompies Bay. Currently, they are both unemployed and on parole.

After an evening of hanging out together, smoking *tik*<sup>11</sup>, they intend to go on foot to a pump station on Main Road in Britannia Bay to steal copper cables, something Nathan had done before.

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<sup>10</sup> Afrikaans for 'barbecue'

<sup>11</sup> Chrystal-meth

Kate and Donovan want to let the soothing sound of the waves, a mere 20 meters away from their veranda, and the fresh ocean breeze, lull them into sleep, so they leave the double bedroom doors wide open. They think it's safe, considering the sparsely populated area they are in, some 160 km's north of Cape Town. Kate says: *"I had done that my entire life previously. We never used to lock the doors."*

On their way to the pump station, following narrow paths through the dunes with a sprawl of nice vacation homes, Nathan and Shane spot one home with wide open doors. At first they cannot believe their eyes, and they are aware that they are under influence of 'tik'. So they move closer to the house and then Nathan says: *"Yoh, this door is really open."*

Shane replies in a mix of Afrikaans and English: *"We must 'gaan' man, let's go man."*

[Nathan]: *"Nee man, ons is on parole man, you just one day and me two weeks outside, ons moet gaan man."*

[Shane]: *"No man, let's go man."*

[Nathan]: *"No, let's leave."*

[Shane]: *"No, I don't want to go in"*. They both have doubts about this 'thing', standing in front of the *stoep*<sup>12</sup> for a while, engaging in a staring contest with the open doors. They also see two people lying there on the bed. Then 'tik' helps them make up their minds. They enter the house, silently. From the clothes that lay around the bed Nathan picks up a pair of socks, covering his hands, to prevent leaving finger prints.

It's around 4 AM. It's still dark although the sun is about to rise so a little bit of ambient light is starting to come through the open doors. Then, a banging sound! Kate and Donovan immediately wake up. They see a shadowy, seemingly drunk, tallish guy with Donovan's tripod with the camera on top stumbling through the room.

**South Africa Among Most Violent Countries Globally** – A government commissioned study by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation using national crime statistics and comparing these with data on violence in other countries convincingly demonstrated that South Africa is one of the most violent countries in the world. At the core of the problem with violent crime is a sub-culture of violence and criminality. Other factors that contribute to the high rates of violent crime include: inequality, poverty, unemployment, and marginalization; 'consumerism and anger' (Shabangu, 2011, p. 97); the vulnerability of young people, which is linked to poor child rearing and youth socialization; values related to violent crime, such as ambivalence towards the law and the normalization of violence; and an overdependence on an inefficient criminal justice system, and not enough emphasis on other approaches to preventing violent crime (CSV, 2010).

Kate thinks: *"Oh my word, my friends must've stayed up all night drinking and now they're messing with Donovan's stuff"*, and then shouts: *"Connor! Pete! What the fuck are you doing?"* But 'Connor' doesn't turn around, he just walks outside. Now, a shorter guy

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<sup>12</sup> Afrikaans for 'veranda' or 'porch'

comes in from the lounge, holding a knife, which he's taken from the kitchen, one of Pete's chef knives. He is wearing a balaclava, stands over the bed and mumbles something in a Cape colored accent. It's still quite dark, and, confused by this strange situation, Kate says: "*Pete, what are you doing?*", when both of them realize, 'actually, this isn't Pete!'

[Kate]: "*You can never really know how you're gonna react in a situation like that. If you could think about it before hand, you'd likely be petrified*". But at this moment, Kate isn't at all petrified. She's calm, and just looks at the guy as he carries on.

As Shane had already left the premises with some stolen goods, Nathan finds himself alone in the bedroom, confronting Kate and Donovan who are now fully awake. He thinks: "*Yoh, Shane is gone, how I must cope with this situation*". He attempts to take control and tells Kate and Donovan: "*Close your eyes, I have a knife but I don't want to use it. Don't make a noise. If you make any noise I'm gonna kill you. Be quiet, don't look at me. Just keep calm.*" He's particularly wary about Donovan, admitting to himself: "*I'm scared of him, because if he grabs me, he'll klop my op<sup>13</sup>*".

**Violence Exists as a Faceless Phenomenon** – Whereas the Oscar Pistorius trial received almost hysterical attention (Thompson, 2014), including personalized storylines and characterizations, other poignant personal histories across this spectrum of experience are mostly ignored. Pistorius' shooting of his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp is portrayed as exceptional, while the violent death of a seventeen-year-old boy or girl living in a poor community only gets 'matter-of-fact reporting of time, place, and cause of death', no narratives as penetrating and rich as is necessitated by the lives they represent. Without such processes of humanization, there is no empathy. Lost is any real account of the lives of the men and women affected by the violence, as well as the stories of the communities that live with it and work against it. Also unaccounted for is the fact that a great many of those that are shooting, and getting shot, are fifteen-to-seventeen years old, or even younger. These are typically boys who are forced to navigate morality in a context where violence and death are a weekly, if not daily, occurrence. To look away from the atrocities being committed, is itself to do violence; not only by ignoring senseless murders, but by allowing another kind of 'structural violence', which kills slowly through alienation, exclusion, and marginalization. And if one is to condemn those who carry out violence in such circumstances, one must also condemn the systems that sustain that violence, and the role of wider South African society in perpetrating these systems — if only by omission (Dziewanski, 2014, 2015).

As Donovan's eyes adjust to the dark, he's able to tell that Nathan isn't a white person. Also, his accent makes him think that he's likely Cape colored. To prevent them from watching him, Nathan orders: "*Lie flat on the bed and put your pillows on your faces.*" They reply: "*Okay, okay*" and do exactly what he asks. They figure that it's probably best to keep calm, which is what he wants, to listen to everything that he says and let's see how the situation plays out.

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<sup>13</sup> Afrikaans for 'beat me up'.

Donovan thinks: *'The longer I wait for the right moment, it's better to make a move then, instead of making a move when you're uncertain, when you're unsure, because that's when things can go terribly wrong'*.

[Fast-forward now to how this robbery came to its end ... the middle part of the story will be shared in detail in Section 5.6.1]

At some point Kate hears an aggressive pulling sound and she asks Nathan: *'What are you doing?'* [Nathan]: *"I'm just taking out shoelaces."* [Kate]: *"Why?"* [Nathan]: *"No, I'm gonna tie you up, I have to tie you up."* And now [Donovan] says: *"No-no-no, don't"*, thinking that he might be preparing to now cause physical harm to them. However, Nathan's heightened sense of paranoia, possibly also due to 'tik', makes him suspect that Donovan is trying to make a move. Nathan now jumps on the bed and off again on Donovan's side, landing a quick stab with the knife in his hip, saying *"Lie still man!"* Nathan later recalled: *"I did not intend to stab him. I just wanted to prick him with the knife, that he can be disciplined, so that I can take my stuff and leave."*

[Kate]: *"When he stabbed Donovan in his leg, which I did not see coming at all, it was like sheer panic."* Nathan then orders Donovan: *"Turn over, turn over,"* attempting to tie up his hands. And at that point, Donovan felt that he must have put the knife down so manages to grab Nathan by his wrists, turns, jumps up, and punches landing back and forth at each other, Donovan smashing a photo-frame over Nathan's head. Eventually Nathan gets out and runs off."

Kate and Donovan call in the robbery to the local police who act swiftly and decisively. They capture Nathan and Shane within five hours after the robbery simply by following the tracking signals from the smart phones they had taken. Next, they get called into the St. Helena Bay police station to reclaim their belongings and to identify the robbers in the holding cells. Towards the end of the year, Kate and Donovan have to testify at the Vredenburg court. Shane gets off without a conviction due to lack of evidence. His partner Nathan is sentenced to 15 years for aggravated robbery, because he used violence [the stabbing], had broken parole, and was a repeat offender.

### **5.6.1 Having a conversation - making a human connection**

Nathan scavenges the room: *"Ja, I'm like this, looking for a laptoppie here, and cameraatje there, for money, cell phones, credit cards, and jewelry"*. He also touches Kate's hands,

checking for a watch and rings. By now he has pretty much taken everything, but instead of running off with the goods, he just stands at the bed and starts asking questions, actually he's starting a conversation with Kate.

In Nathan's mind: *"I have a soft spot for woman. Woman is such a beautiful thing. I don't like to hurt woman. I never hit a woman in my life, you see. I can hurt a man, ja, a man can do bad stuff. I'm talking to her because to make her comfortable. I see man, that woman is afraid of me but I don't want her to shout and scream and that stuff. That's why I started that conversation with her. And when I smoke 'tik', I'm not aggressive, I'm at peace, ja! I'm a good man, ja. I like to talk. When I'm drugged I talk easier to woman. Maybe someone else are gonna hurt her, if I was someone else, but I, I really don't want to hurt her."*

Nathan to Kate: *"What's your name? Where are you from? How old are you?"* And she answers him. Meanwhile, Kate is thinking: *"It's like I need to talk, I just need to talk to him and that's gonna kind of get us through this"*. And then she asks him: *"So, did you grow up here? Is your family from here?"* Now Nathan gets into this whole story of being a gangster, that he's a member of the 'Americans' gang, which in actual fact he is not.

**Robbery Statistics 2015/2016** – Recorded each day in 2015/2016, on average 148.2 home burglaries, 57 house robberies, and 363.1 robberies with aggravating circumstances, involving the use of gun or weapon (AfrikaCheck, 2017; SAPS/ISS, 2016).



[Nathan]: *"I only told her I'm 'American' gangsters, you know, it was just a trick to confuse her, because if I say I'm a '28' [prison gang], she gonna tell the police and then they'll know he is a '28' and they come for me straight."* He goes on to explain the whole history of how the gang had started somewhere up in the mountains. Kate then tells him about her previous work at a Western Cape rehab center, with gang members who had been shot and stabbed.

[Kate]: *"Yeah, I know the numbers gang. I've worked with these guys."* Nathan somewhat surprised and impressed: *"Oh, okay."*

[Kate]: *"I can even understand the lingo you speak"*. This now impacted on him that she can pick up and actually 'get him'.

[Nathan]: *"Oh, you know, you know this language?"* And Kate says: *"Yeah, yeah, from my work with numbers gang guys who became disabled."*

And they just keep talking, asking and answering each other's questions. Initially, Nathan came across as quite aggressive, but during the conversation, everything calms down.

[Kate reflecting on the moment]: *"It feels like we are making some sort of connection and it kind of draws a conversation. He calms down and he isn't shouting at us, he isn't doing anything and we're just having like a normal conversation and are forming this connection. Suddenly it was real and I became human. I'm a person."*

*"Although Nathan and I are in not the same, completely different background, culture, socio-economics, level of education, yet here we are making and sharing a connection. I think there're a few things in life that all people strive toward or want: to feel loved and worthy, and to be seen. I think in that moment we 'see' each other. He sees me, not as some rich white girl from the burbs and I see him not as some aggressive predator to fear or loath. We were persons connecting as people. In that moment, our reactions to each other surpassed any expectation or reaction that I could've thought would happen [she scribbled in her journal 'I can't really speak for him']."*

They carry on talking. [Nathan]: *"Where did you meet your boyfriend?"*

[Kate]: *"Well, we met one night when we were out."*

[Nathan]: *"Oh, who looked at who first?"*

[Kate]: *"I don't know, I can't really remember but we kinda clicked."*

[Nathan]: *"Who's older?"*

[Kate]: *"No, he's older than me."*

[Nathan]: *"Okay."*

Kate says: *"This kind of banter between us goes on like this for a while. Literally Nathan is in the room with us for about forty minutes, which seems an extremely long time for a robbery"*.

Nathan thinks: *"The conversation I'm having with this girl man, it takes so long ... I realize, yoh, I really like that woman. She's beautiful and I don't want to hurt her man."*

Everything is calm, but now, after about a minute of silence, Kate picks up that Nathan is starting to get skittish again.

[Kate]: *"You know what, you can take whatever you want, take whatever you want, you can have it. The only thing I'm asking, 'please don't hurt us."*

[Nathan]: *"No, I won't hurt you, I promise I'm not gonna hurt you."*

Kate believes him and thinks: *“Nathan is realizing that this whole conversation is forming a relationship, and that I’m actually a person and this is freaking him out completely.”*

**Private Security Outnumbers South African Police and Army** – The private security industry in South Africa provides guarding, monitoring, armed reaction, escorting, investigating and other security-related services to private individuals and companies in the country. Over the years there has been tremendous growth in the private security industry, not only in South Africa, but also in the rest of the world (Building Security (2015). The private security industry in South Africa is among the largest in the world (Mthetwa, 2013). With over 9,000 registered companies, 450,000 registered active private security guards and a further 1.5 million qualified (but inactive) guards, many times the available personnel than the combined South African police and army (Eastwood, 2013). Studies have shown that South Africa had 2.57 private security personnel for every police employee (Wilkinson, 2015). This is attributed by some to the country’s high levels of crime to a lack of public funds from Parliament towards the South African Police Service (SAPS) or to an increasing trend in many countries towards government outsourcing of certain security functions (Building Security, 2015).

[Kate] *“They caught the guys and they had to go to trial and Donovan and I had to independently testify in court. I was really anxious about the whole thing and I couldn’t figure out why. He definitely needed to be punished for what he’d done, also because apparently he was a repeat offender. But something didn’t sit right with me about him. I couldn’t let go of this connection. It’s like, there was some sort of a connection we had that was kind of holding me in this space, this situation or the experience. Also, up to the court case, I had trouble sleeping. I’d become quite scared and very alert of my surroundings. So for a while, whenever I thought about him, I did these visualization-kind-of-exercises. I wasn’t scared of him but of experiencing again somebody else coming into my house, not feeling safe. This exercise actually worked for me: ‘I’d close my eyes, and I’d think of ‘night’, and it’s really strange, in my mind I’d cover him in like a cotton wool cloud of love. And there was like this long umbilical cord that connected me to him and I would chop it with an axe, to separate us, and he’d go off and I would stay here’. And that’s what I continuously did, continuously did, like every, every night. That, that image, just covering him with love, chopping it off and he’s going there and I’m staying here.”*

[Nathan, during second interview in prison]: *“Ja, last night I got a dream about it, you see. The dream is about me. I’m walking around and doing such things as breaking in and so on. And then I met a lady who asked me: ‘Do you love me?’ And then I think, yoh, what is that? I was shocked in that dream also, how could a white lady ask me ‘do you love me’, you see. Afterwards I say, I don’t know what’s the meaning of this. But I don’t understand the dreams so I just remember them.”*

[Kate] *“It was only after the court case that I became completely okay with everything. I wasn’t scared at night, I could sleep again.”*

*I completely accepted this was it because I stood in front of him in court. He stood there and kept saying 'I'm innocent, I'm innocent'. But I needed him, you know and he knew, you could see. And he never made eye contact with me once, not the entire time, which I also thought was strange."*

*"And it was, for me I think it was shame, in a way, because he had felt that 'there was this girl and she wasn't just some little rich white girl', cause I think that's what he came in with: 'rich white girl, I can do this, fine, take whatever I want from her and I'm in the power here'. And then, when we had that conversation and made that connection, he'd lost that power, he'd let his guard down, he'd suddenly lost what he'd come in with, that 'robbery thing'...he'd exposed his vulnerability, that's what completely freaked him out. Anyway, that's how I understand what happened."*

**Litany of Human Suffering** – In his Foreword of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, BMN Balfour (Minister of Correctional Services) wrote "In a fundamental break with a past archaic penal system in South Africa, prisons became correctional centers of rehabilitation and offenders are given new hope and encouragement to adopt a lifestyle that will result in a second chance towards becoming the ideal South African citizen" (Department of Correctional Services, 2005, p. 5). This is starkly contrasted in the conclusion of a thesis on 'Penal Discourse and Imprisonment in South Africa' in which the researcher asserted that 'the South African penal system has followed, and still follows, the pattern of repetitive failure a litany of human suffering. From one era to the next, the basic human rights of South African prisoners have been abused due to the basic failure of imprisonment as a form of punishment. The human cost of such abuse, the unnecessary physical injuries and deaths, as well as broken spirits, is impossible to calculate' (Pete, 2015, p. 630).

[Kate]: *"What also really stood out for me is when the judge asked me at the end 'What do you think about this whole thing?' In judiciary speak, the 'victim impact statement'. I answered, "Actually, it's heart breaking." The judge again asked, 'why heart-breaking?' I then explained, 'Well, I still wanna cry about it because I think it's an absolute travesty that people are forced into those positions, because of the circumstances in which you were brought up. He was dealt with a really shitty hand of cards. And you know, you don't choose how you come into the world, and for me, that's actually heart-breaking.*

*I noticed that, as I was sharing with the court how the whole incident had impacted me, the lady who was representing Nathan, his State appointed lawyer, she was getting quite emotional. I reckoned that she has had to regularly defend these guys in court. She knows them and their backgrounds, and I think my impact statement really hit home for her.*

*And also, my experience of the whole thing and that of my boyfriend, I think even when we tell the story, it will be different. We see it differently. He was like, 'No, he wanted to rape you, he must go to jail, he must get, you know, raped in jail, whatever...' And I said, 'No, I don't feel that way at all, there's not one tiny part of me that wants that for him'. He*

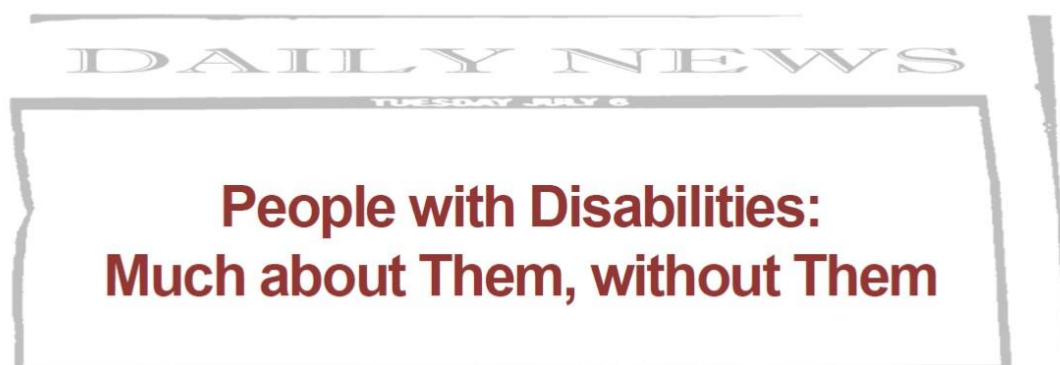
*was also adamant that my way of thinking was absurd and tried to convince me otherwise. But you can't change the way you feel. I don't feel any animosity. In fact I only feel love and sadness for him. He's now just a number, a statistic. And I know him going to jail, really, what's that gonna do? It's likely only going to perpetuate things. It's not going to make his life any better. So I'm having this internal battle, 'He should be punished, but he shouldn't be punished'."*

## **5.7 Speaking Up**

In November 2011, a provincial government consultation meeting was called by the Office of the Premier, involving various stakeholders to address disability issues. It was this platform that brought together this story's three main characters: John and Denzel, both living with a disability, and Bess, a mother of a daughter with cerebral palsy.

John is a 46 year old, white, married father of two sons. He lives in Claremont, a predominantly white suburb of Cape Town, situated about 10 km's south of the city's Central Business District. Claremont is an attractive commercial and residential area, undergoing significant growth and development.

At age 19, John and his father were involved in a road accident during which he lost his dad and became a quadriplegic. John is a long-time disability activist and has worked for many community projects and NGOs over the years. He's also an accomplished artist who paints with his mouth.



The car accident had led to a court case which resulted in a financial pay-out that substantially assists with his everyday needs and high quality of life. Besides using a motorized wheelchair and other assistive devices, John employs a personal assistant, a driver, and owns a wheelchair accessible van. All these resources optimize his mobility and communications independence.

[John]: *"I'm very aware of the whole disability struggle, and that I am quite privileged, both in my upbringing in apartheid South Africa and through what I've been given*

*since I'm in a wheelchair. Because I won a court case, I have money for support staff and a house. I have everything I need. And Denzel doesn't have that. In my disability lectures, I show a picture of Denzel, indicating that this is a guy who would be like me if only he had my support and my funds, my financial situation."*

John and Denzel first met at a college where he'd offered mouth painting classes. John explains why he'd taken a special interest in supporting Denzel: *"I got kind of disillusioned with the whole NGO sector, the process of what's being done, its impact, where money goes and how it gets wasted. Although I'm on the board of two NGO's, I felt I can have more of an impact if I get involved directly, sort of case by case, to inspire people, to better the lives of people with disabilities. A lot of my intention has gone into Denzel. And it's two things: trying to give him a voice like I've had. And also, I wouldn't do it for just anybody. I've been around a while, learning a lot from my mistakes and experiences. In Denzel I identified someone who's got potential to go make a difference in his life and other people's lives."*

Denzel is a 31 year old, colored man, who lives with his parents, brother (age 14), sister (age 22), and his cousin (age 16). John had described Denzel's parents as 'poor' and 'the most amazing carers'. Denzel's family had already lost two sons. Their first-born was killed in 1992 at age 20 in a hit-and-run. Three years later their second son, then only 17, was accidentally shot by a gangster. Despite their economic plight, they started to run a soup kitchen for people in their neighborhood who had even less, but they lament they were not able to sustain it.

**Lip Service Paid to Progressive Policies** – South Africa pays lip service to its 'internationally regarded progressive disability policies' (Flynn, 2011). While its policies certainly describe solutions needed for disabled people, implementing these in practice remains difficult, with the provision of social assistance standing out as an exception. However, not in terms of this policy's intention to function as a lever for development. Instead, disability grants are being used as a poverty reduction strategy for the survival of families (Gathiram, 2008, p. 153).

Denzel lives in Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain, in the 'Cape Flats', an expansive, low-lying, flat area situated 30 plus km's to the southeast of Cape Town CBD. The area is often referred to simply as 'The Flats' and has been described by some as 'Apartheid's dumping ground', due to the fact that from 1950 onward, the Cape Flats became home to people the Apartheid government had branded non-white. Due to Tafelsig being situated relatively far from centers of economic opportunity, the costs of transport are high and every day commuters have to be on the road for a long time. Tafelsig in particular, suffers endemic crime and gang activity.

[Denzel]: *"I was once caught in a cross fire [he points me to the dents of ricochet bullets on his motorized wheelchair]. Another time I could not leave my house to go to the hospital because of gang shootings in my neighborhood. And most recently, I witnessed a person who I knew, getting stabbed in front of my house."*

At age 9, Denzel had become a quadriplegic due to an accident on the school grounds:

*"I climbed over a school fence. Then my pants got stuck. I tried to loosen my pants. Then I slipped, and fell on my head. An ambulance took me to hospital. I was fighting for my life most of the time in several hospitals. My heart stopped twice, and I was put on machines. Then they sent me home, giving me six months to live. But I proved them wrong. And I'm now 23 years. And then, my teacher recommended that we do a court case, saying that my disability was caused by school negligence. This process took us about ten years. First I won, but the government appealed and then I lost the case. To appeal that outcome, cost me 100.000 Rand (USD 7800). We didn't have that money so we had to let it all go. I went to college at Muizenberg. I studied art there, in mouth painting and graphic design. That's where I got introduced to John. From that time on, about 15-16 years ago, John invited me to his house. He helped me and my family. He's kind of a family friend."*

Bess is a 49 year old, white mom of two daughters, Anne (18) and their 'Madiba baby' Sophie (17), who was born in 1994, the year during which Nelson Mandela became the first ever black president of South Africa. Bess and her family live in Bergvliet, a predominantly white suburb of Cape Town, which borders with the affluent Constantia. When Bess and her husband noticed that at 11 months, Sophie could not yet sit up properly, they took her to a doctor and found out that she had cerebral palsy. When Sophie was in Grade 4, at the same age when Denzel's accident happened, she was still using a regular wheelchair and had to be pushed everywhere. To become more independent she would need a motorized wheelchair, which her family however could not afford.

Sophie launched a campaign with three friends. They put their artwork onto cards making 'sunshine pots' which they sold at their school's market day. In just seven weeks they raised the necessary 20.000 Rand (USD 1550). Their success prompted the campaign to become a non-profit organization, based on a philosophy 'ability activism', committed to supporting other youth with disabilities.

[Bess] *"We were fortunate to be able to turn the challenges that presented themselves due to our daughter's different abilities as opportunities, not only to more appreciate and enrich our own lives, but also that of others."*

**Social Grants Recipients Looked Down Upon** – The number of social grants in South Africa has increased exponentially over the past twenty years: from an estimated 4 million in 1994 to 17,191,121 by February 2017. The South African Social Service Agency administers seven long-term grants, including the Disability Grant, paying out R1,510 (USD 115) per month to 1,067,402 persons who are unable to work because of disability. Many negative perceptions exist about social grants and their recipients. A study by the Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA) shows that even beneficiaries themselves believe the stories. Research by the Southern Africa Labor and Development Research Unit shows that ‘there is little empirical evidence’ to support claims that people stop looking for jobs when they receive a grant (Ferreira, 2015, AfricaCheck).

The provincial government consultation meeting was held at the Centre for the Book, a historic landmark public venue alongside the Company’s Garden, adjacent to the South African Parliament in the center of Cape Town. Ironically, given the purpose of the gathering and the fact that some of the participants used motorized wheelchairs, this venue wasn’t accessible to people with disabilities.

[John]: *“After we’d gotten in via a small cargo lift at the back of the building, we were confronted with a flight of about seven steps to the main meeting area. A door (!) was placed on top of the stairs as an impromptu ramp. At that point, I considered leaving because the ‘ramp’ was steep and not safe. However, we had come a long way and I really wanted Denzel to be part of the proceedings.”*

John offers some background to the meeting: *“We in the disability movement have gone backwards since former President Mbeki was removed from office back in 2008. He had lent his name to two trusts, one dedicated to education and the other to disability. Tactically this was a fantastic move for the disability sector, because we had our portfolio in the Office of the Status of the Deputy President, with offices with a disability agenda in every province. That was great but we lost it, ridiculous! The leadership in the disability movement disappeared, with no succession.*

*Anyway, today the Western Cape Office of the Premier is asking ‘What can we do?’, intending to get back involved in disability projects. They organized this meeting. But honestly, I get tired, because it’s the same old thing that’s been going on for twenty years. In a way, the Office of the Premier’s involvement becomes another ‘separate thing’ dealing with disability issues, outside of the regular government channels that should be addressing and implementing disability strategies and policies on an ongoing daily basis.”*

Whereas John had been invited to attend the meeting, not so Bess and her daughter.

[Bess] *“I had emailed the person who was coordinating the meeting, indicating that Sophie had just won the 2011 International Children’s Peace Prize, and being an ability*

activist, that it would be a good for Sophie to attend the meeting, so that her voice could be heard and for her to contribute. They agreed, but we really had invited ourselves.”

### 5.7.1 Listening - being heard

Denzel’s cell phone goes off. His mom picks it up, positions it on his armrest and puts it on speaker: *“Hello, Denzel here.”*

[John]: *“Hi Denzel, it’s me, John, howzit? Listen here, I got invited to a meeting at the Centre for the Book by the people who hold the disability portfolio at the province’s Office of the Premier. I think that not I but you should be speaking there. I want the voice of people like you to be heard.”*

[Denzel]: *“Okay, that’s fine with me.”*

[John]: *“Right Denzel, let me get you to this. To get to the center of town in time and to avoid getting stuck in early morning traffic, I’ll pick you up at half past eight, then we might get there in about two and half to three hours.”*

Denzel got picked up by John and his driver in his adapted van. John was very aware that this occasion marked Denzel’s first ever experience of public speaking, and that he needed to prepare him for the occasion: *“Denzel also had no idea about parliamentary rights and papers, never heard of the United Nations Convention for People with Disabilities. All of this was completely lost on him. But he surely knows what applies to him.”*

Denzel says: *“During the ride there, I was nervous. So I asked John, what do you want me to say?”*

[John]: *“I’m not going to tell you what to say. You must speak your own mind. About this country and about how people with a disability are treated in this country.”*

Denzel laughs and then insists: *“Just tell me one thing man, just give me a clue or something.”*

**On-Going Social Trauma** – Disabled people face a world of disempowerment, in which it is commonplace to be viewed as not really belonging (Watermeyer, 2013; Paterson & Hughes, 1999). The ongoing nature of socially engendered trauma suffered by disabled persons perpetuates marginality, through internalization of self-punitive psychological defenses, which corrode the entitlement necessary for an assertive political movement. Surviving in a world which continually questions one’s belonging, leaves little personal resources for debunking oppressive social phenomena. Material as well as discursive changes are essential if internal narratives are to be reclaimed, overcoming the subjective imprints of ongoing social trauma (Watermeyer & Swartz, 2016, p. 268).

[John]: *“No, speak your mind! We’ll listen here. There will be people there who control things from the government. Let’s play the ‘why game’. Why are people with*

*disabilities not equal? Is it because people are scared about disabilities? Why, why is that? Why do they avoid them?"*

Denzel eventually says: *"Well, they don't care about us, they don't take us seriously."*

[John]: *"There you go. Remember that, the bottom line, when you speak up there know your position."*

Denzel thinks: *"John's not going to say anything. I must talk about disability and how do I feel about how disabled people are treated in this country. John is more independent, but I'm still struggling with transport and financially. He wants me to speak up about these things. I'm quite excited to do it and also nervous. But good nervous, because maybe at that meeting there's some opportunities for me, something that can change my life, by me speaking there."*

When Denzel and John had entered the room via the makeshift ramp, the meeting had already started. A lady representing government was speaking whilst they waited on the side. John started to write notes with his mouth on a piece of paper that his personal assistant was holding. After she finished, they were ushered to a table, across from where Bess and Sophie were seated.

[Denzel]: *"There were about twenty-five people, most of them government and a few people in wheelchairs. There I saw Sophie and her mom for the first time."*

Everybody got a chance to speak. A convener went around with a microphone, which he held for Denzel and John when it was their turn."

**Protectors of their Rights Unknown to People with Disabilities** – The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) is to monitor equalization of opportunities for disabled people (Nhlapo, Watermeyer & Schneider, 2006) along with the Office of the Public Protector. However, "the SAHRC portfolio on Disability and Older Persons is weak in monitoring disability rights" (Kamga, 2016, p. 575), and "a major constraint both institutions face in ensuring the visibility of disability rights in the wider public arena is that they are generally unknown. Especially persons with disabilities are not aware that these institutions are established to promote and protect their rights, which are generally perceived to be peripheral in policy and practice spheres. In fact, those in need of these rights are often too poor and focus on begging for survival and would not even understand what the SAHRC and the Public Protector are" (Kamga, 2016, p. 577).

The mic first reached John and before asking for it to be passed on to Denzel, he said: *"As some of you may know, I've been involved in disability activism for a long time. When I first came here some twenty years ago, the Centre for the Book was inaccessible. And while I appreciate this meeting, why is this venue still inaccessible? So it remains key that we listen to each other properly again. Instead of speaking for other people in wheelchairs who do not have the independence and resources that I have, now, let Denzel speak up."*

The convener then held the mic in front of Denzel: *"Hello, I'm Denzel. I'm a quadriplegic. When I go to the day hospital, I don't sleep. I struggle to get my medicine. It takes a lot of time, more than three, four hours. And transport is always a problem for me. Like still now, I lose a lot of opportunities. Ja, and what else?"* John interjects: *"On the way here Denzel and I were talking about how we feel people regard people with disabilities. What did you think Denzel?"* The microphone returned from John's mouth to Denzel's: *"They don't really care"*, microphone back to John, echoing: *"That they don't really care. That's the feeling we get left with."*

Denzel then emphasizes: *"So I'm losing a lot of opportunities because I struggle with transport. I ask you to help me help myself so that I can help others. That's my dream."*

[John]: *"So it came from him, this 'little kid' in this big wheelchair, this big contraption around him. He's got a presence. He spoke for himself. I cannot speak for him. And he speaks in an almost whispering voice, compelling listeners to more actively pay attention."*

Bess, recalling that meeting: *"Denzel spoke quietly, but I thought very powerfully. He spoke about his dreams, about what he wants to do. So as they were leaving before the end of the meeting, I got up, walked across the room, took my card and gave it to Denzel: 'Contact me! What you've said, I think we can work together'."*

Actually, several people had asked Denzel for his cell-number, including two persons from the Premier's Office.

[Denzel]: *"I was waiting for a few calls, but they didn't come. Only Bess came through, that was good, that led to something. And I think it was good of John to not tell me what to say, to speak my own mind. I spoke what come from within, not from something that I hear from outside. It's my voice."*

[Denzel]: *"It means a lot to me. Thanks to John getting me there to speak up, I met Bess and Sophie who wanted me to work with them. This speaking up opened up other opportunities to improve my life and that of others. I'm a facilitator for the Ambassador Program of a non-profit organization. Through this job I'm contributing to the family income, 1000 Rand (USD 75) a month. And also, my dream was realized. Before my accident, I loved dancing, and thought I'd never dance again. But I continued dreaming and I'm doing ball room dancing. I won a lot of trophies. When Sophie was my dance partner, once we was the couple of the year."*

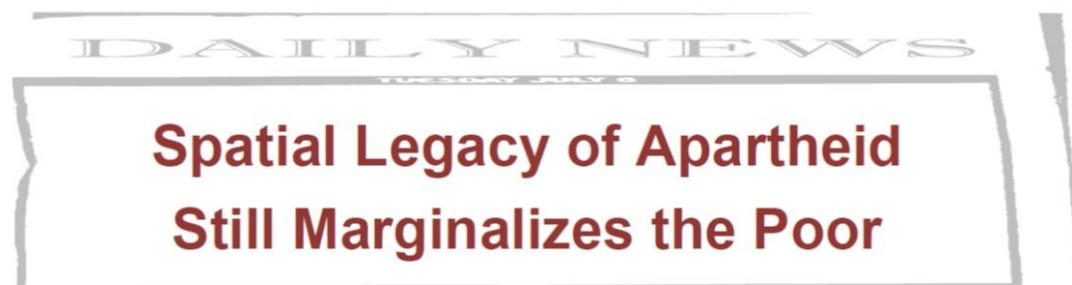
**Silencing Lives of Struggle** – Finding a voice amid oppression is a most important challenge, with prejudice silencing people and covering up injustices that rule their lives. Disabled People South Africa (DPSA), despite that only a relatively small proportion of South Africa's disability community belong to DPSA (or any disability organization), it is by far the predominant group carrying responsibility for broadly representing their political interests. In July 2016, a meeting took place between DPSA and delegations of the African National Congress. They agreed that the voices of people with disabilities would be heard through representatives in Parliament. In other words, DPSA had chosen to formally reaffirm alignment of their organization, and by implication their constituency, with the ruling party, potentially 'silencing lives of struggle [...] sacrificing the politics of protest' (Watermeyer, 2013), 'giving away all credibility as an independent lobbying organization with the best interests of their members at heart' (Vic McKinney, personal communication 2017)...actually undermining the disability rights movements' own slogan 'Nothing About Us, Without Us' (Suleman & Fish Hodgson, 2014).

John, reflecting back on why Denzel had to speak at that meeting: *"Although to get Denzel there took six hours of travelling, back and forth, it was important for him to be there and to tell the story. It's about giving people a voice. And for this country to improve, that must improve. That's why Mandela was so important, because people felt a personal connection to him. Without that connection, we lose the ability to go forward and the meaning of why we're doing something. I think, at a fundamental level, hearing what people are feeling from the original source is of critical importance. For me to be able to speak to you gives me a voice, it's affirming who and what I am. I recognize the power that I have as a privileged person with a disability in this country, to take on the responsibility to create spaces for people who are in less fortunate positions, for them to get a voice, to be listened to and heard. That's what happened with Denzel."*

[Bess]: *"I think that it's that recognition of a kindred spirit. Everyone else could've told that story. But what I responded to with Denzel was the fact that he did have a dream. That he did have a realization of what he had to offer. And that in spite of the fact that he is severely disabled, he knows that he has a contribution to make. And I think it was a combination of those things that made me respond. We then introduced Denzel to Toast Masters, to learn how to tell stories and become a more effective communicator and leader. Denzel has seen the opportunities and he's trying to make the most out of them. The one bitch around all of this of course, and that's the main issue to bear, is transport. He is totally reliant on Dial-a-Ride. There are many things he can't get to because it is in peak-time and it's over-subscribed and there is no place for him, so many opportunities are missed. So, it absolutely ties in with that whole idea that when you speak about menial things that negatively impact your ability to participate, transport is seen a menial thing to many people, but it's a major thing. Because if you can't get from A to B, you're not involved."*

## 5.8 Taking a Bus

Mrs Nzozo is a 68 year old, black 'gogo'<sup>14</sup> who lives in a solid small brick home in B-section Khayelitsha - which means 'new home' in isiXhosa - located on the Cape Flats, some 25 km's south east of Cape Town's CBD. It is known to be the largest and fastest growing township in South Africa, with an estimated predominantly black African and isiXhosa speaking population of about 400.000. Mrs. Nzozo was born in Elsie's River, a predominantly colored and white town. And before she moved to Khayelitsha, she lived in Gugulethu, another township. Since her husband passed on some eight years ago, Mrs Nzozo lives by herself. She has four children, two sons and two daughters, three of whom live with their families in Cape Town. Her youngest son lives in Johannesburg. All of them are employed and doing well for themselves. In addition to her old age pension of 1,410 Rand (USD 110) per month, they all help support their mom.



[Mrs Nzozo]: *"After my husband died, I talked to my children. Now I'm alone, with my pension money. And they said, 'no, we're going to support you'."*

Mrs Nzozo had stopped working as a domestic servant for a white woman in Fish Hoek in 1985, a job that she had inherited from her mom. She knows many grannies in her community who are pushed to act as the primary caregivers of grandchildren, sometimes also still looking after their own children. Mrs Nzozo considers herself lucky to only occasionally have to assume responsibility for her grandchildren: *"Looking after grandchildren is a tough job. The whole day you must talk, tell them, 'don't do this, do this'. It was enough looking after my children."*

Mrs Nzozo is a member of a grannies' run health club which meets once a week at the NPO Grandmothers Against Poverty and Aids (GAPA). Besides physical exercise, this gathering also allows for socializing with peers. She is also a member of a nearby Methodist Church, which she attends on Sundays and sometimes also on Saturdays.

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<sup>14</sup> Grandmother (isiXhosa)

Her husband's death and her children having left home caused Mrs Nzozo to struggle with moving on with her life: *"I was alone in my house and I was just crying. I couldn't eat. If I had a cup of coffee my stomach is just without nothing. But one day, something talked to me, 'why are you crying? Your husband is away so crying won't bring him back'. I must accept. Then you see, when I feel lonely I go and sit there in that passage that goes to the post office, watching and talking to people. They ask, 'why you sitting here?' And I answer, 'no I'm just watching people'. I'm trying to take everything out, try to 'cough out'. Then I told myself, no man, I can take my bag and put it on my shoulder and take a bus and go away."*

**Stats: Public Transport in South Africa** – Public transport is an important part of everyday life in that it facilitates access to social mobility. It has an inherent influence over people's access to employment, education, health care and is important for urban development (Mmadi, 2015). The findings of the South African Institute of Race Relations published in 2016 clearly illuminate the central role played by minibus taxis in the economy. The total number of public transport trips per weekday to work are estimated at 8.5 million. Of this number, 3.7 million trips are made by minibus taxi, which makes minibus taxis the preferred mode of public transport, accounting for 68% of work trips, followed by buses and trains at 20% (1 million) and 13% (700,000) respectively (SAIRR, 2016, p. 739).

The Older Person's Grant, also known as the State's old-age pension, is a monthly income for citizens, permanent residents, and refugees sixty years or older with no other means of financial income. This grant is paid out via the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) through one of the following methods: cash at a specific pay point on a particular day; electronic deposit into one's bank or Postbank account; and institutions, such as old age homes. Any persons who happen to be unable to collect the money themselves can appoint a SASSA official or give someone power of attorney to collect the grant on their behalf.

Whereas most elderly people usually pick up their grants from close to home pay points in their given communities, Mrs Nzozo goes about it differently: *"You see, we live in the new South Africa. When I'm going to get my pension once a month, I take my bag, I take my clip card, it's a pensioner card, ja, I show my card and my photo (ID), and get into the bus. With that bus I can go anywhere for 48 Rand (4 USD). That clip card ticket, it's got 10 rides. If I use it for the whole week then it's finished, but I use it once a month, because I want to go far for my pension. And I want to go do my shopping."*

**Participation Restricted and Denied** – ‘The spatial legacy of apartheid continues to weigh on the entire country. In general, the poorest people live in remote rural areas. In the cities, the poorest live far from places of work and economic activity. Although it was identified as a particular focus for attention even before 1994, the situation has probably been aggravated since then, with many more people now living in poorly located settlements. This adds to the challenges of providing infrastructure in support of economic activity. Reversing the effects of spatial apartheid will be an ongoing challenge in the decades ahead. Similarly, reliable and affordable public transport is needed to enable poor people to participate in the life of the cities and towns. Is it feasible to provide this, given great distances and low population densities? Is it viable to move economic activity and opportunities closer to poor communities?’ (NPC, 2011, p. 19).

This senior citizen discount travel arrangement is only offered by Golden Arrow Bus Services (GABS). It is the main and biggest road-based provincial government subsidized privately owned company that provides scheduled public transport services in the Cape Town metropolis. GABS tag-line is *‘The Bus for Us’*, and one can wonder to whom ‘us’ refers and to whom not. Alongside this company runs MyCiti, which was established in 2007 as part of a long term vision and plan to expand the public transport network. However, although MyCiti routes both expand and complement GABS’ network, it is more expensive. Also, MyCiti still has not, as promised, expanded services, built ridership, and reached public transportation-dependent users marooned in low-income, densely populated townships like Khayelitsha.

### **5.8.1 Freedom of movement and social interaction**

It’s Friday 5 June 2015, a sunny winter morning. Mrs Nzozo and I are standing at a modest bus stop, a single short pole with a bus sign on it, along a major road in Khayelitsha B Section.

[Mrs Nzozo]: *“I’m happy. It’s been a cold week with a lot of rain but today is a nice day to go out.”* With a tone of sadness Mrs Nzozo points to the burglar bars that scar many of the small homes in the area: *“We live in jails. Why we can’t even be safe in our own homes?”* With a slight delay, ‘our’ Golden Arrow bus arrives. It’s a new white-green-orange model, not the old faded beige and orange types. The back still features the company’s signature slogan—*‘The Bus for Us’*.

Mrs Nzozo enters first, showing her photo ID to the driver, who is seated in a cage like cabin with extra thick glass. He clips her pensioner card. It now has nine of a total of ten rides left which must be used within the next two months. I step up to the driver and indicate my destination. It costs 17.90 Rand (USD 1.40) for a one way ticket to the Canal Walk Mall in Century City. I pay him and receive my ticket. And as I get seated next to Mrs Nzozo, I notice that the bus only has a handful of passengers, likely because we are traveling outside peak hours, when buses tend to fill up to the max. Mrs Nzozo bemusedly comments:

*“You see how much you have to pay and how cheap it is for me, as a pensioner, 1/10 of 48 Rand (USD 3.80)!”* I concur and confess that this is my first ever ride on a public bus in Cape Town since I came to live in South Africa back in 2005. My family has a car. Taking a bus is a mere option for us, whereas the majority population primarily depends on means of public transport.

**Chaotic State of Minibus Taxi Industry** – According to the South African National Taxi Council, combining commuting public and workforce, taxis transport approximately 15 million commuters daily (Oxford, 2013). The industry is plagued by ‘taxi wars’, with health and safety issues, and a track record of death and poor driving (Mmadi, 2015; Oxford, 2013; Wines, 2006). ‘What accounts for the chaotic state of the minibus taxi industry relates to the fact that it constitutes a self-sustaining and self-regulating industry. Taxi wars are about profits and the need for recognition and legitimacy. Socio-economic conditions, travel patterns and the history of this country have greatly shaped and reinforced the implicit influence of commuters’ travel demands over the minibus taxi industry, as opposed to legislative requirements. A taxi recapitalization program attempted to formalize the minibus taxi industry but totally failed to regulate the working conditions of taxi drivers. This was mainly due to the incompatibility between the legislative prescripts, nature of work and South Africa’s industrial-style unionism. Stipulated working hours of taxi drivers implied that they would miss one of the two (morning and afternoon) peak periods. Sectoral determination defines work performed after 8pm and before 5am the next day as night work. This effectively legislates against the industry which operates during these hours. This one-size-fits-all regulation mentality is insensitive to the apartheid spatial arrangements that force many working-class people to leave their homes at around 3 AM’ (Mmadi, 2015).

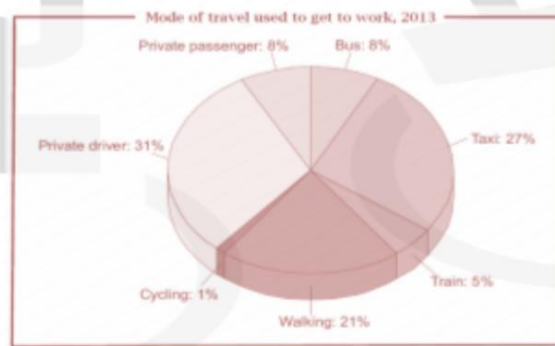
[Mrs Nzozo]: *“Other grannies often ask me, ‘Why do you go so far away to cash your pension?’ I tell them, because now I can. And it’s much safer to collect it at the mall. In the location [a term often used by people who live in townships to refer to where they live], they may rob us when we come from the Postbank. Or in the evening, they may knock on your door to give up your money. At Canal Walk, nobody knows me. It’s safe.”*

Our bus stops often, allowing people to get on in many different locations within the predominantly black townships of Khayelitsha, Philippi, Nyanga, New Crossroads, and Gugulethu. As we engage in pleasant personal conversation about our families and lives, the bus fills up with passengers, most of them Xhosa and female. Whereas we chose this means of transport for the purpose of leisure, most others seem to be taking this bus to go to work. Some are wearing uniforms with logos of major retail shops and security companies, prompting one to think of ‘humans as resources, owned by big companies’. I was the only white passenger and one of few males on this bus.

[Mrs Nzozo]: *“I’ve been doing this since I’m 60, I’m 68 now. I didn’t want to live my life just in my house. Once a week I must go out. I’m staying alone. I don’t like my life in my house. It’s nice for me when I go out. Some people they still sit in their houses and don’t know what’s going on outside now. They sit in the past. They can just hear that they now also belong, but they don’t act. But with ourselves, we never talk about this. Every day when I wake up I say I’m rich. I’ve got a heart, I’ve got hands. I’ve got a mouth. I’ve got teeth. I’ve*

*got mind. I can see that my legs are even still right to walk. I can't say I'm not rich. I'm rich inside, ja, because God gave me all those things. You see, other people doesn't think like that, because they still tied up. Rich is not because you got money. You're rich inside. You can go out. Nobody is pushing you. When you sit down by yourself you can have a cup of coffee. You are rich. And how can I punish myself and sit in a house for thirty days, without going out? I'm making myself poor. Because I'm just sitting here. Ja, with all our burglar bars in our house, now you put yourself in jail."*

**Apartheid Spatial Arrangements Hurt Working Class** – The National Travel Household Survey—2013 shows that slightly over one-fifth of workers (22.1%) left for work before 6 AM. And the average time to get to work via public transport was between 50 (taxi) and 75 minutes (buses and trains). (Stats SA, 2014). Stats about when working class people arrive back home appear not to be available, although such data seem relevant to learn about the impact of travel times on family lives.



The trip is slow going. Mrs Nzozo shares: *"As I'm on the bus, even if the journey takes a long time, I enjoy watching people going up and down. In weekends it's even better. For example, if your church is far, you could take the bus there. There's no limited time, like during the week, when you can only travel with clip card between peak hours (8 am and 4 pm). During the day the bus is cheap, but all other hours, after four o'clock it is extra, peak hours, you must pay cash fare."*

From Gugulethu we are now moving across the N2 highway towards Goodwood (predominantly colored) and next the N1 highway, entering the (predominantly white) privileged development estates of Century City, the location of Canal Walk, supposedly the biggest shopping mall of Sub Saharan Africa.

We arrive at a bus stop at the back of the mall and disembark with all the passengers. Most of them are in a bit of a hurry, trying to get to work on time, whereas we stroll through a manicured area of luxury apartments and boutique shops, which mimics a Mediterranean layout, with palm trees, manmade canals, and a fancy overpass to access the

mall. The contrast with the townships from where and through which we travelled over the past one and a half hours can hardly be starker. We've now entered Canal Walk.

Mrs Nzozo takes me along on her usual routine, taking care of all her business along the way. First stop is the customer service counter at Woolworths, a major upper retail store, where she closes her account from which she used to buy birthday gifts for her grandchildren: *"I rather go to the other shops. At 'Woolies' you pay double amount."* As we wait to be served, she shares: *"Back then [referring to Apartheid era], you couldn't even get this free ride in a bus. You can't get nothin' at that time. Now you're free, you can go anywhere. Things are better now. You can sit together. Before you couldn't, you'd go to jail. They'd ask you, 'why, why are you walking with him?' [referring to me]. Even if people from the shop would see me walking with you, they'd phone the police and catch you. You're not allowed."*

From Woolworths we proceed to the Pick n Pay supermarket. She picks instant coffee on discount, toothpaste, and washing powder, cashes in her pension of 1410 Rand and pays for the items. Then she purchases the smallest possible amounts of airtime. From there we go to Standard Bank and First National Bank, where she pays into two separate funeral funds. Afterwards, we bump into a family member of hers. Greetings are exchanged in Afrikaans and in isiXhosa. She tells him: *"I made all my payments. No more worries for the month. I'm going home with my change. Let me count the change, how much is that. My electricity, I'm paying it by myself. The rest, I pay my church debts every month. The rest is mine. The funeral funds I already paid. I don't like to go to funeral meetings every Sunday. I just pay the bank and then you're safe."*

As we're walking to the mall's food court, Mrs Nzozo says: *"I do window shopping. You know, when you see something, 'oeh, I want it'. No, I've got clothes, I got shoes at home. I need nothing. I don't like to trap myself. The Bible says, you must be satisfied with what you have. When it's the end of the month, you've got no money, no food that's why the other people kill themselves, because they don't like to wait, because you say 'I want it'. I don't like to live that life."*

We arrive at 'her' table at the food court.

[Mrs Nzozo]: *"I can spend my whole day sitting here. I always like to eat at one o'clock. Sometimes when I see somebody that I know, I talk with them. They come sit with me and talk. Today I'm lucky, because I have somebody to talk with [referring to me]. It's very important to have somebody to talk with, because you 'cough out'. As they say, 'an injury to*

*one is an injury to all', you see. You must know, when that person feels sore, you must also all feel it. If it's me, how could I feel? you see? Yes, now I share something with you, because I don't feel right, I feel bad. But now as I talk with you, something goes away [points to chest area with both hands and then gestures removing something from it]. Talking is like medication [she laughs].*

*One day I took a bus to the beach in Blouberg. I take my shoes off. It's nice on the feet. I just go out by myself. Another day I met with other white grannies who'd been taken there by transport from the home where they stay. They also like doing their shopping, sit down, have tea or lunch. Their bus is waiting for them. Then we sit and talk-talk-talk sometimes and then I feel happy. They ask, 'Where you come from?' I tell them, 'no, I'm from Khayelitsha' ... 'Why are you here so far away?' I said, 'I like to enjoy myself, because the bus brought me here from Khayelitsha [laughs]'. They said, 'Well it's nice, but you're alone and we're a team', and we all laughed. You see, that shows us we're all human beings."*

**High Degree of Relational Distance** – 'In South Africa the legacies of apartheid ensure a particular tension between achieving capitalist macroeconomic success and securing the post-apartheid goal of a just and equitable society. As long as the two goals remain mutually incompatible in practice and cities feel under domestic and international pressure to prioritize global economic advancement in order to move up the 'hierarchy' of global cities, the poor and their spaces will ultimately suffer' (Lemanski, 2007, p. 459). Consequently, spatial and social polarization generates 'a high degree of relational distance, so people do not see themselves as part of a common citizenry. This, compounded with the legacy of the Group Areas Act and the effects of poor public transport, means the sharing of geographical space across class and race still remains difficult' (NPC, 2011, p. 27).

