



Research submitted to the School of Psychology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters degree in Psychology by coursework

LOVE/UTHANDO

A way for a long walk to freedom?

Exploring the power of loving social interactions using western, endogenous and indigenous knowledge to address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice

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Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by a horizontal line and a diagonal stroke.

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Abstract

The South African black population, who were most affected by the oppressive system of apartheid, faced a trauma of racial prejudice and social class. Today, this population is still affected by poverty and racial prejudice, which maintains their trauma and affect their wellbeing and consciousness. We need to develop approaches that can take place within or outside of institutional structures, which can help this population to become free in terms of consciousness and well-being, and challenge the actual system. Focusing on social interactions may represent an effective way to address these historical traumas since they can take place outside or within institutional structures. Fanon (1952) and Freire (1996) believe in loving social interactions for freedom. Fanon and Freire's theories imply that the love from another, which may result in pro-self and pro-social love, may positively affect black South Africans - who are affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty - in terms of consciousness and well-being. Loving social interactions may address both traumas of racial prejudice and poverty. A theory of love/*uthando* (love in isiZulu), based on the endogenous knowledge of Fanon and Freire and on Western knowledge, is constructed as defining loving social interactions and is submitted to the indigenous knowledge of black workers of the university of the Witwatersrand - who may be affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty due to their experiences - through interviews. The indigenous knowledge reshapes the theory of love/*uthando* as much as it confirms its positive effects for freedom in relation to the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. The indigenous knowledge also redefines the concept of freedom through consciousness, well-being and a change of social class. These results support the importance of considering endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledges for the construction of theories addressing South African challenges.

Keywords: trauma, racial prejudice, poverty, freedom, wellbeing, consciousness, indigenous knowledge, Western knowledge, endogenous knowledge, love

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

An introduction regarding challenges related to racial prejudice and poverty in South Africa

“People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite. [...] Man’s goodness is a flame that can be hidden but never extinguished.” (Mandela, 1994, p. 115)

1. Introduction/context statement

South African people excised the politics of separation and subordination (apartheid) a mere 25 years ago – a political system that affected the body, mind, or/and embodied mind of citizens through physical and discursive violence. Black South Africans represented the ‘lowest’ level of human beings in the eyes of white colonisers, and were discriminated against in terms of social class and race. They only had access to Bantu education, which would teach them subordination, and how to be good helpers, gardeners, waiters, and so on; black people were only afforded subordinate positions in the service of the privileged ‘other’, in this case – white people. Due to these factors, black people were condemned to remain at the same, low level of social class. Today, it is still possible to locate persistent inequalities in terms of race and social class in South Africa, where, according to Statistics South Africa (2017), the population that remains most affected by poverty in the country comprises black South Africans. There is still a tangible relationship between race and social class in South Africa; apartheid was – and is still – a destructive force on many different levels.

Presently, in South Africa, it is imperative to examine the racialisation of mental health inequalities: despite the fact that our actual context is post-apartheid, the trauma of racial prejudice and its violent enforcement during apartheid may still have intergenerational effects (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2009; Menzies, 2008). In other words, the connection between well-being and race may still be meaningful today; indeed, the connection between well-being and race has been academically acknowledged and can explain certain social dynamics (Coleman, 2016; Franklin, Boyd-Franklin & Kelly, 2006). According to Das-Munshi, Lund, Mathews, Clark, Rothon and Stansfeld (2016), there are significant differences between adolescent groups from Cape Town regarding racial categories and depression,

anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In this study, black and coloured¹ adolescents are both the most disadvantaged in terms of well-being, and the most affected by depression, anxiety and PTSD. According to Williams, Gonzalez, Williams, Mohammed, Moomal and Stein (2008), black South Africans are “two to four times more likely than whites to report acute and chronic experiences of racial discrimination”, which is “positively associated with distress” (Williams et al., 2008, p. 1). Therefore, discussions regarding a persistent and powerful historical trauma that affects the well-being of Black South Africans through different generations are warranted.

Mental health inequalities do not only concern race but also social class, where there is a correlation between socioeconomic status and well-being. The concepts of ‘trauma of poverty’ seems to be new since only few very recent researches talk about this trauma (Hudson, 2016; Yang, 2014). For instance, Pitillas Salva (2016) even talks about poverty as a “potential developmental trauma” (Pitillas Salva, 2016, p. 1). However, it is important to talk about the trauma of poverty since it negatively affects the identity of people belonging to the lower socioeconomic levels, and, as such, being considered as ‘inferior’ or ‘subordinate’ by their society. As Hudson (2016) says, “Poverty is more than an income level; it is a socially constructed identity that leaves scars of psychological impoverishment” (Hudson, 2016, p. 1). Myer, Stein, Grimsrud, Seedat and Williams (2008) further highlight the correlation between socioeconomic status, social capital, and psychological distress in the South African context: belonging to a low or working class may deeply and negatively affect us psychologically. When one then considers, as mentioned earlier, that black South Africans are the most affected by poverty due to the ramifications of historical legacies and dynamics, it becomes clear that further examination of racial and economic historical trauma, or of a multi-layered historical trauma, for black South Africans belonging to a low or working class is necessary.

The historical aspect of the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice is also visible through an educational lens, where the impact of education is especially relevant regarding social class and race when considering the effects of the Bantu education system. Heleta (2016) highlights that, initially, universities/schools were created in South Africa by white Europeans as a way to extend, entrench, and maintain their power, and – ultimately – their supremacy.

¹ In South Africa, there are debates around the term ‘black’ and its representations. The term ‘black’ can include all of those population groups who were marginalised and oppressed during apartheid: black, coloured and Indian people. These racial categories were imposed by the apartheid government that has remained in the South African vernacular. The current research, however, uses the term ‘black’ to focus on black South Africans only.

Universities/schools were initially part of the “white supremacy project” (Heleta, 2016, p. 3), which aimed to ‘civilise’ the ‘uncivilised’ and maintain the power and independency of western countries (the global North), in opposition to southern countries (the global South). Universities/schools were and are still using specific languages and methods belonging to western cultures to ‘teach’ and question the world in such a way that the supremacy of those western cultures is maintained. Indeed, universities/schools provide people with space and time to question the world and its dynamics, but which was and is still not accessible to all. The education system and its governmental structure represents a way to maintain extant power relations in terms of race and social class in South Africa (Heleta, 2016); where education is still not free, and the ‘quality’ of accessible education diverges according to one’s social class (for example, private versus public schools). As it stands, black South Africans who belong to lower or working classes find themselves entrenched in an old and vicious cycle/system that continues to subordinate them: it is very difficult for Black South Africans who belong to lower or working classes to access education (although critical examination of this dynamic has been evoked recently through the #FeesMustFall movement) – an environment meant to provoke mass awareness, compared to psychological therapy where (self and social) awareness is accessible only to the South African elite due to its cost. In other words, black South Africans who belong to a low or working class have less chance to question the world through schools/universities, and less chance of becoming aware of the power dynamics that determine their lives, their freedom. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to explore the different ways (whether inside or outside governmental structures or discriminatory western systems) of addressing the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice in the South African context for freedom in terms of awareness and emotional well-being.

2. Rationale

If psychological distress due to historical traumas emerges from social phenomena, then well-being can be attained through social phenomena as well. If unconsciousness (not understanding our world and our position in it) emerges from social dynamics, then consciousness can also emerge from social dynamics. If black South Africans who belong to lower or working classes find themselves in a state of psychological oppression and lack of freedom because of social dynamics, then they can reach freedom through social dynamics as well. Social dynamics or interactions may both imprison and liberate people, where, according to Santini, Koyanagi, Tyrovolas, Mason and MariaHaro (2015):

“In terms of the factors that influence mental health, the importance of people's social relationships has increasingly become recognized in recent years (Smith and Christakis, 2008; Uchino, 2009). In particular, positive (supportive) interactions have been reported to be of considerable importance”

The above argument addresses the importance of social interactions for freedom and how it relates to emotional well-being. However, even though we now acknowledge the power of social dynamics, there is still a lack of research regarding the description of those specific empowering and positive social interactions in relation to both psychological well-being and consciousness, and the connections between the latter two factors. Due to this lack of research, the current researcher references a previous MEd research report (Hajji, 2018), which shows that the process of an arising consciousness may function in parallel to or align with the process of achieving well-being, especially in terms of emotional balance, among a group of black South African teenagers. Indeed, Newman and Nezlek (2019) do claim that there is a relationship between consciousness (in terms of introspection) and well-being; becoming ‘aware’ may affect our level of well-being, and this process may in turn help us to become ‘free’. Moreover, the MEd research report in question also highlights the power of love, based on Freire’s theory (1996), in relation to emotional well-being and consciousness in the South African context: ‘loving’ social interactions - not merely the ‘positive’ interactions as highlighted by Santini et al. (2015) - may represent a way to reach freedom in terms of emotional well-being and consciousness in the South African context.

Love/*Uthando*², or loving social interactions, may be a powerful way to achieve freedom in South Africa. Frantz Fanon (1952), one of the most famous psychiatrists and revolutionary authors of the decolonisation movement, believes in loving social interactions as a remedying counteraction to the trauma of racial prejudice: “Today we believe in the possibility of love; that is why we strive to detect its imperfections, its perversions.”³ (Fanon, 1952, p. 40; translated by the author). Fanon has been studied and referenced thousands of times due to his powerful critical theories, focusing largely on racial prejudice in relation to colonisation.

² The concept ‘*uthando*’ means ‘love’ or ‘affection’ in isiZulu. The use of both languages – English and isiZulu – to name the theory that this research aims to construct emphasises an African (or South African) origin of this knowledge.

³ The author translated Fanon’s quotes from French to English – French is the author’s mother-tongue. The numerous English translations encountered do not provide an adequate literal or tonal translation. The following quote corresponds to the original version of Fanon’s citation explained above: “*Aujourd’hui nous croyons en la possibilité de l’amour, c’est pourquoi nous nous efforçons d’en détecter les imperfections, les perversions*” (Fanon, 1952, p. 40).

However, there has been little focus on the use of Fanon's theory through the lens of love as a way to achieve freedom. Fanon (1952) himself focused on the imperfections and perversions of love, but not on its power. Paulo Freire (1996), one of the most famous revolutionary educators, however, highlights the power of love and its relation to freedom through his pedagogy. Schoder (2010) and Hajji (2018) characterise this pedagogy as a 'pedagogy of love'. As Armstrong, Armstrong and Spandagou (2011) state: "Freire [...], if he was alive today [...] would probably insist that this authority should rest on the strength of humility and love." (p. 127). Even though Freire developed his theory in relation to the concept of love (in contrast with Fanon) despite the risk of sounding "ridiculous" (Freire, 1969, p. 89), his theory is mostly interpreted and applied through the lenses of other concepts, such as praxis or conscientisation (process of consciousness). Furthermore, while Freire focuses on the dichotomy of the oppressor and the oppressed, Fanon uses racialised dichotomies such as black/white or coloniser/colonised, but both acknowledge social class dynamics. Freire largely promotes the notion of freedom through consciousness, while Fanon promotes the notion of freedom through consciousness and psychological well-being; Freire promotes a critical pedagogy while Fanon aims to develop a counter-hegemonic and decolonising psychology. In other words, it would be interesting to explore the combination of Freire and Fanon's theories to construct a theory of love/*uthando* describing loving social interactions that may address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice through consciousness and well-being in the South African context.

3. Aims

This research, aiming to construct a theory of love/*uthando* for well-being and consciousness, is framed according to two objectives. The first of these is to construct a theory of love/*uthando* based on endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge in such a way that African (or South African) knowledge origins are acknowledged. The second objective is to use a pro-self and pro-social approach that will acknowledge the role of love toward oneself and toward the other – something that the literature is currently lacking.

a) Contributing to the Decolonising/Africanising movement of psychology

One of the main debates in contemporary South African psychology circles is located around the notion of the decolonisation or Africanisation of psychology: the field has a political aspect that we cannot deny, especially since psychology may be used to disempower and oppress people. In South Africa, one of the promoters and implementors of apartheid ideologies and

policies was the psychologist Hendrick Verwoerd – the field of psychology was used to create, justify and maintain power dynamics in terms of race and social class in apartheid South Africa (Nicholas, 2001). As such, it is worth noting the power inherent in the field of psychology and its theories, and its potential to affect the lives of South Africans; it is important to acknowledge the authority of this field of study and to use it for promoting freedom and social justice.

In order to develop a notion of psychology that understands challenges in African or colonised countries, it is important to rely on theories that address African or colonisation issues. Hountondji (1997) proposed the concept of endogenous knowledge, which uses ‘universal’ (or Western) scientific methods to construct African knowledge. Endogenous knowledge is based on African challenges, is developed by Africans (people who are committed to make a difference in Africa), and enables unity. By promoting endogenous knowledge, Hountondji rejects what he terms ‘indigenous knowledge’. According to Hountondji, indigenous knowledge is not relevant since it is based on oral knowledge that can be modified and transformed over time due to lapses in memory. However, indigenous knowledge is still relevant to Africans, since it is derived from Africans and about African challenges. Moreover, even non-oral or written knowledge passes through different interpretations that can re-shape and modify it. In other words, rejecting indigenous knowledge implies a potential rejection of part of the African identity and its knowledge.

In the current research, the two main theories utilised are drawn from the work of Fanon and Freire, who were both from colonised countries and experienced oppression themselves. Fanon was black and from Martinique (a French colony), while Freire was from a working class family in Brazil (colonised by the Portuguese); as such, they can both be located as African, or belonging to the Global South, where their combined knowledge addresses the question of Southern or African challenges in terms of oppressed/oppressor or coloniser/colonised. They both use ‘universal’ or Western methods to develop their theories, meaning both Fanon and Freire’s knowledge can be regarded as ‘endogenous’ knowledge. It could also be argued, however, that Fanon’s knowledge is indigenous, especially in his book *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952), since it is not a “technical manual of theory full of esoteric – but ultimately futile – jargon” (Sardar, 2008, p. xviii), or based on oral knowledge.

In terms of the current research, black South African participants who belong to lower or working classes – and who are inevitably affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty – have provided some very precious indigenous and/or oral knowledge, and thus both

indigenous and endogenous knowledge has been pursued regarding the decolonisation of the discipline of psychology and the construction of an African psychology herein. Ngugi (1981) works to underline the importance of the use of African languages to decolonise knowledge, where the English language has historically carried negative connotations and representations which belittle Africans and the African culture. Today the English language is used in many African countries, including South Africa, and even represents the language of the South African democratic constitution. In other words, the English language may be imbued with negative representations of Africans, but it is also a language that may be transformed by Africans to decolonise the mind and knowledge. This doesn't imply, however, that African languages shouldn't serve as loci for the same knowledge decolonisation efforts at the same time. Thus, this research uses both English and African terms (more specifically, the isiZulu language) to name the theory constructed in this research: *love/uthando*.

As mentioned earlier, this research also considers Western knowledge. The current researcher aims to use Western knowledge to develop and construct endogenous knowledge – Western knowledge is an inextricable factor of endogenous knowledge production. A second point to note is that Western knowledge has been used before to oppress Africans, which means that one can learn (in part) about African history and African challenges through Western knowledge. Thirdly, it is important to identify Western knowledge in order to critique it. Indeed, Western knowledge represents something entirely different to African knowledge. The African concept of Ubuntu, which is derived from a Zulu (and, therefore, an African) culture, may be defined by the following expression: 'I am because you are' (Allcock, 2016; Makalela, 2016). The concept of Ubuntu may guide us toward the decolonisation of knowledge since it describes the idea that African knowledge 'is' because Western knowledge 'is' and vice versa. This dynamic can be explained through the metaphor of a mirror: I can see a reflection of myself in the mirror, and this reflection is present because I am present, even though it is not me in the mirror, but a reflection. This reflection depends on the type of mirror or on the way our representation or our identity is presented to us. African knowledge is here because Western knowledge is here and may help us to build and construct African knowledge since the latter reflects the former: they reflect each other and help make sense of one's own representations of oneself. If we consider that modern-day Western knowledge represents and reflects a part of the African identity due to colonisation and the capitalist system, then Africans must use it to understand themselves, to "see ourselves clearly" (Ngugi, 1981, p. 87). For these reasons,

this research uses endogenous, indigenous, and Western knowledge to contribute to the construction of an African approach to psychology.

b) Promoting a pro-social and pro-self approach in terms of love

Research that uses an approach which combines both pro-self and pro-social dynamics is sparse. It is more common to cross research that distinguishes human beings as either egoist/pro-self or altruist/pro-social. For instance, Kandul and Ritov (2017) talk about a pro-self ego versus a pro-social self, while De Dreu, Dussel and Ten Velden (2015) contrast a pro-social being with a pro-self being, as do Shi, Wu and Kuang (2018). All these articles are relatively recent, and still dichotomise a pro-social versus a pro-self identity. It is important to move toward a simultaneously pro-self *and* pro-social approach in order to instil and promote hope for a better future that addresses both individual and social interests.

According to constructionism, both individual and social aspects are interconnected: it has been long-established in the discipline of psychology that individual dynamics depend on and influence social dynamics, and vice versa. Individual consciousness – in terms of cognitive change – depends on social dynamics (Vygotsky, 1978), and individual well-being depends on social dynamics (Yalom, 1995). Thus, we cannot move away from the social by focusing on the individual, or from the individual by focusing on the social. A pro-self approach may be defined through a pro-social approach and vice versa. If we use the concept of love (as promoted by the current research), one could argue that, if we love people, we also love ourselves since we are people. Conversely, if we love ourselves, we also love people since, even though everyone is different, each person shares similarities with others (for example, being a human, a woman, being black, being white, or being from lower or working classes). The current research aims to develop an approach that is both pro-self and pro-social, or positive, in terms of love/*uthando* for freedom.

In conclusion, this research aims to construct a theory of love/*uthando* that may offer a description of what could be called ‘positive interactions’, beneficial both inside and outside of the Western system that still shapes the governmental structures in the South African context. These positive interactions, described and detailed by the theory of love/*uthando*, may lead to freedom, in terms of consciousness and well-being (where both are interconnected). Love/*uthando* may lead black South African people of the working class (or South African people affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty) to freedom and challenge the

oppressive Western system still being utilised in South Africa. To construct the theory of love/*uthando*, this research gathers endogenous, Western, and indigenous knowledge, and adopts an approach which is both pro-self and pro-social.

4. Conclusion/organisation of the research

This research is organised in six chapters (excluding the introduction). The first chapter after the introduction (literature review; theoretical and conceptual framework) gathers the different endogenous theories and Western research that address the questions of trauma of racial prejudice and poverty in relation to loving social interactions. This chapter aims to construct a potential theory of love/*uthando*. The following chapter uses this theory of love/*uthando* to make sense of the South African past and current context of change. This chapter explains how and why love/*uthando* may explain the underlying mechanisms of South African revolutionary changes, and therefore be adapted to the South African context. The next chapter (methodology) explains the method used and discusses the adequacy of decolonising and Western methodologies for this research. The following chapter (results) illustrates another version of the theory of love/*uthando* only based on the indigenous knowledge of the participants. The next chapter regards the discussion that redefines (in comparison to the version of love/*uthando* based on endogenous and Western knowledge) and confirms the power of love/*uthando* for freedom as addressing the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. This chapter shows how love/*uthando*, or loving social interactions, may represent a way for a long (due to its difficulties) walk to freedom. Finally, the last chapter summarises all the previous chapters and considers possible questions based on the outcome of this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW; THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FROM THE ENGODENOUS AND WESTERN KNOWLEDGE

Literature review and theoretical framework

“I wanted South Africa to see that I loved even my enemies while I hated the system that turned us against one another” (Mandela, 1994, p. 101).

1. Introduction

This chapter primarily uses Fanon and Freire’s endogenous knowledge (including Western knowledge) to examine the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. This chapter also explains how ‘loving’ social interactions, as defined through the concept *love/uthando*, can address these historical traumas. By focusing on Fanon’s theory regarding the dualism of love and hate in relation to the trauma of racial prejudice, an understanding is foregrounded of the pro-social and the pro-self dimensions in relation to love for consciousness and well-being. Freire’s theory is explained in relation to the trauma of poverty inflicted on one’s consciousness, and, indirectly, on one’s well-being, due to their connection. Both theories (Freire and Fanon’s) are combined to describe *love/uthando* as a specific category of loving interactions that address the historical traumas of poverty and racial prejudice. Additionally, the latter conceptual framework provides us with a definition of each concept defining *love/uthando* in relation to freedom, especially regarding one’s consciousness and well-being.

Although numerous authors acknowledge the intersection of race and social class (Andersen & Hill Collins, 2007; Assari, 2017; Bolin & Kurtz, 2018; Gillborn, 2015; Godfrey & Torres, 2016; Rothman & Doob, 2015), there is a lack of research addressing the question of intersectional trauma in terms of race and social class in South Africa. For instance, Ndlovu (2017) does consider the question of oppression in South Africa, but only by focusing on race using Fanon’s work. According to Ndlovu (2017), black South Africans still live in despair, and freedom still remains difficult to achieve, where the notion of freedom in his study is defined through a political lens – that of democratic freedom. Other researchers do acknowledge a certain intersectionality in terms of race and class, but their work is mostly based in a specific domestic framework (Blackett & Tiemeni, 2016; Marais & Van Wyk, 2015; Mudau, Thobejane & Khosa, 2017), and the notion of freedom used relates to political and democratic freedom in terms of participation and independence. Maqubela (2016) questions the situation of black female domestic workers, highlighting the fact that they are disempowered, and living under pressure and fear: black domestic workers are financially

dependent on their employers, and disempowered since they do not participate in any decision-making processes regarding the management of the house and children of their employers and therefore do not have access to political freedom due to their race and social class. More dedicated research addressing the intersection between the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty needs to be constructed out of the domestic and political (democratic) framework. As is the case in the current study, both traumas of poverty (social class) and racial prejudice (race) are framed in relation to freedom in South Africa, defined in terms of consciousness and well-being.