[Mrs Nzozi] *"During apartheid, you can't get out of the house when it's dark. By nine o'clock, you must be in the house, you can't be outside. And sometimes you're waiting at a bus stop, and they tell you, you can't be here, you're not allowed to be here, you're supposed to be gone. You see, we were living under punishment. During that time, I used to take the bus to work every day. From Gugulethu to town, to Sea Point, where I worked as a domestic worker for a white lady. And after that I worked in Fish Hoek, taking my mother's job after she'd retired. I've taken buses and trains my whole life, but always only for work. We wouldn't be allowed to go anywhere else. You're not allowed to sit like this [again referring to our 'rendezvous']. Restaurants were only for white peoples [laughs]. Before, sitting here, mixed, you can't do that, noooo."*

After finishing our lunch, we walked back to the bus stop, having mistaken the departure time of the return trip to Khayelitsha. We had to wait an additional hour and a half before the next bus arrived. The journey back took more than two and a half hours, due in part to late afternoon rush hour traffic, when the bus filled up with passengers returning

home from work. It seemed to make more local stops, to allow people to get off, than our mid-morning journey. When we finally got back to her home, we both expressed that we had greatly enjoyed the day out together and agreed that we should do it again someday.

## 5.9 Welcoming

Hatungimana is a 31 year old African man from a small port city on the shores of Lake Tanganyika in Central Africa. He's the eldest of ten siblings. He only knows the two youngest from pictures on Facebook because they were born after he had left home. Hatungimana has had a hard life. His education was regularly disrupted because, as the oldest son he was expected to act as the man of the house and provide for his siblings and parents. Hatungimana recalls: *"I used to be clever at school but when I came home, the children were a little quiet, they were hungry. I used to have that heart of helping my younger siblings. I quit school at 18 without finishing matric."*

Hatungimana's country was and continues to be plagued by political instabilities as a result of regular flare ups of armed conflict. At age twenty, Hatungimana decided to leave. The official story is that he fled his country because of fear of being forcefully recruited to participate in armed conflict. But he had also hoped to encounter better life opportunities in South Africa, spurred on by impressions he got from fellow countrymen who had gone there: *"When I left, it's hard on the parents, no matter how poor you are. You can't allow a child to go away just like that. Everybody was so upset, 'why you are going away? For what reason, why don't you just stay here?' I was the first one to cross the border and travel far-far-far. No one had travelled even fifty kilometers."*

Hatungimana could not have known that his moment of departure afforded him his last glimpse of his dad, who passed during Hatungimana's stay in South Africa: *"My father wasn't around the day I left. My mother went to the market. When I was in the taxi I saw my father, he was walking from the city. I thought, 'Ey, should I stop and tell him where I'm going?' Only my sister knew that I'm going to South Africa. I told her, 'don't tell anyone, just keep quiet, tell them tomorrow, when I'm out of the country'."*

Together with his cousin, Hatungimana got on a boat that took them across Lake Tanganyika to Tanzania. From there they struggled their way down to South Africa, using buses, trains, and hitchhiking trucks. They travelled via Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, crossing the last border at Musina by swimming across the crocodile infested Limpopo river. In Pretoria they managed to obtain temporary asylum seeker papers, which have since been extended a number of times.

## Toss-Up Between Hostility and Hospitality

After surviving about two years in Pretoria with other countrymen, in 2007 they came to Cape Town: *"We left the same time, same hour, same minute, same second. We took the same transport. We reached South Africa the same day and we never went back home."*

Hatungimana has been in South Africa for ten years now. He's only been able to stay in touch with his family via phone and WhatsApp. He's been working as a security guard for different companies, living far from the city because his meager monthly salary of 3500 Rand (USD 270) didn't allow him to rent a room closer to his job. He also sends money home, which has allowed his family to build a small house: *"Back home they think we're rich, that we have enough money. But it's only your mother that can understand because she's the one who knows your pain. When you're crying, she can feel something, 'my son's in trouble'. But others, the sisters, brothers, they never understand that you're in trouble."*

In May 2008 widespread xenophobic violence broke out and Hatungimana had to literally run for his life when African foreigners in Philippi, the township where he was staying at that time, were attacked. He abandoned his possessions and stayed for one month in a tough temporary refugee camp in Wynberg: *"South Africa is much more violent than people imagine. It's a country that's in peace but in reality it's like war. You know, I want to go home but what is still holding me back is shame. I cannot go back with empty hands. My plan is to get my legal status, then to study and find better work and build something that I can then bring to my family back home."*

Hatungimana's aim is to obtain permanent residency: *"When I have it I know that I'll be free to feel that I'm welcome in South Africa. It would show that they do care about me and to get any job I want. But I want to get back to Burundi because that's where I belong, that's my country, that's my motherland. I can go there but that doesn't mean that I go there forever. I want to go there and come back here to work. My dream job would be to work in a hotel, just to help people. I'm not perfect in English, but it's about attitude, it's about personality, I smile, I help people understand, I make them happy, I make them laugh."*

**Waves of Afrophobic Violence** – South Africa has experienced large scale outbursts of violence against foreign nationals in 2008 and 2015. Indiscriminate mob violence against foreign nationals continues to occur in particular areas across the country, as do isolated attacks on individuals and small groups of foreign nationals. Since the mid-1990s, recurring patterns of crimes have been observed that specifically target people on the basis of their ethnicity and race. But despite ongoing anti-foreigner violence, the South African Police Service (SAPS) does not officially record crimes targeting foreign nationals and there is, therefore, no official data on the extent of ‘xenophobic’ violence in the country (Hiropoulos, 2015), which are afrophobic, rather than xenophobic (Tshabalala, 2015).

After a number of years of surviving as an asylum seeker in Cape Town, a friend had introduced Hatungimana to an NGO that offers development and welfare programs to the migrant and local communities of Cape Town, where he then enrolled in an English course. Fellow students chose him to be a class representative. This got him to attend meetings that were led by Susana, the person who had initiated a cultural exchange pilot program to bring foreigners and local South Africans together, to get to know each other and do things together. A young local couple, Alice and Grant, found out about this program and replied to the advert ‘*Exciting New Volunteer Opportunity*’ in the NGO’s Newsletter.

Alice and Grant are a young married couple. Grant is a 33 old Afrikaner who hails from Grahamstown. He is a trained journalist but works as a search engine optimization strategist at a downtown digital marketing company. Alice is a 29 year old Française from Normandy. She came to study as an exchange student in South Africa in 2007, which is when she met Grant. Alice came back permanently in June 2010, just prior to the FIFA World Cup which was hosted by South Africa that year. She applied for and received her work permit relatively quickly, starting a job in October the same year.

Alice holds a master’s in business administration. Whilst awaiting her permanent residency papers, she currently balances motherhood with a job at a moving company. When Alice had just arrived in South Africa, she had too much free time on her hands and wanted to feel useful, help out somewhere. She searched and found an NGO dedicated to immigrants and refugees. She sent them an email, basically saying: ‘*I’m here, I have two hands and I could help*’. Because she got her work permit within a couple of months, Alice only got to briefly volunteer in the NGO’s ‘anti-xenophobia campaign’: “*It opened my eyes about what was happening in the country. I had a bit of criticism sometimes from people saying, you know, ‘Ja, but why don’t you help South Africans?’ Which I also can understand, but at the same time, they are also people. And when you hear about what’s happening, it’s crazy*”.

**Myth of South African Exceptionalism Alive** – ‘South Africa’s xenophobia reflects the country’s history of isolation. As a country at the southern-most tip of Africa, South Africans are fond of referring to their continental counterparts as “Africans” or “people from Africa”. Many business ventures, news publications and events—aimed at local audiences—routinely speak about going to Africa. For black people, apartheid was an insidious tool used to induce self-hate and tribalize people of the same race. For white South Africans, apartheid was a false rubber-stamp of the white race as superior. Ironically, these two conceptions may have also fed into the myth of South Africa’s ‘exceptionalism’, that it is not part of the African continent, but a different place that just happens to be on the tip of the continent’ (Tshabalala, 2015). A report by the Human Sciences Research Council identified South Africa’s feeling of superiority in relations to other Africans and its belief of exclusive citizenship to be some of the broad causes of xenophobia (HSCR, 2008).

For the following two to three years she kept abreast on issues and developments through the NGO’s newsletter. Shortly after they got married in 2012 Alice and Grant learned about the cultural exchange program which was looking for volunteer hosts. Alice persuaded Grant they should sign up for it: *“Because this was our first time getting involved together, we knew that this program allowed us to meet a person for let’s say a few months. If it doesn’t work, it doesn’t work. We’re not committed for life.”*

Local hosts who had signed up for the program had been informed via email about the program’s objective to provide a platform for cultural exchange amongst their English School students and South Africans. A South African volunteer host would be paired up with a student based on their personality profile and interests, and they would engage in leisure or cultural activities together every couple of weeks.

It was also spelled out what the program **is** — ‘an opportunity to meet someone from a different culture and share ideas and experiences together and to share knowledge of the city and local culture with a newcomer’; and **is not** — ‘a platform for economic assistance to students. The NGO has various services students can be referred to for various practical matters.’

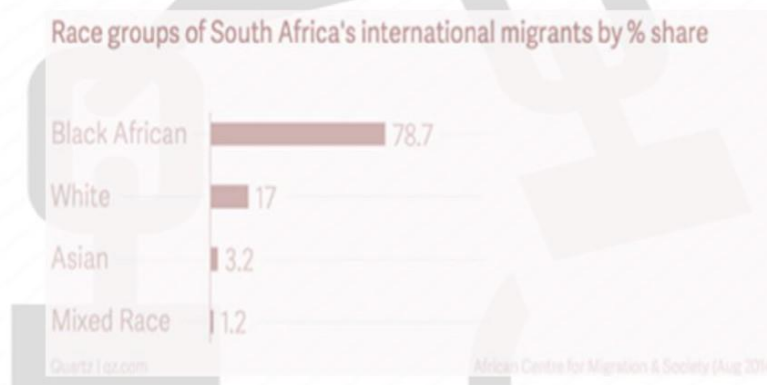
[Grant]: *“We had been basically told by the coordinator to meet in a neutral place, and to not go to places where you have to spend money. Maybe you don’t want to make a person feel bad, possibly they can’t contribute. Or you don’t want to create a situation where the person maybe expects more. And ‘don’t take them out to a restaurant’, which however we did, ‘as to not create a sense of entitlement’. And, ‘Don’t make the people feel that they can expect stuff from you’, which we thought is a fair thing to say because some people likely will. But at the same time, we never forced Hatungimana to do anything, and he’s never asked us for anything at all before or ever since then.”*

### 5.9.1 Hosting - being hosted

During the period between February 2013 and October 2014, Hatungimana was being welcomed by Alice and Grant on six occasions, four times during the actual program and two times afterwards: a walk through Newlands Forest; lunch at a restaurant; a visit to the South African Museum; the closing ceremony at the NGO; watching a DVD movie at a friend's place; and a lunch at their own home, when they also looked up and watched YouTube videos of Hatungimana's country and home town.

[Hatungimana]: *"A few weeks after I put my name down for the program, Susana texted me about the people who wanted to host me. The same day they also sent me an SMS: 'Hi Hatungimana. My name is Alice and my husband and I want to know when can we do our first meeting? Tell us please, where do you stay?'" Then we made appointments. The first time we went for a walk in Newlands Forest. We met and we talked nice. They asked me about myself and my family, my story, about how I feel here far from home. I told them. And I did ask about themselves. They told me. And we get to know each other. And we met a few more times. I mean, they're also working but they used to waste me their time because of me, to do nice things, showing me around. I was feeling I was treated like a human being. I was feeling like I got a new family. That's what I felt, ja."*

**Refugees, Asylum-Seekers & Migrants** – According to Statistics South Africa, in 2014 there were over 65,500 refugees and 230,000 asylum-seekers in South Africa. The major countries of origin for refugees were listed as being Somalia, the DRC, Angola and Ethiopia (Statistic South Africa, 2015).



A 'history of labor migration': According to a Stats SA report on migration dynamics, the consistently high rate of migration from SADC countries is due to a colonial and apartheid-era regional 'history of labor migration, especially from Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Swaziland'. The same report adds that South Africa is regarded as an 'important destination for many people who seek better socio-economic opportunities' due to its relatively stable democratic government, good infrastructure and economic stability. According to Stats SA issues like political unrest, economic instability, and even 'environmental degradation' in the African region have resulted in increased numbers of displaced persons, increasing the number of both documented and undocumented migrants in South Africa and other middle- and high-income countries globally (Meny-Gilbert & Chiumia, 2016).

[Alice]: *“At first, it wasn’t really comfortable between us. We didn’t really know what to talk about. And he wasn’t actually very talkative in Newlands Forest. So we’re just asking him questions. But he wasn’t asking us questions, which is fine. But you kind of have to if you want to have conversation. I don’t know if in his country, you just like wait for people to speak. Or you just have to accept that sometimes silence is better. Maybe because it was the first time and he didn’t want to intrude.”*

[Grant]: *“At the same time, I felt like kind of a bit of a fraud. Because honestly, I’ve never before heard an incredible story from a person telling it himself, about making his way down from a country in Central Africa. When he then asks you about your life, what are you gonna say, ‘I’m like, a cushy bastard’ [laughs with a touch of cynicism]. At one point we kind of ran out of questions, but also he didn’t really wanna give answers. After we’d met up a few times, we remained unsure about making any valuable difference. We’re not like big party animals. We go for walks in the forest, we went out for lunch and we took him to a museum. We just did things that were kind of nice, nothing too exciting.”*

[Alice]: *“Yeah, we started thinking, we’re like ... boring [laughs].”*

Hatungimana shared: *“I’m not the kinda guy who can ask-ask-ask-questions-questions-questions, especially of people I do respect a lot like Alice and Grant. I can show this by not distress them with the bad picture about me with all the mishap and everything. Me, I just tell my true story. I only ask when it’s time to ask. And I’m not that kind of guy who’s always funny. I don’t know, maybe I was also nervous. But me not asking them questions doesn’t mean that they’re boring to me.”*

**Hospitality Is Never A Given** – ‘Richard Kearney asked: ‘When faced with the stranger, do we open or close the door? Do we reach for a weapon or extend an open hand? Hospitality and hostility both emerge from the root word ‘hostis’, which could mean guest or host, friend or enemy. Therefore, hospitality is never a given; it is always a challenge and a choice.’ (Hoffman, 2013).

[Grant]: *“Only later we found out how much it all meant to him, at the program’s closing ceremony.”*

[Alice]: *“Ja, that final meeting was actually quite nice.”*

Hatungimana recalled: *“At the closing ceremony, I introduce myself and said these are my hosts Alice and Grant. They’ve been so good since I met them. To have someone close as a friend, as a family, as a host is very important in life. I’m nine years in South Africa. I’m always working-working-working. But since I met them, we went to different places like a museum that I’ve never seen. I appreciate anything that I don’t know, that I learn. And I feel so good. You know, in life someone can help you. It’s not only help about money and*

*accommodation. These people they help you with some ideas, just opening your mind. So I wish anyone here who got something, they mustn't just keep it for themselves, but share with others. For example foreigners who have been here a long time. They come from different countries and they're struggling to speak English. Maybe someone can help translate at Home Affairs. If you know, help him, help her, this is most important in life. Afterwards, everyone at the ceremony was almost crying. Even the other students said, 'Yoh, your speech was greater than anyone'. Everyone came to shake hands."*

[Grant]: *"Ja, all the foreign participants sat with their hosts. They did presentations about the things that they'd done together and how they honestly felt about their hosts, basically saying 'thank you'. This was quite moving, because it allowed us to realize what's actually been happening here, making us aware that we'd actually done something very important for Hatungimana."*

[Grant]: *"And afterwards we're quite happy we didn't lose touch with Hatungimana."*

[Alice]: *"Ja, through WhatsApp, we just say 'hi, how are you?'"*

[Grant]: *"We've seen him three times after the program ended."*

[Alice]: *"He was working nights and weekends and also we've been busy. So it was always difficult to find a time and, ja sometimes, you know, life just carries on."*

[Grant]: *"Because I'm a trained journalist, it completely fascinated me when he told us parts of his story. Firstly, because it was actually incredible what he'd done. And secondly, he became a person worth knowing because not everybody gets up one day and says I'm going to travel half-way across the continent, swim over a crocodile infested river, to come and better myself at the tip of Africa, not knowing what awaits me from there. We didn't really know why he actually left."*

[Alice]: *"It was also money."*

[Grant]: *"I didn't question his reasons for having sought political asylum. I assumed it was bad and that he left because the situation he fled from was terrible. But I also thought about the xenophobia that African foreigners, living in South Africa, face. I never experienced this and my family has been in Africa for three hundred years."*

[Hatungimana]: *"Last time we met, I went to their house. Alice was pregnant and almost ready to give birth. We had lunch and some chat. And they have this laptop. So I told them my city name. They just type it and then I saw the map, my city, small small small houses. And it made me feel like I come home again [smiles]."*

[Alice]: *"The last meeting when he came here to have lunch was a big one. I don't know if it was because we had invited him to our home or perhaps because his English had*

*gotten better, as we chatted a bit more. Or because you guys watched some videos on YouTube of his country?"*

[Grant]: *"I think it was big for him to be able to connect with his family and his mom through WhatsApp. They sent pictures of themselves which he could then show us. I mean, he had not seen his family for ten years, to have your father die and you weren't at the funeral, you got brothers and sisters that you never met, for me all that is like hard core stuff. So when he came here for lunch, I thought let me just check on YouTube. I found some videos of his home town that he told us about. We both sat on the couch and enjoyed watching those videos, when just by chance he saw someone he knew."*

**South Africa Lacks Leadership against Xenophobia** – 'A Gross Domestic Product listing of countries in Africa would have South Africa at the top. A similar listing in terms of number of refugees hosted in these countries would see South Africa nowhere near the top. There's a crisis in South Sudan, about 300,000 people crossed the border into Uganda a few months ago. There is no public outcry. Why is there no public outcry? Uganda is a much poorer country than South Africa. The Ugandan people are not naturally less xenophobic. The point is that when the state provides leadership against xenophobia, a society will likely follow' (Mamdani, 2017).

[Hatungimana]: *"I know that music group. They are from my town. One of the rappers is a friend of mine."*

[Grant]: *"When I showed him the videos, he opened up quite a bit. And he started telling us lots of stuff, also about the culture of his country. And that wasn't actually the first meeting in a place that wasn't neutral. One time we were house sitting for some friends."*

[Alice]: *"Oh yeah, I forgot about that."*

[Grant]: *"So we had invited Hatungimana there. We also had lunch and watched an action movie that he picked from our friends' collection. We just chilled on the couch and then basically vegged after the movie."*

[Alice]: *"It was quite humbling and made us get more in touch with our reality. Because for us it was just a little bit of our time, I mean, what did we do [laughs], watch a movie."*

[Grant]: *"Yes, but I think it's also about spending time with a person as an equal. We didn't have any expectations of him in terms of having to do anything or be anyone or anything like that. We're just interested to hear about him."*

[Alice]: *"That was also interesting, the fact that like me, he was also not a South African."*

[Hatungimana]: *"As I keep saying, they're my new family, how we used to talk to each other, how they treat me. I just feel like I was found. Before that I was lost and now I was found by them. I still have a difficult time but I know somebody that can help you. I mean carry on with your future. That's most important in life. I know they've not done anything*

*special for me, but that little time they're having with me, I can just say it's helping me. I got another vision, the feeling of being in a family. Because sometimes it's taking away my mind about my own family, that is far away, I can't visit them.*

*Every country has foreigners, even in my country. I can say anyone is a foreigner to another country. That's what I used to tell some of my colleagues who is a citizen. Sometimes they joke, 'hey you foreigners, you 'kwerekwere'. I say, yes, I'm a foreigner here but maybe also you can be a foreigner in my country. Ja, and then they just keep quiet."*

## **5.10 Writing**

This story features a coming together of two intergenerational artists who share a passion for writing, dissident poet James Matthews, and jazz singer and composer Melanie Scholtz. Beyond their celebrity status, James and Melanie are people who care about what is happening around them and who respond through writing. The reader is invited to engage with the story at this level, considering how their preoccupations and everyday writing moments, in the broadest sense, coincide and may relate to those of James and Melanie.

James Matthews is an 88 year old colored South African poet, writer, and publisher. He was born in 1929 in the Bo-Kaap, District Six in Cape Town. He wrote what he coined 'dissident poetry'. In *Cry Rage* (1972), his first published collection of poetry, James spoke out against apartheid and all its evils. It became the first book of poetry to be banned by the Apartheid regime and most of his later publications also met with the same fate. He was denied a passport for thirteen years and was imprisoned for four months in 1976.

James Matthews fought against the regime with the one weapon his jailers could not deprive him of: his ability to turn words into poems. He has produced five books of poetry, a collection of short stories, a novel, and an anthology of poetry. Although his works had been translated, published, and read overseas, ultimately becoming internationally recognized as a major writer and poet, years of enforced isolation cut him off from his readership.



[James]: *"My dad was an illiterate dockworker and my mom worked as a char for white women. She was literate and allowed me to read a lot. Given that I had left school after standard seven (age 14), I was virtually self-taught through lots of reading. I think that I read*

*more books than many of the teachers at high school. One day we had to write a composition. Our English teacher Miss Meredith, she gave me 21 out of 20 and said, 'James did not write a composition. James wrote a short story'. Then I knew, I could write."*

When I asked James how post 1994 South Africa is doing, he answered by reading out his 1981 poem 'i wish i could write a poem' (Matthews, 1981):

i wish i could write a  
poem  
record the beginning of  
dawn  
the opening of a flower  
at the approach of a bee  
describe a bird's first flight  
then i look at people  
maimed, shackled, jailed,  
the knowing is now clear  
i will never be able to write  
a poem about dawn, a bird or a  
bee

[James]: *"I had already gotten into the whole idea that reading is important. When my kids were still small, I often took them to our local public library. It's fundamental that young children know how to read. To read books is like having a key that will open wonderland. Every book that you read takes you into another world. Unfortunately at that time, there weren't many books describing how for instance Zulu and Xhosa kids were growing up. There weren't many locally written books. I think reading and writing go hand in hand. And both would be more enhanced if the writers are from South Africa.*

*I discovered the value and power of the written word in my early twenties, when I started reading serious writing, people like John Dos Pasos, and other political writers. Such writings really helped me to understand the necessity of our struggle universally. You see, what had happened in Harlem [USA] and in Brixton [UK], it's the same thing here, that's all part of black consciousness.*

*During Apartheid, each law that they passed became harsher. Each law restricted your movement, your speech, and each law made you subjective to the laws that they passed.*

*There were not many blacks writing about freedom in a literary sense. I did not start with writing dissident poetry. I first wrote for newspapers and a magazine. But because of what was happening to us, I decided I shall not write poetry that would be accepted as art for art's sake. I worked fervently to bring out 'Cry Rage'. The title 'rage...sharp as a blade, to cut and slash, spill blood for the blood spilled over three-hundred years', was a direct attack on the Apartheid system. They'd never been confronted with lines like that. And it became the*

*first book of poetry to be banned. They discussed it in Parliament, and the cynical thing was, they couldn't decide whether it was poetry or a petrol bomb, so they had to ban it. That made it clear, dissident poetry is where I should be. So, having your books banned because of what you're writing showed that it was effective. But it wasn't art for art's sake. We were not interested in being accepted by what the establishment termed 'poets'. What was important is that we were accepted by the people.*

*I don't look at writing from an academic point of view. Writing is the experiences that I have acquired as to what is happening and where I am and how I react to those experiences. I don't see myself as a writer who belongs to a particular group. I am just trying to get to people how I feel, not for them to understand how they think I would feel. Then I would not be true. I just need to open up myself through my writing and through what I'm saying, so that people can understand how I am, as a human being basically. Writing for me means expressing where I am, how I see myself where I am, the feelings and the concepts and the creativity."*

**Locked Up in Intellectual Dungeons of Apartheid** – Whereas Apartheid had systematically denied the epistemological and political value of black voices, as well as their words in writing, a review of the history of prose in post 1994 South Africa shows on the one hand a plenitude of writers, written materials, and readers (white, English, and Afrikaans) and, on the other, relative scarcity (black, nine indigenous languages). Yet traces do exist of spirited efforts by black South Africans to contribute to the history of the written word, but it appears that this vast potential is still decidedly held in check, largely locked up in the intellectual dungeons of Apartheid. Though much of African writing may remain unpublished, the written word at times may have been the only viable bearer of witness, to inform, to influence, to record if only to affirm existence in history. Much writing appeared in the form of poems and short stories in newspapers and magazines. What is still lacking is a comprehensive history of black South African prose and a rightful presence of nascent African intellectual traditions in the African classroom (SA History, 2017).

*"I never divorced myself from the people around here and that influenced my thinking and writing quite a lot. And always stuck with that. Because once you divorce yourself from people, how can you truthfully write political stuff? How could I write a political poem? It would be hypocritical. I developed myself in my growth of years by not compromising what I truthfully believed in. That's also why I never joined any political party. I'm with the people, giving them the squabbles through my writing, trying to enlighten them. I don't write essays or pieces of journalese. No, I write political poems that explain fully what's happening to us, how we should make our views known, like 'Rage, sharp as a blade, cut and slit', words that they'll understand.*

*The art is and should be part of the people's struggle. Poetry in itself is an awakening to people to how they can relate to what the poet is portraying. And what the poet is writing, is exactly the position that the people are in. That is why dissident poetry for me was*

*important. I started writing dissident poetry I think in 1970. I had no idea of wanting to be a poet. In fact one of the books was sub-titled 'A Gathering of Feelings', because I didn't want to be trapped in the whole concept of a poet, because for me, poetry has no relationship to the reality of people's lives."*

Melanie Scholtz is 38 year old South Africa born, colored, award winning jazz singer and composer. To date, five albums have been released under her own name and she has collaborated with many South African and international jazz artists. Melanie Scholtz's music has been regarded as 'a best friend' and listeners are inspired by her 'musical honesty'.

[Melanie]: *"South Africa is still very segregated and racist, even within groups. I feel that a lot of healing still needs to happen. At a mass scale in South Africa, people struggle to acknowledge who they are, are ashamed of who they are, a complete denial of our roots, our black side. I think a lot of respect for self and others has been lost through Apartheid dehumanization and what all that indoctrination did. You know, like 'my hair is straighter than yours that makes me a better person than you', 'my skin is lighter than yours, or 'my nose is sharper than yours'. All these little things kind of became inherently part of a person's make-up. This is something that we really have to start un-learning in a way, within the new generations."*

**Stats: Literacy Development in South Africa** – A disturbingly high number of children are unable to read in their fifth year of schooling: 58% of Grade 4 learners in South Africa cannot read for meaning, while 29% are completely illiterate (Spaull, 2016). With 11 official languages in South Africa, according to the 2011 census, isiZulu is the 'home' or 'first' language of 22.7% of the population, followed by isiXhosa at 16%, Afrikaans at 13.5%, English at 9.6% (startlingly low, considering that it's the dominant language in official settings and educational institutions); Setswana 8%; Sesotho 7.6%; 5% distributed between Pedi, Venda, SiSwati, Tsonga, and Ndebele (Emslie, 2015). From grade 1-3, 70% of learners are taught in an African language and when they reach grade 4, the majority of them are then instructed in English. This approach is based on research that indicates that children acquire English language skills more easily when they receive instruction in their mother tongue in grades 1-3 (Taylor & Von Fintel, 2016). The majority of primary schools in South Africa are severely under resourced. Two or three books are shared between an entire classroom of learners, while writing utensils and literacy resources are scarce. Few children from poor township communities have books at home, and libraries are often too far away for these learners to access on a regular basis, if at all. These factors rob many South African children of the opportunities to develop literacy skills and fall in love with reading (Help2Read, 2017).

[Melanie]: *"We live in a world where everything is just so easy and so convenient. Many things are just easier for us than it was for our parents or for our parents' parents. So we live in a very like 'fast food' society where we're not really feeding ourselves good things. We're not really writing enough. We're watching too much television and we're not really knowing what's going on around us. And so when you read James Matthews' like poetry, it's just another gravity that hits you in the heart. You can't ignore that and feel lucky, blessed*

*and privileged, especially as a person of color and a neo-South African that you're part of that in some way."*

The *Freedom's Child* album project had come about due to a need to collaborate, create and facilitate change. Using the words of James Matthews, as 'a muse for a new album'. The journey of writing and recording took about two-three years. The intention of the album was to highlight and document South Africa's history as a people through the words of James Matthews and the compositions of Melanie Scholtz.

### **5.10.1 Reading - being read**

[Melanie]: *"My very first encounter with James' writings occurred when I was a teenager. My dad, who was an English teacher, used his poem 'The Face of My Mother' (Matthews, 1981). It only had ten lines, but it was so powerful. And I wanted to know who is this person, how does his brain work, and how does he write something so concise and yet so jam packed, full of emotion? I was definitely already moved and interested, but never imagined that I would one day meet and work with James in person."*

the face of my mother takes the shape of  
a frightened mouse  
at the sound of a policeman's step  
the fear-filled flutter of her heart  
a bird ensnared  
my father freezes his feelings at the demand  
for a pass  
and i watch the fire in his  
eyes slowly die  
as his hands grope for the right to survive freedom's child

[Melanie]: *"Many years later, when my career as a jazz singer and composer had already taken off, I really felt tired of just being a lyricist to my own stuff and was thinking about using someone else as a muse. And that's when I serendipitously spotted James at a local downtown mall. And I remember kind of pulling myself together like a complete groupie, tapping him on his shoulder, saying 'Hi Mr. Matthews, how are you? It's so nice to meet you in person. And thank you for your work'. And then James said, 'Ja, thank you for your work. I went to your launch and I love your music. And I have your CD'. And then I shared with him how I was searching for something more meaningful that at my age I could come up with. I had been reading lots of poetry books and watched a good many documentaries, for inspiration. As they say, you have to look to the past in order to know where you're going in the future. And then I recalled the moment that we had read his poem 'the face of my mother' at school and how I'd been so blown away by the scene, because the way he had written it."*

*It really felt like a scene from an opera or a musical. And then it suddenly hit me, this is like a little snap shot of what it was like as a child growing up without freedom, witnessing first-hand how one's parents were being disrespected."*

[James]: *"And that poem in itself is the horror of those parents having to suffer the indignity of having to carry a pass to survive."*

[Melanie]: *"Yes, and I just remember how that made me feel. But I don't think that this message is really being communicated to people of my generation and also younger, because we haven't directly gone through what you've gone through and what people of your era have gone through. And I love the honesty and the virility and the passion that you have when you write about the past you know because you own it. I think we don't know that as a new generation of artists. We can't understand it. We can only find a way to translate it, to leave it behind and document for the next generations. So it became vitally important for me to leave that behind. So James, how would you feel about me writing music to some of your writings?"*

**Shut Up, Listen and Learn at White Literary Festivals** – ‘Learning from Thando Mgqolozana (Jennifer, 2015; Sulcas, 2015), it is not okay for black authors to be paraded before a white audience as proof of how “diverse” the festival is... From Mahlatsi aka ‘Malaika wa Azania’ (Annetjie, 2015), how traumatic it can be for a young black author to face down a room full of older white people who are tutting and shaking their heads while she attempts to recount her lived experience. Mahlatsi refers to this as a form of violence, and that is precisely what it is... From Karabo Kgoleng (Helenep, 20015), gaining insight into the systemic and historical inequalities that lie at the heart of the ongoing, stubborn whiteness of most SA literary festivals... Perhaps most unnerving of all was the realization that Mgqolozana is not seeking to ‘transform’ or ‘diversify’ the literary scene...he’s calling for a complete revolution in ownership, funding and strategy in the publication industry’ (Snykers, 2015).

[James]: *"Melanie, to be honest with you, I trust few people with my words. It must be really somebody I feel okay with. I've been writing dissident poetry since 1972. But a lot of younger people, they don't even know what had happened in 1976. And what you are proposing, to capture my writings through recorded music, to reach them and help them understand why for example they can go to certain schools today. So the answer is: yes!"*

[Melanie]: *"Through spending time with James I discovered the music he enjoyed and soon started writing my own tunes to match his words. James is a very big Nina Simone fan and so I took this into consideration while writing the music for this album. The song-writing was also more specific, given that this time the poems and not the music had to take central stage. When you see the way that he reacts to music and to how you work with his poems, it's really sensitive work because as artists of any genre, any kind of art form, our work, it's really like our children. So you need to feel like you got good ‘baby sitters’ who are looking*

*after your kids. Therefore I feel very fortunate that he trusted me as a good baby sitter to his kids, because you can tell that each one of his publications, they're just like his children. When we were in the studio with him, just to see his face whilst he was listening to all the tracks, and then for him to turn around and go, 'Wow, you really captured that, thank you for that, you know this is my legacy'. At those moments you realize the gravity of someone's work and how it's his life, it's his history, his legacy. And it's really for future generations to go back and listen and to go and look at the poems more in-depth and go, wow, I'm here, I'm privileged as a result of other people's sacrifice."*

[Melanie]: *"We had decided that 'Freedom's Child' (Matthews, 1972) would be the title track of the CD, because we all are in pursuit of freedom still, we are not free, yet, as a human race. Also, 'freedom' felt like a timeless universal concept that all of us in the world as humanity can identify with, because we are all freedom's children in some way, in some aspect. We've all had histories that where we were imprisoned."*

freedom's child  
you have been denied too long  
fill your lungs and cry rage  
step forward and take your rightful place  
you're not going to grow up  
knocking at the back door  
for you there will be no travelling  
third class enforced by law  
with segregated schooling  
and sitting on the floor  
the rivers of our land, mountain tops  
and the shore  
it is yours, you will not be denied anymore  
cry rage – freedom's child

[Melanie]: *"In a way James, you were being a prophet. For myself, for all of us, for my kids, for all of our kids, for future kids, the kids of our kids, of our kids' kids' kids."*

[James]: *"You're right. This is for the younger children to come. The children of my time and all the people did not have that freedom. So this is an anthem as well."*

[Melanie]: *"It is. You are right."*

*"James, I want to ask you, what does it feel like, today, to be free?"*

[James]: *"I think really that we have been misled. Although we have freedom of movement, freedom of speech, and possibly freedom of job choice, considering some of the actions partaken by the government, are we really free? Economically we are exploited. Therefore I have to go back to becoming a dissident poet, to expose the fallacy that the government has brought about saying we are free. I know this is not quite what was asked of*

*me, but I need to be truthful when I reply as how do I feel about freedom. So many of us, the abject poverty that we live in, can we really say we're free?*

*One of my short stories that I still feel very good about is 'The Park' (Matthews, 1983), it must've been in 1954. It depicts how the Apartheid laws affected black children as well as adults when a young boy is forbidden to enjoy a playground in a park reserved for white children. It was one way how one's stories can help to build a bridge when it's a racial or political situation. And it's just as important today as it was back then. So my political poetry, I feel it is important that I should go back to writing political poetry again, with the amount of corruption and nobody goes to prison. They're just placed in another area and just continue being a thief."*

weave me a fantasy child of the sun  
come speak to me  
relieve me of bitterness  
tell me that love's not a kind of a child  
weave me a fantasy child of the sun  
so that love will bloom  
make my spirit grow  
strong stemmed as flowers  
i need your warmth  
child of the sun

James indulges in listening to Melanie's re-imagined version of his short story 'The Park', which she re-named 'Weave me a fantasy child of the sun' (Scholtz, 2013). When the song has finished he says to her: *"There's a gentleness about this one that I like."*

[Melanie]: *"It's my favorite one, it really is. It's also one of the only songs on the album that's in 'tree-four'. And of course, that playfulness of 'three-four', that always makes you think of kids you know. So for me, I almost felt like you were talking to the inner child."*

[James confirms]: *"Ja."*

[Melanie]: *"You weren't just talking to physical kids but to the inner child. So I really wanted to translate that in a way to the music. But it just shows that your poetry is so strong that people really can relate to it. I'm glad you got to hear the second mix."*

[James]: *"I feel really lekker<sup>15</sup> about it."*

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<sup>15</sup> South Africanism for 'great' or 'nice'.

**Politics of Representation in Written History of South Africa** – ‘Who speaks for whom? Are you allowed to tell my story? Producing definitive accounts of South Africa’s history will inevitably be contested regarding non-inclusiveness, political bias, and cultural relativism. Only two such attempts have been commissioned to date. In 1971, the two-volume Oxford History of South Africa was published (only covering a period up to 1966), accused by left-leaning historians of not apportioning sufficient blame to the mining industry and capitalism itself for their complicity in the creation and maintenance of the Apartheid system. And some 40 years later, in 2010 (‘early times to 1885), and 2012 (1885–1994), the two-volume Cambridge History of South Africa came out. One of its three white editors admitted that it contained fewer black contributors than they would’ve liked, and that it had more of a middle-class white mind-set’...feeding a deep concern with identity politics and the politics of representation’ (Davis, 2012).

[Melanie]: *“Your poems really have helped me grow, not just as an artist but as a human being. Taking your poems as the text, and as a composer morphing the music around the text, it was an incredible journey for me. I definitely think it’s made me a better human being, through your words. And I wanted to ask you, what made you trust me with your legacy?”*

[James]: *“Let me go back to the first election. Obviously all of us voted ANC. With the second election, I did not vote ANC. Because the blight of corruption started being displayed more than often and nobody is imprisoned. First I got disillusioned and then I got angry. Now, what are they doing towards the freedom and the struggle to obtain freedom? And then, when you spoke to me, I realized I could trust you. ‘Freedom’s Child’ would be safe in your keeping. I would not need worry as to where ‘Freedom’s Child’ would be going. ‘Freedom’s Child’ had found a home.”*

[Melanie]: *“Wow, to be honest with you, I’m overwhelmed actually. I kind of feel that I can die tomorrow because I felt I did something worthwhile.”*

[James]: *“Exactly, exactly [and as he hands her a signed copy of ‘Cry Rage’, he says]: Melanie, I’m so proud of what you’ve done with this anthology. Now that you’ve put it to music, how you’ve wrapped it up in warmth, it will be on disc and so many more people will be engulfed by the truth of what I’ve written. So ‘Freedom’s Child’ is a gift to the people, not only here in South Africa, to the people anywhere and everywhere. This anthology will surely outlive us and I’ll always be very grateful for what you’ve done.”*

[Melanie, receiving the book]: *“Thank you so much James. So, allow me to present to you, a new medium of an anthology of your poetry. This is the final mix of ‘Freedom’s Child’. And I was very proud and honored to be involved in this.”*

**'Sometimes, I Fear Writing'** – "Sometimes, I fear writing. Writing turns into fear, for I cannot escape so many colonial constructions. In this world, I am seen as a body that cannot produce knowledge. As a body 'outside' place. I know that while I write, each word I choose will be examined, maybe even invalidated. So, why do I write? I have to. I am embedded in a history of imposed silences, tortured voices, disrupted languages, forced idioms and, interrupted speeches. And I am surrounded by *white* spaces I can hardly enter or stay. So, why do I write? I write, almost as an obligation, to find myself. While I write, I am not the 'Other', but the self, not the object, but the subject. I become the describer, and not the described. I become the author, and the authority on my own history. I become the absolute opposition of what the colonial project has predetermined. I become me."

– "While I Write" by Grada Kilomba, 2015

In **summary**, reflecting what this study's case is about: **Chapter Five** presented nine storied exemplars of everyday enacted humanity affirmations in a dehumanized/ing context. The next chapter presents and elaborates on three main themes, each of them supported by sets of categories, which emerged from an across-case analysis.

## **CHAPTER SIX - A COLLECTIVE CASE OF EVERYDAY ENACTED HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS IN A DEHUMANIZED/ING CONTEXT**

This chapter presents an instrumental collective case about everyday enacted humanity affirmations in a dehumanized/ing context, post 1994 apartheid South Africa. The findings, which emerged through an across-case analysis of nine single case stories juxtaposed against seemingly normalized everyday constraints ('Shackles Snapshots'), highlight three themes that are each supported by sets of categories.

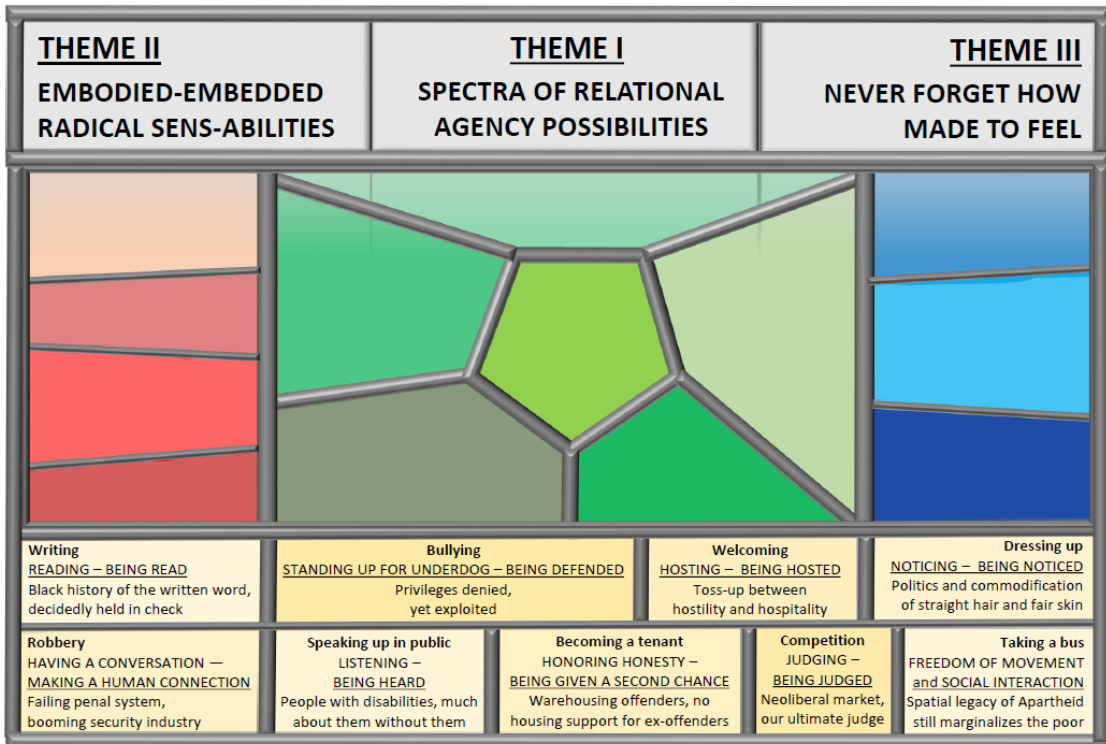
It is important to note that the cases that made up the collective are not outliers but everyday exemplars. I emphasize this upfront for two reasons: firstly, to guard against an apparent general tendency to overlook, ignore, or take for granted that which is dominantly considered as mundane, and; secondly, to ensure we do not deprive ourselves of the everyday as an available resource of learning which 'feeds' phronesis. The exemplars may however reflect disruptions of possibly normalized and at times even naturalized vicious-cycle of dehumanization dynamics that underlie post 1994 apartheid South Africa's violent-divided-wounded humanity condition (Chapter 2.1—Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal).

A visual representation of a 'stain-glass triptych' assists the reader throughout the chapter to picture the unfolding collective case of three themes and corresponding categories, which built on the nine case narratives.

The chapter now proceeds to tell this study's collective story organized by three overarching themes (Figure 9):

- i. Spectra of Relational Agency Possibilities - Central Panel
- ii. Embodied-Embedded Radical Sens-abilities - Left Panel
- iii. Never Forget How Made to Feel - Right Panel

**A Collective Case of Everyday Enacted Humanity Affirmations in a Dehumanized/ing Context**



**Figure 9: Nine Cases - Three Themes**

**6.1 Theme I: Spectra of Relational Agency Possibilities**

This first theme highlights a multiplicity of ways how everyday affirmations of our humanity are enacted in post 1994 apartheid South Africa (Figure 9). These possibilities are supported by six categories, starting with what presents as a core characteristic, followed by five variable features or dimensions hereof. These categories allow for enactments of humanity affirmations to be identified, described and interpreted.

The categories under Theme I *Spectra of Relational Agency Possibilities* are named and framed not for prescriptive purposes but rather as analytical terminology. The following sub-questions unpack the spectra of everyday enactments of humanity affirmations, respectively, in terms of: their nature; by whom they were done and experienced; what constituted them; why and how often did they come about; and lastly, when and where enactments took place and affirmations were felt, and who were reached and impacted by what was done.

A Collective Case of Everyday Enacted Humanity Affirmations in a Dehumanized/ing Context

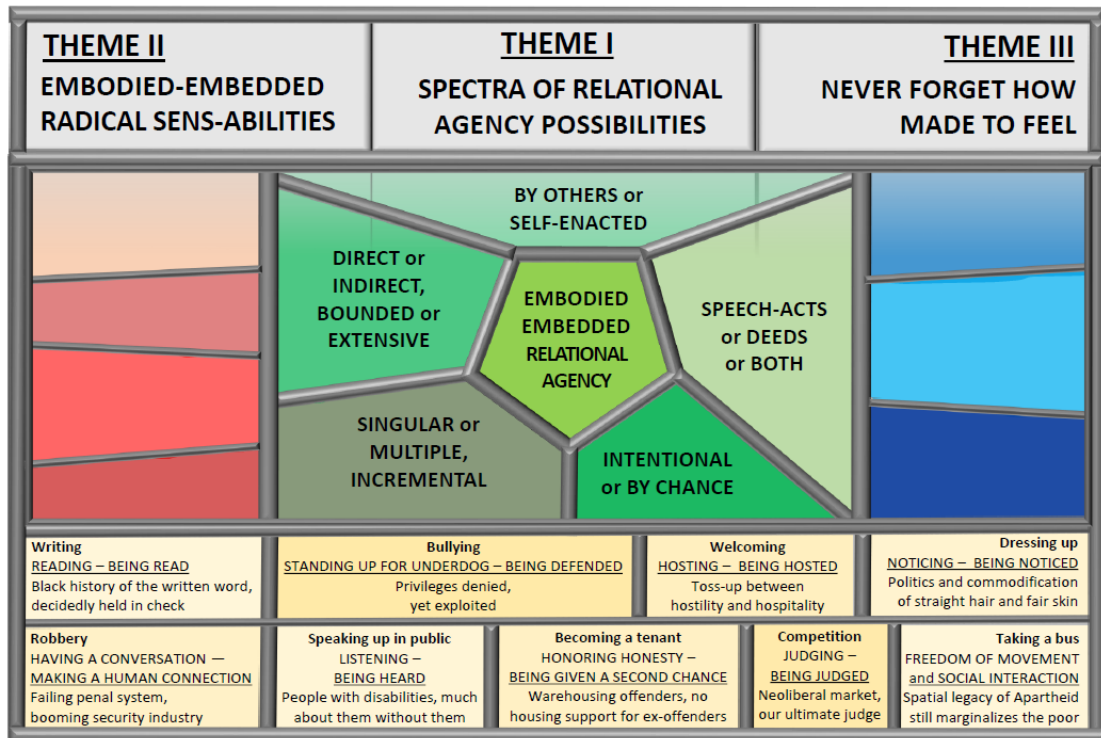


Figure 10: Theme I - Categories

### 6.1.1 Embodied-embedded relational agency

Presented at the core of Figure 10, this first feature can be appreciated as ontological. It speaks to the question *what is the nature of* enactments of humanity affirmations, proposing that these constitute embodied—embedded manifestations of relational agency. This appears to significantly resonate with *Ubuntu*, interpreted by Cornell and Van Marle (2005) as ‘an interactive ethic that is to be judged by how it empowers people’ (p. 206) (Chapter 3.1.3). Hence, objects or material resources in and by themselves cannot enact humanity affirmations, only humans, that is, socio-historically situated subjects can.

The three terms that make up this category are understood as follows: *embodied*—involving human subjects; *embedded*—contextually situated; *relational agency*—manifesting human subjects’ capacity to act upon, influence, or empower one another. Enactments of humanity affirmations reflect relationships of mutual benefit or interdependence, during which power inevitably plays out on a more or less equal/unequal continuum—a dynamic condition which such instances may actually challenge and change. Enacting subjects have limited power over how others feel and how they process what is done to them. In other words, whether or not the enacting subject’s intention is to affirm another’s personhood, the subject (or subjects) to whom something is done hold(s) relative power over the impact of what is done to him or her (or them).

The proposed ontological nature of the first category will now be illustrated with examples from each of the nine case narratives, consistently foregrounding what was done—enactments, followed by how this was experienced—affirmations.

‘Honoring Honesty – Being Given a Second chance’, in the *‘Becoming a tenant’* incident, after the rental agency administrator had learned from the application form that the applicant happened to be a parolee, following due process, she telephonically established contact with him. Effectively, she held power over whether or not to process his application given his criminal record disclosure and thus his chances of becoming a tenant. However, as it played out, the applicant’s honesty effectively persuaded her to decide in his favor. Both exercised relational agency which reflected an ethic of being with each other that humanized and empowered them.

‘Standing Up for the Underdog – Being Defended’, in the *‘Bullying’* incident, the protagonist called out some group-members at madrasah when they were bullying another member-sister who happened to be poor, thereby standing up for her. Considering the particular intentionality of the group, learning about and living out the teachings of Islam, her enactment manifested a powerful example of embodied—embedded relational agency, by holding up a mirror for all group-members, making everyone reflect on the shameful conduct that had been displayed.

‘Judging – Being Judged’, the *‘Competition’* incident described auditioning interactions between a performer (auditionee) and jury members (auditioners) which reflected unequal power relations. The auditionee enacted self-affirmation by inverting this power relation through a role-reversal of the judging ritual. He evaluated the one judge’s interactive ethic with him as an auditionee and concluded that the delivery of his judgment had failed to empower him.

‘Noticing – Being Noticed’, in the two distinct *‘Dressing up’* incidents, the protagonist did not only dress up to feel good about herself, she also wished to get noticed by others, ideally in ways that allowed for positive, respectful relationships to come about. She also seemed astutely aware that one’s looks play a role in how power is navigated and negotiated in everyday social interactions. In other words, dressing up as a way to unlock relational agency.

‘Having a Conversation – Making a Human Connection’, in the *‘Robbery’* incident, here the expected situated relation and consequent interactions between the ‘armed robber’ [Nathan] and ‘victim’ [Kate] got disrupted by them having a ‘normal conversation’. Regardless of the disturbing situational context, both exercised and experienced relational

agency when they asked and answered each other's personal questions. Through conversation they had connected as persons and in the process became human. On the other hand, the ethic which underlay the way Kate's boyfriend Donovan interacted with Nathan (as well as the way Nathan interaction with Donovan, also probably conditioned by gendered relations) during that robbery incident remained 'shackled' by a dehumanized/ing 'victim and perpetrator script', not allowing for the possibility of a conversation and a human connection to occur. Nathan kept his promise not to hurt Kate but ended up injuring Donovan.

'Listening – Being Heard', in the *'Speaking Up in Public'* incident, the embodied-embedded relational agency manifested after the seriously physically and socio-economically challenged person spoke up at the public forum. Several participants who did have access to resources and opportunities for people living with disabilities then approached him and requested his telephone number. Bess had heard Denzel, she related to his potential which only needed to be unlocked. The others who had asked for his telephone number, ultimately had left Denzel and his hope 'hanging'. Why ask for his number without actually following up?

'Freedom of Movement and Social Interaction', in the *'Taking a Bus'* incident, the senior citizen discount travel clip card which was made available by the public bus company allowed the granny to 'escape loneliness at home' and make contact with others in a public place where she felt safe. In other words, it unlocked (empowered) her and others' (those she got to socially interact with outside her home and community) relational agency.

'Hosting – Being hosted', in the *'Welcoming'* case, the embodied-embedded relational agency reflected reciprocity; how the hosts and guest had shared an opportunity to empower one another. At the closing ceremony a role reversal occurred, hosts Alice and Grant became guests as they were hosted by their guest Hatungimana.

'Reading – Being Read', in the *'Writing'* incident, the relational agency shared between the writer and reader first manifested through interaction with the writings ('reading'), and subsequently they engaged with each other in person about the writings. This then then led to collaborating in a joint-project, paying forward what the writings had done for them to others, 'this time', as the poet put it, 'wrapped in warm music'. Throughout, an ethic of being with each other and others (anticipated audiences) was exercised that intended to affirm and thus empower people (readers of/listeners to their writings).

Before presenting the other five variable categories/features to deepen our understanding of how the enactments of humanity affirmation come about, being mindful of unequal power relations between historically differently situated groupings of peoples, exercising reflexivity and occupational consciousness, it may be useful to employ the metaphors *pas de deux* and *capoeira*. The notion *pas de deux* originates from Europe and refers to ‘a ballet dance or figure for two performers’, and more generally, to ‘an intricate relationship or activity involving two parties or things’ (Merriam-webster, n.d., p. 1). *Capoeira* refers to ‘a Brazilian art form which combines fight, dance, rhythm, and movement’ and it is also described as ‘a dialog between players, a conversation through movement which can take on many shades of meaning’. And some historians claim that ‘slaves used capoeira's dance-like appearance as a way to hide their training for self-defence and rebellion’ (Capoeira-World.com, n.d., p. 1).

Now that a core-feature of enacted humanity affirmations has been identified and explained as ‘*embodied-embedded relational agency*’ (*Ubuntu*), I suggest that it involves an intricate power dynamic between ‘enactments’ and ‘affirmations’, each of which can be appreciated as ‘performers choreographing humanity’. In situations where power is shared, it may manifest as a *pas de deux*, whereas when historical conditions deny power sharing, then *capoeira* may break out. The adjective ‘intricate’ refers to ‘having many complexly arranged parts or elements’, and ‘difficult to understand or analyze’. Thus, the intricateness of enacted humanity affirmations can be envisioned on spectra of combinations of possibilities or scenarios: done by others or self (7.1.2); speech-acts, deeds or both (7.1.3); intentional or by chance (7.1.4); singular or multiple, incremental (7.1.5); direct or indirect *and* bounded or extensive reach and impact (7.1.6).

### **6.1.2 By others or self-enacted**

This feature speaks to the question *by whom* the enactments were done and the affirmations were experienced. The humanity affirmation experiences were generated either by something that another person or others did, or, these constituted self-enacted affirmations, or, they reflected a combination of these possibilities or scenarios.

As a consequence of this study’s methodological approach to data collection, the research participants were asked to talk about their individually lived experiences of enacted humanity affirmations, therefore the case narratives foreground intersubjective interactions at individual levels.

In most of the cases, humanity affirmations came about through others' *pas de deux*-like enactments, which then triggered a kind of 'reciprocation ripple-effect', essentially unlocking relational agency. Finding some examples in the case narratives: the writer felt affirmed by a reader; the person who spoke up in public felt affirmed by the person who had listened and heard him; the guest felt affirmed by the couple who had hosted him; the parolee felt affirmed by the rental officer giving him a chance to become a tenant after he had honestly disclosed his criminal record; and the performer felt affirmed by three of the four judges by their response to his performance.

However, some of the cases reflected everyday instances during which people had failed to affirm others' personhood, which then pushed for *capoeira*-like self-enacted affirmations.

In '*Dressing up*', Nomhlaba dressed in particular ways to get noticed in preferred ways by others. She went out of her way to look her authentic best in environments that she experienced as hostile to, or not welcoming of, the unique personhood she embodied, including and beyond her intersectional identities 'black African, female, lesbian':

[Nomhlaba]: *"I want people to see me as a person before they see my skin color, my gender, my sexuality and everything else. And I'm very bold in my dress code. Generally, I don't like dressing like everybody else. I always choose items that nobody has."*

[Nomhlaba]: *"[White people] can change their hair color [laughs, a bit amused], this one [referring to her own hair] they can't have. It's one of those things they can't share with us as black people you know. Because most black people they feel like white people have taken so much from us and there are certain things that we like to preserve for ourselves, like dreadlocks."*

In '*Taking a bus*', the granny acts upon the availability of a senior citizen public bus discount travel card, seizing the opportunity to enjoy going wherever, doing whatever, and interacting with whomever she wants to ('Freedom of Movement and Social Interaction'):

[Granny]: *"You see, we live in the new South Africa. When I'm going to get my pension once a month, I take my bag, I take my pensioner clip card, ja, I show my card and my photo [ID], and get into the bus. With that bus I can go anywhere for 48 Rand. That clip card ticket, it's got 10 rides. If I use it for the whole week then it's finished, but I use it once a month, because I want to go far for my pension. And I want to go do my shopping."*

[Granny]: *"Other grannies often ask me, 'why do you go so far away to cash your pension?'. And then I tell them, because now I can. And it is much safer to collect it at the mall. In the location (a term often used by people who live in townships to refer to where they live), you know, they may rob us when we come from the collection point. Or in the evening, they may knock on your door to give up your money. At Canal Walk [shopping mall], nobody knows me. It's safe."*

In '*Competition*', when the performer mockingly inverted the power dynamics during the jury ritual, judging a jury member's judgment of his personhood rather than his performance:

[Performer]: *"It bothered me that the [jury member] repeatedly said that luck is getting me to the next round, not the quality of my performance. I responded 'Uhm, sorry sir, I would like to actually mention something that you would need to remember when I come back. It's that I won't be using my name Solitude anymore, but 'Lucky', because you emphasized how lucky I am that I'm gonna be in the next round'. It wasn't so much the contents of his feedback but more so how he delivered it, a bit hostile, this 'benefit of the doubt' phrase. So I was kind of mocking how he'd gone about judging me, not him as a person. I was just being myself, but trying to affirm, 'no, don't think you are smarter than me'. It was a moment that I took a stand."*

What also appears to underlie this finding is that failings to enact humanity affirmations do not only describe 'unsuccessful doings' but also acts of omission, failing to live up to personal and/or professional ethics or accepted codes of conduct. Such instances can also be regarded as lost opportunities to do something that could or should have been done, with resultant consequences for others and ourselves. Instances of self-enacted affirmations then seem to also speak to the power and resilience of relational agency, reflecting not only actively resisting dehumanization dynamics but also (pro)actively disrupting and replacing a vicious cycle of dehumanization with virtuous cycle of a humanizing practice.

### **6.1.3 Speech-acts or deeds or both**

This feature speaks to the question, *what* constituted the enactments of humanity affirmations, whether that which was done described speech-acts, deeds, or a combination of both categories. Speech-acts here refer to utterances considered as actions, particularly with regard to their intention, purpose, or effect. Put differently, something that somebody says about or to someone else or others, considered as an action, for example 'I forgive you'. Deeds refer to things that are done or performed, acts, actions or performances, as opposed to words, for example 'doing good deeds'.

Even though we may pretend otherwise, what we say, how we say it, or not saying something when it is called for (speaking up, speaking truth to power), impacts on others, ourselves, and on the relationships between us. This realization reminded me of a German saying that I learned during my childhood: *"Ein böser Satz ist schnell gesagt, der Eine sagt, es war so nicht gemeint, der Andere aber geht und weint."* It loosely translates into English as: 'A hurtful phrase is easily said, the one says I didn't mean to, whilst the other one leaves and weeps', in other words, the damage is done. In Tshivenda, my spouse's mother-tongue, there is a similar idiom: *'Hu livhala mubai, fhedzi mubaiwa ha livhali'*. Such proverbs reflect a source of practical wisdom. Remaining conscious of and exercising sensitivity regarding the potential effects of speech-acts is important.

Most of the narratives reflect combinations of speech-acts and deeds. In *'Dressing up'*, the protagonist Nomhlaba received positive comments from customers on how she wore her cashier uniform. She also had co-workers attempting to mimic her:

[Nomhlaba]: *"I would make sure that I dressed the uniform like I'm a model going to an airport or a hostess. Everyone who would come to my till, they'd be like, 'Oh my gosh, you walk this uniform'. And a lot of other girls in Pick-n-Pay started like dressing like me. So they all cut their skirts, they all bought socks, stockings."*

In *'Competition'*, all four jury members judged the protagonist's performance by providing non-verbal and verbal feedback. Three of them did so in a way that was experienced as affirming, nodding and bobbing their heads during the performance and offering constructive feedback afterwards, whereas one of them completely failed at it. The performer self-enacted a humanity affirmation by means of a speech-act, namely by his verbal mocking response to that one jury-member.

Examples of types of deeds include: the processing of parolee's rental application form (*'Becoming a Tenant'*); hosting through sharing a home space and ordinary recreational activities with refugee guest (*'Welcoming'*); arranging transport and coaching support, enabling a quadriplegic disadvantaged person to effectively address a public forum for the first time in his life (*'Speaking Up in Public'*); making use of a discounted public transport card to access opportunities to connect with diverse people outside the township community (*'Taking a Bus'*).

#### **6.1.4 Intentional or by chance**

This feature speaks to the question *why* the enacted humanity affirmations came about. In other words, the focus is on the extent to which the enactments were conscious, intentional, or have come about by chance, that is, a person may have experienced being treated as a human being without conscious intent by the doer. Again, the case narratives show variations in this regard.

In *'Bullying'*, the intention of the Islamic study group was to learn about and put into practice the teachings of their religion, yet some group members failed at materializing this in the flesh and were intentionally called out and reminded:

[Fatimah]: *"Stop judging people. And stop hurting each other. Because we here in life in the world to uplift, to create a sisterhood, for better encouragement, for sharing our experiences, helping each other. The intention, never lose sight of the intention. Why did you come to Islamic studies? To grow as a person, to grow as a better person. So what was your intention? Do you want to hurt this person or do you want to empower and uplift this person?"*

In *'Competition'*, the intention of the performer-turned-jury was not to judge the personhood of one of the actual jury members (as seems to have been done to him), but to expose the way in which he had been judged:

[Performer]: *"I understand the fact that he [the jury member] has to perform the role of a judge. I have respect for the role and the responsibility that comes with it. Hence I thought that it was abuse of power, that I feel that he was using that power to put me down. If his intention was to motivate me, I didn't feel motivated."*

In *'Writing'*, both protagonists have clear intentions with the poetry and music they write, namely to allow them to meaningfully connect with and reflect on who they are, where they come from, and what is happening to them:

[Poet]: *"I write political poems that explain fully what is happening to us and how we should make our views known, like 'Rage sharp as a blade, cut and slit...', words that they will understand."*

[Musician]: *"The intention of the album 'Freedom's Child' was to highlight and document South Africa's history as a people through the words of James Matthews and my musical compositions."*

The *'Robbery'* and *'Welcoming'* encounters illustrate 'By Chance' examples of enactments of humanity or personhood affirmations. Neither Kate nor Nathan had intentionally set out to have a conversation and to connect as the persons they were. This happened 'by chance', which may explain why it had "freaked [Nathan] out" at a certain moment. He had neither intended nor expected the conversation and connection. In *'Welcoming'*, the hosts had chosen to do (in their eyes) ordinary things with their guest that they themselves liked to do, not knowing how he would experience this. Only 'by chance', during the closing ceremony, did they discover the deeply affirming impact of their enactments of hosting.

Interestingly, it is also possible for subjects' enactments to be consciously intentional yet the persons on 'the receiving end' may not experience their speech-acts or deeds as an affirmation of their personhood. For example, again in *'Welcoming'*, initially the hosts intended to establish a relationship with their guest by asking lots of (rather personal) questions of him:

[Hosts]: *"At first, it wasn't really comfortable between us. We didn't really know what to talk about. And he wasn't actually very talkative. So we were just asking him questions. But he wasn't asking us questions, which is fine. But you kind of have to if you want to have conversation. And at one point we kind of not ran out of questions to ask him, but he didn't really wanna give any answers and so that made us feel that we weren't really having an impact."*

[Guest]: *"I'm not the kind of guy who can ask-ask-ask-questions-questions-questions, especially of the people I do respect a lot, like [my hosts]. I can show I do respect them by not distress them with the bad picture about me with all the mishap and everything. Me, I just tell my true story. I don't ask that much. I only ask when it's time to ask. I don't know, maybe I was also nervous. But me not asking them questions doesn't mean that they are boring to me. No, it's not like that. I just don't feel like doing a challenge with them."*

### **6.1.5 Singular or multiple, incremental**

This feature speaks to the question of frequency of occurrence, *how often* enacted humanity affirmations came about, as once-off, singular acts or gestures that were experienced as affirmations of personhood, or as a process or a pattern of multiple, possibly incremental acts.

'*Becoming a Tenant*' is an example of a once-off gesture enactment. A rental agency employee decided to process the application of an aspirant tenant after he had disclosed his criminal record and parolee status upfront:

[Rental agency employee]: *"Look here, at least this guy is being honest about his criminal record, although he was also uncomfortable, shame. But he was being responsible. A lot of people don't put that in application forms. You only find out afterwards. I showed his declaration to my colleagues and said 'if someone can be this honest, then why shouldn't he be given a chance? Just the fact that he was so honest and supplied all the proper documentation."*

The '*Robbery*' case also describes a once-off encounter which disrupts the to-be-expected 'perpetrator-victim' roles-script. A rather normal conversation was initiated and sustained for a while.

In '*Competition*', the protagonist's interactions with the jury members only occurred after he had finished rapping his 'Feel Good Song'. The following excerpt illustrates the enactments of the other three jury members he experienced as affirming:

[Performer]: *"As I was rapping away, I could see some of the judges nodding and bopping along, making me feel that the song seemed to be getting to them. The first three judges now take turns giving me feedback, really positive, like, that they were gelling into the melody, which was nice, and how they could get even the idea of the instrumentals in the background, even though they weren't there. And they also thought that it was well constructed."*

In '*Speaking Up in Public*', although more speaking engagements were to follow, the consultation forum constituted the protagonist's first ever experience of speaking in public:

[Denzel]: *"I had never gone to a place like that before. There was a lot of government people. And they invited a few disabled people. I was one of them who were there."*

[John was very aware that he needed to prepare him for this occasion]: *"Denzel had no idea about Parliamentary rights and papers, never heard of the United Nations Convention for People with Disabilities, all of this was completely lost on him. But he does know what applies to him."*

Other case narratives foreground enactments of humanity affirmations that were pattern-like and which unfolded like a process over a certain period of time. In '*Bullying*', the protagonist Fatimah first identified and then consistently reached out to befriend a fellow-sister at madrasah over several months:

[Fatimah]: *"So, every time we together for four hours and I start speaking to her, showing her concern, just little by little. Asking how she feeling today, where was she, I missed her. Or I smile or say a kind word or whatever. So I said, 'You know, you should look up, because you've got beautiful eyes'. And she smiled at me. And I said, 'No gosh, really, I mean it, you've got beautiful eyes. I wish I had green eyes, because I would never look down if I had green eyes', you know. And I lift up her chin, literally, and I said, 'You shouldn't look down, you should look up'. And she smiled and she started whenever she saw me, then she looks up and she never looks down. Because she knows I treat her with respect. And the days went on and whatever and we became friends. We had this connection. When we sit in Islamic studies, she used to pull my pants [demonstrates visually]. With time, she became more free and playful with me. Then I used to turn around and smile and blow her a kiss, you know."*

In '*Welcoming*', the local hosts met their foreign guest on six occasions over a two years period. Their relationship gradually grew and so did their realization of the impact.

In '*Writing*', what started as a once-off chance encounter between the poet and the musician at a shopping-mall led to a joint project involving multiple reciprocal 'reading' and 'being read' interactions, culminating in co-production and launch of a musical album.

In *'Taking a Bus'*, the protagonist 'treats herself' at least once a month to (possibilities of) experiencing humanity affirmations.

In *'Dressing Up'*, paying particular attention to how she is dressed and looks is part and parcel of the protagonist's daily routine. Hence, every time she appeared in public presented as an opportunity for once-off or multiple affirmative experiences of being noticed, instances during which her unique personhood was made and felt visible.

#### **6.1.6 Direct or indirect, bounded or extensive**

This sixth and last feature combines the *time-place* (spatiotemporal) and *reach-impact* dimensions of everyday enactments of humanity affirmations. This feature engages two related sets of questions:

1) *When and where* enactments took place and affirmations were felt. This either occurred '*directly*' in the here and now between people in a shared space, or '*indirectly*', that is, the enactments happened at a time and/or place that was different from when/where the affirmations were experienced.

2) *Who were reached and impacted by what was done*. The reach and impact of enactments of humanity affirmations can be positioned on a continuum and described broadly as '*bounded*' or '*extensive*'. On the one end of this continuum, what was done may be bounded to impacting one other person, and on the other end, an extensive number of persons.

Examples of *direct* enacted humanity affirmations seem to be easier to 'picture', given that these can be witnessed as they take place between people, as in the '*Bullying*', '*Robbery*', and '*Welcoming*' cases.

*Indirect* enactments of humanity affirmations seem to be more complex and may thus be less obvious, easier to overlook, or taken for granted. This particular feature emerged in the '*Taking a Bus*' case. The discount travel clip card that the granny used is a resource that was brought about through the concerted efforts of collectives of people who are unknown to her. She experienced the affirmations at different times and places.

In the '*Robbery*' case, when Kate shared her victim impact statement in court, the person it was intended for apparently only heard about it later from his erroneously convicted partner in crime who had presented as the accused instead of him. Much later, when he was in prison, Nathan disclosed he has had dreams about someone like Kate in another robbery incident during which 'a white woman had indicated to love him':

[Nathan]: “Ja, last night I got a dream about it, you see. The dream is about me. I’m walking around and doing such things as breaking in and so on. And then I met a lady. And she asked me, ‘do you love me?’ And then I think, yoh, what is that? I was shocked in that dream also. I think, how, how could a white lady ask me are you love me, you see. Afterwards I say, I don’t know what is the meaning of this. But I don’t understand the dreams, so I just remember them.”

The ‘*Writing*’ narrative illustrates an example of a combination of reach and impact dimensions. Firstly, the poet experienced the musical artist’s reading of his work as an affirmation of our humanity. Her appreciative disclosure of having read his work and the subsequent collaborations that sprang from this enactment directly reached and impacted only the two of them. However, the making of the ‘Freedom’s Child’ album and its release involved a collective of dedicated people. The product and the story behind it has since become available to the public, in CD format, on YouTube, and on the musician’s website. Both artists’ intention was for the album’s ‘words wrapped in music’ to indirectly reach and impact an extensive number of people in South Africa and beyond, generating humanity affirmations at other moments and in other places.

In ‘*Welcoming*’, originally, ‘Hosting – Being hosted’ only involved the two hosts and their guest, bounding the reach and impact to these three persons. Then, at the closing ceremony of the cultural orientation program, all hosts and guests gathered at the NGO to collectively share and celebrate the experiences they all had generated. This allowed the reach and impact to expand beyond the three of them. In fact, it took this gathering for the hosts to realize the significance of what they had done. An article was written up about this ceremony and published in the NGO’s online newsletter, which reached and may have additionally impacted an unknown number of subscribers. Lastly, for me, as a researcher, receiving and reading this article helped with identifying and selecting ‘*Welcoming*’ as one of the nine cases.

In ‘*Taking a bus*’, I had shared this story with the manager of Grandmothers Against Poverty and Aids (GAPA), which then inspired exploring ways to inform the grannies in their network about the clip card. For those who are still not in a position to afford this resource, sponsors can be sourced. City officials can be invited to come to GAPA to assist interested grannies to register for and obtain the Golden Arrow clip cards. This way, more grannies could be reached and impacted by this ‘freedom of movement and social interaction’ opportunity.

In the ‘*Robbery*’ incident, the protagonist Kate’s sharing of her ‘victim impact statement’ was witnessed by (and thus may have impacted) everyone present in the court, including the lawyer who represented the accused:

[Kate]: “The lady who was representing him [the accused], his State appointed lawyer, she was getting really emotional when I was talking about it [her victim impact statement]. She was the only lawyer in a very small town, and uh, all the guys that were coming in, so she knows these guys, she knows all of them, and I think that really hit home for her as well.”

## 6.2 Theme II: Embodied-Embedded Radical Sens-abilities

This section describes and interprets what appear to have been ‘Embodied—Embedded Radical Sens-abilities’, which reflect an interplay of person (agency) and structure related factors. These factors seem to have shaped case narratives’ actors’ capacities to disrupt and transpose post 1994 apartheid South Africa’s seemingly dominant ‘cultural schemas’ (Sewell, 1992), illustrated by ‘Shackle Snapshots’ in Chapter 5, and (re)mobilize resources in ways that allowed for enacted humanity affirmations to come about (Figure 11, Left Panel of the Triptych). Margaret Archer (2004), a foundational scholar of critical realism, may regard these factors to be ‘causal powers proper to agency itself and that human beings have the powers of critical reflection upon their social context and of creatively redesigning their social environment, its institutional or ideational configurations, or both’ (p. 306).

### A Collective Case of Everyday Enacted Humanity Affirmations in a Dehumanized/ing Context

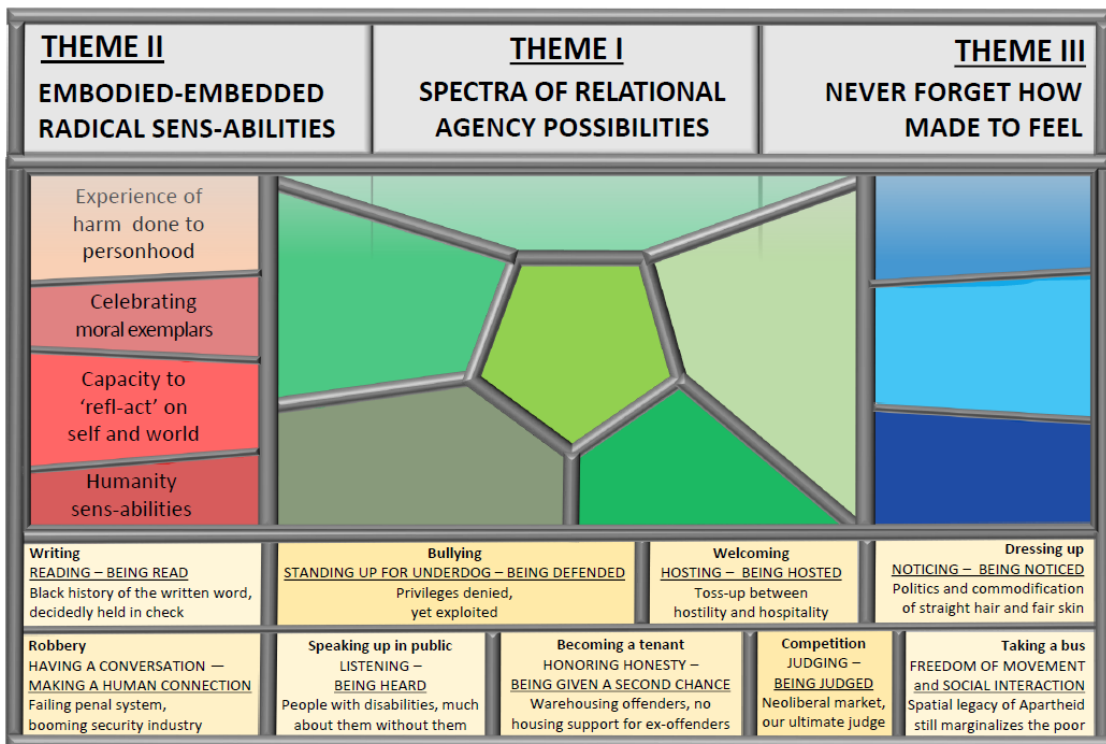


Figure 11: Theme II - Categories

I used a combination of Sewell’s (1992) and Archer’s (2004) conceptual understandings of agency—structure (Chapter 1.4 – Conceptualization of Key-Terms) as

analytical lenses to help describe and interpret *embodied—embedded enablers* of the enacted humanity affirmations across the case narratives. The notions ‘embodied—embedded’ in this theme are intentionally hyphenated to indicate that they are not treated as two separate binary concepts, but instead are appreciated as a dynamic interplay. The ‘embodied’ component is mentioned first because the nine case narratives reflect effective applications of intersubjective agentic capacity to enact humanity affirmations embedded in a dominantly structurally constraining (dehumanized/ing) context.

Theme II emerged and is supported by four categories which will be described and interpreted next: ‘Experience of Harm Done to Personhood’; ‘Celebrating Moral Exemplars’; ‘Capacity to ‘Refl-Act’ on Self and World’; and ‘Particular Humanity ‘Sens-Abilities’, the latter category being informed by a number of sub-categories.

### **6.2.1 Experience of harm done to personhood**

Almost all the actors with ‘active voices’ in the case narratives have had first-hand experiences of what it feels like to have *harm done to their and/or others’ personhood*. In other words, the protagonists had been affected to some degree by human suffering, which in some of the cases may have constituted actual instances of dehumanization. I will offer a few illustrations of when and how participants’ experiences of and/or exposure to harm done to personhood connected to the enacted humanity affirmations that they had shared.

Solitude, the rapper, grew up mostly without his mom and dad, was raised by his granny in a rural area. As a teenager he navigated and negotiated the transition into an urban environment virtually by himself (*‘Competition’*).

Mrs Nzozo, the granny, survived Apartheid, raised a family of four kids in humble conditions, became a widow at a relatively young age, and struggled with loneliness (*‘Taking a Bus’*).

Fatimah, my hair-dresser, grew up and continues to live in a highly stigmatized socio-economically deprived community, raising a family of three as a divorced mom (*‘Bullying’*).

Kate, one of the ‘victims’, grew up in a socio-economically privileged milieu with embedded family drama (trauma) which resulted in a substance abuse struggle. She also was directly exposed to people living on the margins of society through community fieldwork (*‘Robbery’*).

James, the poet, survived apartheid and imprisonment due to writing anti-apartheid dissident poetry, and who had struggled with alcoholism (*‘Writing’*).

Hatungimana, the ‘refugee guest’, pushed by a combination of political and economic hardship, left home and family to seek asylum and a better life in a country half

way across the African continent. He then had to endure waves of afrophobic violence and survived without a family, and Alice, one of the hosts, witnessed first-hand violence inflicted upon African foreign nationals as a volunteer in an anti-xenophobic violence campaign (*'Welcoming'*).

Riccardo, the parolee, suffered alcohol and drug abuse and, as he put it, 'doing a lot of stuff that gangsters do'. He was convicted for involvement in an armed robbery, and spent a number of years in correctional services facilities extended by parole conditions (*'Becoming a Tenant'*);

John and Denzel became quadriplegic as a result of tragic accidents, and Denzel lost a court case due to poor legal representation (*'Speaking Up in Public'*).

Nomhlaba who grew up mostly without her mom and dad, was raised by her granny and aunt, experienced financial constraints and consequences for coming out as lesbian in a black community facing homo-phobic violence (*'Dressing up'*).

### **6.2.2 Celebrating moral exemplars**

This embodied-embedded radical sens-abilities category was brought to the fore also by most of the actors with active voices in the case-narratives. The notion 'celebrating' can be understood in any of the following terms: praising, honoring, applauding, commending. The descriptor 'moral exemplars' refers to persons who exercise practical wisdom, involving the combination of moral will and moral skill (Schwartz, 2009); 'persons who model exemplar behavior based both on good character, recognizing and reflecting on ethical issues, and translating this into ethical actions' (Rugeley & Van Wart, 2006, p. 381); and/or persons who in challenging conditions have demonstrated wisdom, enabling them to provide guidance to others who want to do the right thing in circumstances that are similarly difficult (Onlineethics, n.d.).

Here are a few illustrations from the case narratives. In the *'Competition'* and *'Dressing Up'* incidents, the protagonists respectively celebrated their grandmothers:

[Solitude]: "Old as she already was, my gogo worked at a local fast-food restaurant [and] singlehandedly not only provided for our basic needs, but also for her own children. Gogo was able to kind of make that whole poverty thing not be felt in a way."

[Nomhlaba]: "I feel like most of the things that I've done in my life, I wouldn't have done them if it wasn't for my grandmother [...] she unconditionally accepted me to come to her home [...] she was like the first person who was open about me when I came out... 'I love you the way you are, you're still my boy-girl' [...] she was like the first lady I my life."

In *'Bullying'*, the protagonist's mother, a devout Muslima, was praised.

[Fatimah]: *"I had the best role model ever. They always asked me 'who is my role model?' I would never say a superstar or a doctor. I do have the utmost respect for Madiba but I would put my mom before Madiba [...] I still reflect on things she taught me. She used to tell me that 'the only time you look down on people is when you're trying to help them up'. It's an Islamic quote that she showed me how to live. I still reflect on conversations we had. I still reflect on the tough lessons she taught me, not leaving me always with a smile on my face [...] She taught me and she told me, what I needed to hear what I had to the truth, not what I was happy listening to [...] she was the most humble, sincere, big-hearted woman I've ever known in my entire life. So whatever I do in life, I sit back and I think, would my mom be proud of me today if I did this or if I did that? Would she approve? So basically the way I lead my life. My mom was a people's person, she loved people. She always rooted for the underdog. Even if the underdog didn't believe in themselves, they ended up believing in themselves when she was done with them. And I became a responsible mom because I was blessed with a responsible mom. I taught my daughter confidence, high self-esteem, how to be proud, and she loves being her."*

In the *'Speaking Up in Public'* incident, one of the protagonists, John, commended his Denzel's parents:

[John]: *"They are poor but they are the most amazing carers. Despite their own economic plight, they had started to run a soup kitchen for people in their neighborhood who had even less, but they lament to not have been able to sustain it."*

In the *'Writing'* incident, the poet recognized his highschool teacher who, during the Apartheid era, had affirmed his ability to write:

[James]: *"I discovered that I could write when one day at school we had to write a composition. Our English teacher Miss Meredith, she gave me 21 out of 20. And she said, 'James did not write a composition, James wrote a short story. And then I knew, I could write.'"*

He also acknowledged a number of political writers by name who had inspired and guided his becoming of a dissident poet. Whereas the musician, at her website, recognized James and his work as an inspiration for her new album:

[Melanie]: *"So when you read poetry like his great works, it's just another gravity that hits you just in the heart, you can't ignore that and you feel lucky and you feel blessed and privileged, especially as a person of color and a neo-South African, that you're able to be part of that in some way" [...] "In a way, you (referring to the poet) were being a prophet...for myself, for all of us, for my kids, for all of our kids, for future kids, the kids of our kids, of our kids' kids' kids."*

In the *'Robbery'* incident, the victim acknowledged the fundamental importance of counting on role models, making reference to someone who had been a significant support to her when she needed it:

[Kate]: *"I think, you're in a community and there are no role models...like I wanna be like him or somebody...there's no [names her high school principal] who puts you under their wing...then it takes an amazing strong person to go off on another path. People who have found that role model, who had somebody saying, you know, 'I'll show you the way', or else you may just go with the stream and perpetuate the whole cycle [of negatives]."*

In the *'Becoming a Tenant'* incident, the protagonist recognized the importance of an NGO, its founder and others, having enabled him to find his purpose:

[Riccardo]: *"Working with [names founder of the NGO] and offenders-students at correctional services facilities through this organization allowed me to find my goal, to find my thread what am I passionate about, what would I like to see, how would I love to contribute to society."*

In *'Taking a bus'*, the granny did not identify any exemplars in person but she did make several references to her Creator:

[Mrs Nzozo]: "God made a big thing to make me alive. Every day when I wake up I say I'm rich. I've got a heart I've got hands. I've got a mouth. I've got teeth. I've got mind. I can't say I'm not rich. I'm rich inside, ja, because God gave me all those things."

### 6.2.3 Capacity to refl-act on self and world

The third embodied-embedded enabler that surfaced in the collection of case narratives describes the actors' capacity to refl-act—a portmanteau of 'reflect' and 'act'—on themselves (self-consciousness) and the world around them (social and occupational consciousness). Archer (2004) may explain this capacity to be emergent from the actors' relations with the world as a whole, and how they react back upon reality as a whole. This may have enabled them to act the way they did, informed by knowing themselves better (their unique humanity identity), developing a sense of values, self-worth and purpose. This embodied-embedded enabler resonates with Archer's (2003) appreciation of being human as 'what we care about most and what genuinely matters to us is what ultimately defines us *qua* person' (p. 4).

The performer, Solitude, in the '*Competition*' case, underscored the importance of knowing who you are and living your life accordingly:

[Solitude]: "Being in control, staying true to who you are, and not getting sucked into things, it means confidence, which goes along with self-esteem and that's something that just doesn't come on its own, it comes with being able to grasp and analyze who you are."

The widowed granny, Mrs Nzozo, in the '*Taking a Bus*' case, now retired from a domestic worker job and raising children who are all independent now, is very aware that many of her peers are still carrying the burden of looking after grandchildren (and at times their own children), and considers herself lucky:

[Mrs Nzozo]: "Looking after grandchildren is a tough job. The whole day you must talk, tell them, 'don't do this, do this'. It was enough looking after my children."

The granny knows what she likes and needs, believes that she deserves to be happy and attempts to live her life accordingly:

[Mrs Nzozo]: "You see, we live in the new South Africa. When I'm going to get my pension once a month, I take my bag, I take my pensioner clip card and get into the bus. I can go anywhere for 48 Rand. I want to go far for my pension and I want to go do my shopping [sitting at the mall] sometimes I call my daughter and then I see my grandchildren or I go and do window shopping and then talk to somebody who is sitting next to me. I can also watch the screen and see people going up and down and up and down. And then maybe you see one that you know. She comes and sits down and talks, like ladies who are cleaning here...then you cough out, it makes you feel happy, to get things out of your system...talking is like medication [she laughs] And sometimes, I go to the beach in Blouberg. I take my shoes off. It is nice on the feet. I just go out by myself. I don't make appointments with people to go places. Rather to go by yourself, better. I mind my own business. No stress."

The granny knows that she can influence the state of her own health and exercises this agency:

[Mrs Nzozo]: [After her husband had passed on] *"I was alone in my house and I was just crying. I couldn't eat. If I had a cup of coffee my stomach is just without nothing. But one day, something talked to me, 'why are you crying, your husband is away so crying won't bring him back'. I must accept. Then you see, when I feel lonely I go and sit there in that passage that goes to the post office, watching and talking to people. They ask, 'why you sitting here?' [and I answer] 'No I'm just watching people'. I'm trying to take everything out, try to 'cough out'. When I see that, no man, I can take my bag and put it on my shoulder and take a bus and go away. I can do this. I must not punish myself. I must think about somebody who is going to come. God made a big thing to make me alive. I can't punish myself. Because if I don't make myself happy, I won't get to another world to make me happy. I can see that my legs are even still right to walk. And how can I punish myself and sit in a house for thirty days, without going out? I'm making myself poor. Because I'm just sitting here. Ja, with all our burglar bars in our house, now you put yourself in jail."*

The 'victim', Kate, in the 'Robbery' case was intensely reflective about her own thoughts and emotions and how she experienced and related to the world around her, which surfaced during the conversation with the 'armed robber' and her boyfriend:

[Kate]: *"When we made this connection and we became human, I wasn't just this white person, this rich white girl, you know, this pre-conceived 'she has a big house, and I'm gonna take whatever I can from her', I became real. And then, my experience of it and my boyfriend's experience of it. And I think even when we tell the story, it will be different, we see it differently. And jah, also the, the people that grow up in communities like that [referring to the community of the armed robber], are they human? Can they actually really have love in their heart and everything that makes us human? Because I think what makes us human is to have love and compassion really. And if you've never seen that or were never taught that, grow up with that and...I think that connection we had was 'okay, she's not angry with me, she's just talking with me, we formed a kind of bond and I think, I think that...he was fine with it."*

In the period following the robbery, when Kate enacted the visualization exercise, she knew she needed to move on with her life and that required her to 'let him go' but she said she did that by giving him what she could:

[Kate]: *"That's why I kinda realized the axing. This is 'I can't take responsibility for him'. And I felt kind of like that burden [referring to her white privilege] initially because of where I come from and what I do and that's the person I am, but I can't fix him. And that's why there was the ax, let me just cover him with love, and send him on his way."*

And thirdly, in court when she was asked to share her victim impact statement, she reflected on the whole incident, beyond her individual experience, considering the implications for the larger societal context of South Africa:

[Kate]: *"Actually, I'm heartbroken! I still wanna cry when I talk about it. I'm absolutely heartbroken because I think that it is an absolute travesty that somebody is forced into these positions, absolutely forced, because of their circumstances, because of how they were brought up. And yes, there are some people who make a lot out of their life coming from nothing, but there aren't very many. It's so hard, because it's so multi-facetted, you know. Him going to prison, really what is that gonna do? It's not gonna do anything for him. Is it gonna change him? No, it didn't change him before, it is not gonna change him now. So what else could happen? Where else? It takes an amazing strong person to come from that and go off on another path."*

And the 'armed robber' Nathan also demonstrated an awareness of who he is, where he is coming from and what he cares about:

[Nathan]: *"You see, I grew up in a poor community man. But my parents were good. They struggled to get me somewhere. And even they wanted to send me to college and that can change my life and do something. I have an older sister (29) and brother (34), I'm the youngest, and I was spoiled, sometimes. And I have a soft spot for woman. Woman is such a beautiful thing. I don't like to hurt woman. I never hit a woman in my life, you see. I can hurt a man. Ja, a man can do bad stuff. I'm talking to her because to make her comfortable. I see man, that woman is afraid of me. But I don't want her to shout and scream and that stuff. That's why I started that conversation with her. And when I smoke 'tik', I'm not aggressive, I'm at peace ja! I'm a good man, ja. I like to talk. When I'm drugged I talk easier to woman. Maybe someone else are gonna hurt her, if I was someone else, but I, I really don't want to hurt her."*

In the 'Welcoming' case, after having been exposed to the harsh realities that confront foreigners of African origin during the anti-xenophobia campaign and reflecting on being a French national awaiting a residence permit like other hopeful foreigners, Alice signed herself and her husband Grant up for the cultural exchange program:

[Alice]: *"I just feel like, I mean what's the point of life if you don't help other people? Okay, not that my life is sad or anything, but just add something, you know. Rather than just go to work from eight to five and then I come home and okay, I've got a husband and a daughter. But, I don't know, it's just a way not to make me feel good, but actually to feel useful in like helping people that needs us, I don't know."*

And the guest Hatungimana had good sense of who he is, where he comes from, and what he wants in life. He was quite aware of the dangers in the society where he had sought asylum:

[Hatungimana]: *"I used to be clever at school but always when I came home, the children were a little quiet, they were hungry. I used to have that heart of helping my younger brothers and sisters. I quit school at 18 without finishing matric. When I decided to leave, it's hard on the parents, no matter how poor you are. You can't allow a child to go away just like that. Of course, everyone was so upset, why you are going away? Why, for what reason, why don't you just stay here? Because I was the first one to travel far, far, far, no one has been traveling even fifty km's. I was the first person to cross the border. And I knew it, the plan was to go to South Africa, overland."*

[Hatungimana]: *"South Africa is much more violent than people imagine, because it is a country that is in peace but in reality it is like war. You know, I want to go home but what is still holding me back is shame. I cannot go back with empty hands. My plan is to get my legal status, and then to study and find better work and build something that I can then bring to my family back home. When I have permanent residency it I know that I'll be free to feel that I'm welcome in South Africa and to get any job I want. But I want to get back to Burundi because that's where I belong, that's my country, that's my motherland. I want to go there and come back here to work. My dream job would be to work in a hotel, just to help people. I'm not perfect in English, but it's about attitude, it's about personality, I smile, I help people understand, I make them happy, I make them laugh."*

In the 'Writing' case, the elderly poet James was very clear about why and for whom he writes:

[James]: *"You see, I don't write for self-edification. And I don't want to be recognized as a writer by the academics. I want to be recognized by the people as a writer, that's more important. It's important what we write should be recognized. For instance, none of the political poetry is in the curriculum. None of our books are on the shelves of school libraries. Decades and decades of youth, they haven't read our stuff. That's very important. So they don't have a history of what we have done. And I think that's extremely important. And being awarded an honorary doctorate, that was a personal thing, but it doesn't affect my society."*

And when asked by the musical artist Melanie 'what does it feel like to be free today?' he reflected:

[James]: *"I think really that we have been misled. Although we have freedom of movement, freedom of speech, and possibly freedom of job choice, considering some of the actions partaken by the government, are we really free? Economically we are exploited. Therefore I have to go back to becoming a dissident poet, to expose the fallacy that the government has brought about saying we are free. I know this is not quite what was asked of me, but I need to be truthful when I reply as how do I feel about freedom. So many of us, the abject poverty that we live in, can we really say we're free?"*

In *'Becoming a Tenant'*, after the applicant Riccardo had started working as a facilitator for the NGO, his role actually involved enabling offenders and parolees to reflect on themselves and the social world in order to carve out a better future for themselves. Having himself lived through the situations they now found themselves in allowed him to gain clarity about his purpose:

[Riccardo]: *"I'm finding my goal. I think I'm finding my thread what am I passionate about. What would I like to see, how would I love to contribute to society."*

The rental agency employee Sandy was experienced in her job, which had shaped her ability to judge applicants' cases in her care:

[Sandy]: *"Usually I feel, ach, we already know going through the applications, looking at the kind of people, after doing the reference calls, finding out where they work, you already know, you've got that gut feeling. So, there's something that you just see it in the application form."*

In *'Speaking Up in Public'*, the protagonist John was deeply 'refl-active' about his own positioning in relation to other people living with a disability in post 1994 South Africa:

[John]: *"I'm very aware that the whole disability struggle and so forth, that I am in quite a privileged position, both in my upbringing in apartheid South Africa as well as what I've been given since I'm in a wheelchair. I won a court case. I have money for staff. I have money for support, to buy a house. I have everything I need. And he [referring to his peer] doesn't have that. And when I give my presentations and lectures on disability, I show a picture of [him] to say that this is a guy who would be like me if he had my support and my funds, my financial situation."*

And the public speaker Denzel himself transmitted a crystal clear main message that illustrated his 'refl-active' capacity:

[Denzel]: *"So I'm losing a lot of opportunities because I struggle with transport. I ask you to help me help myself so that I can help others, that's my dream."*

Hurt and troubled by negative 'single stories' dominating public opinion about who people in her community are and what they are like, Fatimah spoke up:

[Fatimah]: *"So don't belittle my community, because I do think a lot of my community [...] there is people here that is making amazing memories, and that have happy fulfilling lives. We not morbid. We not ugly, we the most beautiful people in the world."*

#### **6.2.4 Particular humanity sens-abilities**

All the actors demonstrated having a sense of what humanity is about, that is, some capacity to know how to identify and talk about 'it' as a 'good' as opposed to an implied 'bad'. Additionally they connected this with a sense of well-being. During the interviews I never provided any definition of humanity, neither were they asked to do so. Yet they were all able

to meaningfully engage with the main research question. Throughout the data collection process, documented in my notes, I kept wondering and reflecting about this observation and realization. Considering it to constitute a source of strength, I coined this enabler category '*particular humanity sens-abilities*'. I morphed the term 'sensibilities' into the portmanteau 'sens-ability', blending the notions of 'sense' and 'abilities', to allow this category to be appreciated not merely as a person's predisposition but as an actually applied ability, an enabler.

Without claiming the following set of particular humanity sens-abilities to be definitive, the examples that follow reflect those that emerged across the nine case narratives, including one or a combination of the following enablers: *Humor and playfulness* (6.2.4.1); *Integrity and honesty* (6.2.4.2); *Courage to be vulnerable* (6.2.4.3); *Open-mindedness and mindfulness* (6.2.4.4); and *Humility and gratitude* (6.2.4.5).

#### **6.2.4.1 Humor and playfulness**

In '*Competition*', the auditionee used humor in a satirical manner. In Jon Stewart's words 'humor can help retain your sense of humanity, give you some comfort and act as some defense, and satire is a way of expressing ideas and synthesize information that you truly believe in' (Stewart, 2014). When the auditionee responded to the jury member he felt had judged his character instead of his performance:

[Auditionee]: *"I looked straight at the colored guy and simply say: 'Uhm, sorry sir, I would like to actually mention something that you would need to remember when I come back. It's that I won't be using my name Solitude anymore, but 'Lucky', because you emphasized how lucky I am that I'm gonna be in the next round'. Everyone now laughed, but not him. He says: 'Oh, you think this is a joke?' And I'm like, 'No, it is not a joke. It's the truth. I'll change my name to Lucky'. And I didn't laugh when I said this. I just felt I had to add a little bit of humor in the way I said it."*

In '*Taking a Bus*', the grannies made use of irony and expressed playfulness:

[Mrs. Nzozo]: *"One day I took a bus to Table View. I met with white grannies who had been taken there by a transport from the home where they stay. Then we sit and talk and talk and talk sometimes and then I feel happy. They ask, 'Where you come from?' I tell them, 'no, I come from Khayelitsha'. 'Why are you here so far away?' I said, because the bus brought me here from Khayelitsha [laughs]. They said, 'Well it's nice, but you are alone and we're a team [triggering an exchange of laughter between them. You see, that shows us we are all human beings."*

In '*Welcoming*', the hosting couple exercised self-irony when they reflected about how they felt when their guest had asked them about their life after he had shared his deeply moving displacement story:

[Grant]: *"What're you gonna say, 'I'm like, a cushy bastard' [laughs with a touch of cynicism]."*  
[Alice]: *"That's why we eventually started thinking we were like boring [laughs]."*

And the guest, during the interviews he repeatedly indicated in an amused way that even after having been hosted by the couple on six occasions:

[Hatungimana]: *"Do you know that I wasn't sure who is [Grant] and who is [Alice]?"*

In *'Writing'*, humor also surfaces when the poet reflected on the Apartheid era when his *'Cry Rage'* poem had been discussed in Parliament:

[Poet]: *"'Rage sharp as a blade, to cut and slash, spill blood for the blood spilled over three-hundred years...'; they had never been confronted with lines like that. It became the first book of poetry to be banned. And the cynical thing about it, they couldn't decide whether it was poetry or a petrol bomb, so they had to ban it."*

In *'Becoming a Tenant'*, the protagonist recounted, in a humorous way, a follow-up phone call with the rental agency's administrator and how she had touched on the sensitive detail he had disclosed on the application form:

[Riccardo]: *"And we started chatting, going through the form, everything that I had filled out. And we are talking and talking, a conversation of about half an hour. It was small talk first, and then she jumped into it. And she puts like emphasis, I can hear it in her voice, 'Oooh...!...see...you've...been...convicted... for.....robbery... ten...years...ago?'"* [Riccardo reenacted how she said it, with the breaks in between the words and laughs].

In the same case, his girlfriend Chandre and her room-mate Henrik mocked dominant public reactions to people with tattoos:

[Chandre]: *"When Riccardo and I go out to the mall and his tattoos are exposed, people are always looking and thinking, 'Oh shit, what is he, is he a gangster, because he's got a '26' number [name of one of the local gangs] here on his arm."*

[Henrik]: *"That's the sad thing about tattoos, people think that people with tattoos are bikers, and do drugs, they kill people, they rape. He's a criminal, be alert."*

In *'Dressing Up'*, the customer in a wheelchair playfully approached and successfully gained the cashier Nomhlaba's attention:

[Nomhlaba]: *"So he goes to pay at till number one, which is for the disabled, because it had a wider ail. And I'm in till number two. And then while he is paying, he looks at me. And I've never spoken to him, never looked at him or anything. And then he's like, 'I know you'. And then the cashier in the first till starts laughing. And then he says to her, 'No-no-no-no, I know her from that Pick-n-Pay advert'. And then he propels his wheelchair to my till and says: 'What do celebrities like?' And I was like, 'Celebrities?' So I'm just teasing, like 'Oh, I'm dying for those boots that I saw at this boutique here at the mall, celebrities love that pair of boots'. And he says, 'Okay, meet me there at your lunch time'. And I'm like, 'Okay, but I was just joking, but getting a chocolate would be nice'."*

And in another instance, Nomhlaba expressed *'Schadenfreude'* (German expression, 'seeing humor in someone else's loss'):

[Nomhlaba]: *"So they [white people] can change their hair color [laughs amused], this one [referring to her own hair] they can't have. It's one of those things they can't share with us black people, you know. Because, most black people they feel like, white people have taken so much from us and there are certain things that we like to preserve for ourselves, like dreadlocks."*

The following excerpt from *'Bullying'* reflects the hairdresser Fatimah's applied sense of humor:

[Fatimah]: *"When they look down on you because you live in [names her stigmatized community], I just wanna make it clear that it's a fact that I'm a bond free property owner. Sorry, but many can't say that, in the big houses [names a very affluent area of Cape Town], they owe the bank. FNB [South African bank] do not know me. I would never lie how many bedrooms my house have. And my clients used to adore and respect me for that. When they tipped me they said, 'Fatimah, now buy another brick for your house'. And I used to find it humorous."*

#### 6.4.2.2 Integrity and honesty

Integrity, understood in terms of being honest and fair to others and oneself, emerges as another significant 'humanity sens-ability'.

In 'Auditioning', the performer demonstrates a commitment to gradually live up to the meaning of his name and remain in control:

[Solitude]: *"Being in control, staying true to who you are, and not getting sucked into things, it means confidence which goes along with self-esteem. It comes with being able to grasp and analyze who you are. Some people spent more time trying to look like an artist than being that artist. My key-focus is being an artist and not looking like one."*

In 'Taking a Bus', the granny sticks to what she values, even in a tempting situation:

[Mrs. Nzozi]: *"I do window shopping but not so much. No, the problem is, I don't have to 'atrap myself', that's the main thing. You know, when you see something, 'oeh, I want it'. No, I've got clothes, I got shoes at home. I need nothing, I like to keep myself happy."*

In 'Robbery', in court when the judge had asked the victim what she thought about the whole experience (victim impact statement), she honestly revealed:

[Kate]: *"Actually, I'm heartbroken."*  
[Judge]: *"Why is it heart-breaking?"*  
[Kate]: *"Well I think it's an absolute travesty that people get forced into these positions. He [the robber] was dealt with a really shitty hand of cards. And you know, you don't choose how you come into the world. And he obviously came in with very little love, and for me, that's actually heart-breaking."*

In 'Welcoming', the guest disclosed why he did not reciprocate the questions-and-answers style of conversation that his hosts attempted to have with him:

[Hatungimana]: *"I'm not the kind of guy who can ask-ask-ask-questions-questions-questions, especially of the people I do respect a lot, like my hosts. I can show I do respect them by not distress them with the bad picture about me with all the mishap and everything. Me, I just tell my true story. I don't ask that much. I only ask when it's time to ask."*

And the hosts were honest about their motivations and position of privilege:

[Grant]: *"Our motivations for getting involved were very different. My wife has a need to help, where I don't have that need. We white people in South Africa are kinda spoiled, we have the luxury of asking ourselves these kind of questions, like growing old, thinking about it, he doesn't have that luxury."*

In 'Writing', the elderly poet continues to be true to his words:

[James, reflecting on South African society today]: *"I feel it is important that I should go back to writing political poetry again, with the amount of corruption and nobody goes to prison. They're just placed in another area and just continue being a thief."*

In 'Becoming a Tenant', after the protagonist Riccardo indicated to his girl-friend Chandre why he was not going to follow her advice not to disclose his criminal record on the application form, she said:

[Chandre]: *"That's right, because [Riccardo] must be who he is now, honest!"*

And the rental agency administrator [Sandy]: *"I asked [Riccardo] a few questions and remember that he was quite honest about his criminal record, although he was also uncomfortable, shame. But he was being responsible. I showed his declaration to my colleagues and said 'if someone can be this honest, then why shouldn't he be given a chance? Just the fact that he was so honest and supplied all the proper documentation."*

And a statement from the protagonist Riccardo that reflects integrity:

[Riccardo]: *"You know what I got from this application process, is that when there's complete honesty, you know, you get desired results. And it's a really thin line, your desires and possibilities got to go hand in hand when you sent that message out."*

In the *'Dressing Up'* case the protagonist Nomhlaba is determined to stay true to who she feels she is by dressing accordingly:

[Nomhlaba]: *"I've often realized on campus that unless I open my mouth and come out as a lesbian woman, people don't see me as a lesbian. They seem to have this perception that if you're a lesbian you have to look or dress a certain way. And I try to break those boxes, because I don't want people to box me. So there are days when I feel like dressing up like masculine looking, and I do just that. And there are days when I feel like feminine looking and I do just that. Sometimes I'm just androgynous."*

In *'Bullying'*, the protagonist Fatimah reveals how she goes about staying true to herself and others:

[Fatimah]: *"The intention, never lose sight of the intention. Why did you come to Islamic studies? To grow as a person, to grow as a better person. So what was your intention? Do you want to hurt this person or do you want to empower, uplift this person."*

#### **6.2.4.3 Courage to be vulnerable**

Research by Brown (2012) has informed how the terms in this *humanity sens-ability* sub-category have been used to interpret the case narratives. Brown (2012) found that 'being vulnerable has to do with uncertainty, risk, and emotional exposure' (p. 34). Considering the notion 'courage' stems from the Latin word 'cor', meaning 'heart', Brown (2010) combines courage and vulnerability in 'telling the story of who you are with your whole heart, the courage to be imperfect, the compassion to be kind to ourselves first and then to others, because, as it turns out, we cannot practice compassion with other people if we can't treat ourselves kindly' (p. 6). Lastly, it is about 'having connection as a result of authenticity, that is, being willing to let go of who you think you should be in order to be who you are, to do something where there are no guarantees, to invest in a relationship that may or may not work out' (p. 6).