2. Trauma of racial prejudice and poverty in relation to freedom

The trauma of racial prejudice affects one's well-being, which may be addressed through one's consciousness. The trauma of racial prejudice represents an important focus of research (Carter, 2007) which explains that this trauma results from a racist attitude and hate that are often expressed through regular micro-aggressions, contributing to social exclusion (Pieterse, 2018). This trauma is based on a body characteristic (on skin colour), affects both the mind (for instance, through low self-esteem), and both the mind and the body or the embodied mind through extreme negative emotions, such as stress (Pieterse, 2018). The trauma of racial prejudice refers to one's social identity, especially as belonging to a specific racial group, and deeply affects one's individual well-being (Pieterse, 2018). Thus, there is both an individual and a social aspect to this trauma. Indeed, "racial incidents associated with racial trauma are predicated on an individual belonging to a specific racial group" (Pieterse, 2018, p. 206), where Pieterse further asserts that the social aspect, in terms of clinical counselling or interactions, represents a way to resolve harmful emotions and low self-esteem, and reach some level of well-being. In other words, a specific type of social interaction may help an individual to address the trauma of racial prejudice. According to Pieterse (2018), individuals affected by the trauma of racial prejudice may reach a certain consciousness to make sense of their psychological malaise, take action, and reach a state of well-being through social interactions (Pieterse, 2018). In other words, the individual trauma of racial prejudice should be addressed at the social level through the mind (making sense), body (action), and the embodied mind (expressing emotions) to reach a level of consciousness that will in turn help one's well-being.

In the literature surveyed herein, and as mentioned in the introduction, poverty is not really considered to evoke trauma, even though living in a state of poverty may cause regular micro-

aggressions and social exclusion to the same degree as racial prejudice. Indeed, as explained by Pitillas Salva (2016, p. 1): “poverty is a form of social discrimination, and as such, the psychological impact (...) should not be underrated”. Pitillas Salva (2016) further argues that the trauma of poverty creates low self-esteem (mind) and shame (embodied mind) due to social aggressions (body), which may be defined as “any behaviour directed toward another individual that is carried out with the proximate (immediate) intent to cause harm” (Baron & Richardson, 1994, p. 7). In other words, the trauma of poverty involves the mind (in relation to low self-esteem), the body (in relation to social aggressions/actions) and the embodied mind (in terms of harmful emotions/feelings such as shame, which implies specific thoughts that are expressed through the body) to the same degree as the trauma caused by racial prejudice. Shamai (2018) shows that the social meaning-making process of the trauma of poverty, leading to consciousness, can assist those affected by this trauma and absolve harmful emotions. Thus, it is possible to view the impact of the social – social aggressions/behaviour or the social meaning-making process – on the individual, especially in terms of feelings of shame, low self-esteem, or well-being. Indeed, the social aspect represents a direct cause of individual trauma through micro-aggressions and exclusion, but which also means that the social aspect might also be the solution for individual consciousness and well-being.

Positive psychology focuses on the notion of well-being and explores the questions related to what is referred to as ‘subjective well-being’ or SWB, which is defined through two dimensions: a cognitive aspect (mind), relating to satisfaction in life; and an affective aspect (embodied mind) which relates to the balance of positive and negative emotions (Brani, Hefferon, Lomas, Ivtzan, & Painter, 2014). According to Brani, Hefferon, Lomas and Painter (2014), SWB may be attainable through body awareness and mindfulness: the process of consciousness may represent a way to reach – through the mind and the body – subjective or individual well-being in terms of emotional balance or a balance of the embodied mind. The more aware one is of power relations and one’s own position (own mind and body) within the social world, the more likely one is to become powerful and better able to deal with negative emotions. Indeed, if one understands the underlying power relations of a society, and its political, economic, and educational systems, the more likely one is to be able to change it in accordance to one’s own interests, and thus control one’s own emotions. If black South Africans belonging to the low or working class become aware of their own position in relation to the system, they are more likely to make a change within their body, mind, and embodied mind by reaching a subjective well-being. The freedom process, in terms of consciousness and

well-being, may address both traumas of racial prejudice and poverty by making individual changes to one's mind, body, and embodied mind, through specific social interactions.

Fanon (1952) and Freire (1996) approach the historical trauma of oppression (such as trauma of poverty and racial prejudice) in relation to freedom by acknowledging the power of social dynamics/interactions. Freire (1996) discusses the concept of not being fully human due to negative social dynamics described in terms of oppressed/oppressor relations, while Fanon (1952) highlights the concept of not being human because of negative social dynamics in terms of black/white or inferior/superior relations. They both aim to develop a social approach that leads oppressed people toward becoming fully human and free from their oppressive circumstances, where Fanon (1952) uses a psychoanalytical approach, while Freire (1996) uses a pedagogical approach. One could argue that Fanon's theory might provide a route toward psychological well-being and consciousness addressing the trauma of racial prejudice by focusing on the question of race, while Freire's theory guides one toward consciousness (and, indirectly, well-being) through education, which may address the trauma of poverty. Indeed, the more educated/conscious one is (through an effective pedagogy), the more likely one is to change one's social class and move away from poverty (Freire, 1996). Thus, this research uses Fanon's theory (1952) to understand the type of positive social interaction necessary to address the trauma of racial prejudice in terms of consciousness and well-being, and Freire's theory (1996) to understand the type of positive social interaction required to address the trauma of poverty. In conclusion, positive social interactions, explained below through Freire and Fanon's theories in terms of love/*uthando*, may represent the ultimate aid in helping South Africans affected by both traumas of poverty and racial prejudice attain freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being and as involving their body, their mind and their embodied mind.

3. A psychology of love in relation to the trauma of racial prejudice

Fanon's (1952) work highlights three aspects: the body or action, the mind or internal revolution, and the embodied mind or attitude. He discusses action (in relation to the body) in opposition to reaction, where black oppressed people should not be reactionary but actional: black people should not focus and react to the past since it cannot be changed, but there is value in focusing on the present and the future in terms of influencing the history still to be made. According to Fanon (1952), black people need to take actions, assume their agency, and move away from inferiority and superiority complexes – though the process is frightening and

difficult – in order to reach a level of well-being and absolve pathological dynamics (Fanon, 1952). In other words, according to Fanon (1952), black people need to act, to take risks, overcome their fear and fight for freedom, as it relates to their emotional well-being. Fanon highlights the notion of “sacrifice” (Fanon, 1952, p. 122) as a compulsory passage toward freedom, which can be defined as overcoming a potential fear and taking risks to act, where these sacrifices need to be made by black people in order for them to construct their own freedom.

In other words, as Freire (1996) claims, the revolution needs to come from the inside, the oppressed or black colonised groups – no external force will instigate freedom since the oppressor or coloniser will never desire to change the status quo. However, as we know from the South African context, black (and other oppressed groups such as the coloured or Indian populations) male and female, as well as white male and female activists contributed to the abolishment of apartheid, including Fatima Meer (Indian writer and academic), Steve Biko (black writer and founder of the Black Consciousness Movement), Nelson Mandela (black former president of South Africa and lawyer), John W. de Gruchy (white Christian theologian), Ruth First (white journalist and editor-in-chief of the *Guardian*) and Nadine Gordimer (white writer and recipient of the 1991 Nobel Prize for Literature). Moreover, as highlighted by Fanon and Freire, a black person can learn to hate himself/herself as an oppressed being, and eventually grow to become an oppressor: both the coloniser and colonised are drawn into a pathological dynamic of oppression, and therefore should both make sacrifices for freedom. They, as individuals, need to love themselves and others enough to feel responsible and take risks (make sacrifices) for their community and themselves.

Amongst the risks, Fanon (1961) explains the use of violence as a way to become aware of one’s own agency, of one’s power as an actor of change. Indeed, Fanon says that ““In reality, what is this violence? We saw it, it is the feeling of the colonised communities – that their freedom has to be reached through the force.”⁴ (Fanon, 1961, p. 72, translated by the author). However, “colonialism is not a thinking machine, it is not a body proficient in reasoning. Colonialism is violence per se and will only submit to a bigger violence”⁵ (Fanon, 1961, p. 66, translated by author). It follows, then, that if colonialism does not lead to reasoning, thinking, or raise awareness, and if colonialism is violence, then violence or oppressive social relations

⁴ “Qu’est ce donc en realite que cette violence? Nous l’avons vu, cest l’intuition qu’ont les masses colonisees que leur liberation doit se faire, et ne peut se faire que par la force” (Fanon, 1952, p. 72)

⁵ “le colonialisme n’est pas une machine a penser, n’est pas un corps doue de raison. Il est la violence a l’etat de nature et ne peut s’incliner que devant une plus grande violence” (Fanon, 1952, p. 66)

will not lead to consciousness and, consequently, to freedom. Indeed, Freire (1996) mentions that “the dominant elites (...) use all means, including physical violence, to keep the people from thinking” (Freire, 1996, p. 149). Fanon’s assertion that violence implies a relation of power (since colonialist violence can be overpowered by a stronger and bigger violence) is one that reflects the dynamics of oppressor/oppressed or inferior/superior which are criticised and pathologised by both Fanon and Freire. It could be that “violence detoxifies. It helps the colonised to get rid of the inferiority complex”⁶ (Fanon, 1961, p. 90, translated by author), but it does not remove the dynamic of inferior/superior since the colonised might merely switch over to the side of the superior. Violence, as an action, does not lead to consciousness or to freedom, it may instead deepen oppressive social relationships based on hate.

Loving social interactions may lead to consciousness and well-being instead. Fanon (1952) references Sartre (1943), who explains real love as wanting for others what we want for ourselves. Considering this, when fighting for and loving themselves as individuals, it could be argued that black South Africans belonging to the working class are also fighting for and loving their community (by extrapolating from their social identities). In other words, once black people love themselves as individuals, they are more likely to love their community, to love others, make sacrifices (take risks, be responsible, act) and make a change for others and themselves. In summary, pro-social love may result from self-love. According to Fanon (1952), there are two options for black people in living with racial power dynamics: either they hide their skin and perform whiteness in order to be valued (in other words, not loving themselves, but the other); or they show and assume their skin in order to dismantle the white/‘right’ way of acting and love themselves as they are. In order to feel valued or loved by their community, black people can either adopt white/‘right’ behaviours or start an internal revolution by removing the white/‘right’ aspect of themselves and loving themselves as they are. One can observe the duality of pro-self/pro-social in terms of love, but also in terms of hate, where Fanon (1952) explains that black people may internalise the colonial mindset and grow to hate themselves and their community due to the asymmetrical power of oppressive colonial interactions. This self-hatred and social hatred (regarding their own community) imprisons the individual within harmful colonial power relations, characterised as pathological by Fanon and Freire, where the white/right way of being and acting maintains colonial power relations. This feeling of hate toward oneself and one’s own community is tangible in the violent and repetitive xenophobic waves that have emerged in South Africa since the start of the new dispensation.

⁶ “la violence desintoxique. Elle debarasse le colonise de son complexe d’inferiorite” (Fanon, 1952, p. 90)

Black South African people belonging to the working class become violent toward black foreigners (from African countries such as Nigeria or Zimbabwe) belonging to the same social class (Masenya, 2017). In order to change racial power relations, one needs to undertake an internal revolution and dissolve the white power that regulates one's actions and mind: black South Africans' minds need to be decolonised in order to change behavioural dynamics (social interactions) from hating to loving. In order to make a change at the social level and undertake pro-social behaviour (such as sacrifices), a change at the individual level (in terms of self-love) needs to be done.

One needs to adopt a certain attitude when striving for freedom – Fanon (1952) describes attitude as an expression both of the body and the mind or embodied mind, especially since there is a noticeable difference between white attitude and black attitude as enacted through behaviour and thoughts. Fanon (1952) also discusses individual and collective attitudes, explaining that a black individual can adopt a white collective attitude as a means of escaping distress due to racial prejudice, and to be heard, valued, and loved. Fanon mentions different 'love stories' between black and white people that show black men or women adopting a white attitude in order to be loved by and accepted by white men or women. They want to remove the 'inferiority' imposed to them through colonial history by enacting white people's collective attitude, but, as mentioned earlier, either an attitude of inferiority or superiority does not help on the journey to freedom. Fanon strives to help his "brothers to give up an attitude that is not beneficial"⁷ (Fanon, 1952, p. 220, translated by author) – for Fanon, it is important for black people to adopt a positive attitude toward themselves and others. In other words, instead of self-hate or idealisation of white people, black people may need to adopt a positive and loving attitude toward themselves at the individual level, and toward others at the social level, that takes into consideration black people's embodied minds.

The aforementioned positive attitude is also beneficial for white people, since the dualism of inferiority/superiority between black and white people may be explained through the dualism of projection/introjection. According to Fanon (1952), one tends to project onto others – for example, the ones perceived as 'non-human' – all of one's own negative characteristics, and goes on to explain that white people project onto black people their own negative characteristics and their own weaknesses. Instead of accepting their strengths and weaknesses, they prefer to deny their weaknesses and project them onto the 'other', in this case, black

⁷ "frères à abandonner une attitude qui n'avait rien de bénéfique" (Fanon, 1952, p. 220)

people, where this process of projection may explain why white people do not love themselves either. In conjunction to the projection of white people onto others, however, there is a mechanism of introjection regarding black people that reflects the identification process as absorbing an external characteristic that belongs to the 'other', and making it one's own. As explained earlier, according to Fanon, black people sometimes aim to attribute to themselves a certain whiteness through the body – in terms of behaviour – through their mind – in terms of thoughts – and through their embodied mind, in terms of attitude: they want to be, think, and act like white people in order to identify themselves as having some whiteness within them. However, one could also argue that white people introject the strengths of black people through their mind and their body: white people have consistently declared and considered African lands and resources as being their own. The process of introjection (which happens through the mind) may also be visible through actions or through the body regarding the physical seizure of the land and resources of black African people. Colonisation could be described as an introjection process where, since white people did not love themselves fully, they felt like they needed something else to be powerful. This introjection process within white people operates in parallel to the projection process from white people onto black people, which causes an introjection process of whiteness within black people. Moreover, this cycle may also explain the projection of black people onto non-South African black people, as evidenced by the violent Afrophobia taking the form of xenophobic violence in South Africa currently (Masenya, 2017). Black people may project the hate they feel toward themselves (as explained earlier) onto other black people – a dynamic that arguably illustrates that there is no projection without introjection from both sides. A notably vicious cycle between white and black people works to maintain the dualism of superiority/inferiority. In other words, black and white people must learn to love themselves, including their own weaknesses and strengths, in order to dissolve the dualism of inferiority/superiority, adopt a positive attitude toward themselves and others, and to make sacrifices for themselves and others, for freedom.

According to Fanon (1952), one needs to be aware of defence mechanisms – such as introjection and projection – in order to expel them and the oppressive and pathological dynamics of inferior/superior, or black/white. Fanon explains that one needs to make conscious the unconscious in order to become aware of systemic power relations and make changes. We need to be aware of the collective unconscious – '*inconscient collectif*' (Fanon, 1952, p. 155) – or cultural imposition – '*imposition culturelle*' (Fanon, 1952, p.156). Fanon further discusses Anna Freud (1946), who says that "the bringing of the unconscious activities of the ego into

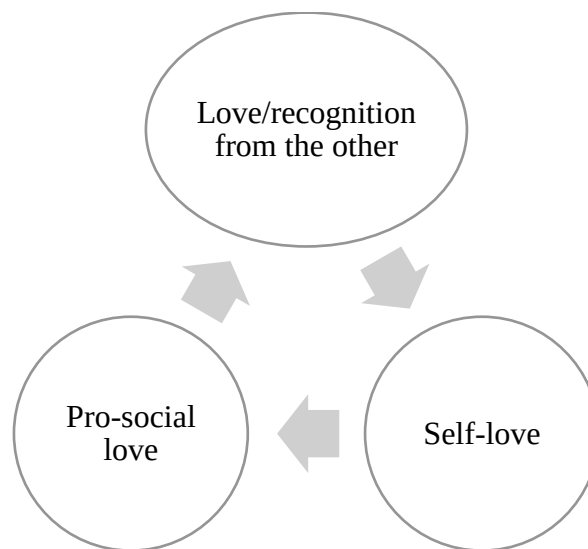
consciousness has the effect of disclosing the defensive processes and rendering them inoperative” (Freud, 1946, p. 58). One needs to become conscious of one’s defences, such as introjection and projection, in relation to the collective unconscious in order to abolish oppression and reach freedom.

The mechanism of projection/introjection explains the interdependency between white and black people: in order to free the black population from their oppressed position, the white community needs to be freed from their oppressive position. If we want to heal one community, the other requires simultaneous healing. Indeed, Freire (1996) explains that the oppressed tends to become the oppressor, where the oppressor is not as fully human as the oppressed. This repetitive process is visible within the vicious cycle of introjection/projection explained earlier that illustrates the repetition of psychological and oppressive mechanisms between white and black people. Both black and white communities thus need to be healed and to be loved, while Fanon focuses mostly on the freedom of the black population without addressing the challenges of the white population, even though they are interdependent. According to Vincent (2008), the solution promoted by Fanon corresponds with self-assertion, self-acceptance, or self-love. However, one also needs to love others since one’s identity is constructed through, and therefore depends on the other, on the social, on the black as well as on the white. The interdependency between black and white communities may be translated through the concept of Ubuntu, which promotes “mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment” (Mupedziswa, Rankopo & Mwansa, 2019, p. 22). Indeed, as explained in the introduction, this concept translates the expression ‘I am because you are’, an African concept that necessitates a mutual (or social) empathy, generosity, commitment, or love that will heal and free both black and white communities.

Finally, the body, the mind, and the embodied mind of black and white people are interconnected and need to involve for freedom – as explained through Mandela’s quote: “Let each know that each body, the mind, and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves” (Mandela, 1994). Furthermore, as explained earlier, the role of and recognition of the other is very important in recognising the body, mind, and embodied mind or the humanity of individuals – a recognition that may also be explained through love. Indeed, a pro-social love (loving others) depends on a self-love (loving ourselves), which is reachable through consciousness, which is in turn dependent on the love coming from others. Through self and social-love, one can expel the oppressive psychological defences of introjection and projection – this process is explained in figure 1 below. In order to love ourselves (and undertake an

internal revolution through the mind), we need to feel valued and loved for who we are, and in order to love others (and undertake an external revolution through body actions) we need to love ourselves. This self and pro-social love, which can lead to psychological well-being, can emerge through the love from others, which can lead to consciousness. Loving social interactions may indeed lead to consciousness, which in turn lead one to reach a certain psychological well-being.

Figure 1. Description of self and pro-social love in relation to love from the other for psychological well-being



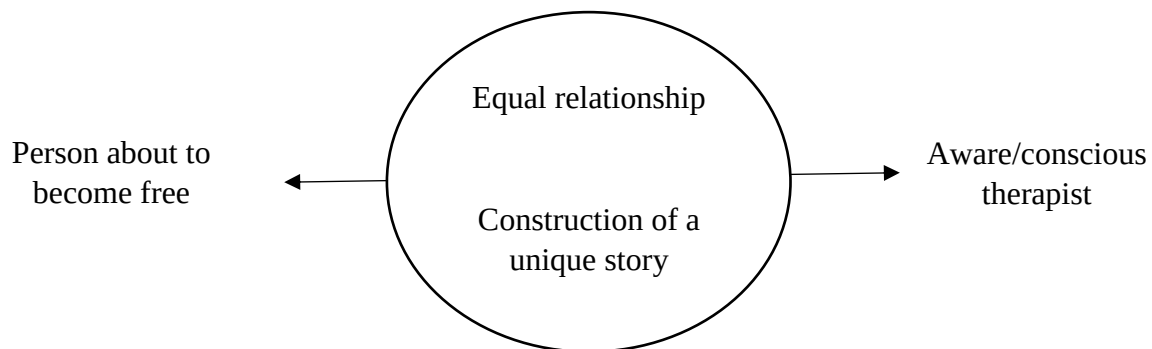
Even though Fanon (1952) aims to develop a post-colonial psychotherapy – which underlines the power of positive social interactions (in terms of therapy/counselling) for freedom (well-being and consciousness) – he is not very clear regarding the different ways this specific psychotherapy needs to be developed and practiced. As evidenced so far, Fanon (1952) explains in detail the different psychological mechanisms in play in terms of racial power relations and the historical trauma of racial prejudice for psychological well-being and consciousness. The role of love from the other (for self and social love) is of utmost importance for individual freedom of the mind, body, and embodied mind, where one way to feel valued and loved by the other is to have a voice and to be heard. As Fanon mentions, we need to be heard in order to exist, to be: “Being heard rather than speaking means fully existing for the other.”⁸ (Fanon, 1952, p. 15, translated by author). In other words, Fanon implies that we need

⁸ “Etant entendu que parler, c’est exister absolument pour l’autre” (Fanon, 1952, p. 15)

to be heard in order to feel loved, accepted and attain freedom, which represents a guideline for an anti-colonial, decolonised, and loving psychotherapy.

Akinyela (2002) describes four ways through which an anti-colonial and African psychotherapy can be developed based on Fanon's theory: story-telling and witnessing, interpretation of meaning, a non-expert stance, and alternative stories. According to Akinyela (2002), an African approach to therapy emphasises the role of the story-teller and of the witness as being complementary in terms of call and response: one needs another person to respond to one's call, psychological needs, and story, and to value it. Akinyela further highlights the importance of interdependency in terms of interpretation of meaning: the therapist, as much as "those who have come to therapy" (Akinyela, 2002, p. 38), constructs meanings and creates an alternative understanding of the story told. It is also very beneficial for the therapist to adopt a non-expert position toward 'those who have come to therapy' in order to become aware of the power dynamics that dictate their acting situation: Akinyela (2002) references Freire (1996) in order to explain this equal relationship between therapist and patient – the person who wants to become free from their psychological conflicts. Finally, Akinyela (2002) explains that the therapist, as much as the person who wants to become free, needs to be open to alternative stories and, more precisely, to counter-hegemonic stories that are more relatable to the African reality. In summary, an interaction that leads to freedom, to psychological consciousness and well-being, needs to put all interlocutors – both the therapist and the patient, being white or black – at an equal level. They also both need to work together and construct/create an alternative story that relates to their own story as black or white South Africans. This equality (in terms of interaction) and unity (of content) may represent an expression of love: both interlocutors should accept, value, care about, or show love regarding one another's identity in order to collaboratively construct one unique story that prompts awareness and change within their own (pro-self) and others' (pro-social) lives. The interlocutors concerned need to love each other to consider and accept each other as equals. Figure 2 below explains this open and loving therapeutic setting based on Fanon's theory, and which may address the historical trauma of racial prejudice:

Figure 2: Model illustrating loving therapeutic interactions addressing the trauma of racial prejudice following Fanon's theory



Individual psychological freedom from the trauma of racial prejudice depends on social interactions and, more specifically, on equal relationships for the construction of a unique individual story. This loving social interaction may lead those who are affected by the trauma of racial prejudice to love themselves and others, to undertake a revolution of the mind through consciousness and of the body through sacrifices for themselves and others. This loving social and therapeutic interaction may lead those who are affected by the trauma of racial prejudice to reach a psychological well-being (or a change of their embodied mind). This constructive and equal social interaction, based on Fanon's theory, is also defended in educational psychology.