Here are some examples of actors' 'Courage to be vulnerable' across the case narratives:

- When Solitude, the performer agreed to audition without his prepared instrumental back-up because of technical failure of the venue's music system (*'Competition'*).

- When Mrs Nzozo , the granny, ‘coughs out’, shares how she feels with others, ‘to get things out of your system is like medication’ (*‘Taking a Bus’*).
- Considering the nature of the encounter and the fact that both Kate and Nathan were scared of being harmed, the victim and the armed robber dared to connect as human beings when they allowed themselves to be seen, experiencing a sense of worthiness as persons beyond the circumstantial roles of ‘perpetrator and victim’ (*‘Robbery’*).
- Both hosts Alice and Grant and the guest Hatungimana had signed up for the exchange program not really knowing what they were getting themselves into. They suspended expectations and experienced some levels of discomfort and uncertainty (*‘Welcoming’*).
- James, the poet was upfront about not easily trusting other people with his work. The musician was herself sensitive about ‘someone’s art is like their baby, so one has to find a good baby-sitter’ (*‘Writing’*).
- Riccardo, disclosing his criminal record without expectations, the rental agency administrator having experienced “often times we only find out later” (*‘Becoming a Tenant’*).
- Denzel speaking up in public for first time ever (*‘Speaking Up in Public’*).
- Nomhlaba mixing and matching second-hand clothes and trying out different hair styles (*‘Dressing Up’*).
- Fatimah called out bullying behavior of fellow sisters at madrasah (*‘Bullying’*).

#### 6.2.4.4 *Open-mindedness and mindfulness*

This *humanity sens-ability* was interpreted and applied in terms of a willingness and ability to be fair-minded, unprejudiced, and to put oneself in others’ shoes.

In *‘Taking a Bus’*, the granny shared the saying ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’, emphasizing the importance of being mindful of ‘when a person feels sore, you must also all feel it. If it’s me, how could I feel, you see?’

In the *‘Robbery’* case, notwithstanding the fact that the ‘victim’ Kate did experience the incident as violent, she was able to remain open to and mindful of the ‘robber’ Nathan being a person too:

[Kate]: *"You don't choose how you come into the world. And [Nathan] obviously came in with very little love, and for me, that's heart-breaking, that's actually heart-breaking. Whenever I thought about it, what came to mind was this guy needs love. He needs love or to be loved. I think every single human being's ultimate desire is to be loved, is to feel loved and whether it is in your work or in your family, it comes through in every part of your life. And if I put myself in his shoes, like, 'If I was living on the streets, I'll be a drunk. I would be a drunk'. Because it would be a much better way to get through the day. And people are always like, 'Oh, these drunk 'bergies' [homeless people], and bla bla bla'. I think about being in their position I would be that drunk 'bergie', I really would."*

In *'Welcoming'*, the guest appeals to the general public to put themselves in the shoes of foreigners who are struggling to speak English at Home Affairs, and to make themselves available to help with translations. The hosts Alice and Grant opened up to hearing their guest's life story which allowed them to become mindful about a shared value, the importance of family. Grant imagined how painful it must be for Hatungimana to be separated from his family for so many years, during which his father had passed on and new siblings had been born in his absence. Both hosts exercised mindfulness with regard to their guest's difficulties and their different positionings in terms of lived privileges:

[Alice]: *"I don't feel South African, but I feel like it's my home here. So yeah, in a way for me [Hatungimana] was a bit of a foreigner. I'm a foreigner other than him. It was just he was more a foreigner here for me because I have like a life that is settled here. And I've got a working visa and those kind of things. And basically my situation is legalized compared to him."*

Grant]: *"Also he's been in a neutral environment where we don't expect anything of him. We're not trying to get anything from him, with the xenophobic stuff that happened, I can imagine the scepticism when he faces South Africans and the realities of an African foreigner living in South Africa, which I've never experienced myself being an African my whole life. My family being here for three hundred years, I don't even get treated like them. And foreigners like you [researcher] and [Alice] may experience similar things, when government ministers talk about foreigners coming to South Africa, or political commentators comment on foreigners taking away jobs. This might affect you psychologically, on a small level, But then for someone on the ground like [Hatungimana] that's a completely different experience."*

In *'Becoming a Tenant'*, although his girlfriend Chandre had urged Riccardo not to disclose his criminal record, he was totally open to what might happen:

[Riccardo]: *"What you mean, 'what you gonna put there?' I just put, 'armed robbery, ten years ago', the facts. Because I don't see why I should answer it any otherwise, you know. When I opened myself up, I had no expectation of what's gonna happen. No man, that's who I am."*

In *'Speaking Up in Public'*, the protagonist John is very aware of his own lived privileges in a context that is still marked by deep inequalities:

[John]: *"The accident led to a court case which I was fortunate to win. I'm very aware that the whole disability struggle and so forth, that I am in quite a privileged position, both in my upbringing in apartheid South Africa as well as what I've been given since I'm in a wheelchair. I won a court case. I have money for staff. I have money for support, to buy a house. I have everything I need. And [Denzel] doesn't have that, but he would be like me if he had my support and my funds. [Denzel] is (like) me, without my resources"*

In *'Dressing Up'*, Nomhlaba is particularly mindful of how people in certain environments perceive and respond to her presence:

[Nomhlaba]: *"You find that when I walk on campus, not only will I be looked at for my bold dress code, but I try to look as unique as possible. I'm a very observant person. I always look around, read the spaces that I'm in. And I see people who look at me like, 'Oh, she dresses very nice, so she can't be from a poor family', or, 'She dresses very unique', you know, 'she's very confident in the way that she walks'."*

In *'Bullying'*, the hairdresser Fatimah demonstrates a strong ability to see and connect with her Muslim sister's persona and her unfolding life story:

[Fatimah]: *"You know, when you look at a person and you think you know her but actually you don't, because what's in that person's heart, only she can bring the beauty of herself across. And mostly when you give a person a chance and you approach her with respect, you befriend, you take the time, to smile, to have a friendly chat, you never know, that person could open up, and expose herself to who she really is. And I could clearly see she's got a good heart. But also she was very oppressed, evens by fellow people, her fellow sisters. She's sweet, she doesn't look like a girl but she acts like a girl. You can clearly see that poverty had an effect on her. She's like innocence, she had to grow up before her time. You can see there's something left behind, you can see the struggle, the stress. But inside she's just this fun loving little girl that never gotten time to be that young girl."*

#### 7.2.4.5 Humility and gratitude

The humanity sens-ability humility refers to exercising an attitude of non-arrogance, unpretentiousness, down-to-earthiness, and admitting to making mistakes. Gratitude is about expressing genuine appreciation or a sense of indebtedness.

In *'Competition'*, the performer Solitude spoke about his experience of being humbled:

[Solitude]: *"It doesn't make you a less of a human being, it makes you more of a human being. You actually pay a price for not being humble, it has its own ways of teaching you to ground yourself. As much as you think material makes you who you are, you are not, what makes you who you are is who you are, not what you have."*

The granny Mrs. Nzozo, in the *'Taking a Bus'* case, expresses gratitude for the many things that God has blessed her with, and also for how she experienced the end of Apartheid:

[Mrs. Nzozo]: *"Every day when I wake up I say I'm rich. I've got a heart I've got hands. I've got a mouth. I've got teeth. I've got mind. I can't say I'm not rich. I'm rich inside, ja, because God gave me all those things. You see, other people doesn't think like that, because they're still tied up. Rich is not because you got money. You're rich inside. You can go out. Nobody is pushing you."*

[Mrs. Nzozo]: [As we stand in line and wait to be served, she shares]: *"Back then [referring to Apartheid era], you couldn't even get this free ride in a bus. You can't get nothing at that time. Not allowed. Now you are free, you can go anywhere. Things are better now. You can sit together. Before you couldn't, you'd go to jail. They'd ask you, 'why, why are you walking with a white man?' [referring to researcher] Even if people from the shop would see me walking with you, they'd phone the police and catch you [referring to herself]."*

In *'Robbery'*, whereas the victim's boy-friend responded in a loathsome manner to the perpetrator, Kate was deeply disheartened by the overall experience:

[Kate]: *"My boy-friend and I had such different views on the situation. He was like, 'No, he wanted to rape you, he must go to jail, he must get, you know, raped in jail, whatever. And I said, 'No, I don't feel that way at all! I feel, there's not one tiny part of me that wants that for him. He was also so adamant that my way of thinking was absurd and tried to convince me otherwise. You can't change the way you feel. I don't feel any animosity. In fact I only feel love and sadness for him. He is now just a number, a statistic. And I know him going to jail is only going to perpetuate things. It's not going to make his life any better."*

The hosts Alice and Grant in *‘Welcoming’* appreciated hosting Hatungimana as a humbling experience:

[Grant]: *“It was very humbling.”*

[Alice]: *“It makes you get more in touch with your reality, and ja, it was humbling as well.”*

[Alice]: *“Actually, it was a humbling experience. Because for us it was just a little bit of our time, I mean, what did we do, we watched a movie. For us it’s just the normal things that we do.”*

[Grant]: *“Yes, but I think it is also about spending time with a person as an equal. We didn’t have any expectations of him in terms of having to do anything or be anyone or anything like that. We’re just interested to hear about him.”*

In *‘Writing’*, the musician Melanie reflected with gratitude and humility on the significance of the poet James’s writings for her own and future generations of South Africans, and how she feels blessed by the privilege of collaborating with him. James reciprocated this:

[Melanie, addressing James]: *“Your poems really have helped me grow, not just as an artist but as a human being. Taking your poems as the text, and as a composer morphing the music around the text, it was an incredible journey for me. I definitely think it’s made me a better human being, through your words. And I wanted to ask you, what made you trust me with your legacy?”*

[James]: *“When you spoke to me, I realized I could trust you. ‘Freedom’s Child’ would be safe in your keeping. I would not need worry as to where ‘Freedom’s Child’ would be going. ‘Freedom’s Child’ had found a home.”*

[Melanie]: *“Wow, I’m overwhelmed actually, to be honest with you. And I kind of feel that I can die tomorrow because I felt I did something worthwhile.”*

In *‘Becoming a Tenant’*, the parolee applicant Riccardo indicated that when you humble yourself as he did by honestly disclosing his criminal record, ‘resources started to find me’, his application was approved.

It appears that in *‘Speaking Up in Public’*, the protagonist John’s recognition of his privileges (being white, having won a court case with a significant pay out) contributed to him being humbled by the hugely disadvantaging conditions facing his fellow quadriplegic peer Denzel. This combined humanity sens-ability prompted John to reach out and support Denzel in getting his voice heard.

In *‘Bullying’*, Fatimah is humbled by and deeply appreciates the people in her ‘poor’ community Delft:

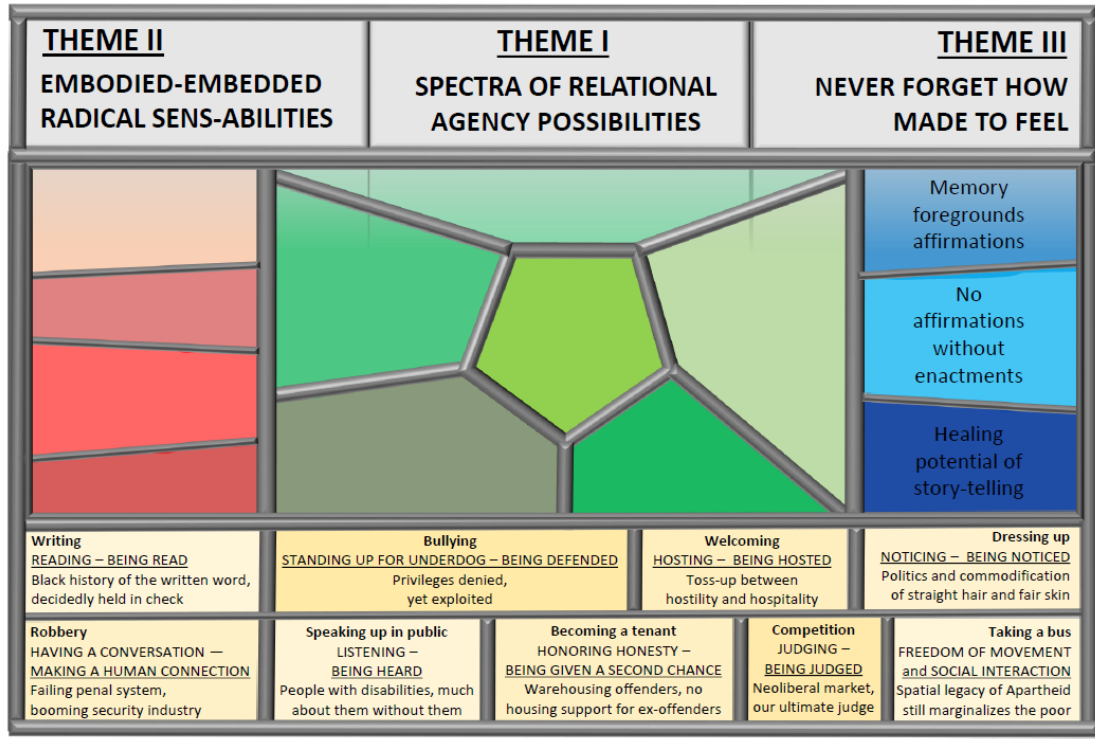
[Fatimah]: *“If you live in a community like this, it’s not charity people want, it’s opportunity, it’s a chance in life. Because everybody think if you live in Delft, ‘oh God, people like us we love hand-outs’. That’s not the case. Why not empower them to help themselves? But it’s like this is a lost community. Evens your own family is scared to come into this community. Or they think they beyond this community.”*

### **7.3 Theme III: Never Forget How Made to Feel**

The naming of this theme was inspired by a quote often attributed to the African-American author, poet, and civil rights activist Maya Angelou: *‘I have learned that people will forget what you said. People will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel’* (Angelou, 2014). Besides the fact that it captures an accessible, useful, powerful

pointer for appreciating how health (broadly conceptualized) is implicated in the enactments of humanity affirmations, I understand the main source that shaped her learning to have been phronesis, life-long everyday practical knowledge or wisdom of being and acting in the world (see Figure 12).

**A Collective Case of Everyday Enacted Humanity Affirmations in a Dehumanized/ing Context**



**Figure 12: Theme III - Categories**

### 6.3.1 Memories of affirmations foregrounded

Typically during the interviews, after being asked different versions of the main research question, the first thing the participants consistently identified and spoke to was the ‘how they had been made to feel’ aspect of the instances. In other words, the affirmations side of the coin was consistently foregrounded before enactments. The following excerpts from the case narratives illustrate this finding:

- *‘It was small talk first, and then she jumped into it. And she puts like emphasis, I can hear it in her voice, ‘Oooh, I see you’ve been convicted for robbery ten years ago?’ [re-enacted how she said it, with the breaks in between the words and laughs], ‘I told her, “It’s a very sensitive issue, I don’t feel like talking about it. Ja, but yes it is as it is there on the lease application” [...] ‘I feel when someone can be this honest, then why shouldn’t he be given a chance?’ [...] ‘When in the end all went well, and the lease application got approved, I felt very much relieved. I didn’t wanna think about the whole thing anymore, just moving forward, you know. I just go with the flow.’ (‘Becoming a Tenant’).*
- *‘I could see some of the judges nodding and bopping along, making me feel that the song seemed to be getting to them’ (‘Competition’).*
- *‘I just feel like I was [I was lost and then] found by them’, ‘I was feeling I was treated like a human being. I was feeling like I got a new family’ (‘Welcoming’).*

- ❑ *'Then we sit and talk and talk and talk sometimes and then I feel happy', 'When that person feels sore, you must also feel it. If it's me, how could I feel, you see?', 'Then she comes and sits down and talks, like ladies who are cleaning here. Then you cough out. It makes you feel happy, to get things out of your system. Talking is like medication' ('Taking a Bus').*
- ❑ *'It was small talk first, and then she jumped into it. And she puts like emphasis, I can hear it in her voice, 'Oooh, I see you've been convicted for robbery ten years ago?' [re-enacted how she said it, with the breaks in between the words and laughs], 'I told her, "It's a very sensitive issue, I don't feel like talking about it. Ja, but yes it is as it is there on the lease application" [...] 'I feel when someone can be this honest, then why shouldn't he be given a chance?' [...] 'When in the end all went well, and the lease application got approved, I felt very much relieved. I didn't wanna think about the whole thing anymore, just moving forward, you know. I just go with the flow.' ('Becoming a Tenant').*
- ❑ *'I guess the dressing up part was making me feel good about myself. Because like, everyone who would come to my till, they'd be like, 'Oh my gosh, you walk this uniform', it was kinda my thing. And a lot of other girls in PnP started like dressing like me. So they all cut their skirts, they all bought socks, stockings' ('Dressing Up').*
- ❑ *'Hearing what people are feeling from the original source is of critical value' ('Speaking Up in Public').*
- ❑ *'You can't change how you feel' ('Robbery').*
- ❑ *'I think there are a few things that all people strive toward or want in life: to feel loved and worthy, and to be seen. I think in that moment we 'see' each other. He sees me, not as some rich white girl from the burbs and I see him not as some aggressive predator to fear or loath. We are people connected as people' ('Robbery').*
- ❑ *'I kind of feel that I can die tomorrow because I felt I did something worthwhile.' [...] 'And that poem in itself is the horror of those parents having to suffer the indignity of having to carry a pass to survive.' [...] 'Yes, and I just remember how that made me feel. But I don't think that this message is really being communicated to people of my generation and also younger, because we haven't directly gone through what you've gone through and what people of your era have gone through. So James, how would you feel about me writing music to some of your writings?' [...] 'To be honest with you, I trust few people with my words. It must be really somebody I feel okay with.' [...] 'I feel really lekker about it.' ('Writing').*

### 6.3.2 No affirmations without enactments

This category highlights that affirmations of our humanity necessitate something to be done which acts as a catalyser to bring about a positive (potentially transformative/ing) experience. This is captured by the phrase 'made to' in the theme 'Never Forget How Made to Feel'.

The following analogy further explains this category. For a sailing boat to sail, it is not enough to have its sails up. Wind must blow into them. The boat sails better with a steady supply of wind, than with a bit of wind once in a while. Instead of taking being human as a given, if we adopt a 'humanity-potentiality' position - like our boat with its sails up - becoming human requires wind, that is, enacted humanity affirmations. Otherwise, it's a non-starter. To keep it going, multiple incremental everyday enacted humanity affirmations are analogically akin to steady wind in our sails.

Through this analogy I will offer examples from the case narratives to illustrate enactments that blew wind into the humanity affirming sails. In other words, what caused people to experience the affirmations they remembered:

- In *'Welcoming'*, Alice and Grant made time for and welcomed Hatungimana to their home.
- In *'Bullying'*, Fatimah stood up for Riffa by calling out the bullying behavior of fellow sisters at Madrasah.
- In *'Robbery'*, Kate and Nathan connected as persons by engaging in a conversation.
- In *'Becoming a Tenant'*, Sandy rewarded Riccardo's honest disclosure of his criminal record on the lease application by giving him a second chance in becoming a tenant.
- In *'Writing'*, musical artist Melanie read poet James's work which led to a joint-project, the album, allowing his words to reach audiences that until now did not have access to this work.
- In *'Competition'*, Solitude enacted a role-reversal, critiquing a jury member's judgment of him as a performer rather than his performance.
- In *'Speaking Up in Public'*, John provided transport and coaching to Denzel which enabled Denzel to speak up at a forum about the daily difficulties he faces as a quadriplegic wheelchair-bound person living in an isolated township. Bess then responded to his testimony and plea by asking for his number and getting in touch with him. This led to opportunities for Denzel to help himself and others.
- In *'Dressing Up'*, as a result of her commitment to looking her best, paying special attention to how she dresses and wears her hair, Nomhlaba was noticed by colleagues and management at the supermarket, the cameraman in the commercial shoot, and a customer who became a friend.
- Lastly, in *'Taking a Bus'*, Mrs. Nzozo proactively obtained a senior citizen transportation discount card, a 'resource' which had come about through concerted collective actions at government and bus-company levels, allowing her freedom of movement, and social interaction.

### **6.3.3 Healing potential of story-telling**

This category *'Healing potential of story-telling'*, emerged from observations and experiences shared by participants and key-informants during the study's data collection and member checking process. The engagements between researcher and participants reflected enactments of affirmations of our humanity in their own right. Perhaps this finding should not come as a surprise, considering the narrative nature and the story-telling approach to this study. This category illuminates the 'how' component in the theme *'Never Forget How Made to Feel'*, namely, the (seemingly rare) opportunity and experience of being invited to

share from one's life-stories and being paid full attention, positively impacting the well-being of everybody involved. I will now illustrate with excerpts from various case narratives.

For research purposes, Alice and Grant and I had previously engaged on two occasions. When I expressed my appreciation for welcoming (hosting) me into their home and for generously sharing their life stories, they reciprocated by telling me that the opportunity to take part in the research had allowed them to learn and connect more deeply with the impact of their hosting on Hatungimana and themselves:

[Grant]: *"Thanks to you too. Your research actually brought it all home to us, basically the realizations I mean. If you didn't come to chat with us, we wouldn't have anybody to open up to."*

[Alice]: *"And to realize that..."*

[Grant]: *"And to realize the full story..."*

At the beginning of the second interview James indicated that he was afraid that his mental epilepsy would prevent him from really participating in the study. He added that he struggled to keep a journal and to properly get his thoughts across in the interview. I then put his mind at ease by saying 'alright, it's not a problem'. From there, a conversation rather than an interview continued for well over an hour, at the end of which he said with great delight:

[James]: *"It was great talking with you. When you arrived I was in a grey space and now I feel I have come out in the light, sitting in the sun."*

The granny in the 'Taking a Bus' case, spoke about it being 'good to cough out, have someone to talk to, going to mall together':

[Mrs. Nzozo]: *"Today I'm lucky because I have somebody to talk with [referring to researcher]. It is very important to have somebody to talk with, because you 'cough out'. As they say, 'an injury to one is an injury to all', you see. You must know when that person feels sore, you must also feel it. If it's me, how could I feel, you see? Yes, now I share something with you because I don't feel right, I feel bad. But now as I talk with you, something goes away [points to chest area with both hands and then gestures removing something 'bad' from it]."*

Kate had been eager to share her story as it helped her to process her experience further and to heal. And Nathan, he could not believe that someone would be interested in him and his story. I found his initial reaction very telling and it confirmed the commitment to getting their voices heard:

[Nathan]: *"Me, I was so shocked, yoh, that this happened. Never in my entire life somebody asking me about things I've done in the past. I never think of people gonna do this. To do research about something I do. I was really shocked. [Shane] was also, yoh, what is this? Where did this come from?"*

Fatimah, she turned hairdressing into a safe personal story-sharing space. Although there was no physical mirror on the wall, reflections did occur, but of a different kind, those mirroring everyday enactments of humanity affirmations. While getting a haircut is mostly a straightforward affair, it may increase in significance as a result of the conversation that

unfolds between the hairdresser and the client, and potentially, with other persons who share the same space.

For me, our enacted humanity affirmations manifested as a constant from the beginning until the end. Even beforehand, in anticipation of the haircut, and afterwards, the resonance after 'the cut':

[Fatimah]: *"You know, being a hairdresser, I love what I do, it's my passion. So speaking to my client and having a few therapy sessions, it's like, it's my natural ability, you know. You think, 'oh my God', this woman is good. I get as much satisfaction out of the conversation as you do, because it makes me happy, seeing you happy or walking out more confident, you know."*

[Fatimah]: *"I used to have a client from Fish Hoek, you know, who comes all the way to Observatory to cut three hairs on his head...he pays me for the conversation."*

Denzel requested I assist him with obtaining copies of his two interview articles in 'YOU' magazine, which I did. He had lent his original copies but these were never returned. Also, he indicated he was keen to be interviewed again:

[Denzel]: *"I was interviewed twice in YOU magazine already. But I want to do an update. I want to share that I have matric now, I'm wheelchair dancing and I'm working for an NGO."*

In **summary, Chapter Six** presented and unpacked three themes which emerged from an across-case analysis of how affirmations of humanity are enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa, including an illumination of factors pertaining to agency and structure which enabled enacting humanity affirmations in a dehumanized/ing context.

The themes are: 'spectra of relational agency possibilities'; 'embodied-embedded radical sens-abilities'; and, 'never forget how made to feel'.

In the next chapter I interpret and discuss how these findings relate to and have implications for dominant understandings of humans as occupational beings in general, and human occupation and health in particular, ultimately informing thesis building in terms of what this study is a case of and for.

## CHAPTER SEVEN - DISCUSSION



*“Human beings are magical. Bios and Logos. Words made flesh, muscle and bone animated by hope and desire, belief materialized in deeds, deeds which crystallize our actualities [...] And the maps of spring always have to be redrawn again, in undared forms.”<sup>1</sup>*

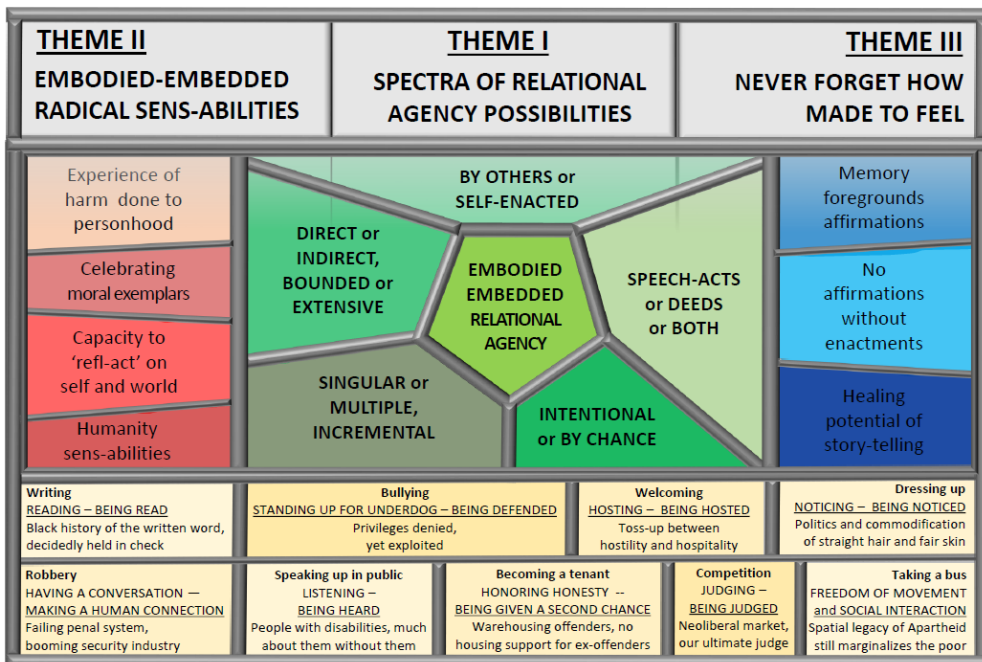
Sylvia Wynter, writer, cultural theorist, and philosopher from Jamaica

Whereas the previous two chapters focused primarily on the 'trees', this chapter will look at the 'forest'. The various threads of this study are sewn up into a cohesive argument of how everyday enacted humanity affirmations in post 1994 apartheid South Africa ('trees') reveal how being human ties in with occupation and health ('forest').

Building the emerging thesis, what is revealed in the 'Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal', the review of professional discourses, and the findings, appears to be a cultivated undervaluing of the human relational and political nature of our everyday occupations and health.

The collective case demonstrates the power of the little thought about, invisible things we humans do every day, and how they affect others and ourselves - actually or potentially allowing for healing, and fostering well-being. This, along with its antithesis of (potential) infliction of harm through everyday doing, seems to point to a need for a diversification and complexification of the conventional western(ized) rhetoric of human occupation and health.

### A Collective Case of Everyday Enacted Humanity Affirmations in a Dehumanized/ing Context



**Figure 13 - Three Themes & Categories**

Next I will interpret and discuss findings from the current study, in relation to dominant understandings of human occupation and health, focusing on five specific points:

- 1) the radically relational nature of being human, occupation, and health
- 2) relative histories-ized epistemologies of being human from the 'south'
- 3) humanity-health: cultivating our shared identity-integrity
- 4) phronesis: reviving a neglected source of intelligence
- 5) case study embedded narrative inquiry as humanizing healing praxis.

Each discussion point will respectively address what is being proposed, backed by a summary of key-findings, how the proposals relate to what is already known, and productive speculation, regarding a diversification and complexification of the conventional western(ized) rhetoric of human occupation and health.

### **7.1 The radically relational nature of being human, occupation and health**

Relational agency lies at the political root of being human as enacted (occupation) humanity affirmations (health) across the collective of nine cases, permeating all three themes and their categories. Symbolically presented at the heart of the overall findings (Figure 13), the phrases 'embodied-embedded relational agency' and 'radical sens-abilities' were coined to conceptually capture and help explain how the protagonists in the nine enacted humanity affirmations, had acted upon, influenced, or empowered one another and themselves in ways which generated a sense of relational wellbeing or doing well together. These findings reveal how relational exercises of human agency effectively disrupted or resisted systemic dehumanization through challenging or working around one or a combination of oppressive mechanisms of racism, poverty, heteronormativity, and/or ableism. In some instances this was exacerbated by unregulated individualism, trapped within a falsely named 'free neoliberal market' competition, which only celebrates 'winners' (Table 15).

Not a single case allowed an understanding of being human as involving only one individual, independent of a relationship with another person or people. Even self-enacted humanity affirmations, for example in the instance of 'judging and being judged' (*Competition*), and 'freedom of movement and social interaction' (*Taking a bus*), occurred in response to lacking respect from or not being reached out to by fellow human beings.

<b>Contextual Constraints ('Shackles')</b>
Spatial legacy of Apartheid still marginalizes the poor
Warehousing offenders, no housing support for ex-offenders
Toss-up between hostility and hospitality
Privileges denied, yet exploited
People with disabilities, much about them without them
Black history of the written word, decidedly held in check
Failing penal system, booming security industry
Politics and commodification of straight hair and fair skin
Neoliberal market, our ultimate judge

**Table 15: Contextual Constraints**

Although we are witnessing a consciousness awakening, and critiques of overly individualistic orientations to understanding human occupation and health (Cutchin, Aldrich, Bailliard, & Coppola, 2008; Dickie et al., 2006; Fogelberg & Frauwirth, 2010; Hammell, 2014; Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011), only a few articles in occupational therapy and occupational science literature appear to substantially shift and adopt collective approaches. It is perhaps telling that the authors who do, are theorizing and writing from the 'south'. The work done by these authors supports the findings' radically relational nature of being human, occupation, and health.

Guajardo, Kronenberg, and Ramugondo (2015) problematize that 'human occupation is often treated as an object of study, as if it were a thing, an indeterminate, like a mineral, a rock, a molecule, or a tissue' (p. 8). They argue that 'human occupation is not separate from subjects, neither a mediating element to the environment, nor a method of intervention, and successfully separating occupation from people would imply reifying, naturalising, and dehumanizing them as subjects, resulting in practices that may negatively affect people's wellbeing' (p. 8). These authors' ontological counter-proposal, which is supported by ethnographic research (Zango Martín, Flores Martos, Moruno Millares & Björklund, 2015), appreciates human occupation in terms of 'people, relationships, interacting subjects who think, decide; social practices in which subjects are constituted and produced' (Guajardo, Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 8). This offering directly resonates with subjects becoming human and doing well together through enactments of humanity affirmations.

Ramugondo and Kronenberg (2013), in their article 'Explaining collective occupations from a human relations perspective: Bridging the individual-collective dichotomy', also

adopted the African interactive ethic of *Ubuntu* to emphasize the inseparableness of being a person, and human relations. They also recognize the relational nature between what people do collectively and the construction of the social world, using ‘the analogy of a cyclical oxygen—blood—breathing dynamic to respectively explain human relations—occupation—doing’ (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013, pp. 6-7). To illustrate this analogy in the context of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, I share the final stanza of a poem by Khensani Masisi, called: “*I Can No Longer Breathe*” (Masisi, 2016). The poem provides insight into the lived experiences of black students who rallied together in the #RhodesMustFall campaign at campuses across South Africa, in response to persisting dehumanizing institutionalized racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia, and in efforts to break free from colonial shackles that still bind black bodies (Mpemnyama, 2015).

...  
*Once again my mother and my father reduced to nothing but labour.*  
*Stripped of my dignity*  
*My integrity gone and nowhere to be seen*  
HENCE  
I CAN NO LONGER BREATHE

Maldonado-Torres links this ‘breathlessness’ to the movement #*BlackLivesMatter*, defining it as ‘a constant condition in the state of coloniality and perpetual war’ (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.5).

The following two research articles by South African occupational therapists also resonate with the radical relational nature of being human, occupation, and health. Motimele (2014) studied the role of occupations in the healing journeys of people physically impaired by violence. Her findings suggest ‘a need to reframe violence as a collective occupation that dehumanizes, and healing as a collective process that (re)humanizes within a broader framework of *Ubuntu* as an interactive ethic. Her work calls for a shift in focus for rehabilitation practices involving individuals disabled through violence, in contexts of sustained direct and structural violence such as South Africa’ (Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014, p. 388). A doctoral study by Adams (2014), which explored community based occupational therapists’ understanding of the concept of collective participation in occupations, found that ‘collective participation is an everyday occurrence in South Africa’ (Adams & Casteleijn, 2014, p. 81). Adams’ research highlights that ‘effective co-creating calls for the key principles of mutuality and connectedness through which a collective becomes more than the sum of the parts, and that humans are motivated to act collectively by innate needs to ‘belong’ and to ‘survive’ in an enabling and supportive environment’ (Adams & Casteleijn, 2014, p. 81).

A consequent replacement of individualistic appreciations of ‘the human’ in the conceptual premise ‘human occupation and health’ by relational humanity (*Ubuntu*) orientations, understood both in terms of humankind and humanness, can be regarded as analogous to a mutation in DNA, that is, the hereditary philosophical premise of occupational therapy and occupational science. Such a fundamental change may better position and prepare the profession and discipline as a resource relevant to post 1994 South Africa’s stalled process of healing and society building, as well as to situations of oppression and marginalization more broadly. Involving disruptions of everyday unequal ‘us versus them’ power dynamics, recognition of the relational nature of being human, occupation, and health prompts occupational therapists to shift a primary concern with the well-being of certain groupings of individuals, to how we are doing together as humanity within and between our given societies. Occupational therapy’s contribution to addressing vital needs of society may then become about creating conditions of possibility that enable ‘doing well together’.

## **7.2 Relative histories-ized epistemologies of being human from the ‘south’**

This discussion point was mainly informed by the findings that subjects to whom something was done determine to what extent enactments affirmed humanity, *not* the subjects who did something (Chapter 6.1.1); some instances necessitate self-enactments of humanity affirmations (Chapter 6.1.2), and; intergenerational memories are a deep source of knowledge (Chapter 6.3). I used a critical phronetic lens to unearth and examine what I learned from these findings. I questioned how shared or conflicting values and interests play out in historically persistent unequal relations of power. This exercise revealed an unanticipated, unsettling truth: being human is *not* a given but rather a political potentiality, contingent on something that is to be done (enacted) in human relationships which is then experienced as an affirmation of our humanity. The pronoun ‘our’ here corresponds with the already evidenced radically relational nature of being human. I then asked myself, why did this realization hit me so unexpectedly and why do I feel ambivalent about it? It should not have surprised me, considering I had appropriately, informed by the ‘Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal’ (Chapter 2.1), philosophically grounded this study in critical soil (phronesis and *Ubuntu*). I had also already explicated my assumption that being human, like occupation and health, is a matter of politics (Figure 1, Chapter 3). However, at that stage of the research, my understandings were not yet informed and supported by data, the collective case story. Let me therefore unpack this discussion point and its constituent components further.

Attempting to be mindful of and sensitive to how historically unequal power relations play out, actually and potentially, in the production and operationalization of knowledge, I inserted and foregrounded the qualifier 'relative' in the naming of this discussion point. This disclosed my embodied-embedded positionedness as 'I' the researcher, who is simultaneously occupied by a particular institutional 'we', the profession of occupational therapy and the discipline occupational science, which together constitute a privileged/ing body of knowledge and governing of knowledge generating bodies.

I remind the reader that an extensive literature review in this profession and discipline had exposed a striking absence of direct references to being human, humanity terminology and related constructs that highlight their underlying processes, for example dehumanization-humanization. This then prompted me to coin 'enacted humanity affirmations', a reimagined conceptual appreciation of being human. This phrase then enabled this study to generate the possibly first ever substantive proposition to connect being human with occupation and health. While this is exciting from a doctoral enterprise perspective, I had a scholarly duty to ask why, during the first 100 years of our profession (1917 – 2017), the question of *being human* appears to have never been raised, that is, not in our formal literature. To further examine this point, I will playfully use the metaphors of a 'white elephant' and 'elephant in the room'. While doing so reveals a scandal, I think it is frankly fair and unavoidable to unambiguously acknowledge that the overall picture of our western(ized) institutional knowledge, the embodied subjects who predominantly theorize, teach, study, write, and get published, and those who occupy positions in our decision-making structures, overwhelmingly reflect *whiteness*. Implicating and pushing beyond skin color, whiteness embodies an ideology based on beliefs, values, behaviors, habits and attitudes, which result in the unequal distribution of power and privilege (Frye, 1983; Kivel, 1996). Situating whiteness as 'a white mist' within contemporary South African universities, Senokoane (2015) problematizes 'institutional racism [...] shades of white ethics blight academic institutions', and argues in contrast for an ethics of 'blackness and black experience and knowledge' (p. 1). As this is not the place to elaborate further on this notion, I refer to Appendix XIII for a contextualization of whiteness and an overview of its key-features. Held against a backdrop of whiteness, the need to interrogate the question of being human—the metaphorical white elephant in our midst, whenever and wherever we are in the world, is neither acknowledged nor felt and thus not addressed.

My study suggests that unless one has either been made to feel less than human, been treated as non-human, or has emphatically witnessed such harm being done to others'

personhood (Chapter 6.2.1), it then appears perfectly possible to hold on to a universalized assumption that being human is a given for all. While the profession adopted a position statement on Human Rights, supporting Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (United Nations, 1948), proclaiming to be concerned with and committed to advancing the health and wellbeing of all people (WFOT, 2006), it appears, within its dominant texts and practices, to neglect the dehumanizing, harmful effects of pervasive and persisting racism, patriarchy, sexism, heteronormativity, ableism and ageism (Chapter 2 – Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal). However unsettling and uncomfortable it will be, and likely has to be, I think we are ethically-politically obliged, as a matter of professional and humanity-integrity, to disrupt our apparent condition of groupthink and to stop turning a blind eye to the critical question of being human and how it relates to occupation and health. Such a de-stabilizing disruption may indeed be inescapable for occupational therapy to better position and prepare itself to become a relevant resource to healing and building society. And this study suggests that it is important to seek direction from understandings and thoughts from the 'south' to bring this process about.

Sakellariou and Pollard recognize that 'the issue of race is most often ignored' (Sakellariou & Pollard, 2017, p. 4). My earlier reflections find resonance with writings by Nelson (2007) and Owens (2017), who respectively use phrases 'seeing white' and 'white ways of knowing' (Nelson, 2007, p. 242), referring to 'whiteness' as 'Western or Euro-centrally constructed superior ways of knowing, thinking and experiencing the world, which are potentially devastating to those who are deemed the 'others' (Owen, 2017, p. 194-195). Owen subsequently calls for 'decolonizing occupational therapy's knowledge, curriculum and thereby the mind' (Owen, 2017, p. 201).

The Argentine semiotician Walter Mignolo (2009) suggests that what might indeed be at play and at stake in knowledge generation enterprises is the 'question of racism and epistemology', offering the phrase 'geo- and body-politics' to examine this (Mignolo, 2009). Mignolo argues that 'beyond recognizing that all knowledges are situated and every knowledge is constructed, we must deeply, historically and politically, interrogate questions about who is constructing knowledges, when, why, and where, shifting attention from the enunciated to the enunciation' (Mignolo, 2009, p. 2). This is really what I did earlier, when I exposed the western(ized) geo-historical and embodied biographical locations of the dominant knowledge generators in occupational therapy and occupational science, recognizing that whiteness cuts across and way beyond professions and disciplines. And

while auto-critiques of overly dominant western epistemology exist (Galheigo, 2011; Guajardo, Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2015; Hammell, 2011; Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011; Magalhaes, 2012; Owens, 2017), including proposals to adopt human rights, occupational justice, and/or social transformation approaches to further developing our professional and disciplinary knowledge base (Frank, 2011; Galvin & Wilding, 2016; Guajardo & Mondaca, 2016; Gupta & Garber, 2016; Hammell, 2008, 2015; Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Kronenberg, Simo & Pollard, 2004; Konenberg, Pollard & Sakelariou, 2011; Laliberte-Rudman, 2014; Sakellariou & Pollard 2017; Townsend & Marval, 2013; Watson & Swartz, 2004; Whiteford et al, 2016), what remains unacknowledged and not confronted is our dominant knowledge generators positionedness in what is called the 'colonial matrix of power', or 'coloniality'. According to Mignolo, who draws from Said (1978), and Hegel in Tibebu (2010), coloniality refers to 'a racial system of social classification that invented Occidentalism, that created the conditions for Orientalism; distinguished the South of Europe from its centre, and, on that long history, remapped the world as first, second and third during the Cold War' (Mignolo, 2009, pp. 2-3).

In other words, coloniality is based on the dogma that there exists no better choice for the majority of humanity than capitalism and Western modernity. Mignolo, and others (Grosfoguel, 2011; Maldonado Torres, 2016; Ndlovu-Gathsheni, 2013; Oywùmí, 2011; Quijano, 2000; Santos, 2012; Wynter, 2003) call for decolonial delinking, seeing and connecting with other options on the horizon, which dispute the monopoly of the colonial matrix of power, being, and knowledge (Mignolo, 2012). It can be argued that this study, exposing the scandalous absence (invisible-ization) of the question of being human, and then generating understandings regarding being human as occupation and health, which effectively disrupted systemic dehumanizing dynamics, already illustrates enactments of this called for delinking.

Shifting positions within the colonial matrix of power of the geo- and body-political coordinates and registers of knowledge generation, from western Modernity-Coloniality to the decolonial turn from the 'south', opens up possibilities for decolonial thinking and to apply, what Gloria Anzaldúa called 'border thinking' (Anzaldúa, 1999). According to Maybln (n.d.), 'Border thinking is based on the idea that the theoretical and the epistemic must have a lived dimension to them, 'lived' in the sense of the experiences of those who have been excluded from the production of knowledge by Modernity, and that theories already exist which sit at the very borders, if not outside of the colonial matrix of power' (p. 1).

Again, while this is not the place to elaborate on the register of decoloniality scholarship, I offer a sample of work by Frantz Fanon, a black psychiatrist and intellectual who hailed from Martinique, opening a small window into an embodied-embedded epistemology of being human from the ‘south’. Fanon reflects his own experiences in addition to a historical critique of the effects on the human psyche of racism and dehumanization, inherent in situations of colonial domination. He explained racism as a structure of power and domination along the ‘line of the human’, referring to a hierarchy of western superiority versus ‘non-western’ inferiority, constructed or marked through different forms, not only skin color but for example also ethnicity, language, culture, or religion (ex. Islamophobia) (Grosfoguel, 2016, pp 11-12).

Fanon’s ‘line of the human’ depicts a separation of human beings: those who are in the ‘zone of being’ have their humanity recognized, condemning those who they deemed as others to the zone of non-being, questioning or all together negating their humanity (Fanon, 1963; Fanon, 1967). To visually capture the reader’s imagination, suggesting that it serves as one framework through which to delink from the Modernity—Coloniality Matrix of Power which I referred to earlier, Figure 14 depicts Fanon’s critical analysis and I added references to other authors who I think also speak to this work. The notion of occupational apartheid also resonates with Fanon’s ‘racialized line of the human’ (Chapter 3.2 and; Kronenberg, 1999; Kronenberg & Pollard, 2004), and may be useful to further interrogate, disrupt and transform how whiteness plays out within dominant governmentalities’ body of knowledge and knowledge generation in occupational therapy and occupational science.

Histories-izing Epistemologies of Being Human Geo- and Bio-Politics of Knowledge Generation and Generators		Occupational Therapy Occupational Science	
MODERNITY & COLONIAL MATRIX OF POWER	<b>ZONE of BEING</b> humanity recognized ‘whiteness & othering’	Western(ized) ontology & epistemologies rhetoric of humans as occupational beings: <i>‘I occupy, therefore I am’</i>	
	<b>FANON’S RACIALIZED LINE OF BEING HUMAN</b> <b>ZONE of NON-BEING</b> humanity not recognized ‘blackness & being othered’	<b>OCCUPATIONAL APARTHEID?</b>	
<i>‘Fallen Flesh’</i> Wynter (2015)  <i>‘Social Death’</i> Patterson (1982)  <i>‘Black Lives Matter</i> Social Movement (2013)	<i>‘Black Skin, White Masks’</i> (1952) <i>‘The Wretched of the Earth’</i> (1961) Frantz Fanon	<i>‘Negritude’</i> Césaire (1950)  <i>‘Niggerized Bodies: No Ontological Density’</i> Sithole (2016)  <i>‘Sunken Place’</i> Peele, (2018)	Persisting racialized structural conditions and intergenerational lived experiences of negations of humanity  Substantial archive of knowledge and understandings of ‘being occupied by whiteness’, which is decidedly held in check

Figure 14: Fanon & Histories-izing Epistemologies of Being Human

Enacting ‘epistemological disobedience’ (Mignolo, 2009), I envision that what was learnt from and through this research holds potential to help deconstruct and replace ‘the racialized line of the human’ and the violent, divisive, harmful ‘zones’ it produced and sustains.

Let me make explicit that I am not saying that western registers are not valid. I am merely rejecting the pretense of westernized/ing knowledge production of humans as occupational beings and human occupation and health. I recognize that they are one type of discourse and that equally legitimate others exist. It is about moving away from uni-versal knowledge towards embracing/tapping into pluri-versal knowledges, which I framed as ‘histories-ized epistemologies of being human from the ‘south’’, generated by people who have thus far been overlooked as or denied being knowledge generators in their own right. A decolonial turn in knowledge generation implies a call to decolonize our professional and scholarly enterprises, recognizing how racism and other oppressive mechanisms have been and may continue to be at play in our education, research, practices, and governing structures, and governmentalities. It is to be expected that this proposal will encounter discomfort and resistance. This implication was already recognized by the South African occupational therapy scholar and play activist Elelwani Ramugondo.

In a 2017 keynote-address, ‘Decoloniality: Respecting the Fearful and Challenging the Converted’ (Ramugondo, 2017), Ramugondo asked, ‘What would it mean for the conquered to reclaim their sense of dignity?’ She explained that when we talk about decoloniality of being, we talk about the conquered, and what it would take for them to reclaim their sense of humanity. To illustrate her point she shared the following anecdote and reflection:

*“Recently, I was in Limpopo, where I grew up. I went to attend a wedding. And I listened very carefully to what the family of the groom was saying to the family of the bride, but also to those who had taken time to attend the wedding. And there was a phrase that they kept repeating. In my mother tongue Tshivenda, it goes: “No ri ita vhathu”. It simply means, ‘you have made us human’. So whatever gesture that they felt, did something to their sense of being. The phrase that captured that was ‘you have made us human beings’. And you have to ask yourself, why is it so important for this phrase to exist in traditional African communities? Is it perhaps because we have a people whose sense of dignity has been so stripped over and all the time that they look out for any possibility for a return to feel fully human? It’s a question.”*

(Ramugondo, 2017)

Ramugondo is developing and operationalizing decoloniality as healing work (Ramugondo, WFOT 2018), which speaks to my commitment to developing humanizing and healing praxis, requiring me to make the multiple embedded-embodied privileges that

whiteness has bestowed on me, work for bringing about conditions of possibilities for ‘doing well together’.

### **7.3 Humanity-health: Cultivating our shared identity-integrity**

The findings illuminated enabling factors of enacted humanity affirmations which disrupted a vicious cycle of dehumanization dynamics (racism, ableism, individualist competitiveness, etc.) which manifest on ‘spectra of relational agency possibilities’ (Theme I, Figure 10, Chapter 6). These enablers which I called ‘embodied-embedded radical sens-abilities’, point to ‘person of character’ qualities which the protagonists had applied in an agentic manner in the incidents-embedded instances. They include: lived experiences of harm done to personhood; recognition of moral exemplars and being guided by them; capacity to refl-act on self and world; and, exercising particular ‘person of character’ defining humanity sens-abilities (humor and playfulness, integrity and honesty, courage to be vulnerable, open-mindedness and mindfulness, and humility and gratitude) (Theme II, Figure 11, Chapter 6).

I will now unpack this discussion point, building on the lessons learned and discussed in the previous two sections: being human is radically relational, not a given but a political potentiality, to be enacted (occupation) and affirmed (health). However, the dominant racialized ontology of humans which underlies the Modernity-Coloniality matrix of power, being and knowledge, prohibits imagining, conceptualizing, and generating called for humanizing and healing praxes. Having learned that the radical sens-abilities which enabled affirmations of our humanity to be enacted had been cultivated through embodied-embedded understandings of being human, it is in this particular context that I propose that we analogously consider two sets of constructs: *humanity-health* and *identity-integrity*. In other words, let us think of humanity as a qualifier for shared identity, and appreciate health in terms of integrity. Integrity stems from the Latin word *integritas*, referring to ‘a state of being whole and undivided’. And the following synonyms are also relevant for how I intend to use the notion of integrity in relation to health: unity, unification, wholeness, sense of coherence, cohesion, togetherness, and solidarity (Oxford, n.d.). As the findings have shown, integrity of personhood and character are shaped by contextually situated relational life experiences (histories). I had extended and superimposed this logic from individual persons to society as a whole when I asked ‘*How are ‘we as humanity’ doing together in post 1994 South Africa?*’ (Chapter 2.2). The appraisal revealed a seriously lacking capacity and readiness to identify with ‘we as humanity’, arguably resulting from a long persistent history of socially

engineered embodied-embedded dehumanization dynamics, within and between the groupings of peoples who make up contemporary South Africa.

I only found a few references in occupational therapy and occupational science literature which linked human occupation and health to the notions integrity and identity, that is, beyond individualized Western conceptualizations. In an article by Hayward and Taylor (2011) about a values-based eudaimonic wellbeing appreciation of health, it is emphasized, 'that which is worth doing together [...] including experiences of hardship, trauma, and grief are considered an integral part of living through' (p. 136), Pentland and McColl (2008) introduce the notion 'occupational integrity, the extent to which a person designs and lives in integrity with his or her own personal values, strengths, and what has meaning for them' (Hayward & Taylor, 2011, p. 137). It appears that Hayward and Taylor recognize a significant connection between how humans' identification of themselves plays out in what they do and how they are doing. This interrelationship between identity-integrity and occupation-health is also implied in 3P-Archaeology, abbreviated 3PA (Appendix XIV). This pedagogical occupational consciousness raising tool, enabled by a set of trigger questions, enables a an in-depth, critical appraisal of individual and collective occupational histories from integrated political, personal, and professional perspectives. In line with how I suggest that we use the notion 'integrity', 3PA conceptualizes health as 'occupational soundness', referring to the level of congruence between who we think we are, what we value most, and what we do on a day to day basis (Daniels & Verhoef, 2017; Fransen & Kronenberg, 2013; de Jongh et al, 2011; Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006; Kronenberg, Pollard, Ramugondo, 2011; Pollard, Kronenberg, Sakellariou, 2008). Lastly, Adams' study (2014) about South African occupational therapists' understandings of collective participation in occupations yielded two themes, respectively describing the nature of and motivators for collective participation: 'The whole is more than the sum of the parts', describing the nature of collective participation, and 'I joined because of me, I stayed because of them', describing motivators. Their study also highlighted that 'through mutuality and connectedness, a collective becomes more than the sum of the parts' (Adams & Casteleijn, 2014, p. 81). Their themes and conclusion resonate with the proposed cultivation of our shared identity-integrity – 'I am because we are, therefore I care about doing well together' – humanity-health.

Hayward and Taylor's (2011) point to the restrictive effects of an overly western philosophy and theory of occupational therapy, proposing that 'being shackled to notions of health/illness and the medical establishment for too long, is hampering movement into

social and political spheres' (p. 133). As a strategy to combat these biases, they propose a foregrounding of 'being' alongside related terms of occupational integrity and spirituality and the construct of eudaimonic well-being (as a routine outcome) in theorizing human occupation and health (Hayward & Taylor, 2011). While Hayward and Taylor's and Pentland and McColl's offerings meaningfully resonate with the findings' informed identity-integrity construct, they emphasize individual and interpersonal applied conceptualizations, whereas this study pushes for the cultivation of a shared humanity identity and health integrity, focusing on identifying common strengths, values, and purpose as a society, designing and living together in congruence with these indicators.

The Nigerian-British writer, feminist and academic Amina Mama also reflected on the notions of identity and integrity. Mama (2001) considered that 'the idea of identity is interesting to most Africans mainly due the fact that it continues to cause distress, we seem to be constantly seeking the integrity and unity that the notion implies, without succeeding in securing it, or coming to terms with it' (p. 63). Recalling 'distasteful colonial impositions that told us who we were, a race of kaffirs, natives, negroes, and negresses', she stressed that 'for many of us, identity remains a quest, something in-the-making and it relates to the contentious nature of the term in our upbringing, as a site of oppression and resistance' (Mama, 2001, p. 63). Mama's reflections particularly resonate with the case narratives 'dressing up', 'writing', and 'competition'. The protagonists had to self-enact humanity affirmations in order to 'be noticed', 'be read', and 'be judged fairly'. These instances simultaneously illustrated disruptions of imposed racialized identities and embodied 'humanity identities'.

A key-proposal forwarded is that a premise of being human as occupation and health calls for the development of applicable understandings of shared humanity-integrity as a generative societal health outcome/indicator in occupational therapy and occupational science. Ways to move this proposal forward are further addressed in Chapter 8.2.1 under implications for research.

Instrumental rationality, i.e. learning theories and models and training skills, tends to also be dominant in occupational therapy education (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012). Developing capacity to cultivate shared humanity-integrity at a societal level requires instilling radical sens-abilities in its citizenry to enable people 'to make critical, creative connections between the personal, occupational 'troubles' of individuals and public 'issues' related to historical and social forces' (Laliberte Rudman, 2014, p. 373). This also calls for tapping into and

reviving a largely forgotten or neglected source of intelligence - phronesis - which will be discussed next.

#### **7.4 Phronesis: Reviving a neglected source of intelligence**

The subtext of this doctoral study—a phronetic case study of being human as occupation and health, links up with the second research question—how is human occupation and health implicated in enacted humanity affirmations? The collective case narratives reflect being human as praxis, which indeed corresponds with the practical knowledge nature of the main research question, foregrounding values and power rationality. To remind the reader, while the participants were not provided with or asked to give a theoretical definition of humanity or being human, all were able to identify and share from their lived experiences, enacted affirmations of being human. For example, everyday unmistakably occupational instances or ‘doings’ of ‘listening and being heard’, ‘reading and being read’, ‘noticing and being noticed’, ‘honouring honesty and being given a second chance’, ‘enjoying freedom of movement and social interaction’ were described. The ‘embodied-embedded radical sense-abilities’ that protagonists exercised across the collective case reflect particular sets of values that they held, and they had a sense of how unequal relations of power play out in daily life. For example, embodied-embedded values included:

- ‘believing that everyone, including ex-offenders, deserve a second chance’ (Becoming a tenant)
- not only admitting to being privileged, but sharing privileges with a disadvantaged peer (Speaking up in public)
- ‘an injury to one, is an injury to all’ (Taking a bus)
- ‘the importance of family’ (Welcoming)
- ‘understanding where we are coming from’ (Writing).

Examples of the sens-ability navigating and challenging an unequal power relation are:

- when the auditionee enacted a role-reversal of the judging ritual, judging a jury-member on how he had judged him as a person instead of his performance (Competition)
- in court, during the victim impact statement, when the ‘victim’ questioned the ‘rightness’ and effectiveness of South African society’s institutionalized responses to ‘crime’ (Robbery).

Again, to reiterate, the knowledge that was collaboratively generated between participants and the researcher is neither theoretical (episteme) nor technical (techne). Instead, it constitutes felt, lived, embodied-embedded understandings of this study’s phenomenon of interest, being human. In other words, keeping in mind the complex

contextual constraints of post 1994 apartheid South Africa, the faculty or source of intelligence that was at work to discern how to enact affirmations of our humanity was an active condition of distinctive human character, a mode of thoughtfulness that was shaped by being in and engaging with the world: a critical contemporary appreciation of phronesis.

One could have perhaps expected that a review of occupational therapy and occupational science literature for the notion 'phronesis' would encounter a similar striking absence as the search for references to a cluster of humanity terminology. However, a publication titled *'Phronesis as professional knowledge: Practical wisdom in the professions'*, co-edited by the Canadian occupational therapy scholar Elizabeth Anne Kinsella, offers insights that support the importance of reviving phronesis as a neglected source of intelligence. The collective of interdisciplinary authors wrote the book based on 'a shared concern, bordering on distress, regarding the instrumentalist values that permeate, often without question, our professional schools, professional practices, and policy decisions' (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012, p. 1). Kinsella and Pitman (2012) also mention social theorists who have pointed out that, 'for more than two centuries, value-rationality has increasingly given way to instrumentalist rationality' (p. 1). They also reference many academics and authors who have called for 'renewed attention to phronesis through various means: a reinvigoration of the concept within the professions; a reconceptualization of professional knowledge that draws on phronesis, and even a reconceptualization of social science itself' (p. 1) (Dunne, 1993, 1999; Eikeland, 2006, 2008; Flaming, 2001; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Frank, 2004; Gadamer, 1980, 1996; Kingwell, 2002; MacIntyre, 1982; Montgomery, 2006; Nussbaum, 2001; Polkinghorne, 2004; Schön, 1983, 1987; Smith, 1999; Stout, 1988; Taylor, 1999; Vanier, 2001).

My earlier assertion that the collective case of enacted humanity affirmations embodies practical knowledge of being human as praxis, finds resonance with Stephen Kemmis' interesting proposition: 'praxis is a prerequisite for phronesis and the centrepiece of a morally committed practice' (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012, p. 9). Kemmis (2012) argues that it is through experience and action—through praxis—that we develop phronesis, therefore, 'it is the happeningness of praxis that we must commit ourselves to if we want to learn or develop phronesis' (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012, p. 158). He adds, 'praxis is the action itself, in all its materiality and with all its effects on and consequences for the cultural-discursive, material-economic, and social-political dimensions of our world in its being and becoming. Praxis emerges in 'sayings', 'doings', and 'relatings' (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012, p. 150), which respectively connects with possible manifestations of enacted humanity affirmations,

speech-acts, deeds, and human connectivities, for example in the case narratives 'Speaking up in public', 'Robbery', 'Bullying', 'Welcoming', and 'Writing'. Kemmis also makes reference to both individual and collective phronesis, that of the individual practitioner and the collective good that a professional community commits itself to as a profession (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012). This is relevant when using collective occupations (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013) to conceptualize humanizing and healing praxes, and the implications it opens up for how a diversity of collective (social) actors can envision and enact what they (are to) do (intentionalities). When I read David Levine (2004) cautioning against dismissals of phronesis as 'merely mundane, merely colloquial', adding that phronesis is 'not speculative yet deeply rational, perhaps not as 'profound' as theoretical wisdom, yet more important for human life' (p. 8), it resonated with how occupational therapy's domain of concern, how what humans do every day impacts their wellbeing, also tends to be taken for granted and even neglected.

Mindful that knowledge generation reflects geo- and body-politics, I regard it a powerful, and to some extent a liberating idea, that human beings everywhere and everyday can, and do tap into phronesis to decide how to act in unique given situations. In a way, this realization reverses Descartes' dictum 'Cogito ergo sum', 'I think, therefore I am'. As Mignolo (2009) puts it, 'rather than assuming that thinking comes before being, one assumes instead that it is a racially marked body in a geo-historical marked space that feels the urge or gets the call to speak, to articulate, in whatever semiotic system, the urge that makes of living organisms 'human' beings' (p. 2). However, the notion phronesis and what it refers to appears to remain largely unknown, in occupational therapy and occupational science and beyond. Hence this study can help revive this seemingly neglected substantial resource and make it available to diversify understandings of humans as occupational beings.

Levine (2004) speaks about phronesis as 'the forgotten faculty' and he asks that we 'reopen the book on "that other intellectual excellence," phronesis or practical sense, and reclaim its priority for our lives. Minimally, by so doing we would become more attentive to the complexity of human things and the richness of the world before us; maximally we would develop our fine judgment and perhaps begin to live up to that with which we choose to associate ourselves' (p. 13).

For occupational therapists and occupational scientists, this would translate into a commitment to generate conceptual and applicable socially responsive understandings of

humans as occupational beings or as this study proposes, being human as occupation and health.

A revival of critical contemporary appreciations of phronesis would not only diversify but also enrich the repertoire of available (re)sources of intelligence from and through which to generate a practical conceptual understanding of being human as occupation and health. Informed and guided by this study's conceptualization of human occupation from the 'south', referring to *'that which occupies contextually embedded and embodied resources available to humans'* (Chapter 3.2.1), the following set of basic phronetic questions (adapted from Kronenberg, Kathard, Laliberte Rudman & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 25), foregrounding values and power rationality, might become useful:

- What are we doing with the resources available to us?
- Who decides what we are doing and what resources are available to us and by what mechanisms of power?
- How does what we are doing manifest on the continuum affirming or negating our humanity, enabling liberation, or perpetuating oppression, generating or causing harm to our health (in terms of humanity-integrity)?
- What should we be doing about it?

This set of questions can be engaged with in relation to theorizing, governing, practice, education, and research, considering that these interrelated fields are instrumental in cultivating shared humanity-integrity. As was pointed out in previous discussion points, colonial matrices of power relations which determine who are and what is of value are historically skewed, man-made and thus can be un-made and re-made.

## **7.5 Case study embedded narrative inquiry as humanizing healing praxis**

What can be learned from the finding *'healing potential of story-telling'* under the third theme *'never forget how made to feel'* (Chapter 6.3.3) is that a heuristic case study-embedded narrative inquiry design allows for data gathering and analysis, and co-construction of case stories, to be experienced, by participants and researcher alike, as an affirmation of our humanity, positively impacting the well-being of everybody involved.

What story-telling has done and can continue to do is also compellingly articulated by the Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in her 2009 TED talk 'The Danger of the Single Story' which has been viewed more than 14 million times and is transcribed in 47 languages):

"Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity" (Adichie, 2009).

Adichie's emphasis on 'many stories matter' resonates with my earlier proposal to generate histories-ized epistemologies of being human, informed by lived experiences of people from the 'south' who have been made to feel less than human but who maintained their dignity through self-enactments of humanity affirmations. This point is also supported by lessons learned from the 'Writing' case, with its embedded enacted humanity affirmation 'reading and being read'. While most everyone can write, whose stories matter? Who is seen to matter enough to be read, or be written about? It must be recognized that most of history (his-story) appears to be written up by men telling their stories. What about 'her-stories'? Another example that speaks to the question of silent and silenced voices (negated humanity) surfaced in the 'Robbery' case when Nathan the incarcerated offender expressed disbelief about someone being interested in him and his story:

*"Me, I was so shocked, yoh, that this happened. Never in my entire life somebody asking me about things I've done in the past, to do research about something I do."* (Chapter 6.3.3.)

Having engaged in on-going critical reflexivity throughout this study (Chapter 4.1), the data collection and early stages of analysis coincided with the birth and subsequent unfolding of the students-initiated and led #RhodesMustFall campaign at the University of Cape Town. The movement called out institutional racism and demanded decolonization of higher education, and of the larger society. As the findings of this study emerged, I came to appreciate the 'fallist' movement's actions as collectively self-enacted humanity affirmations in the face of pervasive systemic negations of a sense of belonging, being noticed, listened to, and heard. I will also never forget how witnessing these unfolding stories first-hand made and continue to make me feel (Appendix I – Situating the Researcher). I felt pulled down into a deep dark collective memory of a long history of on-going systemic oppression, inflicted by multiple generations of 'colonizing white bodies on colonized black bodies'. The following poem by (then) fallist student Ameera Conrad "*On Exhaustion Over a Lack of Understanding*" (Conrad, 2015), powerfully captures and supports the findings' suggested humanizing and salutogenic potential of telling stories informed by multi-generational living memories ('never forget how made to feel'):

## On exhaustion over a lack of understanding

I am tired  
God Almighty, I am tired  
of being told that we need to move on,  
that we need to forget,  
that we need to put the past behind us,  
that Apartheid is over.

They don't understand.  
We never will.  
Our bodies are monuments of centuries of torture,  
trauma  
terror  
these exist in us  
we live it every day.  
We built this country  
slaves  
whips at our backs –  
The Man holding the whip did not build –  
we built.

Apartheid is not over.  
No magic TRC wand can bippity-boppity-boo! it away.  
Our glass carriage is still a pumpkin,  
rotting,  
pulled by rats.  
A polite revolution over tea and crumpets, good Sir,  
'twas the order of the day.

When could we mourn?  
When could we cry?  
When could we scream  
for our loved ones lost  
our chances trampled on?

*Please Mastah Baas Meneer,  
Asseblief,  
Gee my 'n kans om te huil  
vir my ma  
en my pa  
en my susters  
en broers  
gee my 'n kans om te huil.*

Let me stand up for myself  
and for those who stood before me.  
Let me march for myself  
and for those who marched before me.  
Let me call out *AMANDLA*  
and raise my fist  
and let me cry  
after hundreds of years  
let me cry.

by Ameera Conrad (2015)

The particular focus of this study made me extra mindful that research can be and at times indeed manifests as epistemological violence, explained by Thomas Teo (2010) as 'the interpretation of social-scientific data on the Other, produced when empirical data are interpreted as showing the inferiority of or problematizing the Other, even when data allow for equally viable alternative interpretations [...] the subject of violence being the researcher, the object is the Other, and the action is the interpretation of data that is presented as knowledge' (p. 1). Particularly in the 'Robbery' case, my heightened sensibility triggered the following series of reflections: at face value, what had happened seemed to be clear. A young coloured gangster victimizes a young white couple, robs them of their belongings, and physically injures one of them. However, it seemed too simplistic and likely to make a bad situation worse to problematize and effectively dehumanize the victimizer and sympathise with and hyper-humanize the victims. An equally viable alternative interpretation, which in actual fact was enacted by my participant, was to contextualize this incident in a larger historical frame, one in which the origins and evolution of the collective histories of the actors involved are taken into account. This would then reveal a roles reversal of who got robbed and who robbed and got away with it until today. Therefore, as a researcher, I did not individually take, interpret, and use data from the participants' lived experiences but shared decision-making in all these steps to allow collectively generated findings.

While there exists ample recognition and evidence of the healing power of story-telling and story-making informing narrative reasoning in occupational therapy and occupational science literature, applications and related research predominantly occurred not in the context of historical violent and wounded social relations but mostly in therapeutic interventions with individual clients with a medical diagnosis (Clark, 1993; Frank, 1996; Mattingly, 1991; Mattingly & Lawlor, 2000; Scaletti & Hocking, 2010). I however found useful neuro-scientific literature explaining why stories stick to memory, even across generations, for example the poetry by James Matthews, put to music by Melanie Scholtz (Chapter 5.10). I will elaborate a little on this finding and how it supports the suggested potential salutogenic relationship between telling and listening to stories from lived memories, ‘never forget how made to feel’.

According to Stockton (2017), ‘the basis of every memory is our brain's ability to collect, connect, and create mosaics from milliseconds-long impressions’ (p. 1). Enacted humanity affirmations may manifest as mini-acts, milliseconds gestures, like making eye contact (being noticed), mentioning someone by their name, even more so when pronounced correctly, greeting someone unknown in public. Whilst the salutogenic power of such gestures tends to be easily overlooked or taken for granted, they can have a deep and lasting impact on people, particularly but not exclusively with regards to historically wounded relations.

It is estimated that for more than 40,000 years, humans have been sharing stories with each other as a primary method of communication (MacWhinney, 2005; Schwertly, 2014). Schwertly offers a neuro-scientific explanation for why a story sticks in our memory and lasts much longer than for example a list of facts or information (Schwertly, 2014):

‘MRI scans have been used to research how our brain processes and responds to different information, showing different areas of the brain to ‘light up’. When we are exposed to story-telling and vivid language, beyond the brain’s language processing areas of Broca and Wernicke (which decode words into meaning), the sensory receptors in the cortex responsible for transcribing actual things that happen to us are activated (‘light up’). This makes sharing stories a perfect vehicle for activating empathy, our ability to understand and share the feelings of another. Because they relate someone else’s physical experience, the story-telling creates a kind of simulation of the reality of the lived reality of the story-teller, allowing for connectivity between the minds and hearts of the

ones who tell the story and the listeners. In other words, our brains appear to be hard-wired to understand and retain stories. Storytelling illuminates parts of our brain that are only active when we actually experience something. We understand the rich detail and action of a story in a more complex way than if we were simply processing pieces of information' (Schwertly, 2014, p. 4).

Schwertly's explanation reminds me of a poignant scene in the 2014 film 'Escobar: Paradise Lost', about Pablo Escobar (1949-1993) the notorious drug trafficker and former leader of Colombia's infamous Medellin drug cartel. This is what happened: Escobar instructs Nick, a young 'gringo' (white North American), to drive to a remote rural town, pick up an elderly 'campesino' (peasant) who is to guide Nick to a cave where he is to hide some boxes with valuable goods, seal the entrance using dynamite, and then, he was to shoot the 'campesino'. Escobar explicitly tells Nick to refrain from conversation with the 'campesino' during the ride, that the less he knows about him the better. The inferred 'moral of the story' being that once a human connection comes about, it becomes more difficult to inflict harm. As could be expected, how the story then unfolds is that the 'campesino' who becomes his guide is not elderly as expected, but a chatty sympathetic youth, who Nick is then unable to kill.

The following literature directly resonates with how in this research, case study embedded narrative enquiry was employed and experienced, thus supporting the suggestion that it can be applied as a humanizing and healing praxis. In their edited book 'Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry With Youth and Communities', Django Paris and Maisha Winn present a diversity of author voices guiding how to 'humanize research in dehumanizing spaces' (Paris & Winn 2014, p. 63). It features dialogic meaning-making which extends beyond the researcher/participant relationship, a practice of worthy witness (p. xiii). Paris and Winn (2014) also equate humanizing research with 'decolonizing practice that incorporates participants in reflecting and collaborating throughout the research process, reminding us to build relationships of care and dignity and dialogic consciousness raising for both researchers and participants' (p. xvi). We are reminded 'how the stories and storying in the text work together to refuse the kind of research that does not take as the starting point the humanity and dignity of all people' (Paris & Winn, p. 251).

I think it is appropriate that here I briefly describe 'Healing Histories', an initiative that I started in order to pilot and generate practice-based evidence of the proposed case study embedded narrative inquiry as humanizing healing praxis. Taking my mixed Dutch-South

African family as a personal and political case-in-point, our two daughters are to learn where they come from. The project critically-creatively excavates the trans-generationally embodied-embedded histories of the relationship between the Netherlands and South Africa since 1652. Data are gathered from multiple sources employing multiple methods, including primary, secondary, and tertiary biographical accounts. This single-case study is expected to encounter local resonance with and relevance for people globally.

Lastly, I think it is appropriate and useful to recognize and discuss the link between museums as complex generative narrative inquiry sites and humanizing healing praxis. To illustrate, in 'Situating the Researcher' (Appendix I), I made reference to a historic Irish-South African football-friendly which I had brought about in collaboration with the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, located some 45 km's outside Cape Town. This museum bears witness to the system of migrant labour, single sex hostels and the control of black workers through the identity document, the infamous pass book, which controlled the lives of black South Africans under Apartheid (LMLM website). Prior to kick-off, the visiting team from Dublin was given a guided tour through the museum, which rather unexpectedly resonated deeply with them. Why so? Listening to the local black curator's background stories to the black and white pictures and other artefacts on display, depicting the inhumane living conditions imposed by the Apartheid migrant labour system, triggered memories of experiences that their parents and grandparents had shared with them about how the English had treated the Irish in the past. The match which then followed became more than a football-friendly, as it took on other 'histories-ized' layers and levels of meaning and humanity-connectivity. Participants from both sides afterwards described the overall experience in terms of "humanizing", "humbling", "restoring dignity", "a gift of hope", "reminder to never forget our long histories". However, in order for this museum to have been visited and appreciated as described, had required envisioning and a materialization of this particular 'Ubuntourism' event (Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2011).

To further illustrate the complexities at play in making museums spaces which generate potentially humanizing and healing narratives, so far, only two museums are dedicated to commemorating South Africa's Apartheid history. Firstly, *The Apartheid Museum* (est. 2001), adjacent to the Gold Reef City in Johannesburg, which many South Africans and most foreigners mistakenly regard to be South Africa's official Apartheid museum (Findley, 2011). Secondly, located in the heart of the black township of New Brighton, near the coastal city of Port Elizabeth, is the *Red Location Museum* (est. 2005). An appropriate question to ask is how both museums came about. The Apartheid Museum was born as 'a civic/cultural give

back, demanded by the city of Johannesburg as part of a deal to establish the Gold Reef City casino and amusement park complex which was proposed by Abraham and Solomon Krok', and ironically, 'the Kroks had become wealthy selling toxic skin-lightening creams in a nation where light skin was a precious cultural commodity' (Findley, 2011, p. 123). And the *Red Location Museum* originated because "a foreign couple wanted to share their personal encounter with this beautiful land [South Africa] in a new, modern, optimistic way". I learned this from attending a presentation by Unathi Kondile<sup>16</sup>, titled "iNkumbulo Ezingenanto: Meaningless Memory - Imagining the Self with the tongue of an Other."<sup>17</sup> In his talk, Kondile shared examples of defunct memorial spaces/museums in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, reflecting on how meaningless such creation of memory is in the midst of poverty. Throughout his presentation he foregrounded the importance of language when creating memorial spaces. All spaces mentioned in the presentation were largely English spaces in dominantly Xhosa speaking areas. He asked how then do you affirm the humanity of another through apartheid tools and languages (Kondile, 2017). Hence, determining how to commemorate and curate museums and memorial spaces that reflect history in a balanced way, and may allow for humanizing and healing wounded relations between groups of people who make up a still violent and divided society, presents as hugely challenging.

In **summary**, in **Chapter Seven** the findings were further analyzed, interpreted and discussed through five specific points: the radically relational nature of being human, occupation, and health; relative histories-ized epistemologies of being human from the 'south'; humanity-health, cultivating our shared identity-integrity; phronesis, reviving a neglected source of intelligence; and, case study embedded narrative inquiry, a humanizing healing praxis. The discussion informed this study to be a case of revealing and disrupting the violent deceptive western(ized) ontological and epistemological premise that being human is a given for all.

The next final chapter articulates the thesis, and why this doctoral work is groundbreaking within occupational therapy and occupational science. And, implications for research, practice, education of professionals and policy, will be presented and an acknowledgment of the study's limitations.

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<sup>16</sup> Media scholar and re-founding editor of Isigidimi SamaXhosa, a monthly isiXhosa newspaper distributed in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces.

<sup>17</sup> 3rd Space Symposium: Decolonising Art Institutions, University of Cape Town, South Africa (24-26 August, 2017) <http://www.ica.uct.ac.za/ica/news/3rdSpace2017>

## CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

*“U nyela tshisimani”* – Tshivenda saying, freely translated ‘Pooping in our water source.’



*“We believe that in the long run the special contribution to the world by Africa will be in this field of human relationship. The great powers of the world have done wonders in giving the world an industrial and military look, but the great gift still has to come from Africa – giving the world a more human face.”*

Steve Biko

### 8.1 Thesis

The questions this doctoral thesis sought to answer were how affirmations of our humanity are enacted in everyday post 1994 apartheid South Africa, and how human occupation and health is implicated in such enacted humanity affirmations.

Foregrounding values and power rationality, this phronetic case study embodies the power of learning from carefully selected examples. The thesis therefore reflects the practical knowledge lessons learned, articulating the concerns and questions which prompted and shaped what this case study is about, what it is a case of and ultimately, what it is a case for.

Two challenging concerns prompted this research. The first was post 1994 South African society’s historically entrenched dehumanized/ing condition. And the second was the ill-positionedness and ill-preparedness of occupational science accompanied occupational therapy to do something about it. Appropriate concepts to imagine and generate potentially humanizing and healing responses to violent-divided-wounded human relations were found to be lacking, in both professional and public discourses. This study therefore conceived of and applied an original conceptual depiction of being human as ‘enacting humanity affirmations’. This study’s case is about everyday incidents-embedded instances of being human in post 1994 apartheid South Africa. The collective of exemplars presents as remarkable, having disrupted seemingly normalized systemic oppressive power dynamics.

A discussion of the findings make this study a case of revealing and disrupting the violent deceptive western(ized) ontological and epistemological premise that being human is a given for all. Redressing historically inflicted harm done to our humanity necessitates that the geo- and body-political epistemic positions, from where to generate applicable

understandings of human occupation and health, are delinked from 'whiteness'. It is suggested that what is called for are decolonized, historicized, politicized Ubuntu-grounded values and power rationality driven applicable understandings of the conceptual triad humanity-occupation-health from the 'south'.

Lastly, this study builds a case for advancing an understanding of being human as occupation and health. Being human was found to be radically relational, and not a given but a political potentiality which manifests on a continuum of enacted harmful negations and salutogenic affirmations of our humanity. Also, cultivation of our being human as shared identity-integrity can advance humanity-health. These insights allow for potentially humanizing and healing societal responses to violent-divided-wounded human relations. This has implications for how occupational therapy and occupational science can position and prepare for being a humanizing and healing resource through research, practice and education. Figure 15 attempts to visually capture this study's thesis.

## BEING HUMAN as OCCUPATION and HEALTH



Figure 15: Visual Depiction Thesis

What makes this doctoral dissertation radical, de-stabilizing, and innovative within occupational therapy and occupational science constitutes a set of five disruptive, 'epistemologically disobedient' (Mignolo, 2009) yet generative firsts.

Firstly, a historicizing and politicizing approach was used to identify and inform the statement of problem. This initiates and calls for shifting on a global scale, occupational therapy's conventional concern with the functioning and social participation of certain groupings of individual clients, to how all the collectives of people who make up our given societies have been and are doing together.

Secondly, the study's geo-historical context was framed as post 1994 apartheid South Africa. This society's observable violent structural conditions and its divided, wounded social

relations remain too untransformed from the pre 1994 Apartheid situation to legitimate the denialist signifier 'post-apartheid'.

Thirdly, the study was philosophically grounded in combined critical contemporary interpretations of the 'western' notion of phronesis and *Ubuntu* from the 'south'. This may allow for a dialogical approach to de-centering historically unequal power relations over knowledge generation. Rather than pushing for a complete shift, I attempted to advance a humanizing balancing of knowledges.

Fourthly, a set of original, practical concepts was coined and developed: being human as enactments of humanity affirmations; humanity-occupation-health continuum; and health as humanity-integrity. Not only did these ideas allow imagining and carrying out this research, they also offer appropriate language to start addressing the absence of the question of being in occupational therapy and occupational science discourse, and possibly beyond.

Lastly, this study introduces decoloniality as a register, a grammar delinked from the 'west'. It allows 'decolonizing the Western canon and epistemology' (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 211) and for 'epistemic reconstitution, changing not only how we reason but also our emotioning, our sensing' (Mignolo, 2017, p. 3), enabling the generation of embodied-embedded understandings of being human as occupation and health from the 'South'. And, to better fit the work done in this study and the ongoing undertaking of decolonizing stigma and diagnosis (Ramugondo, Lepere, & Nebe, 2017), throughout this document I replaced the originally adopted notions 'diagnosis, diagnosed, diagnostic' with 'appraisal, appraised, appraisal'. As Ramugondo, Lepere and Nebe (2017) point out, 'the role of diagnosis in biomedicine, as well as the historicity of professions and disciplines in westernized health-care, intersect with different hierarchies of power, identities, and knowledges through mechanisms that operate across local and global contexts' (p. 1). Using synonymous appraisal terminology can thus be appreciated as part and parcel of a decolonial approach to disrupt dominant (individualistic, prescriptive) biomedical understandings of health and wellbeing and to confront systemic injustices that result in dehumanizing health inequities.

## **8.2 Implications**

There are a number of possible actions, surely more than the ones I indicate below, that can be pursued to address issues raised by the thesis and to get to work with the practical concepts it generated. Implications for further research and change aim at different stakeholders interested in and positioned to help address the neglected complex need of

healing wounded human relations within and between perversely divided and unequally positioned groupings of people who together make up contemporary South Africa. I anticipate that efforts to materialize implications also call for global partnerships. Stakeholders include researchers and educators interested in advancing understandings, as well as teaching and learning about historical conditions of possibility in South Africa and globally that sustain vicious cycles of harmful dehumanization, and how these may be disrupted and shifted to virtuous salutogenic humanization practices. The following subsections will respectively address implications for research, practice, education of professionals and policy-making and implementation.

### **8.2.1 Research**

The findings from this research and my interpretations thereof were informed by an in-depth collective case study of nine enacted humanity affirmations. This collective case primarily serves as an exemplar from which much was learned about being human as praxis (occupation) in a dehumanized/ing context, and how this was experienced by and impacted on the wellbeing (health) of the people involved. What was analytically interpreted, in terms of these everyday incidents-embedded instances in contemporary South African society and beyond, calls for further investigation, holding potential for post-doctoral work and research collaborations. Ten possible research directions are outlined below.

*Intricateness of enacted humanity affirmations* – This intricateness was envisioned on spectra of combinations of possibilities or scenarios: done by others or self (7.1.2); speech-acts, deeds or both (7.1.3); intentional or by chance (7.1.4); singular or multiple, incremental (7.1.5); direct or indirect *and* bounded or extensive reach and impact (7.1.6). It would be useful to conduct research to further flesh out these combinations of possibilities and expand them to get at the complexities.

*Collective enactments of humanity affirmations* – This study primarily focused on everyday enacted humanity affirmations that were identified, described, and experienced by individuals. Further research could focus on such incidents-embedded instances identified, described, and experienced by collectives. This would allow for generating understandings of embedded collective embodiments of actual and potentially humanizing and healing relational agency. The notion collective occupations, which are ‘engaged in by individuals, groups, communities, and/or societies in everyday contexts, which may reflect an intention towards social cohesion or dysfunction, and/or advancement or aversion of a common good’

(Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015, p. 10), may serve to conceptualize and select collective participants. While case study embedded narrative inquiry may still serve as a methodological design, methods that enable data gathering from collectives would have to be used.

*Being human as resistance* – Following on from this study's call to advance an understanding of being human as occupation and health, further research can explore the tentative hypothesis that individual and collectively enacted resistance to negations of our humanity may be salutogenic, that is, appreciating health in terms of an embodied-embedded fight for 'the advancement of a common good' (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015, p. 10). For example, protests in South Africa (ex. service delivery, calls for free decolonized higher education) and globally (ex. #BlackLivesMatter, Dakota Access Pipeline, Occupy Wall Street) may thus be examples of self-enacted humanity affirmations, in which protesters are consciously willing to accept getting harmed (from medical model perspectives of health), in anticipation of the possibility of experiencing a sense of wellbeing, derived from a salutogenic sense of coherence and eudaimonic, humanity-integrity perspectives. The extent to which such self-enacted humanity affirmations may reflect a form of collective self-healing protest can also be studied.

*Hearing out perpetrators of humanity pre 1994 Apartheid South Africa* – Considering this study's thesis that being human is neither 'a given' nor 'not a given' but instead constitutes a political potentiality, following up on my questioning why the TRC hearings had only focussed on victims and perpetrators of violence from both the oppressors' side and the oppressed who struggled against being oppressed (see Chapter 2.1.4 – 'What is being done to transform South Africa since 1994'), I propose research that invites and hears out lived experiences of people who feel and 'plead guilty' to having been 'perpetrators'<sup>18</sup> of humanity affirmations in the context of pre-1994 Apartheid South Africa (1948 – 1991). In the words of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, tapping into, and learning from the memories of 'those who confirmed our humanity; who had built a protective wall around it, who sought to mould it, who opened our eyes, to make us see the light and look to tomorrow' (Thiong'o, 1980, see Chapter 1). Insights generated by such research could make visible and make matter, salutogenic potentiality understandings of being human that appear to be overshadowed by

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<sup>18</sup> A search for an antonym of perpetrator and perpetrate in the Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition, p. 585) allowed for a fascinating and perhaps telling find. It appears that no proper antonym exists for these terms, because the verb 'perpetrate' stems of Latin 'perpetrare', meaning 'to carry through, execute, perform [f. PER- I + patrare to bring to pass, effect]. Thus, in Latin, the thing perpetrated might be good or bad. But from the mid-16th Century, in English the verb, having been first used in the statutes in reference to the committing of crimes, has been associated with evil deeds, making perpetrator 'one who perpetrates or commits an evil deed. I intend to positively disrupt the negative English and re-introduce the original Latin meaning of 'perpetrate', as it speaks to being human as a political potentiality, that is to be enacted [perpetrated] through affirmations of our humanity.

perpetrations of harm. This would also allow recognition and celebration of moral exemplars, people who did right by all of us as humanity.

*Development of 'humanity integrity' (HI) as a salutogenic health indicator* – While it might be difficult (if at all possible) to quantitatively measure qualities of humanity and humanity-integrity, intersubjective judgments can be researched and weighed qualitatively, allowing us to explore the possibility of developing these practical concepts into a salutogenic health indicator. The intent is for it to complement existing medical and social model health indicators, such as life expectancy, morbidity/health status, access to healthcare, and income (individual/family). Findings revealed that radical sens-abilities enabled humanity-integrity, not in a normative sense, as a kind of standard for judging our human interactions, but rather in a radical relational *Ubuntu* sense, humanity-integrity as embodying 'an ethic of being with others which in turn is evaluated by how it empowers people' (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005, p. 206). Learning under what conditions of possibility such sens-abilities can be cultivated may provide pointers to elemental categories for developing a Humanity-Integrity (HI) indicator. Fundamentally distinct from indicators which measure individuals' Intelligence and Emotional Quotients (IQ and EQ), what I am proposing here is more a collective indicator. Rather than yet another quantitative measurement technology, I envision that Humanity-Integrity can be developed into an occupation-based collective story-telling approach for communities and the society at large to evaluate their collective wellbeing in terms of 'doing well together', to address any issues that may arise, and also to recognize and celebrate what they are doing well together.

*Critical discourse analysis of rhetorics of humans as occupational beings* – Putting to work the thesis' proposal to ontologically and epistemologically position the generation of an understanding of being human as occupation and health in the 'south', opens up the opportunity to use a 'coloniality-decoloniality of power, being and knowledge' framework (Maldonado-Torres, 2016; UCT CCWG, 2018). This can be used to carry out a critical discourse analysis of occupational therapy and occupational science rhetorics of 'humans as occupational beings'. Discourse here includes our professional and disciplinary philosophies, theories, models, curriculums content and pedagogies, journals' editorial priorities, and governmentalities exercised in their governance structures (local, national, regional and global). Additionally, the geo- and bio-political demographics (including mother-tongues) of the bodies who make up the pools of educators, students, researchers, published authors, and our institutions' governance structures can be mapped to make visible and address the anticipated lacking levels of diversity in terms of lived experiences and understandings of

unequal conditions of privileges that inform decision-making across the fields of education, research, practice, and governance. For example, I hypothesize that from its inception, overall and specifically in decision-making positions, our profession and discipline critically lacks embodied-embedded lived knowledge of enacted intersectional negations of our humanity (racism, sexism, classicism, homophobia, etc.). Recognizing when and how our discourses and practices may in actual fact perpetrate systemic dehumanization dynamics is a pre-condition for doing something about it.

*Synergy potential salutogenesis and humanizing healing praxis* – This research recognized a conceptual goodness of fit between being human as occupation and health, and enacted humanity affirmations and the salutogenic concept ‘Sense of Coherence’ (SOC) (Chapter 3.2.1). Salutogenesis refers to ‘the process of enabling individuals, groups, organizations and societies to emphasize on abilities, resources, capacities, competences, strengths and forces in order to create a sense of coherence and thus perceive life as comprehensible, manageable and meaningful’ (Lindström & Eriksson, 2009, p. 19). To find out to what extent the suggested tentative theoretical hypothesis holds potential for generating humanizing and healing praxes, requires further research and development into applications of SOC in relation to the ‘radical sens-abilities’ that enable people to enact humanity-integrity in their everyday social relations.

*Forgiving and being forgiven* – Envisioned as part of a process of reconciliation, the oppressed large majority black South Africans had been asked to forgive the oppressor minority of white South Africans. Through the lens of enacted humanity affirmations, further research could focus on the extent to which reconciliation came about, what was done to forgive and how was this experienced by those who were to be forgiven. This can be studied at both individual interpersonal and collective societal levels, delving into the lived experiences of both sides of the equation.

*Redress and being righted* – Intricately related to the previous recommendation and also studied through the lens of enacting affirmations of our humanity, whereas expressions such as ‘black pain’ and ‘we can’t breathe’ symptomatically reflect experiences of persistent systemic dehumanization of bodies from the majority population, how do bodies from groups who benefited and continue to benefit without redress to those who were wronged, perceive and experience their privileges? How do they deal with ‘white guilt’ and denialism of complicity in wrongs of the past that continue today? How may these issues hinder humanizing and healing?

*Exploring and designing decolonizing and radical methodologies* – In her first 1999 edition of ‘Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples’, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) had already pointed out a truth which strongly resonates with the third theme of this study ‘Never Forget How Made to Feel’ (Chapter 6.3). Smith (1999) asserted that

*‘The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remain a powerfully remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity’* (p. 1).

The first chapter of this book is titled ‘On Being Human’ and it offers some hard-hitting historicized reflections by the author which underscore why decolonizing methodologies are called for:

*“One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the ‘arts’ of civilization. By lacking such values we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself. In other words, we were not ‘fully human’; some of us were not even considered partially human. Ideas about what counted as human in association with the power to define people as human or not human were already encoded in imperial and colonial discourses prior to the period of imperialism covered here.”*

(Smith, 1999, p. 25)

This study’s call for a delinking from ‘a history of western whiteness and the colonial continuities in our epistemic foundations’ also implies ‘our research practices as canonised in Euro-American qualitative, quantitative and triangulation research methods and methodologies’ (Chiumbu, 2017, p. 2). The pan African intellectual and political activist Archie Mafeje (1936 – 2007) introduced and advocated a ‘combative ontology’ which he coined ‘Africanity’ which is, in the words of Adesina, ‘perhaps his most eloquent and elegant enunciation of the twinned agenda of the “determined negation of negation” (Mafeje, 2000, p.66) and the pursuit of endogeneity’ (Adesina, 2008, 138). This then calls for ‘an uncompromising refutation of the epistemology of alterity which has shaped modes of gazing and writing about Africa and Africans’, [and,] ‘such negation of alterity is the beginning of the journey to affirmation, a method of scholarship that is rooted in the collective Self and speaks to it without the anxiety regarding what the western Other thinks or has to say’ (Adesina, 2008, p. 138). Therefore, as Chiumbu (2017) puts it, we must ‘design methods that speak to our realities, methods that are participative, interactive and emancipatory, and of course ethical’ (p. 4), for example, story-telling, oral history, auto-ethnography, action-research, testimonies, body-mapping (Davy, Magalhaes, Mandich, &

Galheigo, 2014; Gastaldo, Magalhães, Carrasco, & Davy, 2012), and photo-voice (Capous-Desyllas & Morgaine, 2017; Kessi, 2018a; Kessi, 2018b; Kessi, 2017).

### **8.2.2 Practice**

The findings of this thesis further reinforce the identified need to always remain critical of the politics of professions and disciplines—what we do, with whom, where, how, and why, that is, who or what are we really serving through our practices, who benefits and who does not and through whatever mechanisms of power. Hence I had positioned this study on what I strategically coined ‘the moving line’ between occupational therapy and occupational science (Chapter 1.1). I see no need to narrow my recommendations for practice to have to fall within traditional or even emerging occupational therapy roles and settings, also because I anticipate that what this doctoral study is a case for might be too radical to be taken forward under exclusively institutional flags. While the proposed understandings of ‘being human as occupation and health’ and ‘being human as enacted humanity affirmations’ can be regarded as legitimate brain-children of the ‘profession-discipline couple’ occupational therapy and occupational science, I envision the generation and application of understandings of humanizing and healing praxes to embody a cross-cutting multi-stakeholders enterprise, inclusive of but not exclusively occupational therapy and occupational science.

A ‘being human as occupation and health’ approach to practice is imperative for addressing the neglected needs of healing and society building. Creating story-telling spaces for people across historical divides who live in South Africa, and globally in other instances of divide - for example, indigenous reconciliation efforts in Canada and elsewhere - to connect with and share their own enacted humanity affirmation, presents as a realizable initiative to disrupt our society’s entrenched dehumanized/ing condition. As observed in this research, such spaces allow people to become more occupationally conscious of and sensitive to the impact on our individual and collective wellbeing of generally overlooked, taken for granted or trivialized things we do on a daily basis. Such raised consciousness and sensitization may prompt a realization of shared agentic power to shape ‘doing well together’ as a society.

A practice which both inspired and pre-dated my recommendation and which has been running during the full period of the idea for this research (2010) until its completion (2018) is *Ubuntourism* (Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2011). The founders and coordinators of Young Professionals Overseas, an international learning program at Zuyd University in Heerlen, the Netherlands, asked me to prepare and facilitate a program that allows students to ethically-meaningfully connect and interact with local South Africans and with the unequal

conditions in which they live (including learning about the historical origins and evolution of white privilege). To date, some 380 Dutch student-professionals from a diversity of fields participated in about 50 cycles of three encounters during their 3-5 months international fieldwork placements in Cape Town, South Africa. Ubuntourism blends the African interactive ethic of *Ubuntu* and the occupational 'hosting-being hosted' dynamic of tourism. Local people and students engaged as 'hosts and guests' with historical global challenges (racism, inequality, poverty, wars) in three distinct everyday settings: a suburban private home, a university campus and a township (Kronenberg, 2018), intended to forge human connections, conscientize and sensitize. I must point out that doing this thesis has significantly made me more critically aware, thoughtful and confident to engage different stakeholders and participants in this program with challenging, disruptive subject-matter. I found that the new language that I had coined for this research and the many examples that it offered also helped this Ubuntourism program to evolve into the collective learning opportunity that it is today.

Another practice example under construction that relates to the recommendation of 'creating story-telling spaces' is *'Healing Histories'*, which has already been briefly described in the Discussion chapter (see Section 7.5). I anticipate that adapted versions of such an initiative can be replicated in other parts of the world between people from countries who share similarly wounded histories. The StoryCenter and the Guestbook Project offer useful ideas of how such work could also be taken forward. The former creates 'spaces for transforming lives and communities through the acts of listening to and sharing stories' (StoryCenter website, n.d., first paragraph under 'About'), and the latter promotes the power of digital storytelling as a means of healing divisions (Guestbook Project website).

Starting humbly, I envision setting up a project that focuses on humanizing and healing praxes, which might develop into an institute for research and advancement of teaching and learning, policy-development and implementation, building and curating an archive, etc. Interested parties (stakeholders) across sectors in society, government, education, health, business, civic society, and media are to be found to roll out this study's research question to people who make up organizations, departments, and institutions in these sectors. Through conferences and other virtual platforms, including a dedicated YouTube/Vimeo channel, the process and outcomes can be shared broadly to grow understandings, ideas, and initiatives. For example, an alternative TRC could be conceptualized and held which invites and hears testimonies of lived experiences of perpetrations of doing right by all making effectively disrupted wrongdoings visible. To balance the predominantly punitive approach to doing

justice, another idea might be to set up a parallel judiciary system that finds people guilty of doing right, especially in instances where they may have not followed the law. Such programs might help to cultivate a society that recognizes and celebrates moral exemplars (humanity-integrity), given that every day we appear to be flooded with mainly negative exemplars, harmful of human potentiality.

I recognize and find it deeply concerning how pervasive oppressive discourses, spread through a proliferation of media outlets (including social media platforms), encode disturbing mental dehumanization programs into people's minds, creating conditions of possibility for seeing fellow men and women as less than human, potentially and actually willing people into perpetrating negations of our humanity. In South Africa and globally, this disturbing tendency can be observed in common negative media portrayals of blacks. But also, think for example of anti-Muslim rhetoric in the United States (Resnick, 2017) and the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees in Europe (Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013). Therefore, initiating a transformative dialogue with media outlets and appropriate government institutions about this concern is in order, also for establishing government policies to counteract such practices.

### **8.2.3 Education of professionals**

As was pointed out in this study, occupational therapy and occupational science's ontology and epistemology of humans as occupational beings takes being human as a given. Therefore, an important step would be to introduce a focus on being human as occupation and health in occupational therapy curricula, locally in South Africa and worldwide. It would be both appropriate and possible to tap into and explore existing archives, for example, post-colonial and decoloniality scholarship on race, class and gender, including fiction and poetry, film and music. Diversifying opportunities within the education of professionals to meaningfully connect with narratives of past and current embodied-embedded experiences of people whose humanity was and is negated, and what they and others did to resist and/or confront such dehumanization practices (some examples: Biko, 1978; Gyasi, 2016; Kovach, 2010; Multatuli, 1860).

As occupational therapy and occupational science originated in and evolved from the 'west', it is imperative that indigenous and local understandings of being human from the 'south', lived experiences of those whose humanity was and continues to be questioned and/or negated, begin to inform curriculum content if practice is to reflect the recommendations outlined above. Additionally, political will must be forged and mobilized to

also diversify the pool of educators, students, researchers, and decision-makers in our institutional governing structures, coming up with different ways of recruiting, supporting the entry, learning process, and graduation success of students from the 'south', from spaces of marginalization, lived experiences of vulnerability and resilience.

To overcome the generally taken for granted nature of being human, apart from engaging with texts and other media, practical learning opportunities for educators and students can be created to engage themselves with this study's research question, possibly extending it to people outside their social circles, to reflect on their own privilege and prejudices. This work also holds huge potential for creating theatre plays as a knowledge mobilization tool and to enable bottom-up community building.

Additionally, as discussed in the previous chapter Section 7.4, there exists a need to revive value and power rationality (phronesis) in the education of professionals, in light of an increasingly dominant instrumentalist rationality. Value and power rationality recognizes and taps into sources of knowledge and knowing that allow us to appreciate, to language, and to theorize and apply radical sens-abilities, which in this study surfaced as having enabled enactments of humanity affirmations. This call is echoed by Kinsella and Pitman who explore phronesis as an alternate way of considering professional knowledge (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012), and Schwartz who engages the question 'How do we do the right thing?' through sharing stories which exemplify differences between choosing wisely and following the rules (Schwartz, 2011). Informed and strengthened by this study's findings and ideas, the existing critical pedagogical tool 3PA can also be used to revive phronesis. This occupational consciousness raising tool, enabled by a set of trigger questions, critically examines in-depth ('A' of 'archaeology'), occupational histories from integrated political, personal, and professional perspectives ('3P') (Appendix XII). It can be used independently and collectively by educators and students:

- 1) To include engaging with the research question throughout their learning process, at different stages to allow evaluating the on-going cultivation of radical sens-abilities;
- 2) To raise occupational consciousness, including building political acumen;
- 3) To learn to reason dialectically through the conceptual triad Humanity—Occupation—Health;
- 4) To cultivate radical sens-abilities in professionals to be.

#### **8.2.4 Policy**

Taitu Heron (2008) pointed out that

‘policy environments become increasingly hostile to social development and do not facilitate the average human being's agential capacity. Indeed, it basically reduces human beings to living a life of insecurity and tension, resorting to survivalist strategies. Class-relations become more combustible as income disparities and class differences become more pronounced. Increasingly more people may choose to become involved in illicit income generating activities in order to survive. In such instances, the neoliberal policy environment saps human agency’ (p. 93),

and

‘one among many varied instances of the commodification of all of life which is a defining characterization of current neoliberalism, a pattern which hits at the core of human agency and robs one of the dignity inherent in each human being on one hand, and diminishes positive use of agency on the other’ (Heron, 2008, p. 94).

How may the lens of enacting humanity affirmations potential be used to influence policy-making and implementation? Minimally to resist and maximally to transform the dehumanizing hostility that Heron pointed at, I envision a review of the strengths and risks (continuum Humanity-Occupation-Health) of policies and processes of policy making and implementation. This review can be carried out within and across the governance structures of profession(s) and discipline(s) and the larger healthcare and education institutions in which they are embedded (local, provincial, national, and international governing bodies), South African government departments at municipality, provincial and national levels, civic society (NGO's). I offer two illustrations.

Mindful of the on-going struggle of the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa (OTASA) to come to terms with and addressing the issue of transformation, what has been learned through this research may allow the organization to identify and overcome possibly overlooked or taken for granted obstacles. Regarding the South African government's National Development Plan—Vision 2030, it was found to lack substantial content regarding meeting the needs of healing and nation building (Chapter 2.2). This study can inform a concept-paper for piloting humanizing healing praxes which can then be proposed to the National Planning Commission.