4. A pedagogy of love in relation to the trauma of poverty

Fanon highlights the need for a new type of education, for a new mindset since family and schools – as educational entities – shape societal norms and social interactions. Indeed, according to Freire (1996), one can change our society, world, and one's identity (such as belonging to the working class) by changing the educational system through love. If the education system changes, those who were less likely to reach consciousness and change their social class through education, such as black people belonging to the working class, will have more chance of reaching freedom and rising into a more comfortable social class (helping to reduce the number of black people affected by the long-lasting, historical trauma of poverty). Thus, the process of consciousness in education does not have the same impact than the process of consciousness in psychology does: the former provides one with more chances to succeed at school/university and consequently change their social class (which would increase their

level of emotional well-being), while the latter provides one with the resources needed to get expel psychological conflicts and reach psychological well-being (as explained through Fanon's theory). However, the current research focuses on social interactions inside and outside of institutions and is concerned with black South Africans who belong to the working class, who cannot afford access these such institutions. Thanks to scholarships and financial aid, some exceptions exist regarding physical access to schools/universities, but do not ensure cognitive access since these institutions – as explained in the introduction – maintain the power relations shaped according to the objectives of white supremacy. Therefore, one needs to focus on empowering social interactions that take place external to institutions, but where the focus on consciousness through an educational lens in relation to love may still help us to address the trauma of poverty.

Consciousness in education refers to the concept of learning, and leads people to learn about themselves, their identities, and the world, their social context. Indeed, Freire defines the notion of '*conscientizacao*' (Freire, 1996, p. 35) as "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1996, p. 35). The idea of consciousness in education is very similar to the concept of consciousness in psychology, where Fanon defines the notion of consciousness as "facing the world"⁹ (Fanon, 1952, p. 63, translated by author) and its dynamics. In other words, the process of consciousness refers to the process of learning about our world, its dynamics, and our place and role in it within both education and psychology.

In educational psychology literature, the constructivist school of thought promotes the notion of constructivist interactions for consciousness: as highlighted earlier by Fanon's theory, constructivist interactions may lead to consciousness and well-being through the construction of a unique story. The constructivist school of thought argues that constructive interactions can lead to cognitive awareness or consciousness. However, the notion of love is not visible in the literature. Indeed, the notion of love may sound too 'irrational' in the context of the academic Western culture, which promotes 'rationality' in science. As explained in the introduction, the current research attempts to contribute to the decolonisation of knowledge by using Western, endogenous, and indigenous resources, and where the theory of love/*uthando* proposed herein might represent and bring a new perspective based on African challenges, supported by

⁹ "Faire face au monde" (Fanon, 1952, p. 63)

endogenous knowledge (Freire and Fanon's theory), and which can explain the underlying mechanisms behind Western knowledge.

There are visible connections between love and constructivist theories. According to Piaget (1964) – one of the most famous individual constructivists – a certain 'equilibration' (Piaget, 1964, p. 10) or a balance for learning, or for deeper cognitive connections, for consciousness, needs to be reached. Piaget (1964) promotes the idea that we need to act upon our reality to resolve conflict situations in order to move toward equilibration and biological survival: one's biological survival is ensured by resolving conflict situations through actions. Piaget (1964) focuses on biological survival to explain learning (as a consciousness-raising process), while learning or the process of consciousness-raising itself represents a psychological effect. The body (in terms of actions) and the mind (in terms of cognitive connections) are involved in the consciousness process in relation to the embodied mind (or emotional balance). In other words, the body needs to be involved in terms of actions in order for the mind to develop and construct new connections, which will affect the embodied mind, or psychological survival, in terms of balance. According to Bolten (2012), Sierra Leone war survivors highlight the importance of love, which helped them in their battle for biological and psychological survival. Bolten (2012) further uses the notion of love to define a specific type of interactions, characterised by nurturing discourses/conversations in terms of mind, and material exchanges in terms of body actions. Thus, love may be a fundamental element in enabling psychological and biological survival/equilibration and as having involved the body, the mind, and the embodied mind, which leads to consciousness. The consciousness-raising process or the process of learning may depend on loving social interactions in education, represent a way to succeed in the Western educational system, challenge the generally oppressive system, and therefore may address the trauma of poverty.

According to Vygotsky (1978), one of the most famous social constructivists, the relational aspect in education (known through the concept of pedagogy) may either be the problem or the solution regarding learning and development. Vygotsky (1978) defines the relational aspect through the theory of the "Zone of Proximal Development" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 84): the notion of social mediation/interaction is necessary for learning, or for the process of consciousness-raising, since a cultural explanation of the world is foregrounded, and cultures are accessible through social mediations. In other words, anyone, oppressed or oppressor, black or white, need someone (a facilitator) who is aware/conscious of the culture that shapes our knowledge in order to learn, to understand the world and act upon it. The latter is confirmed by Fanon's

theory regarding the idea of a ‘conscious therapist’ (as is seen in figure 2 above). Thus, in South Africa, schools and universities that are shaped by Western culture should aim to employ teachers/lecturers who are conscious of the cultural aspect of knowledge in order for students to learn about their world, their identity, and their role in the world. Indeed, social mediations/interactions represent a “source of development” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 90), or of deeper consciousness. The notion of ‘scaffolding’, based on Vygotsky’s theory (1978) and further developed by Bruner (1996), explains the importance of the role of the ‘other’ in learning, and for the process of consciousness raising. According to Malik and Wiseman (2017), the ‘scaffolding’ educational tool was inspired by and is based on parental relationships with their children that are generally characterised as being loving and caring. Thus, love may be necessary for cognitive connections, and for consciousness.

It is possible that the notion of love has been excluded from Western literature due to its ‘irrationality’ (in the sense that it is inferior to the concept of rationality), but it seems to be just as powerful. As explained in the introduction, Freire (1996) himself mentions the risk of sounding ridiculous when talking about love, but the notion of love is indirectly visible through Western educational and constructivist theories of consciousness. Moreover, Freire and Fanon themselves (representing endogenous knowledge) do not entirely focus on love, despite the fact that they both mention the power of love. Freire does provide, however, a detailed theory illustrating a pedagogy that includes loving and caring social interactions for freedom, and more specifically, for consciousness (and therefore well-being).

As with Fanon’s theory, Freire’s theory may be divided into three elements: the mind (in terms of dialogue), the body (in terms of sacrifice), and the embodied mind (in terms of trust). According to Freire, dialogue, which relates to the mind, is based on love: “If I do not love the world – if I do not love life – if I do not love people – I cannot enter into dialogue” (Freire, 1996, p. 71). Dialogue requires a certain equality that can be explained in terms of love: one needs to love people (including one’s self), life, and the world, to enter in a dialogue. People can be heard and hear others through dialogue since love represents doing for others what one wants for oneself; one can voice oneself and let others voice themselves as “actors of intercommunication” (Freire, 1996, p. 129) to establish a dialogue. The similarities between Freire and Fanon’s theories in terms of equality are visible here. According to the dialogical self-theory (Hermans & Hermans-Konoptka, 2010), one can engage in a reflection and enter in a dialogue with oneself (individual) as much as with someone else (social interactions). Therefore, engaging in dialogue implies both an individual and a social reflection that may lead

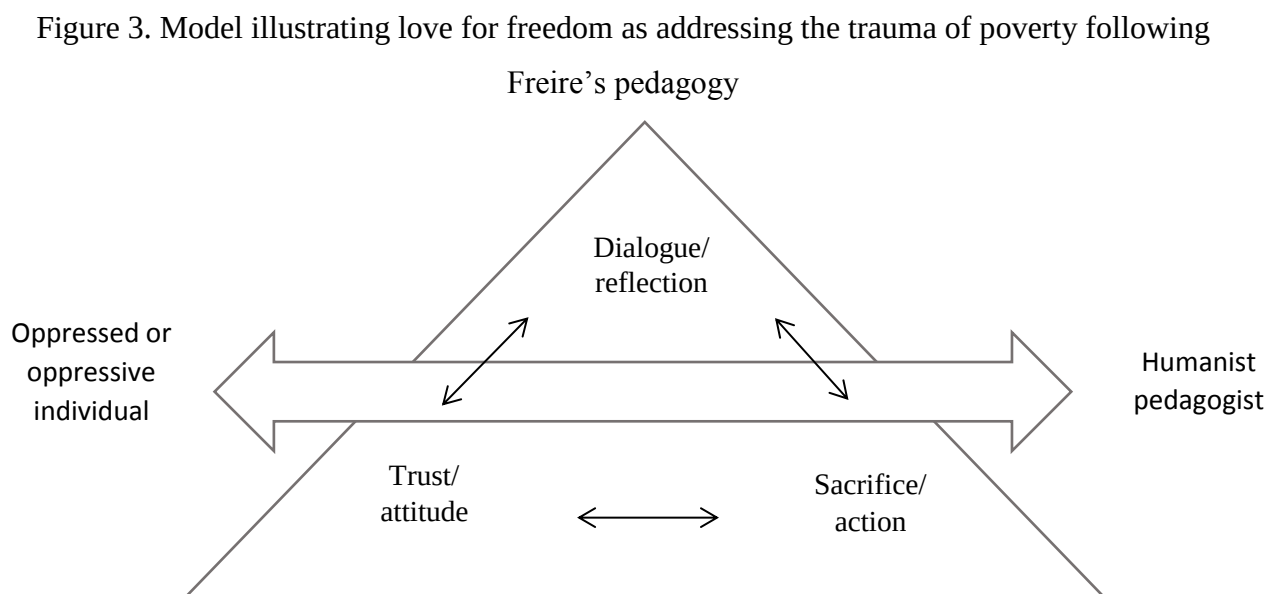
to consciousness, to change, and to action, since dialogue creates “equal subjects of revolutionary action” (Freire, 1996, p. 129).

Dialogue and action are interconnected: through the term “revolutionary action” (Freire, 1996, p. 39), Freire implies that dialogue prompts people to adopt a revolutionary perspective and act accordingly. Dialogue also implies sacrifices, since “to love the people sufficiently [we need] to be willing to sacrifice” (Freire, 1996, p. 163). The notion of sacrifice is at the heart of dialogue, since “true dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking – [...] thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved” (Freire, 1996, p. 90). Once one enters into a dialogue and reflects deeply, one is more likely to change one’s way of thinking, to start the process of “*conscientizacao*” (Freire, 1996, p. 33), and to make sacrifices by assuming a certain responsibility and by taking action despite the fear of the risks. In other words, committing to a dialogue leads one to “praxis” (Freire, 1996, p. 66), which corresponds to a new “*raison d’être*” (Freire, 1996, p. 66) – a new reason to live – a new drive that changes our behaviour. People need to be responsible for their own present and future and for their community, since freedom is “necessarily the task of responsible subjects” (Freire, 1996, p. 87). Taking risks, being responsible, and making efforts represent sacrifices, which are necessary to engage in a dialogue, and therefore in equal, loving, and empowering social inter-actions. Since the notion of equality represents an important aspect in relation to consciousness, sacrifices may represent a requirement from both sides (both interlocutors) in terms of efforts, resistance, care and time, where all serve as expressions of love for freedom. This mutuality (explained in the introduction through the term ‘Ubuntu’) highlights the interdependency between black and white people since both sides need to take risks and make efforts in order to be heard, humanised, loved, healed, and become conscious. Through dialogue and sacrifices, people are more likely to become conscious of their power, and of the changes they can make for themselves and their communities.

The notions of sacrifice (action) and dialogue (reflection) are interwoven with the notion of trust (attitude): people trust that they will love and feel loved through social interactions. As Freire (1996) explains, “trusting the people is the indispensable precondition for revolutionary change” since “a real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people ... than by [a] thousand actions in their favour without that trust” (Freire, 1996, p. 58). According to Freire, one needs to trust in the oppressed, “in their ability to reason” (Freire, 1996, p. 66) for praxis, and for freedom. However, as explained earlier through Fanon’s theory, one should also believe

in the oppressor, in their ability to reason, to change the way they think and behave, for freedom. It is necessary to trust in white and black peoples' ability to reason, to think, to be, to exist, to act, to love – trust needs to be mutual and reciprocal, where Freire and Fanon highlight an equal relationship. Love needs to come from both sides through trust: black people belonging to the working class need to love, trust, and believe in others (such as white people) and in themselves – for them to become loving toward themselves and others and to enter into a loving social interaction, a dialogue, a reflection, and to take actions: “founding itself upon love, humility [...] dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which [...] trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (Freire, 1996, p. 89). However, trust seems to be both a precondition and a consequence: free, loving people or “humanists” (Freire, 1996, p. 54) are more likely to love and trust a liberated person (precondition), where the liberated person will then be more likely to love and trust people, including himself/herself (consequence). This circular causality is also in terms of love (see figure 1 above), which shows a precondition (the love from others) and a consequence (pro-self and pro-social love).

The notion of trust, then, may be translated through the notion of the hope evoked in believing in the other and in oneself, in believing in a better present and future, and in believing in people's power. Without hope, no-one would undertake either an internal or external revolution, therefore trust is necessary for freedom. Both Freire (1996) and Fanon (1952) recognise the importance of the role of the other in acknowledging/loving the liberated-to-be, and for them to love themselves and their community. The role of others, or the society itself, is so important that it may determine either the freedom or the captivity of individuals. Freire's approach to freedom in relation to the trauma of poverty is illustrated in figure 3 below:



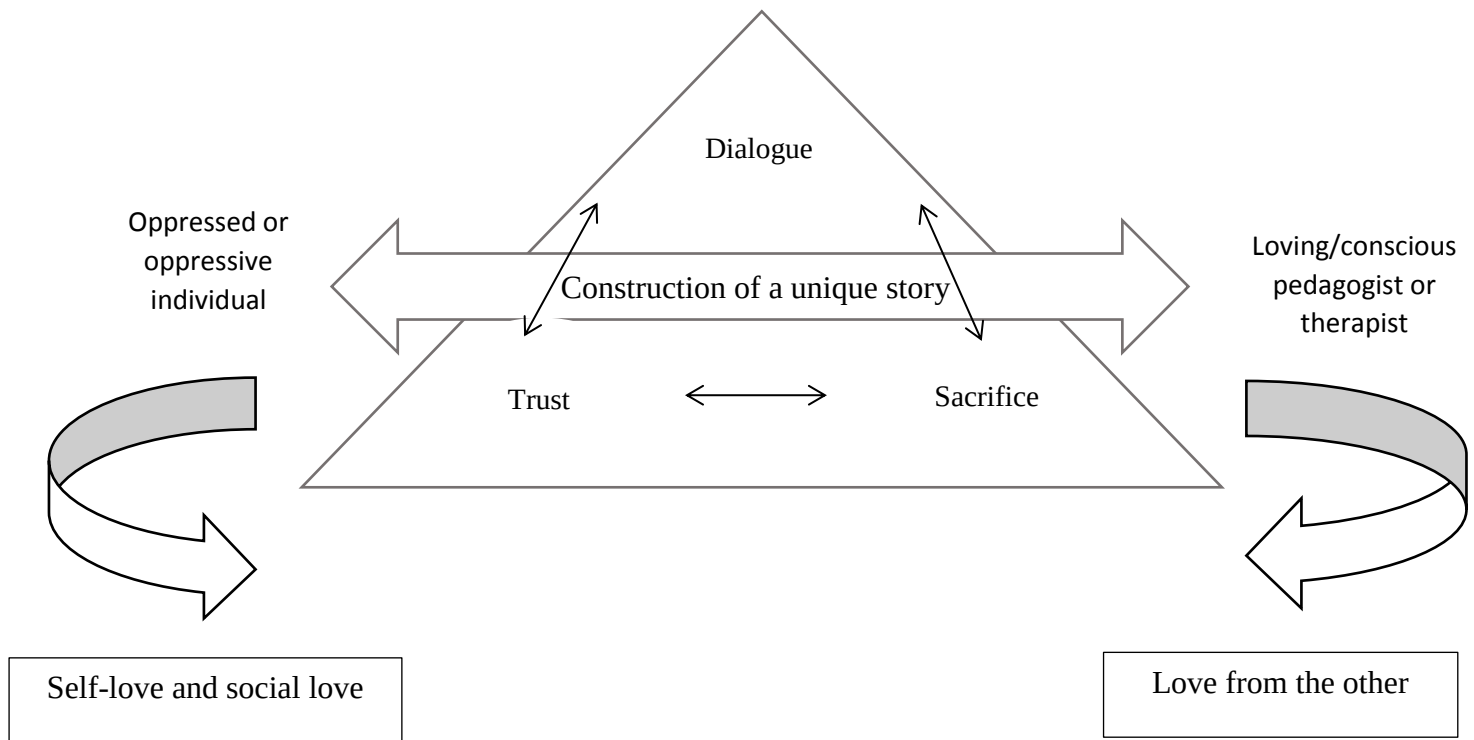
Finally, Freire promotes loving and equal social interactions in terms of pedagogy and as expressed through dialogue, trust and sacrifice. This loving pedagogy (which can take place inside or outside of educational institutions) may make people, such as black people belonging to the working class, conscious of the social dynamics in play and help them reach an emotional balance. As explained earlier, the trauma of poverty can be addressed through consciousness and emotional well-being, which will give people more of a chance at succeed in schools and at university, helping them to change their social class.

5. Toward liberatory and loving social interactions in relation to the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice

The trauma of racial prejudice and poverty affect numerous black South Africans: Fanon (1952) acknowledges and highlights this connection between poverty and racial historical traumas since he claims that: “we are rich because we are white, we are white because we are rich”¹⁰ (Fanon, 1952, p. 43, translated by author). There are many similarities between Freire and Fanon’s theories addressing both traumas, where Freire focuses on liberatory social interactions in terms of trust, sacrifice, and dialogue, and where Fanon discusses liberatory social interactions in terms of equality (related to Freire’s notion of dialogue) and about the content thereof through the construction of a unique story. These notions of dialogue, trust, sacrifice, and the construction of a unique story are explained as expressions of love, but where love/*uthando* from the ‘other’ represents a pre-condition for dialogue, trust, sacrifice, and for the construction of a unique story, as much as it does a consequence through self-love and pro-social love. Love/*uthando* describes a circular phenomenon in terms of love, where figure 4 below explains love/*uthando* as ‘loving’ social interactions according to both Fanon and Freire’s theories (figures 2 and 3 above) in relation to the notions of love from the other, self-love, and pro-social love (figure 1 above):

¹⁰ “On est riche parce que blanc, on est blanc parce que riche” (Fanon, 1952, p. 43)

Figure 4. Love/*uthando* according to Fanon and Freire's theory for freedom



6. Conclusion

Thanks to Freire and Fanon's theories, there is an idea of what social interactions should look like for freedom and how one should challenge the status quo in South Africa. This model describes the way loving social interactions lead to self-love and social-love, which are expressed in terms of dialogue, sacrifice, trust and the construction of a unique story and which can lead to freedom. However, the model above describes a specific type of social interaction between an individual and a loving pedagogist, therapist or humanist. In order to have a broader and more general definition of liberatory and loving social interactions for black, working-class South Africans, one must examine South African society and its revolutionary past and present. By doing so, an understanding of the underlying mechanisms translating revolutionary and loving social interactions in relation to the South African context can be gained. But before focusing on the South African context, specific definitions regarding each concept under love/*uthando* must be provided and their connections with freedom explored through empirical research.

Conceptual framework

1. Introduction

As explained in the introduction and literature review/theoretical framework, one can address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice through consciousness, which in turn helps one to reach a certain well-being or emotional balance. Love/*uthando* (shaped by Freire and Fanon's theory) may help to reach consciousness and well-being through a construction of a unique story, a dialogue, trust, and sacrifices for those affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Therefore, within the conceptual framework below, the different key concepts defining love/*uthando* are individually explained in relation to well-being and consciousness. Each key concept's explanation is based on empirical psychology and education research, since both disciplines have so far been used to develop the theory of love/*uthando*.

2. Construction of a unique story in relation to well-being and consciousness

In the current research and throughout Fanon's theory, the role of the construction of a unique story for freedom is foregrounded. As described in the literature review, Akinyela (2002) interprets and explains Fanon's liberatory method as promoting the construction of a unique story through the social interaction between therapist and patient for consciousness and emotional well-being. Indeed, the narration of stories as a meaning-making process has been used in psychology since its inception, but traditionally, the patient was free to talk about anything and everything and the participation of the psychologist was limited. For instance, Freud (1917), known as the 'father' of psychoanalysis, used free association to analyse and try to understand patients' minds in order to aid them in becoming aware/conscious of their psychological conflicts, and for them to feel better. The term 'free' therein relates to the patient constructing a story based on anything they want to discuss. Nevertheless, the active participation of the psychologist might be more beneficial in guiding the patient toward a specific and unique story to make sense of the world and his/her identity.

Brody (1994) analyses the physician/patient relationship in relation to story construction, showing that "constructing certain sorts of narratives within the relationship [physician/patient] attaches meaning to the patient's illness experience in a way that enhances the healing potential of the encounter" (Brody, 1994, p. 79). In other words, a joint construction of a unique story based on the specific illness of the patient helps him/her to make more sense of his/her

experience (consciousness), which in turn positively affects the healing process, or the well-being of the patient. It seems important to focus on the specific topic that affect the patient, such as his/her illness (or, in this case, racial prejudice and poverty). As explained earlier through constructivist theories, the help of a person who has a different perspective and level of awareness or consciousness to the patient regarding their own unique experience (for example, illness, racial prejudice, or poverty), determine their level of consciousness and, consequently, their level of well-being. The participation of someone else regarding the topic that affects a person (for example, a physician if the topic regards physical illness), can help a patient to construct his/her own story, have different/additional elements of information, and become fully aware or conscious of his/her own experience. Someone else with a different perspective on the topic engaged with is necessary to become conscious and reach a well-being.

Stayt, Seers and Tutton (2016) constructed a study highlighting human support for story construction of patients in intensive care, and which explains the need for story construction in addressing psychological and physical stress, depression, and post-traumatic stress. Their work also illustrates the critical role of human support in participating in the story construction of patients to make sense of their experiences. As Stayt et al. (2016) explain: “It has been suggested that constructing a story may assist psychological recovery” (Stayt, et al., 2016, p. 1). In other words, one needs to construct a story, with the help of someone else, about one’s affectations, about one’s trauma(s). The content should be related to one’s emotional unbalance, to one’s trauma(s), in order for one to become conscious, change one’s emotional unbalance and make a difference at the individual level. People can reach individual consciousness and subjective well-being through a social interaction that helps them to construct their own story.