### **8.3 Limitations of research**

There are a few issues that can be flagged and reflected upon as limitations in this research. One issue is that English was privileged over ten other official South African languages to collect, analyze, and interpret data and to write up the thesis and manuscript and will be disseminated accordingly. This choice was pragmatically informed: firstly, English, although not my mother tongue, is the only language out of the eleven that I know; secondly, English has a wide reach across South Africa, and thirdly, government and media dominantly use English. An unintended limiting consequence of using English deprived the study of richness in meanings and textures of lived enactments of humanity affirmations expressed in isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sesotho sa Leboa, Setswana, Sesotho, Xitsonga, siSwati, Tshivenda, and isiNdebele. It can also be perceived beyond privileging the English language as perpetuating a privileged cultural register, which links with Ngugi wa Thiongo'o (Thiongo'o, 1986; Thiongo'o, 2016) and Mahmood Mamdani's (Chen, Gao, & Tang, 2016) calling for generating knowledge and theorizing in local African languages. Given that the most common language spoken as a first language by South Africans is Zulu (23%), followed by Xhosa (16%), and Afrikaans (14%), English only fourth (9.6%) (Stats SA, 2012), future research ought to include the first three languages.

In several cases I did not have access to the most relevant actors in the incidents-embedded instances that I had co-selected with my participants. As a consequence, data gathering and co-construction of some of the narratives was primarily informed by the participants' account of what happened and how it was experienced. This may have affected the veracity and completeness of data gathered in some of the cases. In one of the narratives ('Robbery'), I regarded it fundamental to the building and understanding of this case that an unavailable protagonist (the incarcerated offender) be offered the opportunity to share his voice. His account of what had occurred, how he experienced and retrospectively made sense of the robbery added depth and breadth to the lessons that were learnt, underscoring the importance of including multiple standpoints (Chapter 4.8 – Ethical Considerations). The representation of macro-contextual constraints in the individual case stories was limited to 'snap-shot' representations. Considering the hugely complex nature of structural dehumanizing tendencies and the restricted number of words available to capture these, I struggled with macro-contextualizing the nine enacted humanity affirmations in a way that would allow the reader to appreciate the everyday incidents-embedded instances not only as plausible but also remarkable. What I ended up doing, attempting to get maximum mileage out of these limitations, was to visually present this content in 'poster-like' text

boxes within and throughout the narratives. This constantly reminds the reader of macro-contextual constraints against which the enacted humanity affirmations nevertheless occurred. While I did not find articles by other case researchers on how I could have otherwise circumvented this obstacle, Gallagher-McKay also recognized the challenge of how to meaningfully connect micro-level, narrative data with macro issues of context (Gallagher-McKay, 2017). She pointed to institutional ethnography, borrowing from Dorothy Smith 'looking out beyond the everyday to discover how it came to happen as it does' (Smith, 2006), as a well established approach to making these micro-macro connections. It focuses particularly on texts and discourse as the links to processes and relationships of power, which, operating from outside the local, define experience (Smith, 2006).

The sampling criteria that were used to select cases from a multitude of experiences that were shared by the collective of participants were based on an assumed probability that these stories would find resonance across a diversity of people who live in South Africa, and as such account for a relative transferability of the findings. What I did, and would do again in future research, was to discretely share short draft versions of the case stories with a diverse sample of individuals within South Africa to check to what extent they were able to identify and connect with them. This taught me that this 'assumed likelihood of encountering resonance criterion' was perhaps merely a limitation in theory and not necessarily a weakness in practice. Hence, I adopted a pragmatic approach, whilst acknowledging a potential limitation.

Lastly, in relation to advancing the trustworthiness criteria that I described (Chapter 4.7), two additional limitations are pointed out. Firstly, with regards to the contextualizations of the nine case narratives, these could only be brief illustrations ('snap-shots'), that is, their multi-layered complexities could only be treated with limited depth. However, I indicate that the information they provide primarily intends to remind the reader of constraining contextual conditions in which the enacted humanity affirmations had occurred. Secondly, case narratives must contain in-depth, thick description, which requires significant words space. Because I had decided to honor all nine of the originally proposed sample of 6-9 cases, the manuscript's total word count could not exceed 80,000, therefore the case narratives had to be cut down significantly, yet still took up 35,000 words. Nevertheless, I contend that the exemplars maintained richness and persuasion power.

## 8.4 Closing thoughts

Some five years after my research proposal had received the go-ahead from scientific and ethics' committees, now this doctoral journey has come full circle. I wish to point out that the birthing of this work coincided with two historic milestones: commemorating western(ized) occupational therapy's centennial, while embarking on the first of the next hundred years, during which the world congress of occupational therapy was hosted on African soil for the first time (Buchanan, Van Niekerk, & Galvaan, 2017). This momentous merging of events holds tremendous symbolic significance and potential. The seeds of the thesis can be appropriately planted where they were cultivated, in the 'south'. Half a century onward, the 'change of heart' that this study calls for, both for occupational therapy and post 1994 South Africa may once again have taken place in Cape Town<sup>19</sup>.

Back in 2015 (Wednesday, 23 September 2015), during a discussion-group session of monthly conversations that grappled with hegemonic practice in our daily experiences as health educators, researchers, and practitioners, the South African academic Dr Gubela Mji engaged us with the question 'how do we integrate indigenous knowledge systems into health-science education, drawing on a trans-modernity perspective?'. At some point she shared an experience of visiting a large slum in Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo:

*"Whenever I visit new places, connecting with and getting to know the people includes conducting the 'ritual' of touching the soil of the land on which they live. When I did this there, the soil I touched felt ... soilless! And this really concerned me. Then I told my host, you must take me to a rural area because I must compare this soil with the soil in the rural area."*

Gubela's message immediately hit home hard. It enabled me, to newly and more profoundly connect with and understand the underlying concern that had spurred on this research and what it must ultimately do. 'Soilless soil' means, it lacks ingredients necessary for sustaining life. This is metaphorically analogous to 'humanity-less humanity', a dehumanized/ing society, man-made contamination and desertification of humanity. It also reminds me of the Tshivenda saying, 'U nyela tshisimani', translatable as 'pooping in our water source'. It seems that this is exactly what we have done, and keep doing, and, must

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<sup>19</sup> 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the first human heart transplant at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, South Africa (Brooks Spector, 2017; Isaacs, 2017; University of Cape Town, n.d.).

attempt to undo and stop doing. Just as healthy soil typically consists of a mixture of organic remains, clay, and rock particles, so does a healthy humanity. It requires an inter-play of a combination of elements that were excavated by this research. Conditional for cultivating humanity-integrity is the restoration (humanizing and healing) of depleted and contaminated human relations within and between the divided groupings of peoples that make up contemporary South Africa.

To illustrate what this can look like when it is done, I invite the reader to view the cover image of this study. It presents an artistically touched picture of a robed sculpture of the Khoikhoi woman Sarah Baartman, made by the black South African artist Willie Bester. McKittrick (2010) succinctly captures the scandalous dehumanization of Sarah Baartman, also referred to as the “Hottentot Venus” and “Saartjie Baartman”:

*‘For about five years prior to her death, identified by her captors as a racially inferior sexual object, Sarah Baartman was taken to Europe and put on display at private and public events. Her body was examined and prodded for its racial and sexual alterity. Described by some contemporary scholars as ‘the icon for sexual difference between the European and the Black’ (Gilman, 1985, p. 231), Baartman in both her life and afterlife has represented a captivating exemplar of scientific spectacle’ (p. 113).*

This sculpture was on display in the Chancellor Oppenheimer Library at the Upper Campus of the University of Cape Town, the location where most of this study’s work was carried out. The combination of the actual robing of the sculpture, who did it, why, when, where, and how and the result it displays, symbolically epitomizes what was learned through this study and it embodies what Steve Biko referred to as ‘a gift [...] Africa’s ability to give the world a more human face’ (Mokoena, 2017, p. 3). The display of the original sculpture in this library space once again imposed the naked Sarah Baartman as a spectacle upon spectators, perpetuating the brutal violation of her humanity and by extension, of all others who identify with how she was treated. The robing ritual by the #RhodesMustFall womxn and non-binary people embodied a collective self-enactment of our humanity affirmation, symbolically restoring the dignity of Sarah Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman, and again, all people who identify with how she was made to feel. For more background information regarding contestation related to this (robed) sculpture, see Appendix XV.

I conclude with the Ugandan intellectual Mahmood Mamdani's closing statement in his 2017 TB Davie Memorial Lecture on Academic Freedom, called 'Decolonising the postcolonial university':

*"Activism and scholarship are not alternatives. I think the best scholarship is done in times of intense activism [...] raising new questions which people embraced with passion, and worked day and night [...] I think the great periods of bursts of creativity happen in times when everything is up at stake. And those are times of political activism" (Mamdani, 2017).*

With a wink to Bob Marley and The Wailers, wrapping up this doctoral project by recapturing what was learned from the collective of enacted affirmations of our humanity: WHO FEELS IT, KNOWS IT, THUS WHENEVER AND WHEREVER YOU DO: BE PERPETRATORS OF HUMANITY!

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## **APPENDICES**

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## APPENDIX I – Situating the Researcher

My intention with this biographical account ‘Situating the Researcher’, is to make more transparent to the reader how I understand and positioned myself as the person who occupied and who was occupied by the role of researcher in this knowledge generating project. I recognized upfront that claims of neutrality and universality of so much academic knowledge are false and should be avoided. In this account, I reflexively describe and interpret myself as a subject, which is perhaps akin to painting a self-portrait. Without intending to be comprehensive, I hope that my selection of personal disclosures illuminates, firstly, how my lived experiences may have shaped and sustained my interest in the topic of this study; and secondly, how my particular ‘humanity positionality’, including my embedded-embodied privileges, situated and may have played out in my role as researcher.

‘Situating the Researcher’ was primarily informed by on-going critical reflections about myself and my being in and interacting with the world. Writing-up this biographical account was also inspired by the Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s TED talk<sup>20</sup> and by A/Prof Mershen Pillay, an experienced academic peer who had engaged me in a series of so called ‘critical conversations’<sup>21</sup>, prior to embarking on data gathering.

In her talk ‘The Danger of the Single Story’, Adichie makes reference to the Igbo word “nkali”, a noun that can be translated into the phrase “to be greater than another”. To situate my positionality as a researcher in this study, it seemed apt to employ the principle of ‘nkali’. I used it to identify critical instances in my unfolding life story, how these may have played out in the shaping of who I am and continue to become, including my particular worldview and sensibilities about humans. What usefully emerged from the three ‘critical conversations’, were three semiotic, symbolic features in my biographical life story: **‘daily bread’**, home-grown life lessons about fundamentals in a bakery-milieu, about staying grounded and remaining humble; **‘entering through backdoor’**, consistent unconventional unfolding of my life; and **‘white coats’**, referring to my seemingly innate sensitivity to and/or low tolerance for ‘superiority-inferiority power dynamics’, and my tendency to distrust and need to challenge society endorsed authority structures. Along with the ‘nkali’ principle, these signifiers helped me to sow or thread a collection of biographical fragments into the narrative fabric of ‘Situating the Researcher’.

The account is presented as five more or less defined periods of my unfolding life-story: **1) Pre-Birth: World War II and Bakery Milieus** - critical events and home situations that shaped my parents’ and their parents’ lives, which I think also continued to play out in my life (approx. 1900-1964); **2) Netherlands—‘Fatherland’ and Cold War**, my country of birth and growing up, where I originally trained to be a primary school teacher and fulfilled army conscription (1964–1985); **3) Exploring our World First-Hand**, getting to know our bigger world first-hand (1986–1995); **4) Back to School and Home Revisited**, co-founding occupational therapy without borders (1995–2005); **5) South Africa—‘Motherland’ and Transformation**, a new home (2006–present day). See Figure 15, a visual depiction of the five periods of my unfolding life.

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<sup>20</sup> ‘The Danger of the Single Story’, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

[https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda\\_adichie\\_the\\_danger\\_of\\_a\\_single\\_story](https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story)

<sup>21</sup> Three audio-recorded ‘critical conversations’ took place in February 2013 at Stellenbosch University, Tygerberg Campus/Belville. These sessions had intended to unearth my ‘hidden’ positionalities and assumptions and interrogate how these might play out and affect the study. To situate the conversations in relation to three particular positionalities - race, gender and sexual orientation – the following ‘triggers’ (chosen by A/Prof Mershen Pillay) were used: YouTube clip - ‘This is my Life’, performed by Shirley Bassey; books - ‘Disgrace’ by J. M. Coetzee (1999) and ‘The rights of desire’ by Andre Brink (2000); and films - ‘Talk to Her’ (2002) by Pedro Almodóvar, and ‘Life of Pi’ (2012) by Ang Lee.

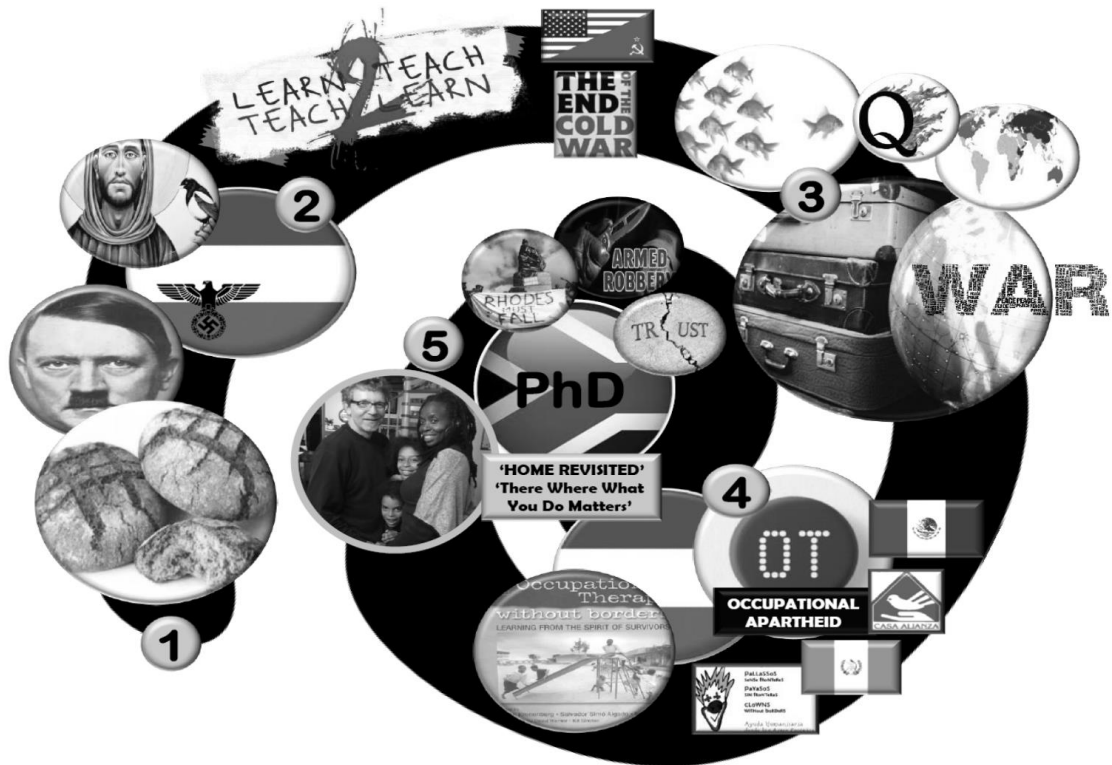


Figure 16: Visual Depiction of Situating the Researcher

## 1 Pre-Birth: World War II and Bakery Milieus

My grandparents on my father's side were Bernard Kronenberg and Catharina Clancet (my late Godmother). Although he was a Dutch citizen, grandad grew up in a bakery milieu in Schwelm, Germany. Along with his eight siblings, he had to work at home. Nobody had been allowed to study or do anything else. Grandma was German and she grew up in a working class family in the small rural town of Pont, near the Dutch border, which allowed her to work in Venlo in the Netherlands as a domestic. My grandparents on my mother's side were Wilhelmus Rutten (my late Godfather) and stepmother Tiny Kockelkoren, both of whom hailed from the South-Eastern Dutch province of Limburg. They also ran a bakery involving their four children, in the small town of Oostrum, near Venray (where I was later born and raised).

Like most everyone else in their communities at that time, both families were hard hit by the ravages of World War II. Occupying German troops and allied forces had faced each other in fierce battles in their towns and region<sup>22</sup>. In 1944, family members and neighbors had fled into the basement just in time before bombs hit. Grandad however did not and it appeared that he was killed by shrapnel. His body had been moved to a hospital morgue, when someone had noticed by chance that he was still alive. Medical help enabled him to survive and live until 1963, the year before I was born. The whole Kronenberg family however had to evacuate and temporarily ended up being separated and living with different host families across the Netherlands.

<sup>22</sup> The Battle of Overloon - <https://www.oorlogsmuseum.nl/en/war-belongs-in-a-museum/the-story/the-battle-of-overloon/> & The German War Cemetery, Venray, Netherlands - <https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/2004300/venray-war-cemetery/>

During the World War II, the Rutten family literally suffered personal losses that forever marked them. Also during a bombing raid, my mom, her parents and four siblings had sought shelter in the basement when a heavy bomb hit their home. Without explosion, it had penetrated through various floors and landed in the basement. The tremendous pressure caused by this landing had instantly killed Helena Verkoeijen, my mom's biological mother, who was pregnant at the time, and her little brother Gerard. When my mom recalled that moment, she always indicated to still feel her mother's warm blood that had splashed on her arm. Grandad Wilhelmus remarried during the war to Anna van Gerwen, only to have to single-handedly bury her less than a year later because she had passed due to a thrombosis in one of her legs.

During the post-war era, only children from affluent families got to study. As the fifth (middle child) of nine siblings, immediately after matric my dad had started working in the bakery alongside his dad. Not that he had to, but due to lacking other options. They did not exchange many words, less so personal conversation during a period of at least a decade until grandad passed on. This uneasy relational dynamic appears to have hugely impacted on what became of my dad, always having to keep silent to prevent conflicts.

Having to rebuild his bakery from the ground up, run it and raise four children, my mom's dad remarried for a second time. This stepmother turned out to be incapable of loving her step-children. Growing up in this household during the already hugely challenging post-war era had been traumatic to say the least. Everyday life was riddled with on-going domestic conflicts which had to remain 'covered up' as to not invoke unhelpful judgements from the local village community, that is, the families who bought their bread in their bakery. When my mom married my dad, the evening before the wedding, her stepmother had sneered at her *"I hope that they [my dad's family] will work you to death"*, upon which my mom had replied *"Anything would be better than living another day under the same roof with you"*. My mom had experienced so much conflict in her home that she had become determined to prevent such dynamics the best she could in her own, that is, our family home.

Reflecting retrospectively, how may these intergenerational lived experiences of my grandparents and parents have impacted me? My thoughts here by no means reflect a definitive but more so an unfolding grappling with how their past may have contributed to shape who I have become. I think that my general discomfort with and lacking preparedness to effectively respond to personal conflict situations may to some extent have been passed on to me. That is, my dad's profound lack of exposure to and experience with effectively communicating feelings and thoughts within his family home and my mom's overexposure to stresses related to domestic conflicts, having had to obey her dad's demands to 'keep the peace' with step-mother and keep up appearances to customers. However, apart from their sufferings and anxieties, I think that my parents' hopes and ethos of working hard, attempting to prevent a repetition the horrors of war, also rubbed off on my three younger siblings and I, possibly shaping our intentions to paying forward what was provided to us. Also significant, reflecting through the eyes of what this study was about, while both my grandparents and parents and their generations had been harmed by the war era, they had committed to rebuilding lives and society by continuing to provide daily bread to customers from all walks of life. In other words, baking and providing people with daily bread may indeed have (had) healing qualities.

For as long as I can remember, I would refer to the Netherlands as my 'vaderland', a Dutch word that literally translates into English as 'fatherland'. Here, I occupy the term 'fatherland' to mean the country where I was born on 7 August 1964 and raised as the oldest of four siblings in a town called Venray, located in the province of Limburg, in the at that time predominantly catholic South-Eastern part of the Netherlands.

The global historical context of my formative childhood and adolescent years in the Netherlands, the mid-sixties until the end of the eighties/early nineties, was dominantly shaped by a global complex of interrelated cultural and political trends. On the one hand, this era reflected extreme deviations from social norms, influenced by the countercultural hippie movement. Given that I was still 'too young' and my parents already 'too old', while I did not actively take part in these radical events, I think that this era may have at least passively or subliminally shaped who I was then becoming. Politically, on the other hand, a further build-up occurred of post WW II 'Cold War' geopolitical tensions between powers in the 'Eastern Bloc' (the Soviet Union and its satellite states) and powers in the 'Western Bloc' (the United States, its NATO allies and others). I had conducted my compulsory military service in the Dutch army between November 1984 and January 1986, and I recall that we were trained and prepared for fighting "The Russians". Later, in 1987, when I got to travel the Trans-Siberia Express from Moscow to Beijing, a seven days and nights train-ride, encountering the vastness of the Soviet Union, I remember being overwhelmed by doubts about the simplistic 'good and bad countries/people' scenarios that we had been (and continue to be) fed. Anyway, formally speaking, the Cold War era came to an end in 1989 after the Berlin Wall came down. After communism fell in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, a moderate form of liberal capitalism had started to shift to a more radical and laissez-faire capitalist set of ideas, neo-liberalism, championed by the likes of Maggie Thatcher and Ronny Reagan, entering global circulation.

Reflecting back, how my parents' have raised me (and my siblings, but I cannot speak for them), I think that was likely significantly informed by their embodied embedded World War II experiences and the post 1945 reconstruction and development period. Their own childhood, teenage, adolescent and young adult years were marked by significant losses, anxieties, hardship but also shared resilience, solidarity and hope. Until today, my dad reiterates that their lives were entirely dedicated to bringing about better futures for us, their children. Compared to their upbringing, the generation of my siblings and I has been blessed with having had all of life's essentials covered: love, food on the table, play, political and economic stability, education, health, and ample opportunities to dream and explore aspirations. In other words, we were and continue to be very privileged. I recognize that the fortunate conditions into which I was born and got to grow up in were not of my own making, I did not earn them, but they were more or less (a) given to me and my siblings and our peers. However, I think it is not enough to acknowledge privilege. I think I must take responsibility for it, that is, I have an ethical-political obligation to pay it forward.

My parents' life lessons were further nourished by everyday exposure to and 'organic' relations with members of the catholic orders of sisters (Ursulines and Sisters of St Joseph) and brothers (Order of Franciscan Minors or OFM's). Back then they occupied key-roles in the education and major mental healthcare institutions of my home town Venray. Our bakery literally provided daily bread to them, boarding pupils, and mental health patients in residence, sisters and brothers and the health professionals ('white coats') who worked there. This brings me to the question of 'living up to the name that you were given'. My parents had named me, their first born, Frank. Asking them about why they had chosen

this name, they said, it was just because they had liked it. However, viewed retrospectively, it is possible that pertinent cultural and more subtle catholic tendencies had also influenced my naming. My passport name, and therefore the name on the cover of this PhD, spells out 'Franciscus', after Francis of Assisi, the founder of the OFM's. Throughout my childhood and teenage years, Franciscan (and other) missionaries regularly visited our schools and talked to us about community development, education and healthcare projects that they had set up and were running in the 'global south'. Exposure to their stories and slide-shows which depicted people who looked, talked and lived different than us and who, at least so it seemed to me at that time, required help 'to get their lives right' from people that looked, talked and lived like us. Words spoken by Chimamanda Adichie in her 2009 TED-talk come to mind, "*how impressionable and vulnerable we are in the face of a story, particularly as children*". Back then I lacked both context and experience to be able to fully make sense of what I got exposed to, but the impact this exposure had on how my life has since unfolded is undeniable.

Together with my three siblings and most of my peers, I was raised to be a member of the Catholic Church. I was baptized, taught catechism at primary school, underwent First Holy Communion and Confirmation. During childhood and teenage years, Saturday evenings we had most often joined my mom to attend evening mass but when we reached adolescence, our interest to go to church had gradually waned. Since my early twenties, I no longer consider myself to be a practicing Catholic, although I never really stopped praying, and I continue to have a general interest in a diversity of spiritual and religious practices. Also, I always had great respect for how my mom (and others for the same reason) practiced her beliefs, by attending to the rituals, lighting candles, praying the rosary, going to mass. I have witnessed first-hand how much strength she drew from this practice. Without ever aspiring to become a Franciscan, I have come to appreciate reading and learning about the life story of the person Francis of Assisi. For example, here are some descriptions of Francis of Assisi from a book by Boisvert (2004): "*Francis was earthy, bold and brawny in his spirituality and in his humanity [...] created fresh ways of understanding relationships and material goods, and the manner in which power, whether religious or secular, should be comprehended and lived out [...] he opened new vistas, showing that there are different ways of relating to each other, of ordering our priorities and values, of making sense [...] the ultimate (rebel and) outsider.*" These characterizations of Francis of Assisi resonate both with how I understand myself and how I think others see me. Personally, I happen to hold a passport from the Netherlands, obtained a permanent resident status in South Africa, yet I embody a life of a global citizen. Professionally, while I formally trained as a primary school teacher and an occupational therapist, what I do with how I was trained manifests in atypical ways, making me a kind of 'outsider-insider'. And politically, I have effectively resisted 'Political partisanship', yet I am committed to live up to being a 'political animal'.

During my childhood and adolescent years, I do not recall consciously thinking of myself in terms of gender, class, sexual orientation and race, neither did my social environment prompt or encourage me to relate my privileges to these intersecting identities. However, I can and do have vivid memories of everyday instances which occurred during my formative years which consistently made me feel in particular ways and which shaped my own personhood and sensibilities. Such instances, 'nkali moments', together composed a repertoire of 'to be greater than another' dynamics that range from micro-level interpersonal manifestations between (groups of) individuals, meso-level between organizations/institutions and at macro-systemic levels, between geo-political structures.

My earliest 'nkali-moments' occurred between our customers who lived and/or worked at the mental health and secondary education institutions where we delivered daily bread: persons living with mental health issues (dressed in civilian clothing), catholic nuns and brothers (identifiable by their congregational attire), and health professionals; nurses,

therapists and doctors (wearing 'white coats'). Without having language available to meaningfully make sense of it, I felt that a superiority-inferiority dynamic played out within and between the religious and professional groups. For example, all the doctors (psychiatrists) were male and they dominated the nurses and therapists, most of whom were females. The way health professionals interacted with nuns and brothers (direct care staff) and the 'residence patients', also appeared to reflect in my view unnecessary power differentials. And within the male and female religious orders, fathers and brothers, those who taught and those who worked in the kitchen and looked after the boarding-school interns, 'mères'—mothers (who had studied and who came from families with means), and 'soeurs'—so called 'work sisters' (hailing from poor families and lacking education). I recall that such unequal power dynamics troubled me, without then understanding why.

The following instance depicts a constructive disruption of an 'nkali' situation. I knew my mom kept a little notebook under the counter in the bakery shop in which she would record whenever certain customers did not have money to pay for their bread. The 'deal' was that they would pay up when they could. Then one day I witnessed that my mom ripped out a page from her notebook. She had noticed that I saw this. She came over and simply asked: 'Have we ever gone to bed hungry?' I said 'no'. 'Should anybody else have to go to bed hungry?' I shook my head. And then she concluded with a reassuring smile, 'Dad doesn't need to know everything' [referring to the ripped out page]. My mom's invaluable simple multilayered life lesson remains with me, with privilege ('haves') comes responsibility ('sharing with have-nots'), nobody is greater or more important than anyone else, 'daily bread' as a unifying metaphor.

An 'nkali-moment' through which my dad left a lasting impression on me describes the following occurrence during my teenage years. At home, our kitchen was directly adjacent to the bakery shop. A small square window (about 40 by 40 cm's) would allow a peak into the store. Because of food items on a shelf and a thin curtain covering this window, customers could not really see us when we looked at them. I recall moments when my dad pointed out customers, critically commenting on who they were in terms of their social positions and how they conducted themselves. He always emphasized his approval of persons who were consistently themselves, who did not pretend to be better or more than others. One of my dad's catch-phrases was: "*Niemus mot denke dat ie bèter is dan unn'n andere*" (dialect expression, which translates into English as 'Nobody must think that they're better than the next person'). I think that he wanted us to internalize and embody this, without ever disclosing what experiences had instilled this creed in him. And, different from my mom, dad hardly ever verbalized his approval of, let alone praised, anything we achieved. Perhaps in his mind this was to prevent us from thinking too highly of ourselves or our abilities in relation to others, although it could also stem from him never having received affirmations from his dad or parents.

My dad was explicit in his disapprovals of the monarchy in general and the Dutch royal family in particular. I remember that he questioned the official history's celebration of former queen Wilhelmina, who during World War II kept up the morale of the Dutch people via radio-speeches from the relative safety of having evacuated to England. He also critiqued that the entire royal family never has to pay taxes, yet during the annual '*Prinsjesdag*' ('Speeches from the Throne'), then Queen Beatrix (today King Alexander) would at times ask of the Dutch people that they tighten their belts due to tougher economic conditions.

Another set of 'nkali' examples from my formative years includes: native Venray people who tried hiding their origins by attempting to mimic 'proper Dutch' instead of speaking our local dialect 'Venroys'. Also at schools, speaking our local dialect tended to be frowned upon and regarded 'backward' and an obstacle to 'mastering' our national language Dutch; I point to the 'divide' between major cities above the rivers and the country side, historically political and economic power was concentrated in the north-west whilst I am

from the more rural south-east; sports clubs youth would sign up for tended to distinguish working and lower middle class from more affluent or pretending to be more affluent families, respectively distinguishing soccer versus tennis and hockey 'milieus'; the national aptitude test (Cito Test), administered at end of primary education (ages 11-12), designed to recommend the type of secondary education best suited for pupils, it would produce first formalized divisions between pupils who were more academically inclined than others, with associated 'greater than another' status; the types of clothing one wore, for example; brand names or no brands or second-hand clothes. My mom happened to enjoy and know how to make clothes, and having to clothe four children she also knew it to be more economic. However, when she encountered resistance from us wearing her homemade clothes to school, she started cutting brand tags out of second-hand clothes and sewed these onto her own. And, another example, if and where one would go on holidays also reflected another 'nkali' marker, staying home, vacationing within the Netherlands or travelling abroad, mainly France, Spain, and Italy.

I recall common 'nkali' like references to a neighborhood called 't Desselke', which was located behind our home's long stretched garden, where people from so called lower socio-economic strata used to live, people who also were customers to our bakery. In our local dialect parlance, they would be called 'minder vulkske', which loosely translates into 'lesser people'. Without understanding why, these expressions would rub me the wrong way. I also remember my daily walk to primary school, when we passed a hostel which had offered 'low budget' accommodation to the first wave of 'gastarbeiders', economic immigrants, who would work in our home town's emerging industries (agriculture, Inalfa, Rank Xerox). Next then they hailed from Spain and former Yugoslavia and the former Dutch Indonesian colony Maluku. Later, the next wave were immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, and today they include citizens from former Soviet Union affiliated Eastern European countries like Poland and Bulgaria.

During my teenage years, I loved soccer and a lot of my time was spent on playing this game with friends after school. At some point I joined the local soccer club as a youth player and soon after as a coach of youth teams and I became broadly active within the club. Most of my friends and friendships during those years also existed within the soccer context. Soccer still plays a rather significant role in my life. While I no longer actively play, I find talking and watching soccer with familiar and unfamiliar people to have amazing 'meaningfully connecting in diversity' potential.

I obtained my first professional degree, a bachelors of arts in education, from a teachers training college ('De Kempel') in the Netherlands. When I did not know what to study after I had matriculated at age 16, my parents suggested that I become a primary school teacher, given that apparently 'I was good with kids'. Perhaps this had become apparent as I was an oldest sibling and a youth soccer coach for many years. However, only after I graduated did I realize the level of responsibility that comes with teaching and preparing young people to live in world that is to be shared. I literally felt unprepared and asked myself how many names of teachers who had taught me between ages 4 and 19 could I remember. Only three names fairly immediately came to mind. Why them? Because what they had in common offered me an important clue, and to literally take charge of what to do next. They stood out for me because they had travelled for some time and had first-hand experienced the bigger world. Particularly their 'teaching and learning through story-telling' abilities had left a lasting impression on me. Also, I had 'burning questions' which I felt I needed to find answers to, not in books but literally by going to find out for myself in the 'big world', phrased in disarmingly simple terms: *why do people that do not look, talk and live like me need help from people who do? What is the story behind our globe being made up of/divided into 'first', 'second', 'third' and 'fourth' world countries?*

Unanticipated yet unavoidable, before I could then leave my fatherland for the first time in my life, towards the end of the Cold War era, during the years 1984-1985 I fulfilled 14 months of mandatory military training and service in the Dutch army.

### 3 Exploring our World First-Hand

Having graduated with a bachelor's degree in education (at age 19) and absolved 14 months of army conscription (at 21), I determinedly left behind the familiar and stable life conditions in Venray to embark on what unknowingly became a decade of 'getting to know our bigger world'. This journey started in Israel and Palestine, ended in Mexico and in between I traveled, lived and/or worked in the United States, Netherlands, Soviet Union, China, Nepal, Pakistan and India (1986 – 1995). I was 'hungry and thirsty' to learn first-hand about our human condition globally and was hoping that the experiences I gained would enable me to get more clarity about my possible roles and purposes in this 'bigger scheme of things'.

Although they never stopped me, understandably my parents struggled to identify and be at peace with what was in their view, an uncertain path that I had chosen. My dad had much preferred that I had accepted a teaching job at my alma mater primary school. He regarded obtaining economic security as an important, if not the most important driver to build a life for oneself and ultimately one's family. Although my mom likely shared my dad's preference, her rationale may have been more emotionally informed, as she committed to remain available whenever and however contact was possible (aerogrammes, phone-calls, fax). Both my parents however knew that I had made up my mind and accepted responsibility for my choices.

I will now return to sharing a number of 'nkali-moments' that occurred during this decade and which impacted on me becoming the person who I am today, and as such, the role of researcher in this study.

During 1986 I lived and worked on two occasions as a volunteer in Kibbutz Sde Nehemia<sup>23</sup> in the Upper Galilee region in the most northern part of Israel. During that period I also travelled through Palestine's occupied West Bank and Egypt. For the first time in my life being outside my home country, here I got to witness up and close how the 'nkali' principle played out in different groupings of people's everyday life in all its messy and harmful complexities. With fellow foreign volunteers, we were in a position to 'freely' relate to and engage with the various parties who were (and continue to be) entangled in what appeared and still appears to be a perpetual/ated conflict/war. We got to visit Druze villages in the Golan Heights; played soccer with a mix of international volunteers, Jewish kibbutzniks and Arabs who were employed in the kibbutz's construction work, industry and agricultural business. We held Friday night discos in the kibbutz bomb-shelter. Back then I found it extremely difficult to understand, navigate and negotiate this conflict. Today I have a clearer picture and am better prepared to take a position and take responsibility for the consequences.

During the first half of 1986, while I was still in the kibbutz, my mom was diagnosed with breast cancer and was treated for the first time. Since my first trip overseas, my younger brother Bernard had been stepping up to sharing responsibility for whatever challenges that my home front faced, including temporarily suspending his educational trajectory to take charge of our bakery store when my mom was undergoing post-op recovery, allowing my dad to keep the business going.

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<sup>23</sup> Kibbutz Sde Nehemia, Galil Elyon, Israel - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sde\\_Nehemia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sde_Nehemia)

The year 1986 also marked my first visit to and experience of the United States and Mexico, two countries which I have since frequented on multiple other occasions. In the state of Maine, I worked as counselor and soccer coach in a summer camp for boys from predominantly wealthy families, some of whom hosted me (and fellow Dutch counselors) when we travelled from the East to the West Coast and Mexico after summer camp had ended.

In order to fund a one year journey of traveling and volunteering in Nepal, Pakistan and India, getting there overland by trains through the then Soviet Union and China, I had worked various jobs simultaneously in local factories, including Xerox Copiers and Campina Dairy Products. Although these jobs had nothing to do with my formal teacher training, besides generating funds for my global trip, I greatly appreciated the hands-on nature of this work and the interactions with others who worked here, getting to know each other as persons, beyond what schools we had attended. It was a lesson in humility.

In the fall of 1987, only about one and half year before the Tiananmen Square protests (15 April – 4 June, 1989) and the Fall of the Berlin Wall (9 November, 1989), with my that time Dutch girlfriend I had travelled to the Soviet Union via Berlin and then embarked on a six days and nights train journey with the Trans-Siberia Express from Moscow via Ulan Bator (Mongolia) to Beijing in China. What left the biggest mark on me of that trip was the vastness of these two countries and how basic and harsh the living conditions of the Soviet and Chinese peoples appeared to be, particularly outside the main cities. I then reflected on my army conscription time during which the peoples of these massive countries were portrayed as our main enemies. I remember to have struggled with reconciling this ‘threat’ with the multiple images of ordinary (masses of) people struggling to get by, meeting their basic daily needs. Via travels through China to Hong Kong and Nepal, we then volunteered in ‘Dar ul Sukun’, a home for children and adults with physical and mental disabilities in Karachi, Pakistan. And later, in a number of education, health care and social justice projects run by Franciscans in different parts of India (Mumbai, Goa, Benares, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu). These experiences had totally immersed me in vastly different cultural, religious and economic, and population sizes realities for a full year. This probably contributed to it becoming very difficult for me to see myself able to fit back into living full time in the Netherlands. Although I got to first-hand witness vast levels of inequality and poverty all over the world, considering the extreme numbers of people living side by side, it seemed that the caste system has allowed these conditions to persist longer than seems right, with large groupings of people seemingly accepting their fate as determined by metaphysical laws. What also fascinated me was the discovery of the existence of longer histories of civilization than those of Europe. I made me wonder why and how the European history became the dominant and made Universal frame of reference for understanding human history.

The year following the Asia experiences I attempted to settle back in the Netherlands. I worked as an interim teacher at special education schools in Utrecht and Amsterdam and as a project coordinator for the development and promotion of sports for people living with disabilities in Amersfoort. This proved to be very difficult, because a certain kind of ‘restlessness’ appeared to have taken over my unfolding life story, hinting at the Netherlands no longer being the place where I was to continue the shaping of who I was to become. I struggled to make sense of these ambivalent sentiments to myself, let alone explain and justify them to my family and friends. When the opportunity then presented itself to work for an extended summer in Camp Oakhurst<sup>24</sup>, a summer camp for children and adults with physical disabilities in New Jersey/USA, I went for it. Little did I know that this summer of 1989 experience would develop into an ‘off and on’ diverse occupational trajectory until 1995. I worked respectively as a counselor, arts and crafts specialist,

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<sup>24</sup> Camp Oakhurst, New York Service for the Handicapped (NYSH) - <http://nysh.org/about-us/>

supervisor and member of a team of program directors. The then executive director of New York Service for the Handicapped (NYSH) even offered me to consider taking over the baton of running the organization, encouraging me to obtain a masters in institutional management or another appropriate degree, like occupational therapy. While I consider the years of working for the NYSH among the most enjoyable and rewarding in my working life to date, it did not appeal to me to take on a hardcore administration role, for which I felt insufficiently professionally prepared at age 31.

During those years of living and working in the New York metropolitan area, the first summer in Camp Oakhurst (1989) I met and developed an intimate friendship (kinship) with a paraplegic 'camper', who went by the name Leo 'Blue Cloud' Foy. He had bright blue eyes, wore long straight grey hair, kept together in a pony-tale, usually wearing an old army-jacket over colorful woven folklore shirts. He used a self-propelled wheelchair that was covered with buttons and progressive political slogans and symbols. Although he presented himself as a 'Native American Indian', hence the middle name 'Blue Cloud', he actually was of Irish American catholic descent and he had grown up near the East River in the Bronx at a time when farms still existed in that borough of New York. He had become a paraplegic in his early twenties due to a failed hip-operation, ending up in a nursing home for the elderly. As soon as he was able to walk on crutches he literally ran off from the home and was found on the highway by the facility's director. He then helped him with getting an adapted car to become more mobile and to get an apprenticeship in advertising. Post 1945, after seeing 8 mm film footage from World War II taken by his older brother, he learnt about the Vatican having remained silent about the holocaust. He then radically denounced his catholic identity and in need for a replacement of his old belief system, he became attracted to and got involved in socialist ideas and circles. This led to him becoming black-listed during the McCarthy era and losing his job in advertising. He then became a successful self-taught painter-artist, landing exhibitions at some SoHo galleries. But then he got disillusioned with the changing ever more commercializing art scene and the foregrounding (branding) of the artist above socially meaningful artistic expression. Also, he increasingly felt socially isolated, spending most of his awake time between four walls and surrounded by canvasses, paint and brushes. He then travelled up north and visited Native American Indian reservations which allowed him to reconnect with his childhood memories of growing up next to the East River. He then adopted a Native American cosmology as his new worldview, including his middle name and looks. He then got involved in a local community center (Rutgers Housing Projects) in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He ran an after-school woodworking workshop and made extensive use of story-telling with youth who were living in the projects, conscientizing them, cultivating solidarity through the arts. Together with a friend from India, who I had met in Camp Oakhurst, we temporarily lived with and learnt from him and his work. Without a doubt, Leo 'Blue Cloud' Foy also played a key-role in me becoming the person who I am today and in shaping of what I can call today as my activist 'without borders' identity of occupational therapy.

The experience that ultimately led to the next occupational transition in my unfolding life story was a year of volunteering for a Mexico-City based American NGO called Casa Alianza. It was dedicated to lessen the plight of so called 'street children' through a tiered-approach, street work; crisis shelter; transitional homes, group homes and ultimately independent living. Total immersion in the deeply challenging structural conditions faced by the youth and the institution that intended to offer them assistance, clarified and concretized my interest in and commitment to effectively address complex realities that generate human suffering and obstruct human wellbeing. I realized that my three years undergrad teacher training college in the Netherlands did not sufficiently prepare me and that I needed to newly pursue formal education.

In summary, the ‘third chapter’ of my unfolding life story allowed for experiences that foregrounded raised awareness and learning about our human condition manifesting locally at a global scale. My experiential appraisal pointed to *‘humanity seemingly at war with itself and the planet (war against global warming; terrorism; drugs; poverty; etcetera), yet struggling on to keep that which makes us human alive’*. Examples of the humanizing disruptions of the predominantly divisive and harmful effects of historically perpetuated unequal power relations include: at Kibbutz Sde Nehemia, Israel, where Islamic and Christian Palestinians and Druze, Jewish Israeli and international volunteers from the UK, Netherlands, Scandinavia, Germany and Argentina would take part in friendly soccer matches on Sabbath afternoon; at ‘Dar ul Sukun’ in Karachi, Pakistan, where children with severe intellectual and physical disabilities were offered a dignified home, experiencing love and care from Sisters of Charity assisted by international volunteers; in remote rural villages of Madhya Pradesh, India, where Franciscans helped Adivasi (the collective term for the minority indigenous peoples of mainland South Asia) to learn English in order to defend themselves in court when put at risk of being dispossessed of their land because the government wanted access to its resources; in camp Oakhurst, which committed to creating level playing field conditions for a diversity of campers who were differently situated in terms of access to resources but who all shared a common identity of living an embodied disability; in Manhattan’s Lower East Side at Leo ‘Blue Cloud’ Foy’s woodworking workshop, which became a humanizing solidarity cultivating ‘oasis’ in a projects-neighborhood in which youth often times fell prey to local gangs due to inequality and poverty conditions; at Casa Alianza, Mexico, where youth who found themselves having to survive living on the streets due to structural conditions not of their making but which the larger society looks down upon as not deserving, able/willing to change their plight, were offered more dignified options and support to take charge of shaping their lives

#### **4 | Back to School and Home Revisited**

What had prompted me to return to school during my one year volunteering experience with Casa Alianza in Mexico City, was more clarity about the kind of work I wanted to do and with whom coupled with a realization that I required additional knowledge and tools, and a new language (in a broader sense), to pursue my interests.

However, I found it very difficult to identify a field of study that seemed most suitable to further prepare me. Disciplines and professions I had looked into included a number of social sciences, medicine, languages, journalism and the arts. Ultimately, a New York City based occupational therapist suggested that I look into her profession of choice, occupational therapy. My first gut reaction to this name was not positive, as it triggered childhood memories of **‘white coats’**, but I was then advised to hold on lightly to the name of the profession and instead to delve into the turn of the 19th/20th Centuries, Chicago, Hull House social activism origins of the profession. I did and learnt that occupational therapy appeared to ‘match’ best what I was looking for. To me, it appeared to be the only professional field that allows people to never have to make up their mind what to study, given that in principle, it is ‘free’ to draw from whatever sources of knowledge and ways of knowing that already exist, and if called for, to commit to generating new knowledges, in order to effectively respond to complex human and societal needs.

As I did not have an appropriate and required legal status to obtain funding and enroll in an occupational therapy program in the United States, after about a decade of mostly living and working outside the country of my birth, I returned to the Netherlands to obtain a 100% self-funded four years undergrad degree in occupational therapy. I was 31 when I started and

most of my peers were 19-20 years young. Contrary to most students, I had a very clear idea of what the four years of full time occupational therapy education had to do for me, better prepare me for working with the 'street children' population in Latin America. However, I soon found that the original social activist roots of occupational therapy had long been left behind and that medical model, insurance and neoliberal healthcare market driven forces dominated training, and where and with whom occupational therapists would be working. Not surprisingly, working with 'street children' was not even envisioned. This prompted me to dedicate my final year thesis to exploring the potential role of occupational therapy with 'survivors of the streets'. Initially, my research proposal met with serious resistance from the administrating educators of the program. However, enabled by the availability of the internet, not only did this project take off, this undergrad thesis titled 'Street Children: Being and Becoming' (Kronenberg, 1999) also received the 1999 Best Academic Achievement Award at my university. It came with a 5000 Guilders check (then, approx. USD 3000) and generous media attention. And, more significant still, were the various impacts that have since resulted from having coined the concept 'occupational apartheid' in this study. It taught me about the power of words and language. 'Occupational apartheid', which strongly resonates with the principle of 'nkali', is probably still the most political and controversial terminology to have ever been introduced into the discourses of occupational therapy and occupational science. The notion 'occupational apartheid' contributed to: the founding of the movement Occupational Therapists without Borders (Salvador Simo Algado from Catalunya and I); the writing and publication of the first volume of 'Occupational Therapy without Borders: Learning from the Spirit of Survivors' (Kronenberg, Simo Algado & Pollard, 2004); the writing and adoption of the first ever World Federation of Occupational Therapists position statement on Community Based Rehabilitation (WFOT, 2004); forging a connection with South African occupational therapy colleague Elelwani Ramugondo at the 2004 OTASA landmark congress 'Doing Things Differently congress, which soon after turned into a life-long commitment, us becoming parents of two daughters, and making Cape Town, South Africa our new home, in terms of, 'there where what we do matters'.

Additionally, during the year that I turned 40, I met up with an old school-friend in Haarlem, the Netherlands. I clearly remember that we reminisced about growing up in Venray. We both graduated from Teachers Training College, yet never really worked as primary school teachers. Instead we both travelled extensively, worked abroad and returned to school at a later age. She already had a steady life partner and I had just committed to Elelwani and was about to move to South Africa. We then shared what we were hoping to do or achieve in the decades ahead, which we agreed were going to have to be our most 'productive years'. I vividly recall that I only had one 'ambition', the only one that would truly make sense to me...being human!

<b>5</b>	<b>South Africa—'Motherland' and Transformation</b>
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My black (Venda) South African spouse and I share parenthood of two daughters (about to turn 12 and 10) who have a dual South African-Dutch citizenship, and I am a permanent resident of South Africa. As a family, we have chosen and are committed to making South Africa home. What both inspired and sustained my motivation to do this study and carry it through was an unsettling realization that the need to heal South African society has been forsaken. This research therefore was to allow for deep learning regarding how my family and I may help bring this about.

Since I settled in South Africa in 2006, it had become gradually and increasingly obvious to me that I would have to learn to accept and appreciate being seriously psychosocially and mentally challenged by differently situated people who make up South Africa, and by its entrenched perverse conditions of inequalities. I can already write numerous pages of experiences that would illustrate what I am referring to, but this is not the place and moment to do this. Instead, let me mention a couple of instances during which I was directly and indirectly challenged by white South African occupational therapy colleagues, whose names do not need to be mentioned.

One colleague boldly communicated to me that no matter how long I would live in South Africa, I would never be equally regarded as a South African, and therefore I should be wary of probing this country's painful history which I had not personally lived through. Another colleague personally disclosed to me that, while she recognized that my intention behind coining 'occupational apartheid' had not been to cause any harm to South African occupational therapists, she would never ever make use of the term. For her, 'occupational apartheid' merged what she loved the most about occupational therapy, the notion 'occupation', with the term 'apartheid', which she considered to represent South Africa's greatest evil. For her, that ugly chapter of history was closed in 1994. Yet another colleague, had indirectly critiqued that 'occupational apartheid' had been coined by a white man, making matters worse, a Dutchman. She was of the opinion that, while the concept's existence might be justified, it should have then been coined by a black South African occupational therapist.

I will now elaborate on three consecutive critical incidents that occurred during the information gathering, data analysis and writing-up stages of this study. I have named these in a way that frames them in terms of how what had been done/was done made me feel, and how I attempted to process it, respectively: 'being robbed'; 'having witnessed'; and 'betrayal'.

*'Being Robbed'* (2015-2016) – On 4 February 2015, on an early summer evening I walked home from UCT's Upper Campus, carrying a yellow backpack with my laptop, cell-phone, external hard-drive, headphones, research paperwork and wallet (cash, bank-cards, driver's license). I had been working all day on transcribing 'Robbery-case' interviews and as I walked down-hill, my mind was still processing data. In other words, I was not as alert to 'reading' and reacting to contextual cues as I would usually do. Some 100 meters down the path, I saw a group of three young men at a bushy corner. Although this looked suspicious, going down-hill, my body walked faster than my mind was processing bits of observations that competed with research related preoccupations. As a consequence, I walked straight into the trap that the men had set up. They right away assaulted me, one of them pressing a big knife on my abdomen while the other guy told me 'stand still, be quiet', and then quickly strip me of all my belongings. After he had taken everything, the guy with the knife intended to stab me but the one who had taken my stuff grabbed his wrist, ordering him to jump into the car with the third person in the driver's seat and then they sped off. They left me standing on the cul-de-sac road, physically unharmed but needless to say quite 'baffled'. How was I supposed to react? Ironically, I had been intimately involved in processing 'Robbery' case related data. And, considering the criteria that I had used to select cases, I always knew and kind of expected that I would one day most certainly experience firsthand a 'robbery' of some kind. Now it had happened. My body was pumped with adrenaline, feeling grateful that I was not harmed. I fast-forwarded processing, reflected on how I felt and thought about this 'less than 30 seconds incident'. I immediately debunked a number of stereotypes, for example the 'perpetrators-victim narrative'. I could not use it to make sense of what had just happened. It seemed too simplistic. I mean, the question of 'who gained and who lost here'? I thought, there were no winners, only losers, South African society

being the biggest loser. Then I thought about UCT's campus security. They are only 'armed' with walkie-talkies. The close-by security guards could neither have prevented nor intervened in this robbery. And the many CCTV cameras in the area only captured part of the robbery and that the robbers got away, following their car all the way until the N2 highway. But this equipment was not sophisticated enough to zoom in on the license plate. I had then walked straight to the police station down the road to report the incident. A female police officer took down my statement, asking me to tell her exactly what happened. I asked her, 'from the very beginning?' She looked up at me with a puzzled expression on her face, and then confirmed 'Yes, from the beginning!' I then started by mentioning the 1652 arrival at the Cape of an ancestor of mine, Dutchman Jan van Riebeeck. And then a few hundred years Europeans robbed lots of things from Africans. And then today, I got robbed. She again looked up and must have thought I had gone mad. I then started anew, giving her 'the picture' she expected. A docket was established, a detective was assigned and another senior detective attempted to track the robbers' whereabouts by using the tracking device on my iPhone. They succeeded obtaining a location where the iPhone had been turned off. When they drove out there, it turned out to be a parking lot at a small township mall with several second hand cell phone stores. They knew that iPhones get transported and sold across the border so that was the end of the story. I went to meet with the detective in person. This allowed me to learn about the very restricted and frustrating conditions under which they have to carry out their work. I learnt that they are hardly ever able to catch robbers. And what is worse, he confided in me: *"At times we know people to be robbing to put food on the table for their families, making it hard for us to pursue 'justice'"*.

About a year later we got robbed at our home (early morning of 10 March, 2016). Even though the alarm had gone off, and ADT armed response officer had come to the house to search for possible intruders. He had however overlooked that a window had been broken. Our daughters discovered the broken glass the next morning. So, someone had broken into our home and then simply ignored the loud alarm going off for at least 3-5 minutes. The person then either waited inside or had escaped with stolen goods just in time before the ADT officer had inspected the scene. We were later told that likely another person had assisted, by keeping watch on the street, remaining in touch via cell phone. For us, the robbery primarily caused inconveniences, like recovery of bank cards, my Dutch driver's license, and replacing badly damaged doors. And, because previous home burglaries had occurred through the same doors, we had trolley-gates installed as an extra security measure. My main regret was having to stay at home to allow the police to take finger prints, causing me to miss out on attending a highly relevant seminar by Tendayi Sithole at HUMA UCT<sup>25</sup>. Fortunately, the talk was audio-recorded and I ended up transcribing it word for word. I had a gut sense that the contents of the talk would significantly speak to the topic of this study. It was ironic that while another 'robbery' robbed me of the opportunity to gain deeper insights into the subject matter of the study, the lived experience pushed me to reflect on and learn from it at other levels.

*'Having Witnessed'* (2015/2016/2017) - On 28 March 2016, Elalwani had written the following phrase on our black chalkboard kitchen wall: *"As black people search for and find ontological density through connecting with their creator, should white people perhaps learn the language of suffering? The alternatives are otherwise scary: resisting black strength, and committing suicide?"* I knew that she did not 'post' this reflection for me. However, the particular mind-space I found myself struggling in at that time turned this phrase into a trigger that drove me into the rabbit hole. That is, it deeply unsettled me, leading me to lock myself into our guest-room for a couple of days, only accepting food and drink from our aunt

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<sup>25</sup> 'Decoloniality and Rhodes Must Fall: On Wynterian Meditations of the Fallen Flesh': Seminar by Tendayi Sithole, PhD (UNISA) Thursday, 10 March 2016. HUMAN: Institute for Humanities in Africa. <http://huma.co.za/decoloniality-and-rhodes-must-fall-on-wynterian-meditations-of-the-fallen-flesh/>

Makhulu. How could this phrase have so abruptly caused such a profound, existential crisis? Neither back then nor today am I able to offer a definitive answer to this question. What I can say is that the having witnessed the whole #RMF campaign and its consequences from up-close held up a giant mirror, pushing me to confront what I chose to call 'my Rhodes within', reflecting on my historically unearned, easily taken for granted embodied privileges, being a white cis-gender heterosexual Dutchman. Coincidentally, one of my research participants happened to be a core member of the #RMF movement, which had further drawn me into witnessing much of what had occurred. I nevertheless want to acknowledge that I consider myself fortunate to have witnessed and experienced #RMF's unfolding disruptions from a relatively close distance. This was only possible due to being married to Elelwani. The gravitas of this called for historical occurrence had rather unexpectedly pulled her into the heart of it all. Particularly through my intimate relationship with her, I was made me feel what the students referred to and called out as 'UCT's entrenched institutional racism', framing their suffering using expressions such as 'black pain' and 'we can't breath'. Reflecting back, I think what deeply troubled me may have had something to do with the seeming impossibility, during those circumstances, to connect with them as 'human equals', as a consequence of historically entrenched racism. I recall thinking, 'black people did not call themselves black or nigger with all the associated inferiorizations, white people did and intentionally so in order to establish and cement unequal power relations in terms of access to resources'. I think that engaging with Elelwani's phrase also pushed me to identify with the positionality of white South Africans and how they are made to feel when their long prolonged history of privileges obtained and sustained through systems of more and less overt systematic oppressions, is called out. I would think that guilt and, when acknowledged, associated emotions of shame and anger may then embody their own "language of suffering".

Being in the rabbit hole at some point made me realize that it was very difficult for me to simultaneously juggle keeping an appropriate distance while remaining available as a support to the unfolding activist campaigns. My particular positionality as a white cisgender heterosexual male from the Netherlands<sup>26</sup>, husband to Elelwani Ramugondo and mother of our two daughters, but also Prof Elelwani Ramugondo, the black female academic who had stepped up to the 'hot plate' as the Vice Chancellor's Special Advisor on Transformation, playing a 24/7 intimate and 'high risks and responsibilities' role, with students, colleagues, and workers. And, Elelwani Ramugondo as my second co-supervisor of the PhD! I think that a certain fear may have struck me like lightning when reading Elelwani's phrase, if the 'only' alternatives to learning the 'language of suffering' would indeed be "resisting black strength", absolutely not an option to me because I never ever doubted 'its' existence, in fact, recognized and supported it in Elelwani and others since we first met...which would leave "committing suicide" as the only option. Perhaps not necessarily physical suicide, but surely 'shutting up', stepping back, making space for blacks to speak and decide on ways of going forward.

While in the rabbit hole, I also remember mulling over David Benatar's work on 'Anti-Natalism', however, adapting his generalized stance to 'white people should never be born to prevent unnecessary suffering'. I think that what this crisis was to do and to some extent did was to connect with 'learning the language of suffering' beyond an intellectual level at an embodied-embedded level. That is perhaps what those three days in the rabbit hole were about. What triggered me to come out was a note that Elelwani had shoved under the door. I broke down into a deep crying spell like I can't remember ever having done and made a conscious decision to stay committed to 'the fight that needs to be fought' and 'the language

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<sup>26</sup> Ewald van Vught's timely book 'Roofstaat' ['Predator State'] (2016) made me become hyper-aware of the problematic history of the relationship between the Netherlands and South Africa - <https://beta.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/roofstaat-gaat-over-de-gehele-wereld~ba45a463e/>

of suffering that needs to be learned', firstly myself and then to be paid forward to others with whom I share embedded-embodied privileges.

*'Betrayal'* (2016/2017) – During the course of 2017, a non-profit organization that I am closely involved with, was shocked to its core when on two consecutive occasions, a newly employed staff member deeply betrayed our trust in him and his words. This had occurred at a time when the organization was already more vulnerable. This was known to this staff member, a young and promising professional. He had quickly won the trust of the beneficiaries and the Board. However, mid 2017, our financial administrator alerted the Board that a significant amount of unaccounted money had been withdrawn from our checking account over a period of three months. However, we could not (or perhaps better put, we did not want to) believe that he could have something to do with it. A few months later, after having repeatedly vehemently denied it, he confessed having taken the money. Disbelief, shock and anger competed with each other in how his conduct impacted all of us. In line with the ethos of being a beneficiaries-lead organization, the Board asked them to convene and decide how we should respond to this situation. While they directly expressed to him that what he did had caused deep disappointment and hurt in them, they felt that he should be given a second chance, pay back the money he took, and be prevented from having anything to do with the organization's finances. While this is what we all agreed on, less than two weeks later he swindled two beneficiaries who were signatories to transfer another significant amount of funds into private bank-accounts. He had told them that these accounts belonged to partner-organizations. This loss only got picked up at a later stage. He initially again denied to have anything to do with it, but when pressure on him mounted, he confessed. His repeat-betrayal of our trust almost caused the organization to have to close down. He was fired, criminal charges were filed against him, his professional license has been suspended and a court case is pending.

When all this occurred, the data collection and analysis phases of the research project had already been concluded. Critical reflexivity was exercised throughout the entire research process. This caused the third theme, *'Never Forget How Made to Feel'*, and its implications to seriously disrupt my thinking-through and drafting of the discussion of the findings and conclusion chapters. Being deeply immersed in thinking and feeling ('emotioning') what we humans do every day and how this impacts our psycho-social and physical wellbeing on a continuum of negations and affirmations of our humanity, potentially and actually causing harm, or making us feel good or better, attempting to process this experience while having to make decisions that involve 'doing the right thing' within the organization had proven to be very difficult. Of course, there is the betrayal at a personal level, feeling personally deeply hurt by having been lied to when during all this time, our intention had been to believe in him and his abilities and to support his growth. However, what significantly complicated this processing and decision-making were the particular post 1994 apartheid South Africa contextual factors at play in this case in point. What I again was made to profoundly realize is the vicious cycle violent-wounded-divided societal condition that we are held hostage by. Yes, what he did was wrong at multiple counts. He caused great harm and his gross misconduct must be held to account. However, looking at this from a racial and scale perspective, who does he and the people he stole from embody? How 'much' did he steal, effectively affecting how many people? What if we were to superimpose these questions within a long view of history in South Africa: who have stolen since 1652 from whom and to benefit who, how much was stolen and how many people were affected by this? Who continues to get away with murder and who won't? This betrayal experience, while it disrupted the finalization of this research project with a full year, it also deepened and complexified my thinking and understandings of being human as occupation and health.

## APPENDIX II – Research Ethics Review Committee Approval

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Faculty of Health Sciences  
Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee  
Room E52-24 Groote Schuur Hospital Old Main Building  
Observatory 7925  
Telephone [021] 406 6338 • Facsimile [021] 406 6411  
e-mail: [sumayah.ariefdien@uct.ac.za](mailto:sumayah.ariefdien@uct.ac.za)

08 November 2012

HREC REF: 552/2012

Mr F Kronenberg  
c/o Prof H Kathard  
Occupational Therapy  
F-45  
OMB

Dear Mr Kronenberg

**PROJECT TITLE: HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS AND ENACTMENTS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES, CIRCUMSTANCES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH-A PHONETIC CASE STUDY OF HUMAN OCCUPATION**

Thank you for submitting your study to the Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee for review.

It is a pleasure to inform you that the Ethics Committee has **formally approved** your collaboration in the above mentioned study.

**Approval is granted for one year till the 15 November 2013.**

Please submit a progress form, using the standardised Annual Report Form, if the study continues beyond the approval period. Please submit a Standard Closure form if the study is completed within the approval period.

Please note that the ongoing ethical conduct of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

**Please quote the HREC. REF in all your correspondence.**

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M Blockman', written over a horizontal line.

**PROFESSOR M BLOCKMAN**  
**CHAIRPERSON, HSF HUMAN ETHICS**

Federal Wide Assurance Number: FWA00001637.  
sAriefdien

### **APPENDIX III – Recruitment Script**

I am conducting a research study which looks at how that which makes us human is affirmed and enacted in our everyday lives and how this may have implications for our health and wellbeing. The study also attempts to get a picture of the circumstances in which this occurs.

I am deeply concerned about the ‘wounded condition’ of our South African society. For South Africa to indeed become a place that all people who live here can call home, it seems fundamental that we commit to understanding both what our ‘woundedness’ is about and how we may bring about healing ourselves. I believe that in this regard we can learn from personal stories of lived experiences of everyday life in post-apartheid South Africa.

Would you consider being involved in the study?

An information sheet was prepared which explains the study in detail.

Within a maximum period of about twelve months, you would be required to keep a personal journal or audio-diary, take part in at least three individual interviews and make available any life documents (examples: letter, post-cards, photos, e-mails, notes on social networking sites, blogs, etc.) that you may regard as relevant to the study.

You will receive a personal copy of the findings.

The findings, without disclosing your identity (by using pseudonyms), will be communicated with the public at large.

## **APPENDIX IV – Information Sheet for Participants**

\*Will be made available to the participants in English or if preferred in isiXhosa or Afrikaans.

### **University of Cape Town: Division of Occupational Therapy**

#### **TITLE OF THE STUDY**

HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS AND ENACTMENTS IN POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH—A PHRONETIC CASE STUDY OF HUMAN OCCUPATION

#### **DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH**

Concerned with the ‘wounded’ human condition of post-apartheid South Africa, the purpose of this study is to generate practical knowledge regarding how to enact humanity in everyday life. It aims to better understand the circumstances that allow and constrain people to affirm and enact what makes them human and how this may implicate their health. The project is a qualitative case study. This means that data will be collected by inviting participants to tell stories in two or three individual interviews. Additionally, participants will be asked to keep a diary (written or audio-recorder) to document their thoughts and experiences on the topic. Transcripts (of interviews) and diaries will be kept in a locked cupboard, accessible only to the researcher. Data collection will take place over a period of 12 months. More in-depth detail of the data collection process will be explained during our initial interview.

#### **SELECTING PARTICIPANTS**

You have been asked to participate in this study since you meet the selection criteria i.e. you live in Cape Town/South Africa and you are motivated to share your stories regarding the topic of the study.

#### **WHAT WOULD BE REQUIRED OF THE PARTICIPANTS**

The participants would be required to engage with the researcher in the following ways: interviews (2 to 3 sessions of 2-3 hours), keep and share diaries (to be collected end of every month), and if relevant making available life documents during a data collection period of 12 months period.

The table below describes in detail how collection of data will be organized:

Years	Months	Activities
2014	Jan – Feb	Orientation meeting w/ participants, planning interviews, distributing journals
	March – May	First round of interviews, transcription, collecting journal entries
	July – Sept	Second round of interviews, transcription, collecting journal entries
2015	Jan – March	Third round of interviews, transcription, collecting journal entries
	May – Aug	Gathering contextual data to situate each case
	Sept – Oct	Member checking
2016	Jan – April	Finishing up gathering contextual data to situate each case
	May – Dec	Data analysis
2017	Jan - Aug	Writing up report

The interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. The diary is a weekly journal that needs to be completed by you, the participant on your experiences and reflections regarding the study's topic. A set of guiding questions will be provided to assist with this task. The diary entries will be collected at the end of every month by the researcher.

### **RISKS INVOLVED**

This study bears no risks or physical harm to the participants. However, if any psychological or emotional issues may arise, a referral to an appropriate professional would then be advised.

### **BENEFITS OF THE STUDY**

This study will aid in offering participants opportunities to speak, to get heard, to contribute to the development of collective story-making and the creation of public dialogue, all of which can potentially be responsive to the need for personal and social change, and influence the building of contemporary South Africa.

### **WHAT PAYMENTS WILL BE RECEIVED?**

Participants will not be remunerated for engaging in the study.

### **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

It is important to note that participation in this study is purely on a voluntary basis. You are under no obligation to participate.

## **THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY**

As a participant you do have the right to withdraw at any time during the study and should know that there would be no repercussions following that decision.

## **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Privacy of the participants will be ensured through the use of pseudonyms when reference is made to any participant and particular location. Records will be kept confidential and in a locked cupboard, where access is only to the researcher.

## **WHO TO CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION**

Supervisor : A/Prof Harsha Kathard [harsha.kathard@uct.ac.za](mailto:harsha.kathard@uct.ac.za)  
Co-supervisor : Prof Debbie Rudman [drudman@uwo.ca](mailto:drudman@uwo.ca)  
Co-supervisor : A/Prof Elelwani Ramugondo [elelwani.ramugondo@uct.ac.za](mailto:elelwani.ramugondo@uct.ac.za)

### **Contact details for researcher:**

Mr Frank Kronenberg  
[frank.kronenberg@gmail.com](mailto:frank.kronenberg@gmail.com)  
Tel: (021) 685 61 34 (home) - 079 269 81 21 (cell)

### **Contact details for Human Research Ethics Committee**

Prof Marc Blockman Division of Pharmacology, Dept. of Medicine, K Floor, OMB, GSH  
[marc.blockman@uct.ac.za](mailto:marc.blockman@uct.ac.za)

The Human Research Ethics Committee is situated in the Old Main Building of Groote Schuur Hospital, Floor E53, Room 46, Observatory, 792

## APPENDIX V – Copy of Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

**TITLE:** HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS AND ENACTMENTS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH—A PHRONETIC CASE STUDY OF HUMAN OCCUPATION.

I ..... have read the information sheet. I understand what is required of me and I have had all my questions answered. I do not feel that I am forced to take part in this study and I am doing so of my own free will. I know that I can withdraw at any time if I so wish and that it will have no bad consequences for me.

SIGNED:

Participant	Date and Place
Researcher	Date and Place
Witness	Date and Place

## APPENDIX VI – Department of Correctional Services Research Approval

For one of the cases ('Robbery'), two persons had been identified whose voices could significantly contribute to the building of the narrative exemplar. However, both individuals were incarcerated at the time of information gathering. In order to conduct research within the Department of Correctional Services, a formal request needed to be processed. This also involved obtaining renewed approval from the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town. Copies of both letters of approval are included below.



### correctional services

Department:  
Correctional Services  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie de-Bruyn Street, PRETORIA  
Tel (012) 307 2000, Fax (012) 328-5111

**Mr F Kronenberg**  
**15 Richmond road**  
**Little Mowbray**

Dear Mr Kronenberg

**RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON "HUMANITY AFFIRMATIONS AND ENACTMENTS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH—A PHRONETIC CASE STUDY OF HUMAN OCCUPATION"**

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above mentioned topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Western Cape Regional Head Development and Care (Ms. Pienaar)**. You are requested to contact him at telephone number **(021) 550 6006** before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. offenders not prisoners and Correctional Centres not prisons.
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the National Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number 012-307-2770 / 012-305 8554.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sihlezana'.

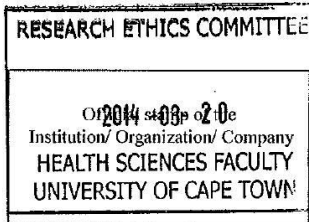
**ND SIHLEZANA**  
**DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH**

DATE: 17/06/2014

34) Title Dr 35) Surname Burgess 36) Initials TL

T. Burgess  
Signature

24/03/2014  
Date



Deputy Chair: Faculty of Health Sciences, Human Research Ethics Committee,  
F. DECLARATION STATEMENT BY APPLICANTS: University of Cape Town.

We confirm that:

1. the particulars mentioned above are true, and
2. if this application is favourably considered, I/ We will comply with the conditions which may be set with regard to the application.

Note: If it is a research carried by a team, the Team Leader's signature must appear on the space provided below together with the signatures of two other members of the team as witnesses.

[Signature]  
Applicant/Team Leader's Signature

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FOR OFFICE USE BY HEAD OFFICE ONLY

In case of Bursary Holders of the Department of Public Service and Administration please refer to the Director:  
Policy and External Training

Referred by \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Application

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Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee

Date

## APPENDIX VII – Historicizing Occupational Therapy in South Africa

Appendix VII provides the reader with additional historical background information regarding the trajectory of occupational therapy in South Africa, foregrounding the Apartheid era and the transitional years following the birth of democracy in 1994. I was not in a position, neither did I intend to present a comprehensive in-depth historical account. Instead, I brought together information that I had gathered from a various sources: website of the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa (OTASA); the South African Journal of Occupational Therapy (SAJOT); documents by OTASA and the World Federation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT); and personal communications with various South African occupational therapy colleagues.

Although the SAAOT, the South African Association of Occupational Therapists South Africa, was established in 1945 (Davy, 2003), only in the late fifties did Black South Africans as patients start to have some contact with the profession (Keen, 1963), making it quite apparent that making the profession available for people who were not white was not a priority (Ramugondo, 2000, p. 13).

In a conversation about the history of occupational therapy during the Apartheid period, A/Prof Madie Duncan shared:

*“In the mid-sixties, early seventies, when a radical shift into biomedicine and reductionism had occurred, the very survival of occupational therapy had hinged on it proving its worth within medicine. Vona du Toit, whose husband was very high up in the medical association in South Africa, gained insights that allowed her a voice at a ministerial level what this nascent new profession was about. She thus positioned her Model of Creative Ability (MoCA) as the equivalent of a diagnostic component to the medical appraisal. Long story short, the model forms the basis of the then five programs for curriculum orientations of the bulk of the training of occupational therapists in this country. It’s therefore important to begin to look at what the impact of MoCA has been on this professional socialization of the occupational therapists, also as a way to understand what practitioners were good at during [Apartheid’s] oppressive period and what they were just not prepared for. The MoCA was their practice and the recipe for how occupational therapy was done. Epistemologically, everything that was required [with regards to making sense of and responding to the consequences of Apartheid policies], there was no language for it, it was peripheral. However, first, second, and third generations of occupational therapists have been socialized in this model” (personal communication, A/Prof Madie Duncan, 7 March 2016).*

In her 18<sup>th</sup> Vona du Toit Memorial Lecture ‘Our bit in the Calabash’<sup>27</sup>, Duncan asserted: “None of us [referring to South African occupational therapists collectively] has come out unscathed by the ravages of Apartheid so we all have a stake in the process of reconciliation, reconstruction and creating a caring humanity for all. We can learn from the past by examining the foundations on which we positioned ourselves as health professionals in relation to human suffering under Apartheid. We can consider where we locate ourselves now that we have a second democratically elected government; new legislation and a health sector based on the primary health care approach” (Duncan, 1999, p. 3).

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<sup>27</sup> Footnote: A calabash, a hollowed out gourd, is a traditional African vessel used for drinking. At social gatherings it is filled to the brim with home brewed traditional beer and passed from person to person as a communal cup. Drinking from the calabash in this way confirms one’s place in the clan and strengthens the interdependency and common ethos that binds the collective (Duncan, 1999, p. 3).

I asked Many Duncan about the OTASA conference delegates' response to her Vona du Toit lecture:

*"Immediately after presenting and during the subsequent days at the OTASA congress not a single person said anything, either complementary or contesting. I would have appreciated some engagement, rebuttal or counter argument, even anger but I faced total silence. I could not point fingers at anyone and therefore decided to voice my own culpability in the lecture, that I missed the mark of virtuous professional behaviour during the apartheid era. I pray that we learn to listen and to really hear the other with no agenda besides acknowledging the inalienable right of the other to the same human dignity that we desire for our self [...] the I-thou moment"* (personal communication, Madie Duncan, 16 February, 2016).

*"During the late eighties, early nineties, psychology, medical and social work associations had split. This could happen because at the Health Profession's Council, from within these professions faced a strong black lobby because they were already there [...] the few black therapists that were part of us (SAAOT) were too small a minority, lacked critical mass to mobilize"* (personal communication, Madie Duncan, 7 March, 2016).

*"In writing up the OTASA submission for the TRC, Ruth Watson and I could not speak for ourselves, hence OTASA, through its membership network, had sent out invitations to provide input for this submission. We had to reflect the feedback we got from the constituency. It was very very little feedback, probably from no more than 10-15 people, I can't remember. Ruth and I said this is what the physios are saying. This is what we are submitting for OTASA. Chalk and cheese. Instead of the vague statement that we put together, they went as a collective and they had said, 'we are culpable of omission and commission'. They acknowledged what they could have done differently and did wrong"* (personal communication, Madie Duncan, 7 March, 2016).

In her Vona du Toit lecture:

*"What had worried me the most is my capacity for moral disengagement through apathy, inaction and silence, this despite my professional socialization into the highest ideals of occupational therapy', and, 'There has been a lack of support for individuals and organizations that resisted oppression [...] the profession has yet to acknowledge those occupational therapists in South Africa and abroad who worked behind the scenes to take a political stand on behalf of the oppressed' (Duncan, 1999, p. 5).*

During the early 1990's, Elelwani Ramugondo happened to be the first ever and only black African female student in the occupational therapy program at the University of Cape Town. Because she had struggled with her professional journey of becoming an occupational therapist, her occupational therapy master's thesis (2000, unpublished) focused on what it was like to be a student with a distinctly different ethnic and cultural background from that of the majority of the student population. Her sample included only five participants, three of whom self-identified as black African, one Jewish, one Muslim, only one of them male. This sample constituted the maximum number of diversity in the overwhelmingly white, female, Christian student-body. Thematic coding of data from all participants culminated in the emergent themes: the struggle of negotiating space; ongoing sense of difference and

isolation; personal versus personal identities in conflict; and want to offer what I learnt back in my community. Information shared by the black African participants converged into group-specific themes: compromised sense of self; I am not making an impact; and there is tension in my becoming. The findings of the study pointed to a problematic professional journey, for black African students in particular (Ramugondo, 2000).

Ramugondo had also stressed the importance of interrogating where we are coming from: 'As part of institutions of learning and members of a profession, it is essential to realize that we are products of a past. Our beings are grounded in a temporal matrix not simply of our own making, but which is uniquely and covertly related to our notion of the past, as it impresses upon us. Our collective perspectives, shared or divergent, are embedded in the past, and affect the selves of the component members and the perspectives of the current. Various groups have immensely long histories, and some hold strong particular interests in retaining or critically reviewing them' (p. 7) [...] 'The exclusion of Indians, Africans, and Coloureds from early universities was an institutional reflection of this political intent. To effectively challenge the myths and their effect on education, we have to challenge both our past and current realities' (Ramugondo, 2000. P. 8).

In 2004, seven years after publication of the TRC statement an anonymous contributor to the opening session of the OTASA conference, themed 'Doing Things Differently', said: "As a group we are still passive and politically inactive – I consider that we have not yet in any way followed through on promises made at the TRC Health Sector hearings to be vigilant in the future" (Duncan et al in Watson, 2008, p. 19). In 2006, Lalloo, reflecting on the first ten years of OTASA, posed the following questions: "Has the Association changed; has the Association transformed, and if so, to what extent? Have we actively looked at diversity within the profession? Who are the decision makers and do they really represent us?" (Lalloo, 2006, p.3?).

About a decade later Watson pointed out that "the TRC submission was made in a spirit of regret, reconciliation and determination to do things differently in the future", that "the statement signalled a commitment to redirection, and a willingness to reposition the profession as relevant, vital and politically aware" (Watson, 2008, p. 18). Watson also underscored that "positive changes have occurred since then like more and a greater diversity of graduates, one year obligatory community service and posts in places away from the main cities, larger numbers of people working in the field, more postgraduate qualifications and research, some exciting publications, increasing international involvement and recognition, and others that I leave the reader to think about (Watson, 2008, p. 21). However, she also problematized that "without any published assessment we do not know how the South African occupational therapy community responded to the TRC statement, or how the values and obligations that it embodies have been interpreted with reference to every aspect of our working lives. Initially the statement seemed to have dropped into a silent world. Perhaps more should have been done at the time to dialogue about our past by exploring different perspectives and sharing apartheid histories, and by debating the statement to find ways to apply its essence" (Watson, 2008, p. 19).

*"We are some 23 years on-wards, and there's never been a healing of the collective unconscious, [that is] the collective unconscious of the average citizen. So it is a messy messy messy social situation. Where do we position our profession in the midst of this?" (personal communication, Madie Duncan, 7 March 2016).*

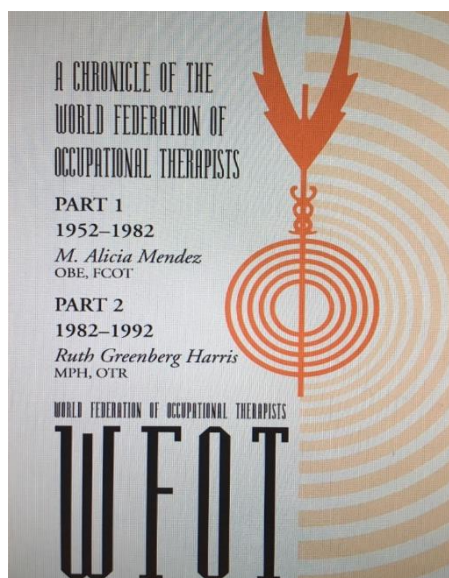
A conversation with Helen Buchanan, OTASA president, provided the following insights:

*“Since 2010, OTASA renewed a commitment to transformation and it underpins most everything that OTASA has been doing since. A transformation statement was drafted and discussed at the Council meeting in 2012. People were very unhappy with the document, indicating that OTASA did not need to transform. Transformation is still a huge bone of contention in the profession. There’s a group that says ‘Apartheid is over, enough already, let’s move on and stop talking about it. We don’t need to transform’. And there is a group that says ‘It’s still here and part of us. We want you to know how we feel. And we still have not transformed’. I think it is hard because I don’t know how it can be addressed. Instead of carrying on working with the ‘transformation statement’, Exco decided to rather focus on persuading the members why OTASA needs to transform. In order to hear from people who are members and not members, where they think occupational therapy should be going and to learn how we [OTASA] can be more relevant to all occupational therapy staff, a National Listening and Dialogue (NL&D) campaign was launched in 2015, also to give people an opportunity to raise those hurts. Transformation is about OTASA the organization, in order to transform practice to become relevant for the country, what the needs of the country are and in order to do that we want everyone on board. Also, one of the NL&D campaign questions was ‘where do you view occupational therapy in 2020, when we celebrate our 75th anniversary. It is also about a vision of what occupational therapy could be in South Africa” (personal communication, Helen Buchanan, 8 May 2016).*

Ruth Watson, in her 2008 SAJOT article ‘South African occupational therapy values: 1997 submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’, asserted: “If we want to act in all matters without prejudice then positive steps are needed not only to avoid discrimination and to ensure that opportunities are open and available to everyone, but also to positively uphold such developments. One way of doing this is to *create an environment that is conducive to debate about how the lasting effects of the legacy of apartheid, and the ongoing impact of the cultural capital accumulated by whites, continues to influence OTASA’s progress.* It is important to remember past injustices because redemption depends on accountability and forgiveness” (Watson, 2008, p. 20).

Ruth Watson disclosed: “Our earlier naivety about the role of politics in professional and public affairs blinded us from seeing clearly that millions of people were denied their right to meaningful and health-promoting occupations (Watson, 2004), hence, ‘politics can never be left out of the equation if equalization of opportunities is to occur’ (Watson, 2008, p. 21).

## APPENDIX VIII – WFOT and Apartheid South Africa



Considering the relevant and interesting details it offers to contextualize the Apartheid history of occupational therapy in South Africa, and how the World Federation of Occupational Therapists (of which South Africa is a founding member), had positioned itself and was challenged by the Crime of Apartheid<sup>28</sup>, I here include as an appendix to this study, a copy of **'Chapter 4 – South Africa and Apartheid'** from the WFOT publication **'A Chronicle of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists'** (Part 1: 1952-1982, by Alicia Mendez, and Part 2: 1982-1992, by Ruth Greenberg Harris).

Some background on why and how I gained access to this information. During the month of May 2016, as part of updating the literature review chapter of this doctoral study, I had emailed WFOT president Marilyn Pattison in Australia. I learned that the following past presidents lead the WFOT during those crucial years of South Africa transitioning from Apartheid into democracy: Dr Andree Forget – Canada [1980-1986]; Prof Jo Barker – Australia [1986-1990]; and Maria Schwarz – Switzerland [1990-1994].

I knew that Denmark had pressurized the WFOT Exec in 1987 to send a delegation to South Africa to assess whether SAAOT should be excluded from the official representative body of occupational therapy and occupational therapists worldwide. However, I consulted with Marilyn how I could get verified what other countries had supported Denmark. Marilyn then informed me that *"The WFOT records are contained in the WFOT Chronicles and also the minutes of previous meetings all of which are housed in the Wellcome library in London"*, indicating *"It's free access – let me know if you have any difficulties"* (personal communications, 24 May 2016). Given that traveling to London was not an option, instead I contacted our colleague Maria Schwarz (WFOT president from 1990-1994), who I had already met and been in contact with in person in Germany. After a series of electronic exchanges during which I shared the focus and context of this study and why I was interested in the WFOT's position and response to Apartheid South Africa, Maria generously offered to dig up from her personal archives, the minutes from WFOT council meetings during which Apartheid South Africa was discussed and debated, and the Chronicle which I mentioned earlier. Maria then made photo-copies of the most relevant documents and emailed these to me.

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<sup>28</sup> On November 30, 1973, the United Nations General Assembly opened for signature and ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Retrieved from <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cspca/cspca.html> [23 April 2018].

## *South Africa and Apartheid*

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The issues which challenged WFOT most severely and profoundly during this decade were unquestionably those which surrounded the subject of South Africa and Apartheid. At this writing, the chapter may be considered closed.

### *UN Resolution*

In July 1976 at the Council Meeting in Paris, the Congress Committee's recommendation to hold the 1980 Council in South Africa was approved. Later, in November of that same year, the UN passed a Resolution denouncing the policy of apartheid in South Africa. The UN declared 1978/1979 Anti-Apartheid Year and requested all governmental, inter-governmental, and non-governmental bodies to cooperate in effective observance of it.

Between the Paris Council in 1976 and the 1978 Council in Jerusalem, the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands asked Council to reconsider the venue of the 1980 Council. "The President, in consultation with the Executive, had carried out a survey on the views of member countries to the emerging problem and presented the results which indicated that eleven countries were in favour of South Africa holding the meeting, seven were against and nine did not reply. The reason for the doubts appeared to be based on political issues, not professional ones, and were linked to the United Nations Resolution passed in 1976." (Mendez, 1986).

The question was referred back to the Congress Committee for further discussion and Council turned to another, related issue. What would be the effect on relations between WFOT and WHO of the Council being held in South Africa, inasmuch as "WHO had suspended South African membership unconditionally as long ago as 1964". (Mendez, 1986). It was determined that if holding the meeting in South Africa was an attempt to help the SAAOT in its efforts against discrimination then WHO would not condemn WFOT. After further debate the Council re-endorsed the decision to hold the 1980 Council Meeting in South Africa.

In 1982, WFOT received an appeal from the World Medical Association to work with it to reverse the WHO decision to discontinue official relations with WMA because it had accepted South Africa as a member. Although agreement was not unanimous, Council voted to support this appeal.

Also in 1982, President Andrée Forget instructed the Congress Committee, which was to draw up a new Council Manual, that the policy, stated in the 1980 Minutes, page 83, must be included. She quoted, "*In the event of it*

*being so established that a member country will be prevented by its government, for political reasons, from attending the Council Meeting, the venues of the Meeting will be reconsidered by the Council. It will be the responsibility of the host member organization to ensure that no delegate or observer from member or associate member countries will be prevented from attending the Council Meeting for political reasons".* (At this Council, the Congress Committee recommended that the 1986 WFOT International Congress be held in India. However, the All India Occupational Therapists' Association had to withdraw its invitation because its government's policy conflicted with WFOT's policy. *"It was found that it was not possible to get an official permission from our Government permitting the South African delegate to enter."* (Warhade, 1993).

Clearly, the Executive and majority of delegates were trying to maintain a non-political stance for WFOT. However, at the Council Meetings in New Zealand in 1984, and the U.K. in 1986, matters came to a head and the most bitter confrontations in WFOT's history took place between the Scandinavian bloc, supported also by Iceland and the Netherlands, and South Africa.

### *Council Agenda Item*

Sweden, with the support of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway, placed an agenda item in 1984, *"that the WFOT Council set up a committee to clarify the SAAOT's views on, and possible application of apartheid within its own organization"*. Addressing the item, the Swedish delegate, Chris Henriksson presented the following motion, "I move that the WFOT investigate and clarify the following questions:

1. Is the SAAOT an organization open to all Occupational Therapists?
2. Are all members treated equally?
3. In what way has the SAAOT worked in practice for its black members?
4. What stand does the SAAOT take against apartheid?

The answers should be given in a report and submitted to the member countries before the end of June 1985 in order for the delegates to be able to discuss the issue at the 1986 Council Meeting."

The Swedish delegate went on to state, "Our members consider the policy of apartheid to be an important moral and ethical question and the answers to the above stated questions are of crucial importance to our members and their further activities within WFOT."

After the motion was defeated, Kirsten Biering, Norway, the newly elected WFOT Treasurer said, "Members of the OT Associations in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Iceland regret very much that the WFOT Council decided neither to investigate nor discuss or deal with questions about apartheid problems in member countries. The Nordic delegates fear that this decision will create new discussion in their member countries regarding future membership in WFOT".

### *Congress Cancellation*

The Swedish motion was defeated but the issue was far from closed.

When India had to cancel its hosting of the 1986 Congress, it was Denmark that graciously stepped into the breach and offered to have the Congress even though it meant that they would have less than two years in which to prepare. *"Sanctions against South Africa were also the cause of the cancellation of the congress that was to have been held in Denmark in 1986. This was done following a majority vote of WFOT member countries because the Danish government did not want to allow delegates with South Africa passports into Denmark. This was tragic because it meant an eight year gap between congresses. On a personal note, it was difficult for me because, as a person in favor of strong sanctions against South Africa, I had to respect the wish of the majority."* (Forget, 1992). *"The WFOT Council took the unprecedented decision to cancel the congress in Denmark. This was a difficult time for everybody and a very hard decision to make."* (Barker, 1992).

Andrée Forget, in her last President's message commented, *"I must remind you all that in 1986, WFOT should have hosted an international congress. As you all know, this congress which was to be held in Denmark was cancelled, and I think this was a great loss for our profession. An international congress is a unique opportunity for many occupational therapists from all regions of the world to be exposed to the practice and research that is being done by our colleagues from other countries. I sincerely hope this never happens again because I think it can jeopardize the very existence of our international organization"*. (Council Minutes, Exeter, U.K. 1986).

### *Debate in Council*

The most bitter Council debate took place in Exeter at the 17th Council Meeting in 1986 as a result of the Agenda item placed by the Nordic countries that, *"the WFOT Council recommend that SAAOT refrain from attending WFOT's meetings as long as apartheid is practiced in South Africa."* (Council Minutes, U.K. 1986). No delegate who attended that meeting will forget the deep emotions, the zeal, the anger, the hurt, expressed by the participants in that debate. Nor will the results of that debate, or its ramifications be forgotten. As bitter as it was, it was a turning point.

The results:

- The Nordic motion was defeated.
- Kirsten Biering of Norway, then President of the Norwegian OT Association, resigned from her post as Treasurer of WFOT. Norway decided to boycott active participation in WFOT until 1989, when its boycott was abolished and Norway decided to continue working against apartheid within WFOT.

- Denmark, Iceland, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden all stated that they would have to consult with their Associations as to whether they would resign from WFOT in protest. None did.
- Marj Concha from South Africa presented a motion, “that a delegation from the World Federation visit South Africa to:
  1. review the training of occupational therapists.
  2. discuss the role of SAAOT with regard to its members and the health care system.
  3. view the treatment offered to all the peoples of South Africa by its occupational therapists.
  4. discuss with SAAOT the ways in which WFOT can provide assistance to SAAOT in the achievement of its goals.” (Council Minutes, U.K. 1986).
- Those who made up the official WFOT delegation to South Africa were Sue de Gilio, U.K., Chairperson, Ulla Kroksmark, from Sweden represented all the Nordic countries, Barbara Neuhaus, USA, and Marj Concha, South Africa. The delegation spent three weeks in South Africa studying the four areas of interest assigned to them and wrote their report which was distributed to all the delegates and then discussed at the 18th Council Meeting in Sintra, Portugal in 1988. The delegation found only “*one blatant example of discriminatory practices, which was mentioned in their report, and, in a letter to the Head Occupational Therapist of that hospital*”, (de Gilio, 1988) and identified eight specific problems with which they felt SAAOT could benefit from help, e.g. the need to address coping strategies for therapists both in training and in practice. The delegation observed a degree of passivity and compliance by therapists with the systems they must work under. This compliance revealed in several cases an underlying bitterness and a feeling of helplessness to influence change. The delegation suggested the SAAOT needed to address the need and the method whereby therapists could learn the coping strategies necessary to become Agents of Change. (Council Minutes, Portugal 1988).
- Once more the Council debate on the report, was long and hard with Denmark arguing each point. However the motion to accept the report was carried, and this was a clear indication that WFOT felt that the important issue was not apartheid. No one supported apartheid. The South African occupational therapists were trying to exist and maintain themselves as ethical professionals in a system of which they did not approve. The WFOT Council wanted WFOT to remain non-political, and agreed with Jo Barker when she said, “...much time, energy and an outlay of WFOT funds in excess of 13,000 Swiss Francs has been

provided on this issue. I believe it is now time to turn WFOT's direction towards the requirements of countries who are developing occupational therapy practice and more importantly towards the promotion of the Occupational Therapy profession – which is the primary aim of the WFOT.” (Council Minutes, Portugal 1988).

- The Nordic countries continued their anti-apartheid stance by constructively sponsoring a program to assist black South African occupational therapy students start their education through scholarships financed by all the Nordic countries.

### *Moving On*

In sum, the issue is officially closed. Despite the intensity of the Council debates which took up a large slice of Council time and energy, the work of WFOT went on, and to the credit of the organization, much was accomplished during that turbulent time. The debates took place in the Council. The committees continued to meet and fulfil their responsibilities.

*“It was unfortunately a very decisive issue in the Federation. The criticism of the country and its politics was fair. However, SAAOT was working very hard to help occupational therapists break down the established political barriers which prevented the profession from meeting its ethical obligations. WFOT had to assess very clearly what the organization stood for. It had to be honest and fair and I think that much was learned by WFOT of the way in which support to an organization that deserved that support could be provided. The fact that the Nordic countries eventually saw the benefits of helping disadvantaged students is an indication of a battle in which there were no losers but only winners. I believe WFOT has come out stronger and very much more secure in its attempts to put its aims and objectives into practice”.* (Concha, 1993).

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4. Ibid., page 43.
5. Ibid., page 4.
6. Prof. Forget, Andrée, Canada. Questionnaire response, September, 1992.
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8. 1986 Council Meeting Minutes, U.K. page 55.
9. Ibid., page 57.
10. Mendez, A., A Chronicle of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists. 1986, Page 96.
11. Ibid.
12. Dr. Warhadé, M.S., India, letter dated January 12, 1993 to author.

## APPENDIX IX – TRC Submission Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa

This Appendix presents the submission (dated 10 Sept. 1997) by the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa (OTASA) to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)<sup>29</sup>.

### TRC Submission

*One is never completely relieved of responsibility and complicity vis-à-vis the society to which one belongs*  
Hendrik Ibsen

The South African Association for Occupational Therapists was renamed the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa in July 1996. This followed a period of reflection about the Association and examination of its past and future. The process was led by a steering committee and involved occupational therapy staff throughout the country. The culmination was a new Constitution and a different name (OTASA). Prior to this the Association excluded occupational therapy assistants from full membership and was generally not supported by black members of the profession.

Occupational therapy is founded on a belief system that values human dignity, individuality and holistic health. Ethical standards form a closely knit fabric within which occupational therapy is practised. The content of the "Code of Ethics" of the Association was acknowledged by the World Federation of Occupational Therapists, and this helped to prevent the exclusion of South African occupational therapists from the world body during the apartheid years 1960-1994, despite vigorous lobbying from some of the member countries.

This submission addresses the role which the Association played during the period under review by the TRC. For many years the Association did not act in opposition to the events and attitudes of the time, or make any protest against the impact of apartheid on occupational therapy clients/patients and staff. During the late 1980's and early 1990's the Association wrote a series of

letters to various Government authorities, including the then State President, the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Health objecting to discriminatory practices. Statements were not issued publicly or through occupational therapy channels objecting to gross violations of human rights, unjust health practices, discriminatory service provision and the exclusion of black students from some occupational therapy programmes. The Association lacked a corporate "voice", and failed in some instances to join the outcry about different standards of health care, the absence of equity in the distribution of resources, and the well-being of disempowered citizens.

Some occupational therapy staff were involved in the struggle. However, therapists had to meet the challenges, traumas and problems of the time in their own way. The Association did not use the established channels of communication to openly address the difficulties and dilemmas that their members were exposed to. Few experienced overt support for what they tried to do, when confronted with the impact that apartheid had on the daily lives of their patients/clients. The personal burden of guilt and despair could not be shared within the Association, which was perceived as preferring not to be involved in "politics". Members were afraid to test the strength of their convictions within the context of the professional organisation. The solidarity of the Association became more important than the welfare of the individual members, and the people who they sought to serve. We wonder if individual members experienced a sense of isolation and despair, and do not know today how many left the profession as a result of this. The Association also acknowledges that the limited

participation of black members of the profession in the affairs of the Association over a long period is an irreparable loss.

It is the earnest intention of the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa to inform all occupational therapy staff and students about the necessity for vigilance in all matters concerning their accountability, honour and service responsibilities. As co-guardians and partners with all other health workers of the health and welfare of our clients/patients, the Association will endeavour to play a constructive part in the future. This will be effected through keeping our members and students informed about basic human and health rights and alerting them to the dangers of all forms of bias, particularly with respect to the ethics of occupational therapy practice. Furthermore, the Association is resolved to speak out against any practice or event that threatens or harms the rights of our members and patients/clients in the future.

The Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa acknowledges the omissions of the past and undertakes to work actively and continuously to eliminate bias and discrimination in our organisation in the future.



Kim Phuc, who was a victim of the bombing that occurred during the Vietnam war, said years after the event:

*"We cannot change history but we should try to do things for the present and for the future to promote peace".*

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To provide the reader with additional context to this TRC submission, I include the opening paragraph of a research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, titled 'Evaluation of the Health Sector Hearing: Conceptualising Human Rights and Reconciliation':

<sup>29</sup> Executive Committee OTASA (1998). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Submission from the Occupational Therapy Association of South Africa to the TRC's Health Sector, 10 September 1997. South African Journal of Occupational Therapy. 27 (2), p 2.

*“South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) engaged in an ambitious process of addressing the country's violent past through investigating past human rights abuses, listening to victims' stories and developing recommendations to prevent future abuses. As part of this process, the TRC held various sectoral hearings to highlight the role of these sectors in South Africa's past. The health sector hearing was one such hearing and has been hailed as an important step in the process of promoting reconciliation, transforming health services in South Africa and promoting a human rights culture among health professionals. While recognizing some significant achievements by the TRC in this regard, this paper raises concerns about the way that the hearing (and the health sector in South Africa more generally) has conceptualised reconciliation and how it has approached the question of promoting human rights.” (Van der Merwe, 2000, p. 1).*

Revealing a difference in content and tone, Duncan (1999)<sup>30</sup> juxtaposed OTASA's submission with a testimony from a white physiotherapist who presented on behalf of the Physiotherapy Association of South Africa at the Health Sector Hearings in June 1997:

*“It was not difficult to notice the gross human rights violations and inequalities caused by the Apartheid policies. I think for us to excuse ourselves as unknowing, innocent participants is dishonest. I think it would be more accurate to apologize for the apathy, the passive way we accepted Apartheid by not challenging the status quo in the hospitals where we worked every day. Being white and sheltered is no excuse. We did not have blinkers and are not people who cannot think. I feel that integrity calls for us to apologize, admit to our blindness and acknowledge the sins of omission. We were wrong and we can learn from that.” (Goodley, 1998, in Duncan, 1999, p.5).*

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## APPENDIX X – Review of Occupational Therapy and Occupational Science Discourses

This Appendix provides the reader with detailed information regarding how the review of occupational therapy and occupational science literature and discourse (see Chapter section 2.2.2) was carried out, what sources were used and its results.

In the Statement of Problem (Chapter section 1.2), occupational therapy and occupational science in South Africa were appraised as being ill-positioned and ill-prepared to meet post 1994 apartheid South Africa’s major societal transformation challenges, particularly the needs of ‘healing’ and ‘nation [humanity] building’. In order to establish a baseline for what might be missing in their body of knowledge to date about ‘humans as occupational beings’, and ‘human occupation in relation to health’, an extensive literature and discourse review within and beyond South Africa, was conducted, adopting a thematic trend analysis. I considered ‘humanity’ and ‘humanness’ fundamental concepts for occupational therapy and occupational science, given that whenever we humans ascribe this quality to some yet deny it to others, these ascriptions and denials have very real impacts on health and wellbeing. As in the review of public discourse, my search focused on the ‘presence-absence distribution’ of the notions ‘humanity’, ‘humanness’, and related forms hereof in: titles, abstracts and/or key-words in articles; indexes in books; general matches in policy and other relevant documents of professional organizations (Table 1).

SOURCES	Journals OT & OS (>20.000 articles) (1970-2016)	Key-text books OT & OS (28) (2000-2016)	OT Practice Models (6)	WFOT Position papers (2004-2016)	WFOT Min. Standards (2016)	WFOT Congress (1954-2018)	AOTA-AOPF (2013)	AOTA Slagle Lectures (1955-2016)	SAAOT/OTASA Conferences (1976-2016)
MATCHES	Title Abstracts Keywords	Titles Chapters Index	Keywords Index	Body of text	Body of text	Themes Keynotes	Body of text	Title Abstracts Keywords	Themes Keynotes
humanity	11	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
inhumanity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanness	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
inhumaneness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humane	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
inhumane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanized	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanization	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanization	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
humanizing	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
dehumanizing	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Table 1 - Literature Review: Absence of Humanity Terminology in OT-OS Discourses

The review included the following sources: 1) occupational therapy and occupational science journal articles, accessed via the **OTDbase** (<https://otdbase.org>), the only online indexing and search service that contains over ten thousand abstracts from more than twenty global occupational therapy and occupational science journals since 1970, most of which in English but also some Spanish and Portuguese languages articles, and CINAHL (via Ebsco-host); 2) a selection of key-text books in occupational therapy and occupational science (North America, England, Australia/New Zealand and South Africa) (Curtin, Molineux & Supyk, 2009; Christiansen, Baum & Bass-Hagen, 2005; Christiansen & Townsend, 2010; Townsend & Polatajko, 2013; Watson & Swartz, 2004; Lorenzo et al, 2006; Alers & Crouch, 2011; Schell, Gillen & Scaffa, 2013; Wilcock, 2001; Wilcock, 2006; Zemke & Clark, 1996; Whiteford & Wright-St.Clair, 2005; Whiteford & Hocking, 2012); 3) occupational therapy practice models, years 2004 – 2014 (Kielhofner, 2004; Townsend & Polatajko, 2007; Christiansen, Baum & Bass, 2015; Iwama, 2006; Chapparo & Ranka, 2014; de Witt, 2014); 4) WFOT position papers 2004—2016 (WFOT webpage); 5) WFOT Minimum Standards for the Education of Occupational Therapists, 2016 (WFOT webpage), 6) WFOT world congress themes 1954—2018 (WFOT website); 7) AOTA Occupational Therapy Practice Framework (AOTA, 2013); 8) Eleanor Clarke Slagle Lectures (1955—2016), annually awarded to AOTA members who have creatively contributed to the development of the body of knowledge of the profession through research, education, and/or clinical practice. These lectures reflect and influence trends in where the profession currently is, where it came from and where it might be going. Considering AOTA's influence in shaping the profession, the researcher included these lectures as a source for the literature review (Padilla, 2011); 9) OTASA's Vona du Toit Lecture titles 1976—2016 (OTASA webpage).

In an attempt to illuminate the striking level of absence of the key-concepts of this doctoral study in the OTDbase's OT-OS journals, Table 2 juxtaposes the findings of Table 1 first column with the search results of a selection of what are arguably among the most common terms used in occupational therapy and occupational science journals.

	Search-words	Results	Results	Search-words
1	Humanity/Inhumanity	11/1	5940	Occupation
2	Humanness /Inhumaneness	2/0	5486	Occupational
3	Humane /Inhumane	6/0	1269	Activity
4	Humanized /Dehumanized	1/0	3184	Health
5	Humanization /Dehumanization	4/1	1171	Participation
6	Humanizing /Dehumanizing	0/1	339	Well-being

**Table 2 - Juxtaposing Study's Search Terms with OTDbase Key Terms**

Although an index section review of 30 **key-text books** in occupational therapy and occupational science did not find a single match for the search terms that were used, I happened to be familiar with a reference that speaks directly to the study's key-phrase 'humanity affirmations and enactments'. In her 1998 publication 'An Occupational Perspective of Health' (Wilcock, 1998), Ann Wilcock makes reference to the American psychiatrist Bockoven who in his 1972 book 'Moral Treatment in Community Mental Health' (Bockoven, 1972), asserted that "occupational therapy has a message that can be more effectively utilized if it is not limited to being a service solely for sick people" (p. 219), and "occupational therapy is a neglected source of community re-humanization" (p. 217), and "occupational therapists could and should assume effective leadership roles in humanizing [American] occupational life by emancipating it from standardization and conformity" (p. 222). Basically, I believe that Bockoven also realized part of the untapped, not yet realized potential of occupational therapy and nudged the profession to provide leadership in social change. It is not clear as to what may have allowed him to see this potential. I did not yet find any sources that may answer this question but intuit that Bockoven had witnessed first-hand and over time the work done and impact had by the occupational therapists that he had worked with.