The decolonising movement of education considers that consciousness (or decolonisation of the mind) is attainable through the construction of an African story. Indeed, there is a debate about the ‘right’ curriculum for decolonising African learners’ minds, and which is able to lead them to consciousness. For instance, Ngugi (1981) argues that both Western knowledge (only if relevant to African challenges) and African knowledge should be taught at schools for African learners, in order for them to make sense of and construct their own stories. In conclusion, story construction can help one make sense of one’s own emotional unbalance and reach a level of well-being, since this meaning-making process can lead to consciousness. Additionally, story construction can occur with the help of someone else who offers another

perspective about a person's own challenges and who can teach people and give them more information about their own stories.

3. Dialogue, well-being and consciousness

The current research defines the notion of dialogue as combining Freire and Fanon's theory, where Fanon highlights the importance of a co-constructed story, implying an equal relationship, echoed by Freire, but through dialogue as an expression of love. Both Fanon and Freire underline the necessity of being heard and hearing the 'other', of equal interactions, and of dialogue for freedom. Dialogue differs from the construction of a unique story since it focuses on 'the how' (equality), while the construction of a unique story provides information on 'the what' – the content (based on a unique, relevant, specific experience). Despite this difference, dialogue and the construction of a unique story are strongly connected since they both focus on social and oral interactions. Seher and Iverson (2015) explain this connection by highlighting story-telling or story-construction as representing a “complementary tool with dialogue” (Seher & Iverson, 2015, p. 20).

Brody (1994) explains that a jointly-constructed story between physician and patient implies an equal relationship, in terms of power, between the patient and the physician, where physicians in this kind of dynamic operate more successfully. Indeed, the relationship and its characteristics (the how) may determine the healing process of the patient since “the mental, emotional, and symbolic aspects of the physician-patient encounter can ameliorate (or worsen) disease every bit as much as the specific medications and other treatments the physician employs” (Brody, 1994, p. 79). Moreover, this relationship should be caring since “listening carefully to the patient's story begins the process of healing at the symbolic level” (Brody, 1994, p. 79).

Stayt, Seers and Tutton (2016) give an explanation regarding the effectiveness of dialogue as well, of 'the how'. Patients in intensive care encounter both physical and psychological stress, which may cause depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorders (Stayt et al., 2016). In other words, their well-being is truly and deeply affected. Stayt et al. (2016) interviewed 19 patients in intensive care, and concluded that constructing a story through a dialogue, a technique used during the interviews, with the health care professionals was fundamental for the patients to feel better and make sense of their experiences regarding intensive care. Moreover, the study shows that family plays a critical role in helping the patients to construct

their story, make sense of their experience, and attenuate their stress. If family interactions, which are generally characterised through the notion of love, represent a critical support for well-being and consciousness, then the relationship between loving social interactions, well-being, and consciousness seems even more grounded.

The idea of equality through interactions for consciousness and well-being is also visible in the field of family therapy. Avdi (2015) highlights the important role of equal interactions in family therapy and, more precisely, regarding children who are considered to be “half-members” (Avdi, 2015, p. 366). Avdi’s study shows that children’s voices are not equally considered in family therapy, where this lack of consideration affects the effectiveness of the therapy. In other words, unequal social interactions in family therapy negatively affect the consciousness and well-being of the whole family. Thus, equal social interactions may positively affect all interlocutors’ consciousness and well-being. Moreover, Avdi’s research focuses on a specific step-family who is facing difficulties: the position of the step-mother “in particular was shown to be characterised by conflict and ambiguity” (Avdi, 2015, p. 363). The unequal interactions between the parents (father and step-mother) and the children may have been an expression of a lack of love. Indeed, as explained by Avdi, “maternal love is described as natural” (Avdi, 2015, p. 367), where this general stereotype may have had pressured the step-mother and the children – love may sometimes be unnatural or learned instead, mostly in the context of a step-family. As mentioned earlier, Freire describes dialogue through equality and love, so it may be possible that considering the children’s voices may have helped and taught to the step-mother to love the children and vice versa. Thus, dialogue, in terms of equality, may help an individual and even a group to reach consciousness and well-being through love.

4. Sacrifices, well-being, and consciousness

In the literature review, the concept of sacrifice was defined according to Freire’s theory: sacrifice is defined as assuming a responsibility, overcoming our fears, making efforts and taking risks by fighting. Fanon also highlights the important role of overcoming our fears for liberatory and revolutionary action, and mentions the concept of sacrifice in this respect as well. Thus, sacrifices may be defined as individual changes for bigger social changes, which may or may not directly satisfy a subjective well-being. Moreover, while dialogue represents the thinking, sacrifices represent the doing, but where the thinking is not separated from the action and vice versa, explained by Freire when he discusses ‘praxis’. Therefore, if the

thinking, in terms of dialogue, leads to consciousness and well-being, then the action, in terms of sacrifice, may also lead to consciousness and well-being.

In different studies, the concept of sacrifice is explained as the deprivation of one's subjective well-being, and is connected to the concept of love. A study in industrial psychology shows that "the motivation to serve society, and sacrifice yourself, might have negative effects on well-being because employees go 'above and beyond' what is asked of them and thus overreach their own resources" (Van Loon, Vandenabeele & Leisink, 2015, p. 350). Employees tend to sacrifice themselves in order to serve their institution or their social group, which can negatively affect their own subjective well-being. Du, Gregory and Meng (2006) show that love may be the driver for sacrifice in relation to family dynamics. As Du et al. (2006) explain: "they [parents] might sacrifice current living conditions for their own and their family's future. They might choose to work extremely hard and live in extremely poor conditions" (Du, Gregory & Meng, 2006, p. 175). Some poor parents sacrifice themselves and relegate themselves to negative conditions that may affect their well-being – especially regarding living conditions and hard work – for the future of their families. In other words, the love that they feel toward their family prompts them to make sacrifices, but those sacrifices can negatively affect their well-being.

Nevertheless, as implied through van Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisink's study (2015), sacrifices may not lead to a certain subjective well-being, but perhaps instead a social well-being. According to Savulescu (2016), "it is at the core of morality that it requires a minimal level of altruism or self-sacrifice. The circumstances, degree and other aspects of sacrifice are the subject of great debate and differ with differing moral theories" (Savulescu, 2016, p. 1). The concept of sacrifice relates to social values and is discussed in theories of morality, where sacrifice may lead to a social well-being, in terms of morality/justice, instead of a subjective well-being. Gu, Huang, Zhang and Wang's (2015) illustrate the connection between sacrifices and social well-being by arguing that it is necessary to make "personal sacrifice" (Gu, Huang, Zhang & Wang, 2015, p. 66) in order to engage in pro-environmental behaviours for better air quality, for less pollution, and to save our environment. In other words, a change of behaviour in terms of sacrifices (taking actions, assuming a certain responsibility despite fear) is necessary for everyone's well-being – for a social well-being. In the latter case, one is more likely to make personal sacrifices if conscious of the impact of pollution on the environment, and ultimately, on our social well-being (Gu et al., 2015). Sacrifice therefore may be driven by

a certain level of consciousness and may be led by the love of others to serve a social and shared well-being.

Ceballo, Maurizi , Suarez and Aretakis's study (2014) confirms the influence of the love of others in relation to sacrifice for social well-being and consciousness. Ceballo et al. (2014) focus on the relation between parents and children and describe the notion of parental sacrifices through personal and financial efforts made toward their children's education: in the USA, the more Latino parents make sacrifices for their children's education, the more their children themselves will make sacrifices in terms of personal efforts toward their own education, for their own consciousness. Parents' sacrifices may lead their children to make sacrifices themselves, to exert efforts, to assume their responsibility and overcome their fear in order to engage with the process of consciousness raising through school. At the same time, Latin American parents and children in the US are more likely to be amongst the poorest and most discriminated population (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), much like the black population in the South African context. In other words, their study shows that, in discriminated populations, if people (from the community or from family, such as the parents) show love through sacrifices, one is more likely to make sacrifices oneself, to change one's behaviour and give oneself more chance to become conscious. As explained in the literature review, consciousness leads to subjective well-being; therefore, even though the concept of sacrifice is more directed toward a social well-being, it can still indirectly lead to subjective well-being through consciousness.

5. Trust, well-being, and consciousness

The current research defines the notion of trust as being based on Freire's theory: the concept of trust considers both the individual and social aspect of freedom since the focus herein is on trusting oneself, or self-confidence, and trusting others. Trust represents the most complicated characteristic of a liberatory interaction to build, since, according to Freire, a real 'humanist' or loving person can only be seen through a trusting relationship with the oppressed, not through actions. Self and social trust may be visible through 'the how' regarding actions (body) with others, but also through 'the how' regarding reflection (mind), since it represents an attitude involving the embodied mind. Indeed, whether people trust themselves and others can be uncovered through what they say and what they do. The fact that trust involves both the body and the mind, or the embodied mind, may explain why it is the most complicated and

time-consuming interactional element to build. Moreover, the concept of trust follows the notion of equality, as defended by Freire and Fanon, as well as, according to Sugimura, Crocetti, Hatano, Kaniusonyte, Hihara and Zukauskienė (2018) through the notion of mutuality.

Trust may be represented by love, which can influence one's level of consciousness – a connection visible in the field of organisational psychology. Buttner and Lowe's study (2015) shows that managers can change the level of trust of employees of colour "by treating them with dignity and respect and by ensuring fairness" (p. 2). They further suggest that: "when employees feel they are treated with dignity and respect (interactional justice), they are more likely to trust management. In summary, issues of care and concern demonstrated by the manager are central to the trust construct" (p. 25). Caring or loving interactions between managers and employees may affect the level of trust from the employees toward the managers. However, according to Buttner and Lowe (2015), employees of colour are also more likely to have a racial consciousness or awareness, and the ability to perceive injustice. These employees (whether black, as in the case of the current research, or Latino in the case of a North American context) are less likely to trust their managers, who are more likely to be white men, where the differences and tensions in terms of race make trust more difficult to build. Indeed, "professionals of colour with greater racial awareness reported lower levels of trust" (Buttner & Lowe, 2015, p. 16): black or Latino employees are more likely to be conscious of racial tensions and injustice at the macro-level due to their experiences, which makes the trust-building process at the micro-level harder and more time-consuming for managers (mostly for white managers). Buttner and Lowe (2015) conclude that, if managers can change the level of trust of their employees of colour through love, care, respect and dignity, and through their relationship, then the racial awareness is likely to expand, since employees will not only think using binaries (white/untrustworthy versus black/trustworthy), but through more complex and nuanced cognitive connections. Therefore, the trust level may influence the level of consciousness and vice versa.

Trust is also related to well-being in terms of life satisfaction in relation to the notion of social justice. Zhang and Zhang (2015) focus on institutional trust and life satisfaction in relation to the belief in a just world: believing in a just, better world relates to the notion of hope, which is (in context of the current research) connected to the concept of trust. Indeed, to trust someone else, or ourselves, is to believe and have hope in ourselves or in someone else. Zhang and Zhang (2015) confirm this connection between trust and hope (or the belief in a just world),

since trust is positively associated with life satisfaction through the mediation of the belief in a better and just world. Zhang and Zhang (2015) show that institutional trust and life satisfaction are positively associated, and that the belief in a better world mediates this association: trusting in our own institutions can lead us to well-being, to life satisfaction and to hope, to believe in a better world. Therefore, the notion of trust may affect our well-being in the present by reassuring us about the future through hope.

6. Conclusion

In the literature review, the theory of love/*uthando* for freedom was framed mostly through endogenous theories, while the different concepts underpinning the theory are explained through different empirical and Western research in the conceptual framework. The different empirical studies mentioned herein derive from different disciplines, including organisational, social, health, and environmental psychology, family psychotherapy, and education, all of which work to show the connection between the concepts defining love/*uthando* with freedom in terms of well-being and consciousness. Therefore, we can suggest that through trust, sacrifices, dialogue, and construction of a unique story, love/*uthando* can help people to reach freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being, which in turn addresses the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty.

Moreover, it is pertinent to note that the different concepts discussed herein are connected to freedom through love. Indeed, each concept highlights the salience of social relations, and, specifically, of loving interactions for freedom. These social interactions are described as being caring, loving, and including with mutual respect, where the idea of loving interactions through mutuality and respect underline the notion of interdependency. As explained in the literature review, black and white people need each other to reach freedom, and ultimately depend on one another to achieve consciousness and subjective well-being. On one hand, some theories and research explain that ‘the other’ should ideally be more conscious than ‘us’, on the other hand some theories and research show that one might only require a singularly different perspective – someone who thinks differently. Vygotsky (1978) claims that people need a mediator who is more conscious than them in order for them to become conscious. Brody (1994) further mentions that a patient can reach consciousness and make sense of his/her illness with the help of a physician who is more aware in this regard. Fanon (1952) talks about the need for a conscious therapist (as visible in figure 2 further up), while Freire (1996) talks about

the need for a more conscious ‘humanist’ (visible in figure 3). Paradoxically, however, Freire and Fanon highlight the importance of the notion of equality between both actors of change – both interlocutors: proposing that one needs to be more aware than the other risks denying the notion of equality. A person may only need someone slightly different, with a different professional or social status (manager/employee, patient/physician, learners/teachers), which implies a different social class, or with a different familial status (parents/children), or a different race (black/white). Indeed, as explained earlier, to free black people we need to free white people and vice versa: an interdependency which may be located in terms of difference – in the case of this research, in terms of racial and social class differences – and not in terms of consciousness. If a person interacts with someone who has a similar perspective, that person is not going to deepen his/her cognitive connections, or consciousness level. People need someone who is different to them, and who has a different perspective on specific or unique dynamics (such as racial and social class dynamics), for them to deepen their consciousness and to reach a subjective well-being. The revolutionary past and present of the South African context may help in addressing this question regarding the ‘who’, the interlocutor, the ‘other’, and can bring a broader and more relevant perspective of loving social interactions that may explain how and with whom love/*uthando* may be beneficial, especially considering those affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty.

In conclusion, this chapter constructed a theory of love/*uthando* based on Western and endogenous knowledge, and which is described as a process of self-love and social love through dialogue, construction of a unique story, sacrifice and trust. This may help people affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty to address their historical traumas by becoming conscious of their contexts and their positions within this context, and by reaching a certain well-being. Adapting the theory to the South African context may help clarify a few of the blurrier interactional elements of love/*uthando*, such as the position of the ‘other’, of the interlocutor as being more conscious or simply just different.

CHAPTER 3:
LOVING SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN
RELATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN
REVOLUTIONARY PAST AND
PRESENT

Love/uthando for freedom in the South African context

“The exchanges between Mr. de Klerk and me should not obscure one important fact. I think we are a shining example to the entire world of people drawn from different racial groups who have a common loyalty, a common love, to their common country...” (Mandela, 1994, p. 113)

1. Introduction

In contrast with the former chapter (which was mostly centred on endogenous knowledge), this chapter explores Western and indigenous knowledge to examine South African history (from apartheid to democracy) and current social movements (more precisely, the #FeesMustFall movement) in relation to love/uthando and its different concepts. Indeed, love/uthando may be used to explain the different revolutionary and liberatory dynamics in the South African past and present contexts.

2. Love/uthando as an explanation of the South African anti-apartheid revolution

The South African anti-apartheid revolution is one of the most recent and famously successful revolutions in the world. Leonard Thompson’s book, titled *The History of South Africa*, and edited for a third time in 2001, attempts to explain the full story of South Africa, and has been praised by many, including Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Desmond Tutu. Thompson (2001) offers a detailed explanation of the South African anti-apartheid revolution from an external point of view: he resides in the US. This external point of view has the potential to bring a different perspective that may deepen our awareness related to the South African history. Thompson (2001) begins explaining the revolution by mentioning that, from 1978 onwards, white oppressors started to become divided in terms of social class (through rural versus urban areas). White people from rural areas wanted to create divisions between black people and wanted to maintain apartheid since they were scared of a potential black economic competition (for example, in agriculture), and used this economic argument to position black people as inferior and themselves as superior by changing the economic law accordingly (Clark & Worger, 2011). For instance, when black people tried to defend ownership of their farms, white people imposed targeted taxes specifically for black farmers in order to prompt them to work as cheap mine labour (Clark & Worger, 2011). However, white people from urban areas started

to realise the immorality of apartheid under international pressure, and through the economic interdependency between black (as labour workers) and white people (as managers). In other words, once white people became conscious of the interdependency (even if only from an economic perspective) between black and white people, implying a sense of equality since they needed each other, they became conscious of the immorality of the apartheid system, and began to change the way they think. White people from urban areas started to fight for a change of the apartheid system and ideology.

Thompson (2001) therefore implies that the revolution or the need for change started within the white population. However, Clark and Worger (2011) highlight an early black revolutionary movement, which started in 1912, called the South African Native National Congress (or SANNC, which would later go on to be called the African National Congress or ANC). This movement gathered “several hundred members of South Africa’s educated African elite” (Clark & Worger, 2011, p. 24). The members of SANNC considered some ‘benefits’ from the colonisation through Christianity and education, but criticised and fought against racial discrimination and violence by promoting “better understanding between the white and black inhabitants of South Africa” (Clark & Worger, 2011, p. 24). This movement evidences the importance of education in relation to social class and consciousness, since the members of SANNC were all educated and belonged to an elite community aware of the oppressive dynamics that plagued their society. Their positive perception of colonisation in terms of education may be controversial. Education may only have been beneficial in surviving under a Western capitalist system, but ultimately harmful in the maintenance of power relations. Despite this controversy, it is evident that they were conscious of social dynamics and promoted social justice by highlighting the actual and unfair racial power relations. Moreover, the power of a peaceful approach was highlighted, acknowledging the mutual dependence between white and black people in relation to the abolishment of apartheid.

Around 1980, when white people from urban areas became more socially conscious, ‘illegal’ black trade unions, led by both black leaders and white activists, emerged – the arrival of which may have been connected to the recognition of black people’s humanity through the consciousness process of white people in terms of economic interdependency. A white consciousness (in understanding apartheid as immoral) and a black consciousness (in realising the power of the black population) transpired over the same period, highlighting the relation of interdependency between black and white people. Over a million black people joined black consciousness movements (Clark & Worger, 2011; Thompson, 2001) that prompted black

workers to demand wage increases, and which were a success. These consciousness movements helped black people to become aware of their own power, take action, and, in some cases, upgrade their social class from poverty-ridden to working/middle class, helping to ameliorate their psychological state.

The second change that white people from urban areas strived toward was in regard to the black “*urban insiders*” (Thompson, 2001, p. 226) who could live in urban areas. The economic reality meant that the strict apartheid regime become wholly unrealistic, where international economic pressures prompted the government to minimise segregation laws and geographic boundaries. However, “school education remained strictly segregated”, and “similar disparities remained in health and welfare services” (Thompson, 2001, p. 227). In other words, even though the apartheid system had to follow the international economic movement toward less boundaries between and within countries, as well as changing the economic situation of black people, they still wanted to deprive and deny black peoples’ consciousness and well-being. Access to education and health/welfare services would have assisted black South Africans in reaching consciousness and well-being, and which would have given black people the opportunity to compete with white people and change the economic situation more radically. As explained in the introduction, an educational and psychological inequality between black and white South African people is still maintained and remains visible today.

In 1986, a wave of violence emerged, even within racial groups. Different black consciousness movements disagreed and believed in different approaches to freedom. Most of the activists from the United Democratic Front supported and trusted the African National Congress (ANC), and believed Mandela to be a potential president. A wave of chaos and violence emerged from both sides, white and black. Thompson (2001) explains that white people were scared to give more political power to black people, the fear of which caused deeper extremism on both the white and black sides. As mentioned earlier in the context of sacrifice, people need to step over their fears and take risks in order to move forward and make freedom possible. However, fear ultimately overcame the peace and freedom process, leading to more violence and deeper conflicts, “with fighting bringing the country to an impasse, with the black revolutionaries unable to overthrow the white state, and the state unable to eliminate the revolutionaries” (Clark & Worger, 2011, p. 110).

By 1989, negotiations had started. South Africa was facing a deep economic recession. Thompson highlights the fact that “White and Black were inextricably interdependent”

(Thompson, 2001, p. 243) not only economically, but also psychologically and physically due to the ongoing violence. White leaders needed to undertake a dialogue with the ANC leaders, after which “both sides grew to realise that they had a common interest” (Thompson, 2001, p. 244). As Thompson notes, “the most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile” black and white people to “end apartheid” (Thompson, 2001, p. 245). The transition period from the apartheid system to a democratic system was principally led by Mandela and De Klerk.

In 1990, Mandela was released after 27 years of unfair treatment, violence and imprisonment. Thompson (2001) also highlights that De Klerk and Mandela were praised, appreciated, and loved everywhere in the world (as visible in the quote visible at the beginning of this chapter) before the dialogue took place. This love from the international community (coming from ‘the other’) may have been the driving force that helped De Klerk and Mandela to love themselves and others enough to persistently strive for freedom, despite the numerous obstacles. Indeed, Buthelezi, one of the leaders of the anti-apartheid and transitional movement who did not receive appraisal and love from the international stage as much as Mandela and de Klerk, did not persist toward peace as much as his colleagues, but instead gave up and directed his movement toward violence several times (Thompson, 2001).

In order to open the political dialogue, the “leaders of the White establishment and the Black resistance had to get to know each other and create a minimum of mutual trust” (Thompson, 2001, p. 247). As highlighted in the theoretical framework, the notion of trust is indispensable for dialogue and, more specifically, for freedom, especially in terms of consciousness and well-being. However, this trust took a long time to build. Some groups, both white and black, were against any dialogical negotiation process. When an appreciative and loving relationship started to take shape, especially after “Mandela called De Klerk a man of integrity” (Thompson, 2001, p. 248), a new wave of violence emerged from the different groups that disagreed with the peace-making negotiations, causing interruptions to the dialogue. White leaders met later with different leaders of the ANC, where “this was a get-to-know session, which went some way toward easing their personal relationships” (Thompson, 2001, p. 248). Numerous attempts at dialogue sessions were interrupted by extreme violence between political factions and from the police, making the peace-making and freedom process more difficult to enact. Despite the interruptions, De Klerk and Mandela persisted and “bonded” (Thompson, 2001, p. 253). In 1994, Mandela gained “opponents’ respect by showing that he had sympathy for Afrikaners and understood their fears for the future” (Thompson, 2001, p. 260). In other words, Mandela

showed love (in terms of acceptance, recognition, as explained by Fanon) toward white people which pushed the peace-making process forward toward the democratic election, and toward freedom.