Although I do consider the zero matches search result in key-text books to be strikingly revealing, I anticipate that it is possible that some of search terms may have been used but that for some reason they may not have been picked up by the publisher's Indexers (bibliographers). For example, one of the chapters that I contributed to *Occupational Therapies without Borders – Volume Two* (Kronenberg, Pollard & Sakkelaridou, 2011), titled 'Ubuntourism: engaging divided people in post-apartheid South Africa' (Kronenberg & Ramugondo, 2011), the terms 'humanity' and 'humanizing' actually were used and in a way

that resonates closely with this study's main phrase 'humanity affirmations and enactments'. Also, I think that some of the contents in some of the text-books could possibly be appropriately described by using some of the search terms, for example, chapters that share occupational therapists' engagements with refugees, immigrants, or so called marginalized populations in general.

The review of six Occupational Therapy Practice Models, WFOT Positions Papers (12 of 26), WFOT Minimum Standards (2016), WFOT Key-Notes (1954 – 2014), WFOT Congress themes 1954 -2018), AOTA 2013 Practice Framework, Eleanor Clarke Slagle Lectures (1955-2016), and SAAOT/OTASA conferences Vona du Toit memorial lectures (1976 – 2016) once again encountered a virtual absence of the search terms.

In an email consultation with Clare Hocking, the editor of the Journal of Occupational Science (JOS), she shared: *'My recall is that the terms you're looking for have not featured highly in JOS. My impression is that we've only scratched the surface on the possibility that occupations might be dehumanizing, or that the conditions that determine people's occupations might have dehumanizing effects'* (personal communication, Clare Hocking, 10 February 2016).

In **summary**, the review of occupational therapy and occupational science discourse yielded a striking absence of (significant direct references to) the notions 'humanity', 'humanness', and/or their related forms (inhumanity; inhumaneness; humane; inhumane; humanized; dehumanized; humanization; dehumanization; humanizing; dehumanizing), making the focus of this study all the more relevant. A problematic consequence, whether or not intended, is the fact that these concepts remain neglected, marginalized and under-theorized with resultant implications for our profession and discipline's value positioning and preparedness as a sufficiently vital and unique resource to post 1994 apartheid South Africa. Although it was beyond the scope of this review to determine possible causes of this gap in the body of knowledge, I intuit that this 'loud absence' does not straightforwardly reflect an indication that this study's key-terms 'humanity' and 'humanness' (and related terminology) are necessarily regarded as insignificant by our fields. I think that it is more likely that the meanings of these terms are inferred in more commonly used terminology such as 'humanism' (as philosophy of occupational therapy); 'human rights', 'human development' and 'human dignity'. However, in light of the Historicized Dual Occupational Appraisal, it appears to be pertinent that the profession and discipline commit to generating critical in-depth understandings of human occupation, health and their interrelationship, not just also

but particularly through these thus-far overlooked, taken for granted or neglected conceptual lenses. This may actually point to a possible case of epistemic violence, dehumanizing (human) occupation by stripping it of humanity, thereby reducing the person to the status of an object. Here, the sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos may prompt us to tap into what he coined as ‘epistemologies of the south’ (Sousa Santos, 2014), and to exercise a ‘sociology of absences’, that is, ‘an inquiry aimed at explaining that what does not exist—the knowledge gap identified here—may in fact be actively produced as non-existent, that is, as a non-credible alternative to what exists [...] to transform impossible into possible objects, absent into present objects (Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 238).

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## APPENDIX XI – Overview Multiple Sources of ‘Shackles Snapshots’

### BECOMING A TENANT

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- Appendix XI – Copies of Email Consultations with NICRO and Department of Correctional Services

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### **SPEAKING UP IN PUBLIC**

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## **APPENDIX XII – Copies Email Consultations with PANSА, NICRO & DCS**

Presented below, I copied in email consultations that took place during the study's information gathering stage with the following social actors: **Performing Arts Network of South Africa (PANSА); National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO); and Department of Correctional services (DCS)**. This correspondence will be chronologically presented in the following order, first with PANSА (related to the 'Competition' case), followed by NICRO and DCS (related to the 'Becoming a Tenant' case).

### **Performing Arts Network of South Africa (PANSА)**

On Wed, Sep 14, 2016, Frank Kronenberg wrote: Dear Kurt and Michael. My name is Frank Kronenberg. I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Cape Town. I am in the process of finishing up a research study that focuses on: 'Everyday enactments of humanity affirmations in neo-apartheid South Africa'. It is a collective case study with embedded narrative inquiry. One of the nine cases is about an everyday life incident of 'Competition', which tells the story of one of the study's participants experience and circumstances of having his personhood affirmed. After registering with PANSА, he had successfully negotiated several rounds of auditions and he got to perform at FIFA World Cup stages back in 2010. I am consulting with you because I seek data (stats) regarding auditions in South Africa, for example: how many people get to do these auditions, how many are turned down; there may be something out-there capturing what being turned down means and does, along with contextual background about available avenues for those with creative talents to get somewhere in SA. Are you in a position to point me to this kind of information? Thanking you in advance for responding to this message. Regards, Frank

On 26 September 2016, Frank Kronenberg wrote: Dear Kurt & Michael. Last week I had spoken to Michel over the phone regarding my consultation below. He had indicated to speak with you about it. If I would not hear back, that I should get back in touch. Thank you for making the effort to respond. Kind regards. Frank

On Mon, Sep 26, 2016, Michael Britton wrote: Dear Frank. After a discussion with Kurt, we regret to inform you that we do not have access to the sort of information you require. Nor do we know of any person or organisation that might track the sort of data that you require. Regards. Michael Britton  
National Administrator

On 26 September 2016, Frank Kronenberg wrote: Thank you Michael & Kurt for replying to my consultation! Though I would have preferred at least a lead to another possible source, the fact that you regret also not having this available may in itself be telling a story, that the monitoring and generating of 'stats and qualitative data' about this matter may not be regarded relevant. May I ask you for your personal or rather PANSА opinion, whether such data might indeed be useful to have? Kind regards. Frank

On Mon, Sep 26, 2016, Michael Britton wrote: Hi Frank. Auditions are a bit like competitions - as many as 100 people might audition for one part. Nobody bothers to track those who don't get selected, and (I think) very few track those who do succeed. Auditions could be for a part in an advert, as an extra in a movie, as well as for actors/musicians/dancers in a show. It's not unusual to hear auditions for parts in an advert being referred to as "a cattle call" - where potentially hundreds of wannabe performers turn up. For the 2010 World Cup entertainers in Cape Town, PANSА auditioned hundreds and hundreds of individuals and groups for a limited number of places. It will always be like that unless there are more

theatres and performance venues, and more people who attend theatre or local live music events. Personally, I see little use for data that tracks this, and can see little application for that data in the day to day business of PANSAs, except to tell people they have a 1% or 5% chance of being selected. And I think they would already know that. Michael Britton - National Administrator

From: Frank Kronenberg - Date: Mon, Sep 26, 2016 - Subject: Re: Consultation for a PhD @ UCT - To: Michael Britton - Cc: Kurt Egelhof: Useful input Michael. You are painting a clear context picture within which these auditions are to be understood. Thank you for making the effort to elaborate on your opinion from a PANSAs position. Regards. Frank

**National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO)**

From: Frank Kronenberg - Sent: 08 September 2016 - To: info@nicro.co.za - Subject: PhD @ UCT Consultation: Dear NICRO representative, may I request your assistance with finding statistics and qualitative evidence regarding obstacles that ex-offenders/parolees face in South Africa in securing housing? Kind regards, Frank Kronenberg - PhD candidate, UCT

On Thu, Sep 8, 2016 at 3:52 PM, Lynne Thackeray wrote: Dear Frank. Thank you for writing to us at our [info@nico.co.za](mailto:info@nico.co.za) email address. I'm forwarding your email to Betzi Pierce, National Operations Manager, for a response to your request. Regards, Lynne Thackeray - Resource Mobilisation Coordination

On Thu, Sep 8, 2016 at 4:20 PM, Frank Kronenberg wrote: Thank you very much for your speedy reply Lynne. Looking forward to hear from Betzi. Kind regards. Frank

From: Frank Kronenberg - Sent: 14 September 2016 - To: Lynne Thackeray - Cc: Betzi Pierce - Subject: Re: PhD @ UCT Consultation: Dear Lynne. I have not yet received any reply from Betzi. Is it possible that she may not have received the message or perhaps she is not in office? Kind regards, Frank

On Wed, Sep 14, 2016 at 10:13 AM, Lynne Thackeray wrote: Dear Frank. Betzi is our National Operations Manager and runs an extremely busy portfolio. I am meeting with her a bit later today and will ask her to look at your request. Regards, Lynne Thackeray - Resource Mobilisation Coordination

From: Frank Kronenberg - Sent: 14 September 2016 - To: Lynne Thackeray - Cc: Betzi Pierce Subject: Re: PhD @ UCT Consultation: Wonderful Lynne. And thank you for informing me about Betzi's very heavy workload. An email with a request is easily written and send. But many of us know that keeping up w emails at times costs full days! Thank you for bringing it to Betzi's attention! Kind regards, Frank

From: Lynne Thackeray - Sent: 14 September 2016 - To: Frank Kronenberg - Cc: Betzi Pierce Subject: RE: PhD @ UCT Consultation: You're welcome! Lynne Thackeray - Resource Mobilisation Coordination

From: Betzi Pierce - Date: Wed, Sep 14, 2016 - To: Frank Kronenberg - Cc: Lynne Thackeray - Subject: RE: PhD @ UCT Consultation: Dear Frank, unfortunately, NICRO does not keep any statistics related to the problems that parolees face in terms of housing. The Department of Correctional Services might be able to assist you. Kind regards, Betzi Pierce - National Operations Manager

## Department of Correctional Services (DCS)

On Mon, Sep 19, 2016 at 9:15 AM, Frank Kronenberg wrote: Good morning Cathleen. We just spoke over the phone and you suggested that I sent you an email with my consultation request. As I had already shared, I had first approached National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders for assistance with finding statistics and qualitative evidence regarding obstacles that ex-offenders/parolees face in South Africa in securing housing. The response I received from them was: "Can you refer me to people at DoCS who may be in a position to provide insight into this matter?" THANK YOU for assisting Cathleen! Kind regards, Frank Kronenberg - PhD candidate, UCT

From: Frank Kronenberg - Sent: 26 September 2016 - To: Februarie, Cathleen - Subject: Re: Consultation UCT doctoral candidate: Good morning Cathleen. It appears that you may not have received my message of Sep 19, hence I'm re-sending it. Looking forward to hearing from you. Kind regards, Frank

From: Februarie, Cathleen - Sent: 29 September 2016 - To: 'Frank Kronenberg' - Subject: RE: Consultation UCT doctoral candidate: Sir, I did send your communication to respective officials at the Community Corrections Offices. Apparently they do assist with complaints and concerns regarding housing after offenders are released. Will do a follow up and inform you accordingly. Thank you. Cathleen Februarie (Deputy Director) Area Coordinator ([www.dcs.gov.za](http://www.dcs.gov.za))

From: Frank Kronenberg - Date: Mon, Dec 12, 2016 - To: "Februarie, Cathleen" - Subject: Re: FW: Consultation UCT doctoral candidate: Thank you very much Ms Februarie! Your follow-up is most helpful. Kind regards, Frank Kronenberg

On Mon, Dec 12, 2016, Februarie, Cathleen wrote: Sir, my message underneath still has reference. After my consultation with respective Community Corrections Offices' it is reported that:

- Our officials need to confirm addresses provided by parolee's/ex-offenders to monitor their behaviors whilst under correctional supervision and or parole.
- Our Department is not responsible to secure any houses for ex-offenders/parolees.
- In cases where houses are not secure, ex-offenders/parolees must provide alternative addresses to his/her monitoring officials to enable the official to monitor the behavior of the ex-offender/parolee whilst placement back into society materializes.
- By not adhering to this instruction as stipulated in his parole conditions, the ex-offender/parolee can be incarcerated again and imprisonment will be instituted.
- No housing is thus provided by Correctional Services to ex-offenders/parolees.
- We only monitor the suitability of addresses provided by the ex-offender/parolee.
- Halfway Houses is also an option for those who do not have placement, with the intense that the ex-offender/parolee will look for a stable address. This only materializes in the Cape Metropole and not in the Rural Areas.

Hope this will assist you.

Thank you. Cathleen Februarie (Deputy Director)

## APPENDIX XIII – Background Information on ‘Whiteness’

In **Appendix XIII**, I provide additional content on the notion of ‘whiteness’, however without intending to push a ‘single story’ regarding the meaning of this construct. I will present two interpretations, one from South Africa and one from Canada.

Within the context of ‘post 1994 apartheid South Africa’, a historically entrenched dehumanized/ing society, embodying embedded violent-wounded-divided human relations, I find it appropriate and useful to share a link to a 2015 article, titled “**Race: What whiteness isn’t**”, by Gillian Schutte, who self-identifies as a South African anti-racism educator, activist, social justice feminist and film-maker.

**Source:** Schutte, G. (2015, March 15). Race: What whiteness isn’t. Retrieved from <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/race-what-whiteness-isnt-1832034> [24 April 2018].

The second elaboration on ‘whiteness’ is put together by the so called ‘**CARED Collective**’, an acronym that stands for ‘*Calgary Anti-Racism Education*’ They introduce themselves as follows:

‘The CARED Collective was established in January 2009, and consists of six women from the anti-racism community in Calgary, Canada. Each member brought her own knowledge of racism and anti-racism and a commitment to anti-racism activism. The committee met regularly, with small working group meetings held more frequently with members assuming a variety of roles. Whether we acted as advisors, creators, editors, visionaries or providers of food and support, we all contributed to the creation of this online anti-racism resource.’ (<http://www.ucalgary.ca/cared/>)

### Understanding Whiteness

To understand the history of the ideology of ‘race,’ and combating racism today, involves understanding (and challenging) ‘whiteness’ as the foundation of racial categories and racism.

At first glance, it may seem that in common usage in Alberta, the word ‘white’ is used to refer specifically to ‘skin colour’ or ‘race.’ Initially, this might seem like reverting back to, or reinforcing, the old (and racist) categories of European imperialism, and in some cases, it may in fact be meant that way! (We are profoundly concerned, for example, by the increase in neo-Nazi/white supremacist activity in our province.)

In our experience, however, we have found that when people refer to ‘white people’ (either in self-identifying, or identifying individuals/groups), it is in fact being used as a shorthand reference to **whiteness**, about which people may have varied understandings you will need to clarify. In other words, it is being used as a shorthand for the privileges/power that people who appear ‘white’ receive, because they are not subjected to the racism faced by people of colour and Indigenous people.

As with the term ‘race,’ it is important to clarify the differences between “white” (a category of ‘race’ with no biological/scientific foundation) and “whiteness” as a powerful social

construction with very real, tangible, violent effects. Here are some useful definitions of 'whiteness,' followed by a list of its key features:

Racism is based on the concept of whiteness--a powerful fiction enforced by power and violence. Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white (Kivel, 1996, p. 19).

'Whiteness,' like 'colour' and 'Blackness,' are essentially social constructs applied to human beings rather than veritable truths that have universal validity. The power of Whiteness, however, is manifested by the ways in which racialized Whiteness becomes transformed into social, political, economic, and cultural behaviour. White culture, norms, and values in all these areas become normative natural. They become the standard against which all other cultures, groups, and individuals are measured and usually found to be inferior (Henry & Tator, 2006, pp. 46-67).

Drawing on the important work of Ruth Frankenberg (1993), the authors of Teach Me to Thunder: A Manual for Anti-Racism Trainers, write that whiteness is

*"a dominant cultural space with enormous political significance, with the purpose to keep others on the margin....white people are not required to explain to others how 'white' culture works, because 'white' culture is the dominant culture that sets the norms. Everybody else is then compared to that norm....In times of perceived threat, the normative group may well attempt to reassert its normativity by asserting elements of its cultural practice more explicitly and exclusively"* (p. 21).

An example of this normative whiteness was the furor concerning Baltej Singh Dhillon's fight to wear a turban, for religious reasons, as part of his RCMP uniform. The argument that the Mountie uniform was a 'tradition' that should not be changed belied white Canadians' perceptions of Sikh people and communities of colour as 'threatening' their position of privilege in Canada.

### **Key Features of Whiteness**

Whiteness is multidimensional, complex, systemic and systematic:

- It is **socially and politically constructed**, and therefore a learned behavior
- It does not just refer to skin colour but is **ideology** based on beliefs, values behaviors, habits and attitudes, which result in the unequal distribution of power and privilege based on skin colour (Frye, 1983; Kivel, 1996)
  - It represents a **position of power** where the power holder defines the categories, which means that the power holder decides who is white and who is not (Frye, 1983)
  - It is **relational**. "White" only exists in relation/opposition to other categories/locations in the racial hierarchy produced by whiteness. In defining 'others,' whiteness defines itself.
  - It is **fluid**- who is considered white changes over time (Kivel, 1996)
  - It is a **state of unconsciousness**: whiteness is often invisible to white people, and this perpetuates a lack of knowledge or understanding of difference which is a root cause of oppression (hooks, 1994)
  - It shapes how white people view themselves and others, and places white people in a **place of structural advantage** where white cultural norms and practices go unnamed and unquestioned (Frankenberg, 1993). Cultural racism is founded in the belief that

"whiteness is considered to be the universal . . . and allows one to think and speak as if Whiteness described and defined the world." (Henry & Tator, 2006, p. 327)

### **White versus Whiteness**

- race is scientifically insignificant.
- race is a socially constructed category that powerfully attaches meaning to perceptions of skin colour; inequitable social/economic relations are structured and reproduced (including the meanings attached to skin colour...) through notions of race, class, gender, and nation.
- whiteness is a set of normative privileges granted to white-skinned individuals and groups; it is normalized in its production/maintenance for those of that group such that its operations are 'invisible' to those privileged by it (but not to those oppressed/disadvantaged by it); it has a long history in European imperialism and epistemologies (for those who are of mixed ancestry and 'pass' as white, this normativity, I would assume, would not occur).
- distinct but not separate from ideologies and material manifestations of ideologies of class, nation, gender, sexuality, and ability.
- the meaning of 'whiteness' is historical and has shifted over time (ie Irish, southern European peoples-Italian, Spanish, Greek; have at times been 'raced' as non-white).

**Source:** Calgary Anti-Racism Education (CARED) (2015). Understanding whiteness. Retrieved from: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/cared/whiteness> [24 April 2018].

## APPENDIX XIV – Background Information on ‘3PA’

Appendix XIII provides background information on ‘3PA’, an acronym referring to ‘three interrelated personal-professional-political perspectives’ (‘3P’) and ‘archaeology’ (‘A’), metaphorically appreciated and applied in terms of exploring and interrogating who we are by carefully excavating where we come from, to better understand where we are going or where we are to be going. References to 3PA by different authors first appeared in 2006 (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006), and most recently in 2017 (Daniels & Verhoef, 2017), which may point to a sustained interest in and relevance of this critical pedagogical construct and its application. Figure 17 presents the evolution of depictions of 3PA between 2006 and 2017.

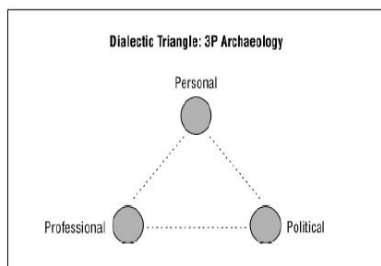


Figure 2. Dialectic triangle: 3P archaeology exploration (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006).

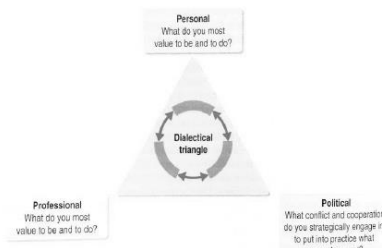


Figure 1.1 The process of 3P archaeology. In-depth exploration of who we are and what we stand (up) for at three interrelated levels. Franssen & Kronenberg, 2013



Figure 5.5 3PA-archeologie: diagnose van het handelingswetszijn. Bron: Kronenberg, Pollard & Ramugondo, 2011.



3PA Trigger-Questions	
<b>Personally...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>what do you really care about the most in (your) life?</li> <li>what instances in your unfolding life story have been critical in shaping who you are (becoming)?</li> <li>how diverse is the social network that can count on your support and vice versa?</li> </ul>
<b>Politically...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>do you intend to bring about any particular change in the world?</li> <li>what are you willing to give up to bring about the change you want to see in the world?</li> <li>how do you get others to embrace change?</li> </ul>
<b>Professionally...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>what do you regard as your profession's main purpose?</li> <li>why did you choose your profession as your instrument of change?</li> <li>who would you regard as your profession's most important partners in advancing health and health care?</li> </ul>

Figure 17: Evolution of Depictions of 3PA (2006 - 2017)

3PA, which also strongly resonates with occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015), originated when Kronenberg and Pollard (2006) had identified a need to challenge and interrogate apparent structural levels of incongruence between on the one hand, occupational therapy's proclaimed humanistic principles and commitment to advancing human rights, and, on the other hand, what the profession was and is actually doing: practice, education, research, professional governance of profession (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006; Pollard, Kronenberg, Sakellariou, 2008; Kronenberg, Pollard & Ramugondo, 2011). The intention behind 3PA is a commitment to learning to raise the 'right kind of questions', 'doing the right thing' in the decisions we make and in the way we act. This calls us to recognize the importance of being deeply ('archaeology') connected with who we are and where we come from. The central question with which the latest version of 3PA engages is 'How occupationally sound are we?' Using the interrelated notions humanity—occupation—health, this question is then unpacked examined from personal, professional and political perspectives.

Below, I present relevant excerpts from a journal article and some book chapters in which 3PA was referred to.

## 2006

### **Article version of a plenary address at the AOTA conference in Charlotte, North Carolina in the United States which focused on the 'Political dimensions of occupation and the roles of occupational therapy'.**

Thus, summing up, what the people who shared their views and experiences in this presentation seem to have in common are at least these two characteristics: First, a willingness and courage to leave their comfort zones, to embrace the unknown, to challenge unjustified borders, believing that doing so allows human beings to learn and grow. Second, a predisposition to approach others as absolute equals, deserving and capable of influencing their own health and well-being through dignified and meaningful participation in daily life.

What does occupational therapy stand for and stand up for in the world? Indeed, if we aspire to leadership in promoting the value of occupation, referring to people's capacity and opportunities to influence their health and well-being through dignified and meaningful participation in daily life, this requires us to be a more values- or principles-driven agent of change. Evidence-based practice seems to mainly focus on what it means to be effective, but it doesn't seem to be concerned as much with what it means to be socially responsible. This calls for a strong commitment to making sure that we are raising the right kind of questions, doing the right thing in the decisions we make and in the way we act. How then do we know what is right? This requires us to be deeply connected with who we are and where we come from.

For example, by engaging in 3P archaeology (see Figure 2), which describes an in-depth investigation of who we are at interrelated personal, professional, and political levels (Pollard et al., in press), several questions are elicited. What do you personally find most important in your life, and how does this relate to our profession's core values? The political dimension then is about the question, not what can we gain from our occupational therapy practice in the world, but what are we willing to give up, what are we prepared to fight for in order to put into practice that which we and our profession find most important. Our main concern and challenge is to be true to who we really are and what we are to do.

We cannot advance our core belief and live up to our promise to society without engaging in situations of conflict and cooperation. However, we must learn to pick our fights wisely and strategically forge collaborations with other actors (stakeholders) in our local and global communities who can benefit from what we are about (such as consumer rights and other grassroots organizations, the business community, civil society organizations, governmental institutions, the [popular] media, and likeminded disciplines such as anthropology).

Kronenberg, F., & Pollard, N. (2006). Political dimensions of occupation and the roles of occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 60(6), 617-626. <https://ajot.aota.org/article.aspx?articleid=1870004>

### 3PA and Occupational Consciousness

It can be difficult for professional workers to find an objective position that is not tangled up in the ideology and the interests of the dominant order which frame their actions. Even activities that appear to be counter to the prevailing system may be tolerated in order to vent dissident expression in a way that does not present as a serious challenge. By their nature professionals and **professional bodies** to which they belong adhere to the principles and structure of the dominant social order to build and preserve their power; change can represent a threat to the operational privileges that have been carefully negotiated overtime. However, representing the interests of professionals entails conflict as well as cooperation, and it is inevitable that in this process occupational therapists have to develop strategic and tactical reflections. In her doctoral thesis, Ramugondo (2009) introduce the notion occupational consciousness (Box 1.1) which is rooted in the notions of political consciousness advanced by Fanon (1963) and Biko (1987). What value can our discourses and practices of change and the process of raising occupational consciousness bring to the struggles of people with experiences of disability, poverty, and social exclusion, and whose social position is often limited by the hegemonic exercise of power? Occupational consciousness and 3P Archaeology (3PA) may serve to illustrate how our values as well as individual and collective doing are critically intertwined with hegemony. 3PA is a tool that allows individuals and collectives to engage in critical in-depth introspection, deconstruction, and reaffirmation of their enacted values. It key-questions offer lenses to focus and reflect on our personal and professional values – what we stand for, our ‘talk’, and in terms of exercising our politics; to what extent are we putting these values into practice – what we stand up for, ‘our walk’? Everyday occupational therapy practice presents opportunities where the 3P’s of 3PA are expressed. The extent to which occupational therapists are conscious of how their everyday actions perpetuate hegemonies (occupational consciousness) that may negatively impact the lives of the people we aim to serve is critical (Morin, 1999). It appears therefore that there is a conceptual and practical goodness of fit between raising occupational consciousness and engaging with the 3PA as part of reflecting on how we are doing in living up to our potential (Kronenberg, Pollard, & Ramugondo, 2011, p 2).

Kronenberg, N. Pollard, D., & Ramugondo, E. (2011). The courage to dance politics. In F. Kronenberg, N. Pollard, & D. Sakellariou (Eds.). *Occupational Therapies without Borders: Towards an Ecology of Occupation-Based Practices* (pp. 1 - 16). Oxford: Churchill-Livingstone/Elsevier.

**Nature of political reasoning as a foundation for engagement – Chapter reports on a collaborative process in which we – occupational therapy educators from three universities in the Western Cape, South Africa, reflected on the collective experience of political reasoning. It will elucidate how explicit acknowledgement of power issues is central to engagement with the purpose of meaningful collaboration in practice.**

Kronenberg and Pollard (2006) highlight the fact that meaningful engagement requires truthful interchange between actors that have allowed for the dialectic triangle of the personal professional and political to inform the conversation. This then becomes a resource for working with communities. *The basis for ‘good practice’ in occupational therapy is the*

*possibility for all the actors involved to meaningfully connect with one another, a process akin to conversations that allow people with different views of a topic to learn from each other. The actors are invited to engage in '3P archaeology' – an honest conversation with one's self – which explores interrelated personal, professional and political perspectives of whom one is (to be) and what one is (to) do [based on workshop presented by Kronenberg, 2007].* The process we went through mirrors what Kronenberg and Pollard refer to in the above. Our honest uncovering of the conflicts and cooperations while holding onto our collective vulnerabilities meant that we moved from being superficial to a deeper level of engagement. This gave us the foundation on which we could build our still unfolding relationship. This process led to our separate entities dissolving, ultimately resulting in true collaboration. Kronenberg and Pollard (2006) also critique the occupational therapists' tendency to ask what they can gain from their occupational therapy practice rather than to ask what they are willing to give up. As authors coming from institutions of higher learning where intellect is revered, the hardest aspect for ourselves to let go of in this process was taking an academic approach. This meant we had to give up our positions of power. We struggled with having to attend to the personal and make this a key-part of this endeavour. Discussions of these issues highlighted the fact that we all have power sources and all have vulnerabilities and that these, in fact, are not very different. The realizations taken from our process of engagement gave us an actual experience of how conceptual frameworks are applied in practice. It illuminated the interrelatedness between concepts of power, politics and relationships, power is within politics and politics is unavoidable in each and every engagement. The next step for us would be to ensure that this engagement continues. We have laid the foundation for a unity of understanding about shared educational and/or professional goals and a willingness to take risks together. We arrived at the understanding that political engagement is about being forced by circumstances and taking up the challenge to collaborate where energy goes into explicating the issues of power and privilege that impact on the layers of people involved in making the project happen (De Jongh et al, 2011, p. 318-319).

De Jongh, JC, Firfirey, F., Hess-April, L., Ramugondo, E., Smit, N., & Van Niekerk, L. (2011). Nature of political reasoning as a foundation for engagement. In F. Kronenberg, N. Pollard, & D. Sakellariou (Eds.). *Occupational Therapies without Borders: Towards an Ecology of Occupation-Based Practices* (pp. 313-319). Oxford: Churchill-Livingstone/Elsevier.

## 2017

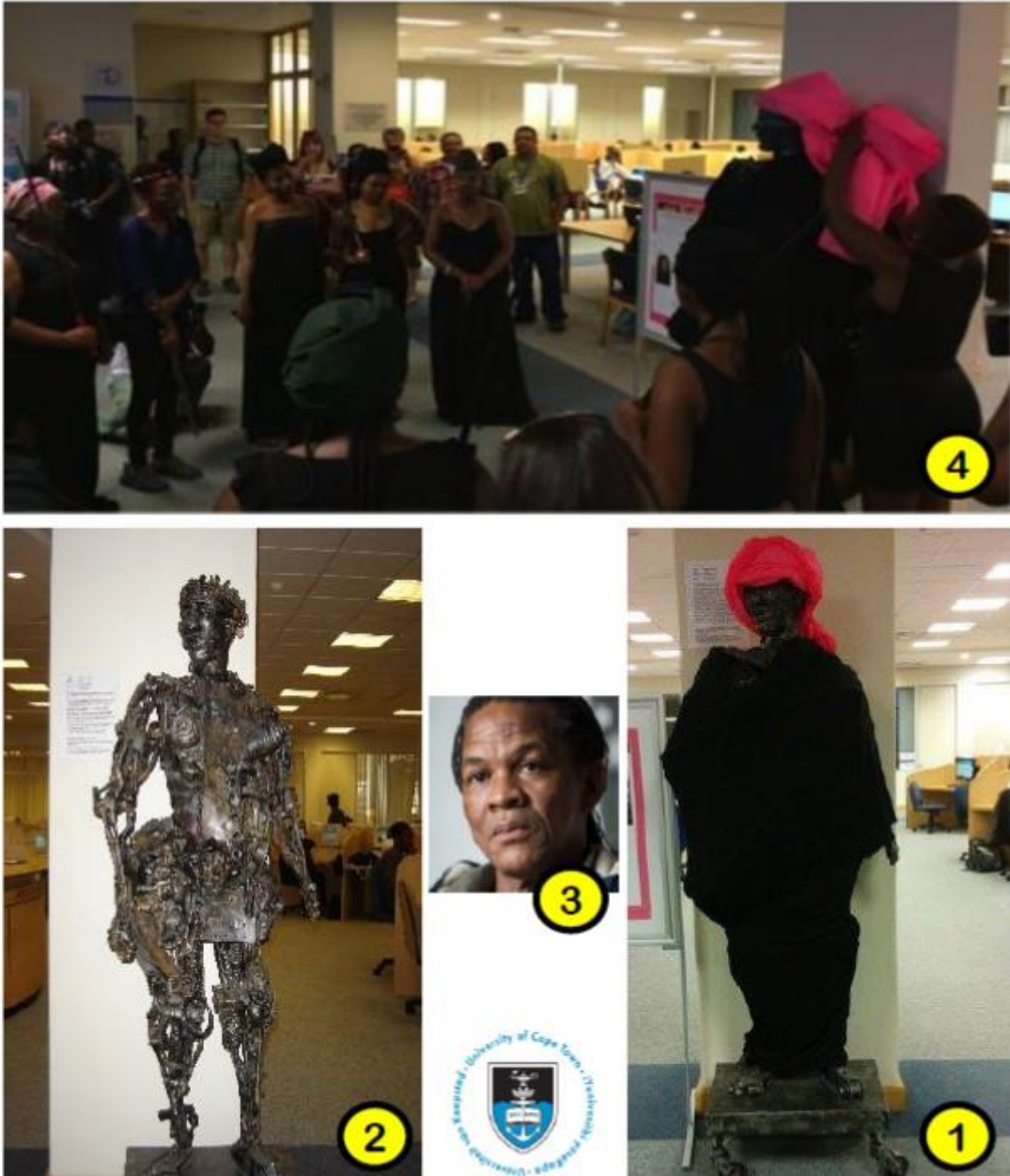
**In the 2017 edition of the Dutch occupational therapy handbook 'Grondslagen van de Ergotherapie', in the chapter 'Professioneel Handelen', authors Daniels and Verhoef make reference to 3PA as a tool for exercising 'political reasoning'.**

'Politiek redeneren kan iedere ergotherapeut leren. Het vraagt echter wel om een keuze, een levenshouding te ontwikkelen die voortdurend kritische reflectie vraagt op persoonlijke, professionele en politieke waarden, veronderstellingen, belangen en doelen. Om ergotherapeuten te ondersteunen bij de reflectieve ontwikkelingen Kronenberg and collega's (2006) het 3PA-model, met reflectievragen als 'wie zijn we?'; 'waar komen we vandaan?', 'waar staan we voor?', en 'wat is onze toegevoegde waarde in de maatschappij?' (Daniels & Verhoef, 2017, p. 471).

Daniels, R. & Verhoef, J. (2017). Professioneel handelen. In M. Le Granse, M. van Hartingsveldt, & A. Kinebanian (Eds). *Grondslagen van de Ergotherapie* (pp. 465-479). Houten: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum.

## APPENDIX XV – Background Information on sculpture of Sarah Baartman

Appendix XV offers background information to the cover image of this doctoral thesis report. The cover depicts an artistically touched photograph taken by the researcher of the contested robed (1) but originally naked sculpture (2) of Sarah Baartman. This work of art (2000) was created by the South African artist Willie Bester (3) and clothed by the #RhodesMustFall womxn and non-binary people (9 March 2006) during a ritual performance (4) which intended to restore the dignity of the Khoikhoi woman Sarah Baartman and, to commemorate the birth of the #RhodesMustFall movement. The sculpture is located in the Chancellor Oppenheimer Library, Upper Campus, University of Cape Town, South Africa. For background information regarding the contestation of this artwork, see Appendix XV.



## Sara Baartman on display and up for debate

Willie Bester's statue of Sara Baartman standing in the Oppenheimer Library at UCT, was robbed from April 2016 and remained so until December 2017, when the garments and robes were removed from the body of Sara Baartman by American librarian, William Daniels, who no longer works for UCT. With much uproar from students and staff alike, the Works of Art Committee (WOAC) hosted a public discussion on Tuesday, the 20th of March, in UCT's Molly Blackburn Hall to discuss the future of the statue and hear students' voices, along with the sculptor himself.



Image by Aaliyah Ahmed

In April 2016, a march was held from Bremner to Upper Campus to commemorate the Rhodes Must Fall movement. In the process, one of the stops was to visit the Sara Baartman sculpture in the Oppenheimer Library wherein eight womxn decided to robe Sara Baartman. A spokeswomxn from the library reports that, *"Sara Baartman, all her life, was stared at, and even as a work of art, was stared at again as you come up the stairs"*, justifying the acts of the student protestors.

Qondiswa James, one of the initial students to robe Sara Baartman, reports that the reason they robbed the sculpture was because Sara Baartman equally experienced the pain and trauma black students' bodies felt during the experience of the Rhodes Must Fall protests during 2015. James reports that this was an alternative method to listening to the narrative of black pain – rather, through visualisation. James finds that, despite Willie Bester's attempts at recreating a mould of Sara Baartman, *"she still remained an object" to "titillate the gaze of the [white fetishes]"*. James speaks into the objectification of black bodies at UCT and compares this to the life of Sara Baartman. Students who agree to robe the sculpture believe the naked sculpture keeps Sara an object of white colonial gaze and they wish to subvert this.

Willie Bester responds to Q&A's by explaining that he wanted to display alternative images of power as opposed to the institutions in South Africa that only display white power. A guest of the public discussion spoke to this by describing Sara Baartman's sculpture as a symbol of hope, strength, and in a position of power as the piece of art is made up of heavy metals and mechanical objects. Bester replied to James' point of black pain by responding as follows: *"my dream was to contribute to a better society... my sculpture will contribute to a place where we can overcome any pain"*.

The chairperson of the public discussion and representative from the WOAC (which has been curating art for UCT since July 2017) addresses Bester's concerns about the sculpture being removed, explaining that other works of art around UCT had to be removed purely to protect them, not censor them. The discussion concluded with the note that the WOAC will take a couple of weeks to deliberate on the discussions made and make a decision about the future of Sara Baartman's statue. Until then, the statue remains unrobed.

Petersen, C. (2018, April 9). Saraa Baartman on display and up for debate. Varsity Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://varsitynewspaper.co.za/2018/04/09/saraa-baartman-on-display-and-up-for-debate/> [24 April 2018].

## Sarah Baartman dialogue

This discussion focused on the location of artist Willie Bester's Sarah Baartman sculpture, as well as its robing and unrobing.

Van Zerf, E. (2018, MARCH 28). Sarah Baartman dialogue. VIDEO. Retrieved from <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-03-28-sarah-baartman-dialogue> [24 April 2018].

## A subtle kind of racism



Under the sub-header 'Institutional Racism':

*"In the UCT library you would pass the familiar naked sculpture of the Khoikhoi woman, Sarah Baartman, with her exaggerated buttocks that made her a freak show in Victorian England. You might feel that this sculpture prolongs her humiliation. Perhaps your views would alter if you knew that the sculptor, Willie Bester, is black and that he utilised the figure to project his personal pain. Or this may be irrelevant, and your anger at the sexual objectification of this woman – this black woman – may continue to burn."*

Price, M. (2017, August 16). A subtle kind of racism. City Press. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/a-subtle-kind-of-racism-20170716-2> [24 April, 2018].

## GroundUp: Sarah Baartman sculptor speaks out against art censorship



Photo: Willie Bester. Photo: Ashraf Hendricks

Artist Willie Bester, whose sculpture of Sarah Baartman in the University of Cape Town (UCT) library has been covered up, spoke to GROUNDUP. "I was trying to understand my own suffering," he told Natalie Pertsovsky.

One way he has done this is by finding connections to other people throughout history who have endured pain. This journey led him to Sarah Baartman.

"I heard about the experience of Sarah Baartman and I found some parallels with her story," he explains. "While listening to a poem written by Diana Ferrus, it already came up to me as a sculpture and then I decided to build (it)." The entire process, from searching for pieces in junk yards to putting the sculpture together, took four months.

According to Bester, he felt an instant connection to Sarah's story. Born in the Eastern Cape in the late 18th Century, she was taken to England at 25 years old to be put on display for crowds of curious onlookers who ogled her large breasts and buttocks – a sight so exotic in

Europe at the time as to be paid for. After being paraded around England as part of a freak show, Sarah's proprietors "fled to France with her and they continued in France until her death. And if that was also not enough, they then dissected her body and put it in glass bottles. It seems that this deep-rooted racism went beyond your death. It never stopped. I identified with what she went through," says Bester.

### **Covering Up Sara Baartman**

The Baartman sculpture was purchased by the UCT Works of Art Committee for the new Chancellor Oppenheimer Library in 2001, where it has stood since. It has been covered twice: first in April 2015 by student protesters and again on 9 March 2016 when students covered it as part of their procession to the Centre for African Studies Gallery meant to commemorate the anniversary of the Rhodes statue being removed. Bester found out about last year's events through an anonymous phone call. "I didn't know what the whole thing was about; there were no consultations," he says. "I was upset because it was not my intention to insult anybody by doing this sculpture. It was something about myself."

He struggles to understand the actions of students offended by the work. "If they could find a more decent way of expressing themselves ... That sculpture has been there for more than 12 years and it has created a lot of debate. A lot of people identify it with suffering. There's lots of dialogue created through that work."

Bester is demanding the restoration of his work to its original state. "I want it to be uncovered because it was not meant to be covered up," he says. To him, concealing Sarah's body — a body that defies today's beauty standards — is a step backwards. "You know there is always this thing of what is acceptable. If somebody is too fat or too tall, we tend to hide that person. We don't want to see (them)."

His work was constructed with the intention of challenging people to look within and recognise their prejudices, he says. "I specifically made that sculpture so that one can confront who we are and that should be acceptable ... To cover it up is to do exactly what one had fought against. One had fought for everyone to be acceptable with whatever deficiency they have, or what is seen as a deficiency." One of Bester's main criticisms of the fallist movements is the lack of knowledge by participants about the historical background and artistic implications of artworks.

Pertsovsky, N. (2017, June 5). Sarah Baartman sculptor speaks out against art censorship. GroundUp. Retrieved from: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/sara-baartman-sculptor-speaks-out-against-art-censorship/> [24 April 2018].

### **Rhodes Must Fall - The Movement and Sara Baartman**

Amohelang Mohajane:

*"Symbols of colonial and apartheid legacy became lighting rods and even artworks became questionable. The act of dressing did not only happen in the UCT library of Willie Bester's statue of Sarah Baartman in 2015 and 2016, but that of Rhodes as well where they used a sheet and some rope. This was to conceal this traumatic monument, but with regards to the Sarah Baartman statue the case was that of redressing her past and restoring her dignity."*

Mohajane, A. (n.d.). Rhodes Must Fall - The Movement and Sara Baartman. Retrieved from <https://saraiamtara.wordpress.com/rhodes-must-fall/> [24 April 2018].

## RMF womxn & non binary people decided to clothe Saartjie Baartman



Brian Kamanzi, a Cape Town-based spoken word poet and engineer by trade committed to the social upliftment of his fellow people:

*“Consistently over the days that followed, the collective occupying Azania House orchestrated protests and performance art demonstrations across the campus, interrogating the legacy of colonialism and how it is memorialised on campus. In a particularly powerful piece popularly titled Saartjie Baartman, a collective of artists left from Azania House and walked through the campus in chains, black paint and diapers, moving towards a sculpture on Baartman located in the University library.” – Brian Kamanzi (2015)*



SaartjieBaartman//Man walking with Chains.  
Photo credit: UCT Rhodes Must Fall

### The Saartjie Baartman performance

A small group of RMF students painted themselves black, wore only white loin cloths and chains, and walked in silence, to where the Baartman statue stands. They performed the piece and then did a written reflection on the performance. One of the performers/teachers explained that: “We reject her presentation in the library, we reject that her standing naked commemorates her and retains her dignity.

Further, we see no difference in the racist, sexist methods used by the French and British in the freak show attraction, than her presentation in the UCT Oppenheimer Library.”

“Thus we aimed to illustrate that the violent objectification and sexualisation of the black body is a system, which feeds into the stereotype of racial superiority so subtly and insidiously that it is hard to detect even by those bodies it represents in real life. So our aim is to challenge a history that represents us as a fetish, as base sexual beings.” “There are particular ways in which Saartjie Baartman’s spirit and legacy can be contextualised and respected. Thus in our climatic end, we draped her and covered her, hoping to show that these violences inflicted on the black body and psychology still continue, and we will not stop until we decolonise the black body and mind!”

#RhodesMustFall (2016, March 9). RMF womxn and non binary people have decided to clothe Saartjie Baartman. #RMFexpo. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/rhodesmustfall/status/707582517931597824> [24 April 2018].

### GroundUp: This is probably the list of artworks UCT has removed



Left: Willie Bester’s Saartjie Baartman sculpture on UCT. Right: Same sculpture after it was covered up.

‘A 2014 article criticising the over-representation of black bodies in negative and often degrading positions in artwork displayed across campus refers to a number of paintings and sculptures, including Willie Bester’s Saartjie Baartman and Diane Victor’s Pasiphae. Many of these were removed or covered up. These two artists are not on the list of 75 that GroundUp received, leading us to believe that the list of 75 is mostly separate from the 19 works.’

Pertsovsky, N. (2017, April 27). This is probably the list of artworks UCT has removed. Retrieved from <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/probably-list-artworks-uct-has-removed/> [24 April 2018].

### Quarrel over Sarah Baartman sculpture at UCT

Cape Town - The decision by a UCT librarian to uncover the sculpture of Sarah Baartman, commonly known as Saartjie Baartman, at the university's main library at the end of last year, has sparked a row.

The sculpture, by Willie Bester, had been covered up since March 2016, when student protesters wrapped it in cloth. William Daniels, then a senior UCT librarian, has taken responsibility for uncovering it, according to a GroundUp report.

Academics inside and outside UCT, and artists, including Bester himself, have praised the uncovering. But some members of the UCT community have publicly denounced Daniels.

Bester wrote to Daniels, thanking him, after finding out his sculpture had been uncovered. Bester has previously spoken to GroundUp about art censorship, and about the censorship of his Sarah Baartman sculpture, in particular.

"For nearly three years, the sculpture stood at the centre of the main library of the University of Cape Town, grotesquely demonstrating the university's trashing of freedom of expression', wrote Goldblatt.

"All who passed, bore witness to the violation of Willie Bester's art, yet few said anything and no one lifted a finger. Until an American, William Daniels, for whose guts and regard for our precarious democracy let us all give thanks."

In opposition, **UCT professor Elelwani Ramugondo** tweeted: "Why would a white man see the need to derobe a sculpture in order to expose a naked Sarah Baartman yet again?"

Ramugondo spent time as vice-chancellor Max Price's special advisor on transformation during the height of the Fallist Movement.

Ramugondo's husband and **UCT PhD candidate, Frank Kronenberg**, said in a Facebook post that the removal of the robe "can rightfully be regarded as provocation". He said he had asked librarians why this had been done.

### **Robed the sculpture, not covered it'**

Associate Professor Jay Pather, the head of the Works of Art Committee (WOAC) at UCT, told GroundUp that the covering of the sculpture had taken place in the "context of numerous artworks that foregrounded naked black bodies". He said that, from the students' perspective, they had "robed the sculpture, not covered it." Daniels, on the other hand, has argued that using the term "disrobe" fell "victim to the pathetic fallacy". He wrote: "The word 'disrobed' implies that a person was deprived of clothing. But the sculpture is not a person, and it was not clothed, but covered up with cloth."

Pertsovsky, N. (2018, March 3). Quarrel over Sarah Baartman sculpture at UCT. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/quarrel-over-sarah-baartman-sculpture-at-uct-20180303> [24 April 2018].

## **'Science Quarrels Sculpture: The Politics of Reading Sarah Baartman'**

Scholarly article by Katherine McKittrick

Katherine McKittrick is a professor in Gender Studies at Queen's University. She is an academic and writer whose work focuses on black studies, cultural geography, anti-colonial and diaspora studies, with an emphasis on the ways in which social justice emerges in black creative texts (music, fiction, poetry, visual art).

### **Article excerpt**

'In this essay I explore the creatively scientific possibilities with which Sarah Baartman has posthumously provided us. I address how we might, and can, reimagine the political work science can do in relation to Baartman precisely because, in her life and afterlife, it has been biological determinism and scientific racism – evolutionary reports, missing-link tales, nature-savage narratives, and African/European racial-sexual bifurcations - that have descriptively coded her. My argument is therefore not concerned with authenticating Sarah Baartman, but rather with the ways in which we might differently integrate science and creative labour into our reading practices. Indeed, from her dancing as a human curiosity at Picadilly in London to the casts made of her dismembered body, Baartman is produced as

unquestionably less than human vis-à-vis colonial-scientific knowledges and, more recently, through some theoretical analyses that explore the ways in which race, racism, and science depicted and defined her body, her life work, and her history. Rather than following an analytic pathway that understands Baartman as already scientifically condemned, in this discussion I work with a theoretical framework provided by Sylvia Wynter in order to approach the question of scientific racism differently. Instead of re-centring racist biological discourses in relation to critique, I consider how creative works might intervene in, and nourish, our understandings of science. I am specifically drawing on Wynter's elaboration of Aimé Césaire's "the science of the word" (Wynter, "Unsettling"; cf. Césaire), where she critiques the bifurcation of scientific and creative knowledge and encourages us to consider the ways in which these two world views might contemporaneously shift our understanding of humanness - and thus, for purposes of this paper, the extraordinary phenomenon/circus freak/sexual deviant that was, and is, Sarah Baartman.' (McKittrick, 2010, p. 114).

McKittrick, K. (2010). Science quarrels sculpture: The politics of reading Sarah Baartman. Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal, 43(2): 113-130. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/44030627">http://www.jstor.org/stable/44030627</a> .
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### Email correspondence with Katherine McKittrick (23/24 January 2018)



From: Katherine McKittrick <k.mckittrick@queensu.ca>

Date: Wed, Jan 24, 2018 at 3:29 AM

Subject: Re: On-going contestation sculpture Sarah Baartman @ UCT

To: Frank Kronenberg <frank.kronenberg@gmail.com>

Dear Frank,

Thank you so much for writing and sending me the links to the debate/conversation. I've only caught glimpses of the Rhodes Must Fall activities in South Africa. I'm so appreciative that you wrote. I first thought, of course she should be covered/reimagined/subverted. And after reading Willie Bester's comments I thought: what are they (we) covering and what role does black femininity play in the work of disguise and erasure. It must all be held together, of course—as an uneasy and uncomfortable confrontation (and ongoing) with racial-sexual violence.

Thank you so much, Katherine [[www.katherinemckittrick.com](http://www.katherinemckittrick.com)]

On Jan 23, 2018, at 9:28 AM, Frank Kronenberg <frank.kronenberg@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Katherine,

I just read with great interest your 2010 article "Science Quarrels Sculpture: The Politics of Reading Sarah Baartman" and felt compelled to contact you to say thank you for writing the article and to check whether you are aware about on-going contestation regarding Willie Bester's sculpture (and a whole list of other artworks) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) since #RhodesMustFall movement/campaign kicked off in March 2015. I anticipate that you do know about it, but in case you don't, here are a few links to background from different positions:



**CONTESTING AGENCY  
AND THE PORTRAYAL OF  
BLACK WOMXN IN THE  
ARTS**

PANEL DISCUSSION

Date: 25 April 2018

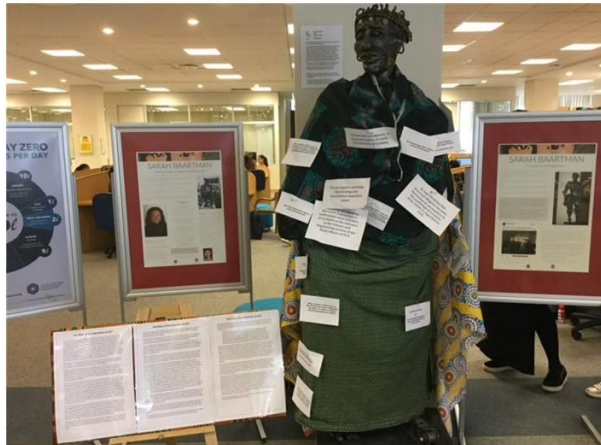
Time: 17h30 for 18h00

Dress Code: All Black – In  
commemoration of Winnie  
Madikizela-Mandela

Venue: Snape 2B

RSVP:  
<https://goo.gl/forms/CxIY7SDonNL8UoqV2>

(closes on 24 April 2018)



Picture from Black Academic Caucus UCT Facebook page



Prof Elelwani Ramugondo



Dr. Nomusa Makhubu



Yaliwe Clarke



Condiswa James

**CONTESTING AGENCY  
AND THE PORTRAYAL  
OF BLACK WOMXN IN  
THE ARTS**

THE PANEL



**Dignifying Sarah Baartman**

21 SEPTEMBER 2018 | STORY KIM CLOETE. PHOTOS JE'NINE MAY.



<https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-09-21-dignifying-sarah-baartman>

**Sarah Baartman exhibition allows space for discourse**

University of Cape Town South Africa - Published on Sep 25, 2018

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQqp7twXvBw>