Mandela and De Klerk constructed a new story together. Indeed, Clark and Worger (2011) highlight the fact that Mandela introduced a new perspective in the mind of De Klerk and his white collaborators, which prompted both to develop a new narrative in terms of brotherhood. As explained by Clark and Worger (2011), “Mandela told the state president that he saw parallels between the 1914 Afrikaner uprising (to protest against South Africa’s entry into the First World War on the side of their enemies, the English, and against their old friends, the Germans) and the struggle of Africans” (Clark & Worger, 2011, p. 111). A new and unique story began taking shape during the negotiations, which focused on the similarities between black Africans and white Afrikaners, and explained a brotherhood – an equality. Moreover, political documents explain this unique story constructed during the negotiations as well, since, in this context, the construction of a unique story is based on a political dialogue. In 1989, the Organisation of African Unity gathered to construct the Harare Declaration, which involved De Klerk and Mandela. This declaration represented the introduction of the new and unique South African story, and highlighted the keywords ‘negotiation’ and ‘peace’. In 1991, De Klerk, Mandela and other political leaders signed a Declaration of Intent that protected all sides of the story by acknowledging a unity between South Africans regardless of their differences in terms of race, language, culture, or religion. The Declaration of Intent states that the new South Africa should be undivided, united, and without discrimination. Through the dialogue, Mandela, De Klerk and their colleagues constructed a unique constitution (or story) that led to freedom. This democratic and liberal constitution constructed a new narrative that created a new reality in South Africa, including, for instance, new South Africa having 11 official languages. During the first presidential speech of Nelson Mandela, the term ‘reconciliation’ was emphasised and highlighted, where “[r]econciliation was the dominant theme of his inaugural address” (Thompson, 2001, p. 264), and represented the introduction/objective of the South African story and the conclusion/outcome of this long dialogue for freedom.

Through examining South Africa’s history, the harmful aspect of violence, which implies an emotional unbalance, is notable and may actually represent a waste of time and life (through deaths) – an obstacle regarding peace and freedom. Violence, from any source, is useless in terms of positive change, but did happen nonetheless, and will continue to occur in the case of revolution due to the fears, anxieties, and angers that are very difficult to overcome. Fanon

describes violence as a revolutionary action, but it is also evident that violence, as an expression of an extreme anger or emotional unbalance (between positive and negative emotions), did not help to reach a revolutionary change in terms of peace in South Africa, but instead continuously interrupted and slowed down the peace and freedom process. Perhaps Fanon tends to frame a personal emotional unbalance vis-à-vis the question of colonialism and racial prejudice, while associating violence to the notion of fighting. A perspective from the inside, or from someone affected by a specific malaise, such as racial prejudice or poverty, may be very beneficial and fruitful, but also restrictive, since a perspective from the inside can also be deeply influenced by emotions. Such a deeply biased situation would not be found within an external perspective, but an external perspective may be too distant and omit numerous important elements, much like how the role of SANNC in relation to the anti-apartheid movement is omitted by Thompson (2001), despite its huge importance regarding the South African past and present. The benefits related to the use and combination of different perspectives for a person's own consciousness is notable, thus, a certain consciousness is attainable through a dialogue with someone who is different, who has a different experience or perspective. Moreover, as noted in the introduction, the current research uses Western, endogenous, and indigenous knowledge in their considerations of different perspectives, since it is the combination of their points of accordance that is most likely to lead to a less biased conceptualisation of the theory of love/*uthando*.

By examining South Africa's past, the importance of the economic aspect of a revolution is highlighted: the key elements that led to freedom for black and white people corresponded with the overcoming of fears, the taking of risks, making efforts (mostly in terms of control of emotions), and taking actions (such as organising meetings, going toward the 'others'). These actions constitute the notion of sacrifice as highlighted in the theoretical framework. Furthermore, the economic aspect also had a huge impact on the peace-making process since it forced white and black people to become aware/conscious of oppressive practices: the economic situation helped white people to become conscious of the immorality of the apartheid system, and helped black people to become conscious of their own economic power. As explained by Marx (1887), the economic aspect is fundamentally important in terms of revolutionary change and freedom: it may push people to take actions (make sacrifices) and help them to become conscious in as much as it can represent a trauma, or a source of anger or violence.

The social aspect is crucial for freedom in terms of loving social interactions: while hate and violence slowed down the peace process toward freedom, love (or recognition and acceptance) – through trust, dialogue, construction of a new and unique story, and sacrifice – helped to reach democratic freedom. Mandela and De Klerk received love from all over the world before opening a dialogue with each other, a love from the ‘other’ that may have helped them to love themselves and each other enough to persist for freedom, despite their fear, and the numerous risks and obstacles (such as violence). As explained above, they both made sacrifices (though Mandela’s experience was more challenging and required more sacrifices than De Klerk) in terms of taking risks and making considerable efforts. Additionally, even though it was very complex and took them a long time, they persisted enough to build a trusting relationship, where trust was a determinant element. Furthermore, Mandela and De Klerk jointly constructed a new and unique story of a democratic South Africa. Finally, there was a noticeable impact of love/*uthando* – in terms of dialogue, trust, sacrifices, and the construction of a unique story – and the role of consciousness and emotional balance/well-being in the peace-making and freedom process in South Africa. Thus, love/*uthando*, in opposition to hate and violence, may represent a way to reach freedom in the South African context in present and future endeavours.

3. Love/*uthando* as providing a potential framework for the current liberatory changes in South Africa

If love/*uthando* could – regarding the past – represent the support that helped South Africans walk toward freedom at the macro-level, it may also serve a similar function at the micro-level in South Africa today. Love/*uthando* may help liberate those burdened South African individuals, such as working-class black individuals affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty, and help them reach a certain consciousness and psychological well-being, especially in terms of emotional balance.

In addition to the country’s history, South Africa has also witnessed revolutionary social movements more recently: beginning in 2015, numerous tertiary students across the country protested behind the #FeesMustFall movement, which became both a national, and international platform. In every South African university, students started protesting behind the banner of free education and decolonisation of universities, working to change the experiences of black (as a broad concept, including all non-white population groups) and poor students (Langa, 2017). Indeed, South African students are aware of the dominant dynamic of white or Western knowledge in South African universities, especially in terms of curriculum and

lecturers. They raised the point that South African universities need to distance themselves from (but not entirely eject) Western knowledge in order to explore African, and, more specifically, South African knowledge relevant to the country's context and challenges. Moreover, South African university fees are still unfeasibly high despite the NSFAS system, which offers financial help to the poorest students: "the message was clear, that the costs of higher education were too high and unaffordable for the majority of black poor students" (Langa, 2017, p. 6), all of which works to maintain the dynamics enforced during apartheid. In other words, South African students protested against both the concrete (in terms of physical access) and more abstract (in terms of epistemological access) lack of access to knowledge. The #FeesMustFall movement also took up the defence of black service workers who are kept at a lower level of poverty by universities through outsourcing, largely for financial reasons.

The supporting staff of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) have a more specific story of revolutionary change relating to the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty: in 2002, Wits decided to outsource supporting workers (South African History Online, 2018). The university, a historically white university, wanted workers from an external organisation who would not have the same benefits as internal workers, again, for financial reasons. Internal or insourced workers typically have higher salaries, and their children can study for free at the university employing them, which leads to a positive change of social class over the generations. The decision to outsource workers, or redefine internal workers as such ultimately meant that most disadvantaged parts of society became even more disadvantaged: a perfect illustration of how the South African economy has maintained itself. The outsourcing process affected the workers not only economically, but psychologically too, since their trauma and level of poverty became more intense. The current research aims to approach and understand the knowledge of black workers, especially affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty due to the maintenance of apartheid dynamics in terms of race and class, as noted by the #FeesMustFall movement. This community has a specific story to tell regarding the revolutionary dynamics during #FeesMustFall, since they were able to make a change from outsourcing to insourcing, and might be able to provide knowledge about revolutionary changes that address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice. They also belong to a micro South African context, one of the current times, that can be compared with the macro-context of the past (anti-apartheid revolution), in relation to *love/uthando*.

In 2015, students and workers of Wits actively protested through a complete shutdown of the university under the #FeesMustFall banner. They used social networks in order to reach a

higher number of students and workers, and would end up attracting more credibility through the attention of the media, which also played an important role during the protests, where #FeesMustFall ultimately became viral. The relationship between workers and students became stronger over the duration of the protests. Their friendship (or loving relationship) gave them more motivation, power and put more pressure on the university since the Student Representative Council stated that:

“On the 27th of May 2015, a number of workers peacefully occupied the Vice-Chancellor’s office after the Office of the Vice-Chancellor had failed to respond to all emails previously sent by the workers to meet before their access cards were shut off on Monday 1 June. It was during the course of this office sit-in wherein the Vice-Chancellor Professor Adam Habib out rightly refused to engage with workers because students who were there in solidarity were present and the workers wanted them to be in the meeting.” (South African History Online, 2018, para. 2)

This loving relationship/friendship between students and workers surprised the university, causing them to step back and refuse to engage. Ultimately, the university called upon the police to deal with the protests, which was highly criticised since it represented an act of violence from the university toward students and workers. Violence ensued through arson and police brutality, both of which had been foregrounded by the protest organisers who prompted all students and workers to engage in a peaceful protest (South African History Online, 2018). Thereafter, there was no trust between university administration and protesters, since violence between these two parties had increased. After few weeks, the university acknowledged protesters’ demands regarding the removal of police at the university, and by annulling the fees increase for all students. This move from the university did not stop the protests to follow, however, since it did not exactly address all the demands of the protestors, but it did help in terms of the trust-building process and dialogue engagement. Protesters could trust that the university was able to change for the better, and protesters could trust themselves after realising their power and the changes they could demand from the university. Once the violence ceased, a dialogue and a trusting relationship could begin to form.

Open discussions regarding insourcing involving different parties such as the National Minimum Wage Research (NMWR) and the South African and Casual Workers Advice Office (SACWAO) began soon after, starting a dialogue. The construction of a mutual story (with the help of NMWR and SACWAO) between students, workers, and the university started: a new story of race, oppression, and conflict emerged from workers and students regarding the

university as explained through the statement of the Student Representative Council: “as long as black people continue to be oppressed in SA and at institutions like Wits, (...) [we] will continue the fight against financial exclusion, outsourcing of workers and a lack of African content in the curriculum of the university” (South African History Online, 2018, n. p.). The story also highlighted the notion of sacrifice, whereby “protesters are also inconvenienced, by the system and by making sacrifices for their aims” (South African History Online, 2018, n. p.). Without the sacrifices made by students and workers, no changes would have been made by the university, and no new story could have emerged. The request for the insourcing of Wits workers was not only one reflecting the need for an economic change, but it also represents a call for humanity, for love. The supporting staff were the only ones affected by the outsourcing process, serving a stark contrast to the academic or administrative staff, even though they all work at the same institution, and even though they had the lowest salaries. The university acknowledged the humanity and equality between supporting, administrative, and academic staff through insourcing, but only with the considerable help of the students. The university thus may have learnt to accept, consider, recognise, or love supporting staff through a dialogue, sacrifices, trust (between workers, students, and the university), and through the construction of a new story.

The fact that former outsourced workers are now considered at an equal level to other workers of the university affected them deeply. In 2017, the university officially started the insourcing process: over 1500 workers became insourced, and their salaries increased. On Wits’ website is a video depicting an insourced (formerly outsourced) worker – Mashaba – at the university sharing her individual experience of the outsourcing/insourcing process. Mashaba explains that, while being outsourced, she “never used to do [her] (...) job with love” even though “people were encouraging” since she “always picked up ballpoint pens and erasers that the students had thrown away (...) and gave them to [her] (...) kids to take to school” (University of the Witwatersrand, 2017). It is understandable that she would have preferred to work with love by being able to buy herself what her children needed; if she felt that the university helped, recognised or loved her and her family, then she would have been more likely to ‘give back’ by working with love. The encouragement of others helped her to hope for a change, and to trust that the situation would become better for her and her children, highlighting the importance of others in terms of trust or hope and perseverance. Mashaba needed to receive love in order to give love since she needs to feel love (or loved) through her work (as benefitting her children) in order to work with love. The insourcing process “really changed [her] (...) life for the better” and “even [her] (...) kids can see that there is a difference now”, adding that her “kids will now have a better future” and that her “hope lies in them now” (University of the

Witwatersrand, 2017). Her children may thus represent hope in expelling the historical trauma of poverty by changing the social class of her family in the future. Indeed, even though her children may not yet understand the process of insourcing and outsourcing from the university, they still notice a change, and also made her children “happy” (University of the Witwatersrand, 2017), which shows the impact of poverty in terms of well-being. Mashaba highlights a difference in her life, explaining it through the narrative of love by mentioning her children and the idea of working with love. She associates this love, and more specifically maternal love, with hope, trust, the future, and happiness. The notion of love seems central in her story – in her indigenous/oral knowledge – which concludes positively in terms of well-being (happiness) and through economic change.

Today, the university encourages workers to become more conscious by offering an access to study opportunities for them. On the university website, the following story of another former outsourced worker in relation to study opportunities is shared:

“Caiphus Luvhengo is dreaming of a decent future. He is a popular figure at the Wits Parktown Management Campus where he is a general worker. He derives joy knowing that his efficiency contributes to the positive image of the School. Darting around the campus, he ensures that there are no delays to lectures due to poorly prepared teaching venues. “Being insourced has placed me in a position where I can plan for my future,” he says. Although he only recently began enjoying an improved income, the soon-to-graduate worker would like to build a home for his wife and four-year-old daughter” (University of the Witwatersrand, 2017, para. 5)

Through this story, it is evident that Caiphus became more confident (trust in himself) in reaching his dream of a more ‘decent’ life after the insourcing process. He is aware of the power he has in his own hands after changing his own life and the lives of his wife and daughter, a life plan that may be driven by the love for/of his wife and daughter since his final objective is to build a home for them. In other words, the power of love or loving interactions seems to be the foundation of Caiphus’s perseverance and positive life changes.

It is important to highlight the fact that this article about Caiphus and the video of Mashaba are published and written/produced by the university and might not exactly and directly convey Caiphus and Mashaba’s real opinions. The indigenous/oral knowledge explained in the video and interview with the university has been prompted and filtered by the university, which has a specific interest and position. Moreover, even though Mashaba mentions the notion of love

by herself and Caiphus highlighted the role of his loved ones by himself, they did not provide a description of the role of love for freedom. Indeed, Mashaba and Caiphus highlight the concept of love in relation to their well-being and consciousness (for instance, through Caiphus' education), which means that love may represent – for indigenous knowledge as well – an important perspective to explore in addressing the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice. Today, loving social interactions may be important in making a difference, at the micro-level, as well as at the macro-level, in South Africa: there is a need to ask workers about the role of love in relation to well-being and consciousness, to freedom. The notion and the definition of *love/uthando* needs to be discussed with the workers and in the academic world in order to find a way to address – in terms of social interactions within or outside of structures – the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice in relation to freedom. Workers' indigenous knowledge needs to be examined in relation to endogenous and Western knowledge in order to understand the underlying mechanisms in play in relation to the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice in the South African context. Black, working-class South Africans, such as the supporting staff of Wits university, need to share their indigenous or oral knowledge in order to obtain an accurate description of liberatory, counter-hegemonic, anti-colonial, and loving social interactions for freedom.

4. Conclusion

Love/uthando, in terms of trust, dialogue, construction of a new and unique story, and sacrifice, may have helped oppressed black South African people in the past and in the present. Moreover, *love/uthando* may lead to consciousness and well-being (where these factors are both connected) through self-love and social-love, and by the intermediate love coming from the 'other'. The concept of love, acknowledged and promoted through the theory of *love/uthando*, is highlighted by black, working-class South Africans, such as the supporting staff of the university of the Witwatersrand. In other words, those affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty seem to underline the importance of love in their life. Thus, indigenous knowledge may be aligned with endogenous and Western knowledge in terms of explaining the importance of love for consciousness and well-being of those affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. However, more details defining loving social interactions according to indigenous knowledge are needed in order to construct a theory of *love/uthando* that may lead to freedom by addressing the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty.

CHAPTER 4: WESTERN AND DECOLONISED METHODOLOGIES

Methodology

“avoid violence and to use peaceful methods.” (Mandela, 1994, p.56)

1. Introduction/research question

By examining the participation of black South African people working in the cleaning/ground service spheres of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), the researcher intends to obtain an indigenous explanation of love/*uthando*, and construct, with the participants, an answer to the following research question:

How can loving social interactions help black South African people working at Wits, and who are affected by the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice, to reach freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being?

2. Research design: critical realism and decolonising approaches

One way to approach and make sense of reality is to reach an explanation of the underlying mechanisms that are in play in relation to a specific phenomenon. Critical realism corresponds with an alternative position and a synthesis of positivism and constructivism (Fletcher, 2017). Positivism and critical realism both consider that there is an objective reality out there. However, in opposition to positivism, critical realism considers that the reality (acknowledged as being the truth in positivism) – or ontology – is not directly accessible. Multiple truths are accessible in interpreting – through epistemology – our ontology. Critical realists distinguish ontology and epistemology since different epistemological approaches can be used to explain our reality or ontology. Constructivism considers that our reality is socially constructed, which may explain the relation between epistemology and ontology. Epistemology, or our own construction of our reality, aims to explain and get as close as possible to an ontological reality. One can construct different interpretations or explanations of underlying processes in order to get as close as possible to the reality (Fletcher, 2017). These underlying processes may be explained and illustrated through the construction of models, which can explain causalities, correlations, or influencing factors between different elements or concepts. In other words, an epistemological model is adapted to approach our ontological complexities in terms of influences, connections, causalities, or correlations. Indeed, the construction of our reality should not be reduced to humans’ interpretations – whether that happens through positivism or

constructivism – but humans’ interpretations should be as close as possible to the reality, as defended by critical realism.

Critical realism offers a different alternative to understanding one’s reality and its truths. According to Bhaskar (2013), the truths may be divided into three levels: the real, the actual, and the empirical, where the empirical emerges from the actual, and the actual emerges from the real. The real translates the different activated or non-activated mechanisms that explain the properties of things, the reality, or the ontology, while the actual corresponds with the theoretical explanation of phenomena, and with the epistemology. We have access to the actual through the empirical through experiences (such as interviews, observations, action-research, or questionnaires). Therefore, critical realism promotes the importance of empirical research. It is necessary to go into the field in order to obtain an interpretation which is as close as possible to the reality. The current research needs to obtain empirical data about loving social interactions in relation to freedom from South African participants who are affected by both traumas of racial prejudice and poverty, in order to get as close as possible to the South African reality.

In addition to critical realism – which represents a Western school of thought – and as implied through the aims of this research, a decolonising or Africanising approach is used as well. This approach promotes the use of theories from Southern countries about Southern countries, including endogenous knowledge. Hountondji (1997) and Ngugi (1981) emphasise the importance of endogenous knowledge as being from Africa and about African challenges, but neither entirely reject Western dominant knowledge. Both, Hountondji (1997) and Ngugi (1981) claim that Western knowledge needs to be used, but only if relevant to African knowledge or the African reality. There is a need to highlight and give a voice to African theorists (for the actual) and participants (for the empirical) if there is a focus on an African ontology (or reality). However, as explained in the introduction, indigenous knowledge is not promoted by Ngugi (1981) and Hountondji (1997), though it can lead to new insights about the African reality since it is derived from African countries and concerns African challenges. In the case of the current research, participants’ voices – representing indigenous or oral knowledge – will be highlighted and considered as much as endogenous and Western knowledge. By engaging in a dialogue with black South African participants, Southern and Western authors, we may be able to navigate complexities and underlying mechanisms – as defended by critical realism – of our own decolonised, South African reality.

3. Sampling

The study sampling method used herein is of a purposive nature: eight (three women and five men) black, working-class South Africans (affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty) were interviewed. The sample was also chosen out of convenience since the participants all work at Wits, where the researcher is currently studying. As explained in chapter three, the supporting staff of Wits protested for insourcing. They undertook revolutionary actions to make a change to their financial and economic situations, alongside students. The sample includes people who are engaged, who are aware of their situation, and who contributed to a change. The number of participants is not as high as it could have been, due to a lack of time and the difficulties encountered (as explained later within the procedure), despite the geographical convenience. Nevertheless, after interviewing four participants, there were already numerous repetitions and similarities between the different subjective perspectives.

All of the participants were black, and had experienced the processes of outsourcing and insourcing. The majority of the participants had been working at the university for more than 20 years and experienced apartheid, except two participants who joined the university later on. As implied, those participants are the youngest, but were still technically born during apartheid. Both young participants joined the university as workers during the outsourcing period, and thus both experienced different salaries, different social classes, and were present during the change from outsourcing to insourcing. Additionally, as explained in the introduction, the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty is transmitted through generations, and their perspective on the research topic was very similar to the perspectives of the other participants. Thus, their knowledge is still considered applicable to the current research. Finally, some of the participants did not feel very comfortable speaking in English, which was not their first language, but were still understandable through emotions and body expressions. The youngest participants (and few others) had a very good grasp of the English language, and their knowledge might therefore be more accurate. Nonetheless, the researcher considered and interpreted the interviews from all the participants despite their differences in terms of experience or language.

4. Procedure

Firstly, the researcher tried to approach cleaners and gardeners at the university in a personal capacity in order to find participants. However, only one worker agreed to participate. Generally, the workers were confused by both the request and the researcher's identity: some thought that the request was on behalf of the media (perhaps due to the researcher's strong accent, highlighting the foreign origin). Others did not want to engage in discussion and explained that it was because their supervisor was watching them. These suspicions work to illustrate the lack of interaction between the staff of the university and the students or researchers, as well as the deep dependency on (or even fear of) hierarchy. Moreover, their level of English (which was low for some) influences the lack of interaction between supporting staff (gardeners, cleaners) and the students, lecturers, or administrative staff, even having worked at university for more than 20 years. This distance between workers and the rest of the population of the university is disturbing since it shows the impact of social class and perhaps race in relation to social interactions. The university aims to gather people from different backgrounds and cultures to construct knowledge about African challenges, but the workers, who may be the most affected by South African challenges, and the students, lecturers or researchers do not interact with each other, thereby excluding their indigenous knowledge: a phenomenon which is problematic and contradictory to the aim of the university.

Thereafter, the director of services of the university was contacted, and seemed sincerely committed to supporting the workers of the university by hearing their suggestions and ideas. The director of services accepted the researcher's request to reach workers and to interview them about their experience in relation to the current research topic. The director also agreed to play the role of intermediary, and to mention the current research to potential participants as an opportunity to voice out and be heard, under the condition that he will be provided with a copy of the final report – terms which were found to be agreeable. Throughout the interviews, participants notably appreciated the researcher's approach and the fact that they were being listened to, emphasising their desire that the message be spread. Therefore, it was decided that their suggestions that were directly connected to their work experience be written down, and handed over to the director in order to spread their message up to the hierarchy. A letter summarising their suggestions (see appendix p. 133) was finalised and sent to the director.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to guide the discussion toward the concepts of love, dialogue, trust, sacrifice, and the construction of a unique story. Each interview started with general questions about their experiences/feelings of being black and belonging to the working

class in South Africa. The last questions concluded the discussion and encouraged the participants to give their opinion about love in general. The questions (see appendix p. 127) were framed according to the context (micro/macro) and trauma (race/social class), where the micro-context – the university – was used to address the question of poverty and social class, especially considering that the outsourcing/insourcing process had evident economic implications, while the South African macro-context was used to address the question of race in relation to history. Every interview was recorded and transcribed, whereby the recordings will be destroyed after completion (and reception of the outcomes) of the research. Beverages and snacks were offered to the participants during interviews in order for them to feel comfortable, and for the researcher to show gratitude toward them. Each interview began with an explanation of the process, discussing the letter of information disclosure, the consent letter, and enquiring whether they would be comfortable being recorded. They were shown a transcription example on the researcher's computer in order for them to understand the need to record them, and to illustrate that they could trust the researcher. At the end of each interview, they were supplied with an 'official' certificate (see appendix p. 132) signed by the researcher and the supervisor illustrating gratitude and making them aware of their contribution to knowledge construction.

As implied so far, the interviews were approached in the same way that the current research topic has herein: sincere engagement in the interviews through a dialogue was foregrounded, and a measure of quality established between the researcher and the participants. They gave their time and shared their experiences, therefore there was reciprocation in terms of snacks and a letter of thanks. It was also intended that a unique story be constructed with them through their suggestions, that was going to be shared with the hierarchy and through this research. The long explanation of the process at the beginning of each interview regarding recordings aimed to build a trusting relationship between researcher and participants. In other words, the researcher intended to engage in loving social interactions with each participant and use *love/uthando* throughout the duration of the interviews. The researcher received love too, either indirectly through their discourse and attitude (participants offered up all the information asked of them despite some having been very emotional and personal) or directly through their discourse and behaviour (hugs, smiles, and positive nicknames - such as 'my darling', or 'my sister' - were exchanged). Thus, an understanding or consciousness was reached regarding South African challenges in relation to the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty thanks to their discourse (mind), attitude (embodied mind) and behaviour (body).

Indeed, interviews represent a way to fully understand people's subjective experiences through their discourse (mind), body (behaviour), and embodied mind (emotions/attitudes). In order to get as close to the reality as possible, one may need to approach participants' subjectivity in terms of behaviour (Silverman, 2004) and mind (Davies & Davies, 2007). Davies and Davies (2007) explain that one can access someone's subjective experience through the reflective act of verbalisation and through the process of self-awareness. In other words, one may reach an understanding of someone's subjective experience through a construction process of their own story. Davies and Davies (2007) do not dismiss the role of behaviour though, which is visible through actions; for Silverman (2004), one can access another's subjective experience by observing their interactive behaviour. Silverman (2004) – in favour of behaviour over mind – explains that there may be a gap between what people do and what people say, though it is not clear which is more relevant, true, or meaningful. It may be more useful to approach both, people's mind and body, to understand their subjective experiences. According to Opdenakker (2006), face-to-face interviews provide different forms of information regarding what is being said (mind), the tone (or attitude), and non-verbal clues (behaviour/body). Indeed, most of the participants who did not speak English as well as their own language mostly used body clues and tone/attitude to help the researcher understand what they wanted to communicate. The mind, the body, and the embodied mind enabled the researcher to reach a deeper understanding about specific concepts in relation to subjective experiences. Moreover, as highlighted by Doody and Noonan (2013), semi-structured interviews offer a certain flexibility, enabling researchers to follow the logic (mind), the actions (body), and the attitude (embodied mind) of the participants. Even though a specific order of different themes was pro-actively determined, the researcher could adapt the order according to participants' association of thoughts and behaviour, and thus follow the participants' attitudes. Furthermore, this flexibility also enables participants to hint at other themes that the researcher may not have considered. In other words, semi-structured interviews give more space for construction, and consider participants' minds, bodies, and embodied minds. For this reason, the interview transcriptions depict the attitude and the body behaviour of the participants in addition to the discourse in the following way:

Gertrude: "It's better. Now so nice. I am talking 1995 not talking with me: *koa koa koa lokiso lokiso lokiso!* (showing through her behaviour that this person is talking in a disrespectful way)" (Extract from interview 4 with Gertrude).

5. Qualitative content analysis and interpretation

The current research aims to explore the definitions and possibilities of love/*uthando* in relation to the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice, and, since concepts defining loving interactions are discussed, or, more specifically, love/*uthando*, a qualitative content analysis seems to be most appropriate. As explained earlier, critical realism highlights the importance of empirical research, where it is necessary to go into the field in order to get as close as possible to the reality. Research needs to encompass both theories and real experience or indigenous knowledge in order to construct an interpretation of reality that is as accurate as possible. In this case, even though the research question aims to explore a conceptual problem, there is still a need for empirical data or indigenous knowledge in order to get as close as possible to the South African reality.

Qualitative content analysis aims to create codes (Elol, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen and Kyngäs, 2014). To answer the research question herein, comparisons need to be performed to evaluate the similarities between concepts extracted from the interview process. The current research uses an inductive approach following grounded theory, moving away from the specific (indigenous knowledge) to the general (using endogenous, Western, and indigenous knowledge), which is explored in the discussion. Therefore, in vivo codes taken directly from the interviews and that correspond to participants' own words were favoured in order to develop a theory grounded in indigenous knowledge, and subsequently discussed in relation to endogenous and Western knowledge.

Coding was used to transform 'raw' data into research (or indigenous) concepts or codes. Scott and Morrison (2005) explain coding as a "two stage process" (Scott & Morrison, 2005, p. 31): firstly, the 'sifting' or the selection of data from interview transcriptions and grouping them according to their meanings; secondly, the assignment of a specific code to each group of data. Schutt (2011) outlines this same process in terms of: (1) categorisation and (2) and synthetisation. Schutt (2011) considers that one first needs to categorise and gather data together according to their meanings in order to synthesise them under one broad code. Thus, data from the interviews is selected and categorised according to their meaning in order to synthesise them under a specific in vivo code. According to grounded theory (Schutt, 2011; Strauss & Corbin, 2008), these two stages can be explained as two levels: 'open coding' – grouping the main ideas from the interviews under various codes; and 'axial coding' – synthesising the codes into larger groups in order to simplify the interpretation and connections between the different existing codes. Descriptive and in vivo codes are used herein, where they

are used through open and axial coding since they describe and summarise a meaning shared by several representative phrases (Saldana, 2009). In the current research, in vivo codes are used throughout the axial coding process and describe the connections between the different descriptive codes. According to grounded theory, axial coding is “where data are pieced together in new ways after open coding allowing connections between categories” (Kolb, 2012, p. 84). In other words, coding, as a method promoted by grounded theory, represents a process of connections of meanings and is illustrated in table 1 below:

Table 1: Open and axial coding

Representative phrases	Open coding	Axial coding
Examples of phrases taken from interviews	Descriptive code	In vivo code that summarises the different descriptive codes
Examples	Descriptive code	

Once the data is described through the different codes, it is analysed and linked back to the literature. Schutt (2011), Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) underline two steps of explanation of codes through which the grounded theory can emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 2008): (1) highlighting the level of importance of occurrence for each code (quantitative approach); and (2) illustrating the connections/influences between each code (qualitative approach that may illustrate these connections through a model). Firstly, a chart is used to show how often each code occurs, which calls attention to the codes that are referenced the most by the participants. Secondly, a model is created that illustrates the complexity of the indigenous knowledge of the participants, and shows the connections/influences between the different codes. If code ‘A’ largely appears just before or after code ‘B’, it means that code ‘A’ and ‘B’ are connected. In order to highlight strong connections (through this line—), code ‘A’ needs to have code ‘B’ among the four most important (in terms of quantity) connections, and vice versa. Hence, code ‘A’ and code ‘B’ may therefore be considered as being strongly connected. The model only shows weak connections (through this line--) where codes do not have any strong connections with other codes. If code ‘A’ has code ‘B’ as its most important connection (in terms of quantity) and has no reciprocal connection, then code ‘A’ is considered to be weakly connected

to code 'B'. Distinguishing strong and weak connections enables to mostly focus on the strong connections while considering weak connections if meaningful. As explained in the research design, models represent a way to illustrate and understand the complexity of one's understanding of reality. By using in vivo codes to build a model, one can illustrate the complexity of the construction of the South African reality. This model, based on indigenous knowledge, therefore represents the complexity of participants' indigenous knowledge which represents a perspective of the South African reality.

6. Trustworthiness of data

While the credibility of quantitative research is based on the validity, objectivity, and reliability, the credibility of qualitative research is based on different criteria of ensuring accurate data (Anney, 2014). Schwandt, Lincoln and Guba (2007) mention four different criteria regarding qualitative research:

- *Dependability*: this corresponds with the stability of research outcomes over time. In the current research this is ensured through the use of a purposive sample and a code-recode strategy, which requires the researcher to recode after a 'gestation period' (Anney, 2014, p. 278). Considering the context, however, one also needs to consider the period in which the research has been done: it seems ambitious to expect that qualitative data can and should be 'stable' over time while the context may change over time.
- *Confirmability and Transferability*: 'confirmability' refers to similar outcomes being reached by different researchers, while 'transferability' concerns the applicability of the outcomes in other contexts. Confirmability and transferability are similar to the 'neutrality' or 'objectivity' of the data since they prompt consideration of the data as context-less and able to be constructed in the same way by different researchers. It is important to highlight that the idea of 'neutrality' or 'objectivity' in research remains relatively unachievable. As explained through the research design, researchers only have access to subjective realities by focusing on specific minds, bodies, and embodied minds, and cannot directly access to an objective reality.
- *Credibility*: this represents the confidence placed in the truthfulness of the interpretation of the findings. However, considering the different subjective understandings, including that of the researcher as an intermediary between the participants' voice and the results, interpretations may vary. One of the methods that ensures 'credibility' or transparency

in qualitative research is to approach the research itself with a certain reflexivity (Anney, 2014). Thus, the researcher considers and highlights her influence regarding data collection, the analysis, and the discussion through a reflexive approach (explained below).

In conclusion, the criteria of dependability, confirmability, transferability, and credibility – derived from Western knowledge – are questionable in relation to qualitative research, especially since representing a construction of one or different subjective understandings of our specific reality or context is not conducive to the latter standards. A decolonising approach may guide us toward new criteria that are more suitable to qualitative research.

7. Reflexivity

The debate regarding reflexivity concerns the notion of the meaning-making process. Numerous authors want to expel the binary thinking of subjectivity/objectivity (MacBeth, 2001; Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas & Caricativo, 2017). They believe that the notion of objectivity refers to a certain idea that does not and cannot exist. Indeed, research represents a particular construction of a reality since the researcher herself/himself interprets the collected data, which in turn derives from subjective constructions of a specific reality. One cannot claim objectivity since the researcher ends up constructing the research, including the results. The ultimate aim of research is to explore or question a certain dynamic and make meaning of it in order to increase awareness. While doing research, one tries to make sense of a dynamic through specific theories and methods. As such, one cannot prioritise subjectivity either, since other subjectivities shape the research in terms of theories and participants' data. Therefore, the researcher cannot be either purely subjective or objective, but he/she is involved, in addition to other subjectivities, throughout the meaning making process.

In the current research, specific critical theories are used to approach and make sense of the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice in the South African context for freedom as a process of well-being and consciousness. The researcher may have an influence on the outcome of each interview since an interview represents a construction of both the interviewee and interviewer. Indeed, as an interviewer, the researcher guided and structured the interview with the interviewee through prompts using specific terms, which end up as *in vivo* codes. Any researcher should always be aware that they are actively involved in their research throughout the meaning-making process. In this case, throughout the research process, a diary was kept by

the researcher and important points of introspection noted during the data analysis and in the discussion.

There was a need to be transparent and honest about the researcher's position herein, in place of measuring up to the standard of 'credibility' (as a criterion for the trustworthiness of data). Having both similarities and differences to the participants was acknowledged as being able to affect the understanding of their contributions. Even though the researcher is also from a disadvantaged population (belonging to the working class and the second generation of North African immigrants, as well as being a Muslim of France), her context is very different from that of the participants (being black and belonging to the working class in South Africa). Moreover, the researcher's mother-tongue (French) is very different from the participants' mother-tongue (Zulu and/or Venda), as explained earlier in the sampling and procedure sections. These differences affect the data and the analysis approach, as well as the way participants approached the questions, since some participants thought of the researcher as 'white'. In other words, researchers need to highlight and accept the fact that their identity, and the differences and similarities between themselves and the participants affect the construction, the results, and the discussion of the research, which inevitably makes it less likely to be 'dependable', 'confirmable', 'transferable' and 'credible' in the way it is expected.

8. Ethical considerations and actions taken

After meeting with the director of services at Wits, and his assistant, the researcher approached the participants by introducing herself and the research project. An information sheet and a consent form (see appendix p. 130) were provided and explained to the participants in detail before the interviews took place. In these letters, participants were informed of the researcher's identity, of the research topic, and that individual interviews were to be recorded for transcription only, and that their anonymity and confidentiality are respected throughout this research. Even though those above them in the hierarchy (the director and his assistant) may know the identity of the participants, since they played the role of intermediary, they will not know each of the participants' personal opinions and suggestions since pseudonyms were used when referring to the participants herein. One of the participants chose her own pseudonym after being asked whether they preferred to choose their own or have one chosen for them. Moreover, in the letter addressed to the director summarising the suggestions of the participants, no names or any information regarding a specific experience of a specific

participants are mentioned. All the suggestions are explained as being shared by all the workers. Additionally, all identifying details are omitted from this research. The interview transcriptions do not deliver any identifiable information either. Finally, the data currently resides within the researcher's personal computer, which is password-protected, and located in a safe place. It was explained to the participants that the data (recordings and transcriptions) would be deleted after completion of the research (and after reception of outcomes).

Furthermore, a letter of acknowledgment was given to the participants (see appendix p. 132) at the close of each interview, in order for them to realise their contribution in the academic world and thank them for their time and efforts. This letter is also important regarding the academic world's recognition of the fact that knowledge comes from the 'outside', from different social groups, and not only from the elitist academic group. Moreover, this letter of acknowledgement thanks the participants in an official manner, and represents a proof of participation in academic research which may be useful to them.

The topic of this research is quite sensitive since it addresses questions of trauma, poverty, and racial prejudice. Thus, it was important to make the participants understand that the researcher in this case was here to learn from them, that they are the knowledge-bearers regarding this topic, and where the researcher introduced herself as a foreigner discovering their experiences. Participants really appreciated the approach of coming to listen to them and making them feel 'heard' by the hierarchy at Wits. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, following the participants' suggestions, and in addition to my research, it was decided that the director of services at the university be given a list of the important elements that participants wanted to be changed and addressed by the hierarchy, in the hopes that this action might enact a real change for the participants and all the workers at the university.

In conclusion, this research is for and about those affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty, the hard workers of Wits university, the indigenous knowledge-bearers, the South African people who make a difference in the lives of students, lecturers, researchers, and administration staff of the university, and hopes to make our university a comfortable, welcoming, and beautiful place.

9. Conclusion

A decolonising and critical realist method seems to be the most appropriate approach for the current research considering that one of the objectives of this research is to contribute to the

decolonisation of knowledge by using endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge. The results, representing indigenous knowledge, are approached quantitatively and qualitatively through a coding method enabling to illustrate a theory of love/uthando based on the participants' body, mind and embodied mind. A coding method, highlighting connections between different concepts, may be the most adequate procedure to approach the research question connecting love/uthando with freedom (wellbeing and consciousness) for those who are affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Finally, the current research cannot be labelled 'endogenous knowledge' since it uses a Western and decolonising method and it also uses indigenous knowledge, regardless of it being about African challenges, constructed with Africans (and by Africans considering the African (North African) roots of the researcher), for Africans. Thus, the debate on decolonisation of knowledge needs to be deepened in order to develop new terms to name a decolonising knowledge based on Western, endogenous and indigenous knowledge and constructed for, by and with Africans.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS, OR INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE OF BLACK, WORKING-CLASS SOUTH AFRICANS

Findings

“You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own, and now the joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops – Free at last! Free at last! I stand before you humbled by your courage, with a heart full of love for all of you.”
(Mandela, 1994, p. 114)

1. Introduction

This chapter illustrates how the qualitative and quantitative method of analysis was used to understand and interpret the interviews of the participants, and how this data translated into results. The following is not influenced by the literature review, theoretical, or conceptual framework. Thus, the knowledge highlighted in this chapter belongs to and represents a South African indigenous or oral knowledge used to construct a theory of love/*uthando* to address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice through freedom, in terms of consciousness and well-being.

2. Open and axial coding: make meaning of the interviews

The first step of the analysis is illustrated through the following tables, of which there are 17 in total, corresponding with the in vivo codes. Each table is followed by a comment explaining the connections and synthetisation process of the open and axial coding.

Table 2: Code – ‘Time’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “Because the apartheid is still there” Bandile: “white people – they are still enjoying, I mean they are still enjoying this whatever.. that is happening to them”; “yeah, that separation is still there”; “It’s like that, apartheid still exists in South Africa. I’m telling you.”	Past similar to present	Time
Charles: “So they have a lot because the kids now.. it’s much better”; “it was great by that <i>time</i> but now..” Siyabonga: “...but it’s better than before” Precious: “before apartheid today it was worse because we didn’t like each other”; “it was apartheid but the situation, even the poverty was not so bad”	Past different to present	

Gertrude: “No, today it is different” Yolena: “I can say it is better for the case of apartheid and stuff, but there’s this concern of uhhm, we now fighting against uhm – our our our uhm... our African brothers of which that is not ok for me. As our uhmm, grandparents by the time there was apartheid in South Africa, they went to those countries” Lethalo: “South Africa is worse now” Bandile: “things uhh, yeah things are better for other people”; “during apartheid time. Well, uh, it... it was rare to find, uhh, the... I mean white people, I mean, eh, being poor or suffering but uhh... now on the street we just came across them...” Mpho: “nowadays is a mixed, black and white”		
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The participants tended to approach the problems of the country by comparing them to those of the apartheid era. All the participants, as seen in table 2 above, highlighted both a negative and a positive aspect of apartheid. The positive aspect of apartheid, as underlined by the participants, represented a challenge to the researcher since, throughout the research process, the apartheid era was criticised in terms of social class and racial dynamics. The reflexive approach mentioned earlier helped with the acknowledgement and understanding of the opinions of the participants who considered there to be a positive aspect of the apartheid era (much like the SANNC in the past). They propose that there were more jobs during apartheid, even though they were very restricted: their salaries were low, but they mention that at least they had salaries. The negative aspects raised concern the violent racial separation. This positivity (in terms of economic situation) or negativity (in terms of racial relations) distinguish a marked difference between the time of apartheid and today. However, some participants do outline the continuity of apartheid dynamics in current times in terms of race and class: according to Bandile, “white people – they are still enjoying”. This continuity and discontinuity of dynamics is synthesised in terms of time.

Table 3: Code – ‘Separation between us and them’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “There is a school there, in that school they don’t need blacks”; “They don’t want black students” Siyabonga: “For example, the rest of them they don’t want us to use same kitchen.”; “they still don’t like the black people”	Exclusion/ rejection	Separation between us and them

Precious: “Outsource us”; “but they refuse about, eh eh... taking us back again” Gertrude: “they said: okay guys you are outsourced now” Yolena: “She was called a, a <i>igundwane</i> because she was coming to work” Lethalo: “is still separating” Bandile: “like they group themselves – black people this other side, white people this other side. You can see. Jah.”; “That’s the separation – it’s still there, I’m not gonna lie” Mpho: “so the problem, the, the, the outsource, when the University they start that problem to outsource, the, the, the workers”		
Charles: “you see but those who has got no, no, no, no respect”; “yeah because you don’t show respect” Gertrude: “I am talking 1995 not talking with me: <i>koa koa koa koa lokiso lokiso lokiso</i>! (showing through her behaviour that this person is talking in a disrespectful way)” Bandile: “we can’t even respect that person”	Disrespect	
Charles: “I hate those people who came: ‘You see here! You see here! What are you doing!?’” Siyabonga: “because of that apartheid they still don’t like it to see the black people totally”; “But the rest of them got racism” Precious: “cause they... there’s a lot of hatred” Yolena: “it’s a hate I am talking” Bandile: “you... you hate that person because there’s this things. I mean, when you look at me, you... you see something negative”	Hate	
Gertrude: “government, money, everything, corruption” Lethalo: “is the one that doing that corruption” Mpho: “most of them if you check there is a lot of corruption, if you see on the TV”	Corruption	
Precious: “they cover themselves and their children” Yolena: “they must stop being selfish. I think they’re too much selfish – they take it for themselves” Bandile: “Some they just hire their friends” Mpho: “politician nowadays, in my side, uh, they see your own benefits than to help the... the countries”	Selfishness	

Siyabonga: “December bonuses but us? Nothing. We do not get the bonuses” Precious: “it’s... it’s still the kitchen, they just lock the kitchen. People are just eating food at their foyers”; “they don’t want to share to them” Lethalo: “And then is better for the University to take it, the staff, and.. pay less” Bandile: “people like me started to realise: ‘No, no there is money’. Just that they don’t want to give it they don’t want people to be paid sort of.”	Not sharing	
Precious: “no, because it’s lot of crime”; “now they are just to to, to, m, m, m, any house, just to break their house, just, eh, eh, eh, maybe steal something and go to and buy the... that drugs” Gertrude: “Yeah, ‘whose talking to you k****?’ Yoh.” Yolena: “She was called a... a <i>igundwane</i> because she was coming to work, then she got bitten” Lethalo: “then the people for South Africa, fighting with the people for outside, taking the phone and everything” Bandile: “Two people that wanted to fight, so I told them: this is not a good uh, eh... good things, and then this other – he was more angry and then he end up waiting for... I mean this other staff outside”	Violence	
Yolena: “think there is love, but it’s not much. Cause, uhm, I feel there is, uh, much jealousy. Yes I think there’s much jealousy”; “I think, uh, for blacks and blacks there is jealousy somewhere” Bandile: “I think jealousy is more on our side than white people”	Jealousy	
Siyabonga: “why the others get a big, a higher salary? Why we are not having the same?” Bandile: “whereas some other people are not politically connected – they’re not getting those chances”	Inequality	
Bandile: “good black people, and then there are people who are, I mean, the white people who are not ... not good”	Bad people	

Table 3 above highlights the different ways participants faced and still experience the negative, continued aspect of apartheid or negative interaction in terms of racial and social separation. Firstly, throughout the different interviews, there is both a noticeably negative individual position (selfishness, not sharing) and a negative social position (exclusion, violence, inequality). Thus, different interviews show the importance of focusing on both the social and

individual aspects considered in the current research, especially in terms of pro-self and pro-social dynamics. These negative interactions are also defined through a certain materiality, as visible through the descriptive codes ‘selfish’, ‘corruption’ and ‘not sharing’. So far, this research highlighted the emotional aspect (in terms of love or hate), but the material aspect may be as important and determinant. Secondly, the participants talk about negative distinctions that can be explained in terms of ‘hate’, ‘disrespect’, or ‘jealousy’, where the distinction is both racial and social. They explain that negative interactions may be found with a racially and socially different population and within their own communities. The words ‘us’ versus ‘them’ illustrate both inter-group and intra-group relations since ‘us’ and ‘them’ can take place within a single community, or between populations.

Table 4: Code – ‘Better energy’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Siyabonga: “If it can happen like that, I feel happy” Precious: “I did feel better you know... I did feel better” Gertrude: “I am happy, I am happy, miss, I am happy, I am happy” Yolena: “among the university, I feel love, I feel love...” Lethalo: “I am, I am so happy, I am so happy” Bandile: “we can achieve what we want” Mpho: “that’s why is so, the life is better ”	Happiness / satisfaction	Better energy
Siyabonga: “And then you do a good job by your heart” Yolena: “so it, it gives me courage” Lethalo: “I see is a motivation for us, like to us – we work” Bandile:” You can even have that courage, that energy to wake up every day”	Motivation	

As seen in table 4 above, the participants connect positive emotions, such as happiness or satisfaction, to the emotion of love (Yolena) or the concept of ‘heart’ (Siyabonga), and which seem to be an important determinant for maintaining a certain resilience/resistance or ‘energy’ for work. The term ‘better’ was raised by most participants in relation to positive emotions or energy, where there was also a comparison to a hypothetical, contrasting, former, ‘worse’ situation. It was decided that the latter comparative dimension be preserved by defining the

descriptive code of ‘better energy’ in order to translate positive emotions and resilience/resistance.

Table 5: Code – ‘Better wages’

Representatives phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “because there were jobs.. hey, everything, everything was set” Bandile: “they are able to get job “	Jobs	Better wages
Charles: “And then came [name of another company]. Still a contract, but then it was much, ah... it was much better ” Siyabonga: “we are insourced now” Precious: “now, after insourcing” Gertrude: “But Wits university? It’s R.... It’s alright” Yolena: “since after, after insourcing” Lethalo: “because if you check like, R...: you get it on the general workers now” Mpho: “the changes is insource for, under University, and then the changes another one for money”	Change of social class	
Charles: “you can do the money” Lethalo: “the wages ” Bandile: “they need to pay a lot of money” Mpho: “on the way to get R...”	Money	

A further comparative dimension is also visible in table 5 above, especially in terms of receiving ‘better wages’, which is linked to change, specifically of social class. The connection between jobs, money, and change of social class may be related to wages, which are mentioned by the participants themselves. This in vivo code reflects the importance of the economic materiality, which is not highlighted enough in the literature review and theoretical framework.

Table 6: Code – ‘Making own plans’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “You go here, I look for a job, I get a job. I work only 3 days: 1, 2, 3. I am going there next week” Precious: “And then maybe I just resign for my... I don’t... maybe... when... maybe calling the management or whatever	Make choices	Making own plans

saying just resign, said no – I just resign... and then I just go to work there” Yolena: “it’s just up to us” Bandile: “I may change to get job somewhere else”		
Charles: “they have plans now..” Yolena: “it give us time to plan our families as they can, uh, uh, we can be able to go for 4 months maternity leave” Lethalo: “it’s just like a, if you got a plan. Jah.” Bandile: “And then set a goal” Mpho: “I will make a plan ”	Planning	
Yolena: “without, uh, asking my mom something, you see, so...” Bandile: “buy food for yourself” Mpho: “you must go the computer to print out your own pay slip”	Independency	

The participants, as seen in table 6 above, highlight a certain freedom in being able to choose a job, have future plans, and being independent. Not feeling economically constrained is framed as being positive. Being economically free enables one to make future plans, while being economically constrained seems to prompt one to focus on the present. This freedom has herein been coded as ‘making own plans’, as derived from the words of the participants. The term ‘making’ illustrates an active role (as opposed to passivity) from the participants, and the term ‘plan’ seems future-oriented. These plans are also their ‘own’, which reinforces the dimension of independency (in opposition to constraint).

Table 7: Code – ‘Stuck in a struggle’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “If I am getting R2000, how am I going to, to” Precious: “because now people are struggling ... we are struggling ” Gertrude: “And I am not resting. I am not resting” Yolena: “she was struggling for paying my sister’s school fees” Bandile: “people are struggling, we are struggling ” Mpho: “sometimes you can die...”	Hardness	Stuck in a struggle

Charles: "That thing, it hurts"	Pain	
Precious: "it's painful for us"		
Siyabonga: "we can go to them because we need some jobs. We can't do anything otherwise"	Dependency	
Precious: "we were stuck "		
Mpho: "I was stuck here"		

In contrast with freedom in terms of 'making own plans', the participants also share their experiences of constrain, dependency, hardness, and pain, as evidenced in table 7 above. The latter pain is explained as being emotional, while the dependency and the hardness seem to be framed both emotionally and economically. In terms of economy, they discuss financial struggle (Precious and Yolena), while in terms of emotions, they talk about the feeling of being stuck (Precious and Mpho). Thus, their experience is summarised through the code 'stuck in a struggle', which highlights both the emotional and economic aspects.

Table 8: Code – 'Pretending for them, and oneself'

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Siyabonga: “are <i>pretending</i> to love us, to love the black” Precious: “no trust... I don’t think we have trust” / Yolena: “maybe he will say: okay, I’ll do, uh, insourcing, uh, 2050, and then there’s nothing that will happen” Lethalo: “but if I said I don’t trust him” Bandile: “we can’t even trust that, that person” Mpho: “the contractors, <i>they</i> promise workers: I pay you, so much and so much, when he was working the contractors, <i>they</i> change”	Untrustworthiness	Pretending for them, and oneself
Charles: “it does not mean education – you must change” / Yolena: “we fighting amongst, yeah, ourselves” Lethalo: “the way you’re you wearing, like, a wrong, even you... you wearing the wrong than me, you must check <i>yourself</i> ” Bandile: “You need to love <i>yourself</i> first”	Not loyal to oneself	

Once again, as seen in table 8 above, the participants outline both the individual and the social aspects. The participants explain that some people are not true to others, and are not true to themselves, where there is also a connection between truth or trust and the emotion of love. Bandile explains that, if we are not true to others and to ourselves, it means that we are less

likely to love ourselves. Moreover, Siyabonga explains that some people are not true to others since they pretend to love them, while they do not even like them. Thus, ‘pretending for others, and oneself’ may be related to a lack of love toward the other, and even oneself, and which is visible in terms of trust or truth.

Table 9: Code – ‘Mixed group’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “That one and that one wants one thing” Siyabonga: “Others are in that group of the white, others are with us” Precious: “It’s some people, not all the people” Yolena: “but we mixed because there’s deaf, deaf workers” Lethalo: “I’m a Venda, Shangana, Zulu but” Bandile: “I can say: yes, some of the staff, yes they're helping, and some of the staff, they’re not helping” Mpho: “to me, you are, maybe you... you have got a degree, what... what, you’re a wo- which means you are pr-professional. Me? I’ve got a grade 12, which means you maybe a, a semi-skilled”	Differences	Mixed group

Numerous different population groups are mentioned throughout the interviews by the participants, in terms of race, class, language, ability, personality, choice, education or qualification, and so on – as evidenced in table 9 above. They discuss the differences between people in terms of group. Thus, using their terms, the in vivo code that describes these differences is ‘mixed group’.

Table 10: Code – ‘Truly speaking’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Siyabonga: “We must be trustworthy from ground level to higher level” Lethalo: “I trust him” Mpho: “you do your promise”	Trust	Truly speaking
Siyabonga: “if I did something wrong to you, please tell me not to do this”; “ truly speaking ”	Honesty	

Bandile: "I'm telling you honestly"		
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In an earlier code, trust was discussed negatively regarding one not being true to others and to oneself, the participants also discuss trust positively in relation to truth and honesty, as evidence in table 10 above. Siyabonga explains that trust (in terms of being true to others and oneself) is important for all regardless of differences in terms of social class or status. In addition, Siyabonga and Bandile highlight the notion of truth or honesty through communication: speaking the truth seems to be a way to be true to oneself and others. Thus, the axial and in vivo code summarising this concept, as is uttered by one of the participants, may be referred to as 'truly speaking'.

Table 11: Code – 'Learning/understanding'

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: "I know what to do" Siyabonga: "You know the truth" Precious: "he knows" Yolena: "students gave us clarity that you can be insourced at Wits" Bandile: "to get a correct information" Mpho: "I understand your problem"	Consciousness	Learning/ understanding
Charles: "Because I learned of education" Siyabonga: "Okay, I understand about education, those who are educated" Precious: "teaching them our language like Zulu" Yolena: "I'm on advanced assessment learnership " Lethalo: "to, to get the, the education" Bandile: "as long as the person it's having qualifications" Mpho: "they can go to education"	Education	

Reference to the code 'truly speaking' regarding questions of awareness and education is evident in table 11 above. The code 'truly speaking' refers to speaking the truth, while the code 'learning/understanding' refers to knowing the truth(s). According to the participants, it is one thing to tell the truth, but it is something else to know the truth(s). Understanding or learning seems to be about true information, which may come from students (Yolena), the education system (Lethalo, Bandile, Siyabonga and Mpho), or simply people who are different

(Precious). The code ‘learning/understanding’ summarises the idea that both the formal or educational communicative system and the informal communicative system (students, others) may lead to learning or understanding different truths.

Table 12: Code – ‘Not understanding’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “if I do not know much” Siyabonga: “If I don’t know that” Yolena: “we didn’t know about that” Bandile: “they don’t know anything” Mpho: “you don’t know nothing”	Unawareness	Not understanding
Siyabonga: “ <i>aiie</i> , I really don’t know what is wrong with the white people in South Africa” Precious: “they want eh, eh, eh, experience. Where can I get this from because I’m just from school” Gertrude: “Arr.. I don’t know..” Bandile: “then they are laughing – You don’t even understand ”	Confusion	

In opposition to the ideas related to ‘learning/understanding’, the participants also share their confusion and misunderstanding based on their own experiences, in addition to the lack of consciousness of others, as seen in table 12 above. Bandile talks about unconsciousness or misunderstanding of others, while Siyabonga talks about his own confusion in relation to the ‘other’ (in terms of race). The code ‘not understanding’ seems to be an appropriate frame when to referring to one’s own misunderstanding or ignorance, and others’ confusion or unawareness.

Table 13: Code – ‘Good support for oneself and others

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “and they will join you” Siyabonga: “That some of them really like black people” Precious: “we do love each other” Gertrude: “I like everybody” Yolena: “you must not judge” Lethalo: “is my friend now”	Acceptance	Good support for oneself and others

Bandile: “we need to love each other” Mpho: “they go to insourceful”		
Charles: “You can have love but if you don’t have respect, nah, I don’t think” Bandile: “can even respect that person”	Respect	
Charles: “You know you got a dignity you know” Lethalo: “you must love yourself, you don’t do like this: you come to me and then say, ay, you do it wearing, like, uh, the way you’re you wearing like a wrong, even you, you wearing the wrong than me, you must check yourself” Bandile: “you need to love yourself ”	Self-love	
Charles: “know if I don’t know much, you are going to help me” Siyabonga: “Even those people, maybe they need help to take the boxes full of books to his or her car, I don’t care. Just do it with pleasure” Precious: “me, they was just taking me to the uh, uh, uh, psychologist” Yolena: “I think the help was that students” Lethalo: “And then I come here to, to talk to the University, then University say, okay is, is o’right, then he is going to give him R25 000 and the, the car for taking the, the body to the place where he staying” Bandile: “to support our family”	Support	
Siyabonga: “They got them before, before insourced, now because the university insourced us, that money the university pay us now” Precious: “because we, I share everything with them” Yolena: “ehh, we can share a glass, uhmm, we share same toilets” Lethalo: “then I tried to make a contribution, like R10, R20, then I go with the white guys, then he gave me the money” Bandile: “to say okay from now, so the university is going to to, to add a certain amount”	Sharing	
Siyabonga: “they are right people ” Precious: “some people are nice” Bandile: “there are people, uhh, white people, good black people”	Good people	

Mpho: “white man in my circle, is <i>good</i> ”		
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The participants discuss love in relation to acceptance (Precious and Bandile), respect (Charles) and self-love (Lethalo), as evidenced in table 13 above. Thus, a positive emotional aspect is highlighted through both a social and an individual approach. Moreover, the different supports mentioned by the participants (Siyabonga, Yolena and Lethalo) seem to translate into support in terms of efforts and time, which seems similar to the concept of sacrifice, as explained in the theoretical framework. The participants also highlight (in contrast with the literature) a material aspect through the idea of sharing money (Siyabonga, Lethalo and Bandile) or space (Yolena). Sharing reflects a certain equality, positivity, and may also illustrate a certain material sacrifice. Thus, the emotional and material aspects of positivity refer to ‘good people’ or good interaction, where the emotional, material, and interactional dimension of social and individual positivity are summarised herein as ‘good support for oneself and others’.

Table 14: Code – ‘Talking bottom-up/top-down’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “There they can answer you” Siyabonga: “Myself, I think we must sit down and <i>talk</i> ” Precious: “The communication, it, it, it’s alright now” Gertrude: “it’s by <i>talking</i> to them” Yolena: “because we will have all, uhm, your say, I will have my say, they will have their say, and then we combine” Lethalo: “then in other words, we must take all the feedback <i>from down up</i> , then until finish on <i>the top</i> ” Bandile: “to speak to you” Mpho: “I can ask”	Communication	Talking bottom- up/top-down
Charles: “people who always greet. Neh? Good morning...” Yolena: “before I greet the person in the office, she greets me before I greet... so I think that, that’s love” Lethalo: “they all greet you”	Greetings	
Siyabonga: “Our complaints, if you are complaining about something” Precious: “They’re still complaining about that” Yolena: “We South Africans always complain that there’s no work in South Africa”	Complaining	

Lethalo: “eh, complaining every time about the money”		
Bandile: “Because I remember one of the people was like complaint”		

As seen in table 14 above, the participants underscore the role of communication, which is mostly situated in their professional micro-context. Lethalo discusses feedback from the bottom upwards, while Yolena talks about greetings from the top downwards. Feedback is noted as being mostly given by those in power, while greetings represent an important element of the service sector, representing a population ‘at the bottom’ in terms of social class. Thus, a bottom-up approach for feedback or complaints and a top-down approach for greetings may signify a reversal of the actual power relations (toward an equality, as promoted through the concept of dialogue in the theoretical framework) in terms social class.

Table 15: Code – ‘Not managing problems’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Gertrude: “I am crying”	Sadness	Not managing problems
Precious: “I remember that time I was so angry like... I was having nerves” Gertrude: “yes, yes. so <i>baie baie</i> angry” Yolena: “was very angry” Bandile: “And she was, like, angry”	Anger	
Siyabonga: “it’s bad” Precious: “I <i>couldn’t even manage</i> ” Gertrude: “we are not happy” Lethalo: “is not good” Bandile: “Ah it’s not, it’s not working” Mpho: “is a big <i>problem</i> ”	Dissatisfaction	

The participants also share their negative and emotional experiences by mentioning their sadness, anger or dissatisfaction, as evidenced in table 15 above. Indeed, being amongst the discriminated, in terms of race and social class, may lead one to face and deal with negative emotions. Precious shares her dissatisfaction by explaining that she could not emotionally manage the outsourcing situation (she even mentions, in the interview, her experience with a psychologist within the university). Mpho talks about his dissatisfaction with problems. Since negative emotions such as sadness and anger may be summarised in terms of dissatisfaction,

translated here in terms of problems, then this code could be framed in terms of ‘not managing problems’ when facing negative emotions with difficulty.

Table 16: Code – ‘Fighting as a righteous task’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “So I have to come here” Precious: “A lot of efforts” Gertrude: “I am working. I come here for working. I am checking here, going here” Bandile: “so you have to push”	Making efforts	Fighting as a righteous task
Siyabonga: “we just go and strike” Precious: “doing this and then we did fight, we did fight ” Gertrude: “strike for creating” Lethalo: “everything if he do, must do in the right way” Bandile: “then workers stopping to work”	Action	
Charles: “This is my task ” Yolena: “I will take my family responsibility” Mpho: “I can pay transport every, I can pay... everything transport, food, everything, expensive like smart phone, like the example”	Responsibility	
Precious: “because we just forced to be insourced” Yolena “it was the push from the students, uhm” Bandile: “I think it’s the pressure, pressure from the politicians, pressure from the workers, pressure from the students”	Pressure	

For the participants, fighting was deemed necessary for insourcing, for changing their life and their families’ situation, but did not describe fighting using violence. Instead, for the participants, fighting corresponds to action and pressure, as seen in table 16 above. They also discussed making efforts, which can be understood as action or working to assume their economic or family responsibilities. For the participants, taking action, fighting, exerting pressure, or working, represent righteous tasks since they are then able to assume responsibility and/or change their economic and family life, where the ideas of responsibility, action, efforts, and fighting seem to be aligned with the concept of sacrifice as described in the theoretical framework.

Table 17: Code – ‘Balancing for everybody’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Charles: “ For everybody ” Precious: “ <i>Sisonke</i> , yes. Together” Gertrude: “ everybody , black, white” Yolena: “Then the students and we” Lethalo: “word <i>Sisonke</i> , one nation” Bandile: “working together” Mpho: “black and white”	Together	Balancing for everybody
Charles: “there is no, no differences” Siyabonga: “because we are all created by God” Gertrude: “White like black and black like everybody” Mpho: “It’s a human being”	Similarities	
Precious: “but they, they, they must be care, but nothing changed, you know like maybe I, I, I just came cause I do everything for you just make sure that you see that I’m care for you, you know?” Yolena: “it’s now much equal” Lethalo: “to do the things on the same” Bandile: “I mean to balance things” Mpho: “Jah, is equal”	Equality	
Charles: “you parents” Precious: “you are a mother, you are a father” Gertrude: “with my child” Yolena: “for my children” Bandile: “We are family, we are Wits” Mpho: “the student, it’s, it’s my, it’s my child, the student they tell me that I am a parents, thank you for my child”	Family	

In contrast with the code ‘mixed group’, the participants mention the idea of a group as ‘one’, pointing out the importance and the role of family, of equality, and of unity or togetherness, as seen in table 17 above. They describe a unique group, with (racially for Mpho and Gertrude, or socially for Precious and Yolena) different members where they are all equal and may even form a family (Mpho and Bandile). The idea of love or loving interactions may be implied,

then, in terms of family. These loving interactions within a united group may motivate a group to try to balance (Bandile) the power relations between all the members. Thus, the terms ‘balance’ and ‘everybody’, mentioned by the participants themselves, may summarise this positive type of group dynamic.

Table 18: Code – ‘Not seeing/saying’

Representative phrases	Open code	Axial code
Siyabonga: “they still <i>see</i> us as if we were contractors”	Not seeing a change	Not seeing/saying
Charles: “But if you <i>don’t say</i> thank you”	No communication	

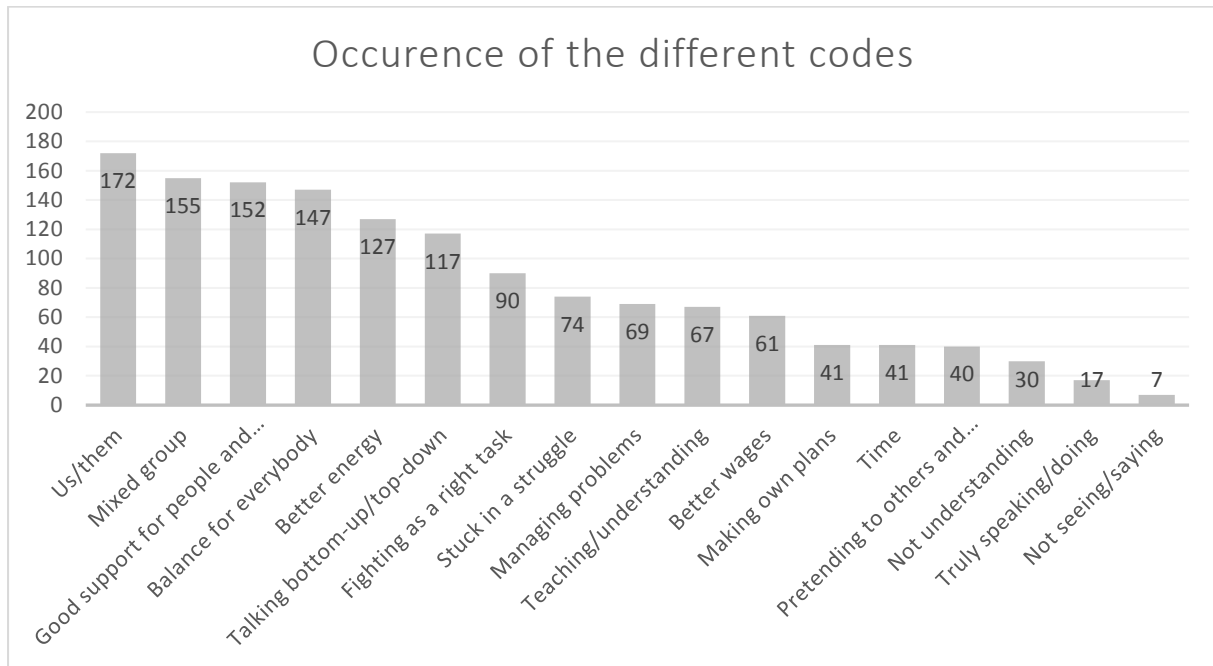
Siyabonga explains that some people may not see or may deny reality, while Charles mentions that some people do not communicate, as seen in table 18 above. Not communicating or not seeing reflects a lack of responses (seeing or saying) to social phenomena. Thus, the code ‘not seeing/saying’ seem appropriate regarding the points raised by the participants.

In conclusion, the different tables seem to show as much connections as differences to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks discussed earlier in the current study. Connections are visible in terms of love, sacrifice, dialogue, trust/truth, and equality, and participants also underline both individual and social dynamics. The interviews did introduce another perspective that was not foregrounded in the literature, which highlights the role of economic materiality regarding questions related to social class.

3. Level of importance of each in vivo code

Despite their variety, not all the different axial or in vivo codes have the same level of importance, where some codes were referenced more than others, which is a significant factor to consider in the context of the current research. Indeed, the more often codes are mentioned, the more chance they have to be shared by all the participants, and vice versa: the less often codes are mentioned, the more they refer to an individual opinion instead of a shared opinion. Focusing on the codes with the highest frequency results in a focus on the participants’ shared experience as a group of black South Africans belonging to the working class.

Graph 1: Level of occurrence of the different in vivo codes mentioned during the interviews

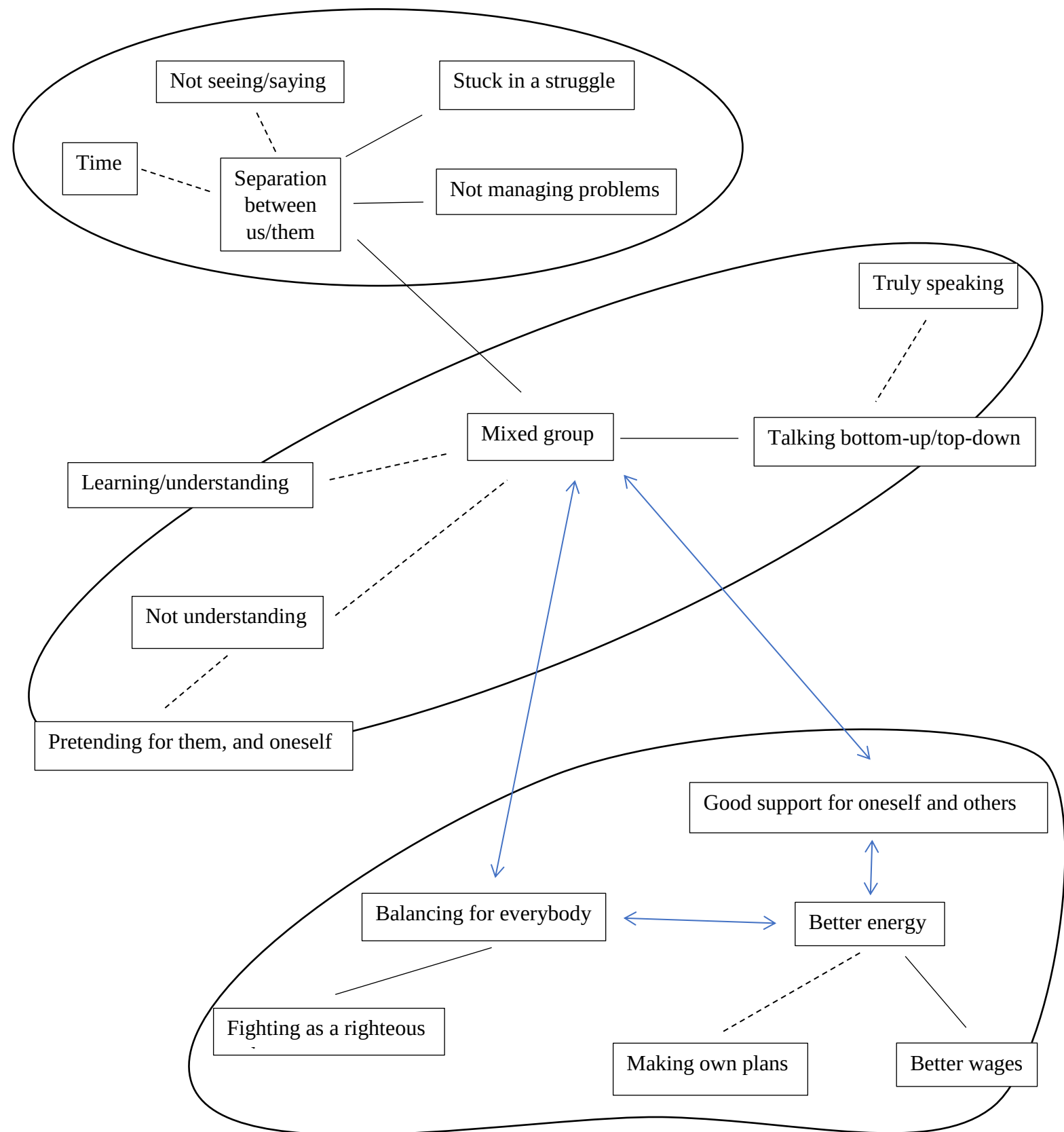


Graph 1 above shows the different levels of importance, where there were six codes that are mentioned more than 100 times: separation between us/them, mixed group, good support for oneself and others, balancing for everybody, better energy, and talking bottom-up/top-down. The participants seemingly focus on social or group dynamics in terms of separation, balance, communication, diversity, and support, but also highlight the emotional and individual dimensions in terms of energy or positive emotions. The fact that the most oft cited code refers to the violence of group separation may mean that the participants, being affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty, experience significant violence in terms of separation or exclusion. The participants most likely face unequal social power relations as black working-class South Africans. Despite these negative experiences, the participants do highlight positive social and individual dynamics in terms of support, balance, communication, and energy, displaying a prevalent resilience/resistance and optimism based on social dynamics. They also explicitly share their positive emotions and positive economic situation due to the insourcing process. For instance, according to Gertrude, “now it’s insourcing, *siapile, pile, pile, pile* ... I am happy, I am happy, miss. I am happy, I am happy ... I am happy, I am happy”, and according to Yolena, “I think insourcing gave us more opportunities, uh, regarding, hmm... opportunities, uhmm, as we have – okay – money-wise”.

4. Model representing the relations between each code and the grouping of codes into different themes

As explained in the methodology chapter, illustrating the thinking or cognitive process of the participants through the use of a model could be very helpful in showing the connections between the different codes, as illustrating underlying mechanisms. A model assists understanding and interpretation of the possible dynamics that can enact change in terms of consciousness and well-being. The following model (see figure 5 below) illustrates the thinking process of the participants, demonstrating strong connections and weak connections, where three groups of codes are evident: the first group (pictured at the top of the model) seems to be centred on negative interactions in terms of separation; the second (in the middle) seems to be centred on diversity (mixed group); while the third group seems to be centred on both positive emotions (better energy) and positive interactions (balancing for everybody). The three different groups are centrally linked to diversity, since the code 'mixed group' is located at the centre of the model and connects the first and third group together. Thus, it is prudent to locate diversity as grouping and representing complex social dynamics, since it may lead to both negative interactions (first group) and positive interactions and emotions (third group).

Figure 5: Model illustrating the participants' thinking process



The first group of connections, embodying the theme of negative interactions, seems to reinforce a certain negativity that is linked to the past. According to the participants, the violent social separations enacted during apartheid (in terms of race or social class) are still visible today and may be even deeper than before. Indeed, the participants mention that violent separation or unequal social relations may even take place between people belonging to the same racial or social group. This separation/violence may lead to negative emotions ('managing problems') and vice versa, where negative emotions (belonging to the individual, as explained earlier) may in turn lead to more separation and violence (explained as being social). Thus, individual negative emotions may be directed toward the other, and may lead to social separation or violence (as is proposed in the theoretical framework), as much as negative interactions may lead to or reinforce negative emotions due to their strong connection. Moreover, negative interactions may create or reinforce the economic and emotional struggle ('stuck in a struggle'), where being separated or separating oneself from the 'other' may create a wider gap in terms of social class, and accentuate negative emotions toward one another. This separation may even make people more passive ('not seeing/saying') and close-minded by seeing and saying only what they want, or what they believe. In other words, negative interactions may negatively affect one's consciousness, well-being, and economic situation.

The second group of connections, embodying the theme of diversity, seems to include questions relating to communication and consciousness, since the only strong connections are with diversity ('mixed group') and communication ('talking bottom-up/top-down'). It could be the case that, for the participants, diversity implies a difference of status or social class (most likely in relation to their micro-context). The existence of this difference seems to relay importance for the participants to communicate through bottom-up and top-down approaches in order to bring about equality in terms of communication: the participants defend the idea of having a voice at the bottom as much as at the top in moving forward and dealing with people's differences or diversity. Notably, however, this communication must be honest and based on real experiences, where the participants describe a specific and beneficial type of communication through the code 'truly speaking'. It is possible that the participants consider the top as much as the bottom (in terms of social class) regarding communication, and advocate sincerity with each other in order to construct a more peaceful situation. This communicative sincerity seems to help people to collaboratively construct a peaceful and harmonious reality that acknowledges and accepts each other's differences.

Furthermore, it is evident that one may learn ('learning/understanding') from different people – from diversity ('mixed group'). A diverse group may lead to consciousness, as much as consciousness may prompt one to approach the other, to approach someone different to oneself, become a member of a mixed group, and learn from the differences. Indeed, people frequently learn another language because others around them speak a different language. One is less likely to learn and deepen one's consciousness if surrounded by people who are similar, who think similarly and do similarly: one is more likely to learn something new, something different from people who do things differently. However, diversity may also lead to a lack of understanding and confusion ('not understanding'), which is sometimes reinforced by people who pretend for others, and themselves, to be someone else ('pretending for others and oneself'). Moreover, pretending may conversely be caused by confusion as well, about others and oneself, or about society and one's role in that society. Thus, facing or experiencing people's differences may both help one to become aware, or it can lead to confusion, but a diverse group may be positively approached through constructive, honest, and equal communication.

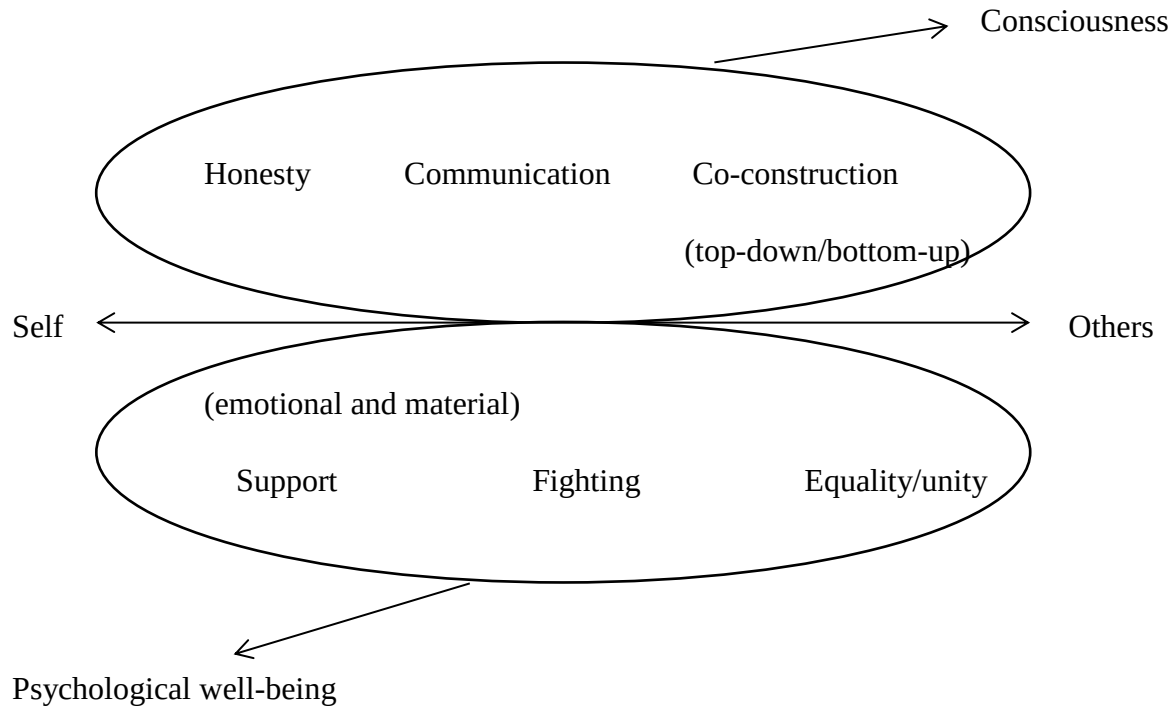
The third group of connections, embodying the theme of positive interactions and positive emotions, seems to represent and/or lead to more positivity: according to the participants, an equality or a unity ('balancing for everybody') seems to strongly influence and be reinforced by emotional well-being ('better energy'). This emotional well-being is influenced by love (in terms of acceptance or recognition) and materiality (notably through the code 'good support for oneself and others'). The emotional aspect – in terms of love – and the material aspect – in terms of sharing – where both are represented in the model by 'good support for oneself and others', seem to reinforce a certain psychological well-being. Indeed, materiality has an important role in relation to psychological well-being: according to the participants, money ('better wages') affects their psychological well-being, which may in turn help one to feel more independent and able to plan for the future ('making own plans') instead of focusing only on the present. Moreover, a united and equal group (in contrast with a separated group, as highlighted by the first theme), which is strongly connected to well-being, may even represent a precondition for action ('fighting as a righteous task') that can challenge power relations. People may need to be united and equal in order to take action and make a change, and vice versa: people may become united by taking actions and making a change in terms of power relations. Thus, positive interactions (in terms of unity, equality, and mutual support) may affect and prompt a group to take action (which can reinforce their unity) and improve their

well-being. Their well-being can also affect and be affected by their salary, and by the behaviour of others in terms of material or emotional loving support.

In the model pictured in figure 5 above, there is a notable cycle between support (or love from the other and oneself), emotional well-being, social unity, and diversity (visible through the blue arrows). Perhaps, the support directed toward the different 'other' (due to diversity) influences the level of well-being within an individual, and the level of unity or peace within the group. Thus, loving and supportive interactions may lead to subjective (individual) and social (in terms of unity or peace) well-being. Since these connections take the form of a cycle, it means that this dynamic is self-reinforcing. Thus, loving or supportive interactions seem very powerful in making a change, possibly in the long term, at the individual as much as at the social level, especially in terms of well-being.

Finally, the participants seem to suggest that loving, supportive, and positive interactions within a (racially or socially) diverse group may be very powerful in affecting individual and social (in terms of peace and unity) well-being, which can help one to upgrade their social class (in terms of wages). Moreover, bi-directional and honest communications, implying a certain equality (premised on loving social interactions), seem to be important for addressing issues surrounding diversity. In other words, loving social interactions and bi-directional, honest communications may both lead to social unity and peace. Furthermore, this situation could also be beneficial in terms of consciousness, since one is more likely to become conscious, and to understand and learn new information through a diverse group whose members are not pretending, but who are honest with each other and with themselves. In conclusion, loving and positive social interactions (in terms of fighting, loving emotional support and material support, equality and unity) and honest communication with the 'other' may lead to individual, emotional well-being and consciousness that can help one to change social class, as illustrated in figure 6 below:

Figure 6: Loving social interactions leading to awareness and well-being (and a change of social class) according to indigenous knowledge



5. Conclusion

The indigenous knowledge constructed by the participants herein seems to propose that the role of love is an important contributor to consciousness and emotional well-being for black, working-class South Africans, and for others as well. Thus, similarities between indigenous knowledge, endogenous, and Western knowledge are evident regarding the connection between loving social interactions and freedom, in terms of well-being and consciousness. There are also, however, notable differences between indigenous knowledge, endogenous, and Western knowledge regarding the importance of communication and materiality, both of which were not considered as critical/important or at all in the prior chapters. In other words, the indigenous knowledge derived from the participants herein introduces another dimension to the construction of the theory of love/*uthando*.

CHAPTER 6:
DISCUSSION OF LOVE/*UTHANDO* AS
A FUTURE PROSPECT FOR THE
SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Discussion

“I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended.” (Mandela, 1994, p. 115)

1. Introduction

The theory of love/*uthando*, illustrated in figure 4 in the literature chapters, and which emerged from endogenous and Western knowledge, seems to both align with and differ from the indigenous knowledge of the black, working-class South Africans employed by Wits. The indigenous knowledge highlights the role of the social and of the individual just as much as the theory of love/*uthando*, which is constructed according to endogenous and Western knowledge, thus following a pro-self and a pro-social approach to consciousness and well-being. The indigenous knowledge further works to outline the role of materiality, a dimension not highlighted in the endogenous and Western knowledge referenced in the literature: neither Fanon nor Freire highlight the question of materiality, instead focusing mostly on the ‘human’ aspect, involving the body, the mind, and the embodied mind. The current chapter therefore aims to construct knowledge based on the combined endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge to answer to the research question proposed herein: How can loving social interactions help black South Africans working at the University of the Witwatersrand, who are affected by the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice, to reach freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being?

2. Construction of the theory of love/*uthando* according to endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge for freedom, which addresses the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice in South Africa

The theoretical and conceptual frameworks outlined in this research show how love/*uthando*, in terms of sacrifice, trust, dialogue, and construction of a unique story, may lead one to freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being (see figure 4 in the earlier chapters). Sacrifice, representing the behavioural aspect of love/*uthando*, is defined in terms of responsibility, making efforts (regarding time and physical energy), taking action, and fighting. Dialogue is defined in terms of equal discursive interaction, while the construction of a unique story also implies an equality between the interlocutors involved in constructing a story that is

unique to their situation. Finally, the concept of trust is defined in terms of confidence in oneself, and trusting the 'other' in terms of the social dimension. According to Western and endogenous knowledge, dialogue, construction of a unique story (both referring to the mind), sacrifice (referring to the body), and trust (referring to an attitude or the embodied mind) may be enough to achieve consciousness and psychological well-being, which may then lead to a positive change of social class if all of the latter factors take place in the context of the education system.

Indigenous knowledge defining loving social interactions for awareness and psychological well-being (see figure 6) separates communication, through the concept of honesty and co-construction, from behaviour, through the concepts of material support and fighting. The ideas of equality and emotional support may take place through both the body and the mind, and through action and communication, thus the concepts of equality and emotional support seem to refer to the embodied mind (attitude) in the context of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks. According to indigenous knowledge, an attitude of equality and support from the 'other' and from oneself, as much as material supports and fighting, may be beneficial for one's own psychological well-being; but attitude and behaviour are not enough for consciousness. People need to co-construct a positive reality, a positive story, based on honest information and through bi-directional communication/dialogue (implying an attitude of equality) for consciousness. Thus, a co-construction based on a honest dialogue, fighting, material support, and emotional support (shaped by the concept of equality) may lead to consciousness and psychological well-being, which may in turn lead to a change of social class (due to the strong connection between psychological well-being or 'better energy' and 'better wage', as highlighted in the third theme).

The notion of trust, however, as highlighted by the referenced endogenous and Western knowledge, is not underscored in the same way within the indigenous knowledge uncovered herein. The idea of honesty, in speaking the truth, is highlighted by the indigenous knowledge as being connected to the notion of trust (synthesised through the in vivo code 'truly speaking'); in other words, according to the indigenous knowledge, the notion of trust is connected to the mind, to communication, instead of the embodied mind or attitude as framed by the endogenous and Western knowledge referenced earlier. Trust, as a marker of loving interactions, may come second to honesty: speaking the truth to one another may be more valuable than the notion of trust itself, despite their connection. If a promise (as explained by Siyabonga in the previous chapter) is communicated and is later followed up, then the interlocutors are more likely to

trust each other. Trust seems to define an action which comes second, after honesty is shared through communication. Moreover, if someone is known for being honest, people will be more likely to trust his or her discourse: honesty may lead one to trust, which helps the implementation of love/*uthando*.

Furthermore, the concept of honesty provides an insight regarding the content shared between the dialogue interlocutors. According to endogenous and Western knowledge, a dialogue or an equal (or bi-directional) communicative system should be in place when constructing a unique story, but this story should also be based on honest and true information, according to the indigenous knowledge uncovered herein. True information should lead to social peace or acceptance to prompt people toward support and unity for psychological well-being, where true or honest information should be positive and humanising. Indeed, bell hooks (2000), in her book 'All about love', explains the importance of a positive story for social love or peace/unity and self-love, which she considers as being an empowering process: a positive story about oneself may lead one to see oneself positively. A dialogue based on a positive, honest, and unique story may lead to self and social love, to empowerment (for the self) and peace (for the social). Thus, a positive dialogue or a dialogue including positive information may lead one to self-love and social-love, but not all true information is positive: some information may be true, but negative, and lead to separation and hate. This negative and true information, though, may be explained through in a positive light and represent a positive challenge or opportunity to make a positive change. In other words, according to indigenous, endogenous and Western knowledge, dialogue needs to take place for the construction of a unique, positive, and honest story in order for it to lead to social and self-love and reach consciousness and psychological well-being.

The role of the interlocutor, dialoguer or 'other' as different also seems to be determinant for consciousness, according to the indigenous, endogenous and Western knowledge. As explained earlier in the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, the role of the racially and socially different 'other' is important for people to define who they are. The way the 'other' sees an individual affects the way they see themselves, as confirmed by the indigenous knowledge, which further explains that, if the other does not communicate, see or say true dynamics (following the code: 'not seeing/saying'), or if the other pretends to be someone else, the group dynamic may negatively affecting one's well-being and consciousness. The 'other' (such as white, upper-class South Africans in contrast to black, working-class South Africans) has an active role in determining the type of social interactions within a group since diversity

(following the code: ‘mixed group’) may either lead to negative and violent relations, unawareness, struggle, and emotional problems, or to positive and honest relations, consciousness, psychological well-being, and unity. Thus, as promoted by the endogenous and Western knowledge, the ‘other’ also needs to be humanised for freedom, for consciousness and well-being. As mentioned earlier in the theoretical framework based on current South African challenges, the ‘other’ may even belong to the same social group in terms of race and social class, but may simultaneously belong to a different social group in terms of nationality (such as black foreigners in South Africa). As such, indigenous knowledge brings another category of ‘other’ in terms of post-apartheid South African, where the black South African population is also divided in terms of social class. Therefore, black and white South African people belonging to both high and working classes (or having different nationalities) should all be involved in the process of positive and loving social interactions in order to create a more equal society and make a positive change: they all depend on one another for their own well-being and consciousness.

The indigenous knowledge highlighted herein shows a contrast between loving or positive social interactions and negative or hateful social interactions. According to the indigenous knowledge, and based on history and diversity, differences in race and class may be seen negatively which may lead to violence, hate, and financial and emotional struggle. This negativity related to differences corresponds to the first theme outlined in the results that explains negative and hateful social interactions. Diversity may also be seen positively, however, through a unity or an equality, which affects one’s economic and psychological well-being, and corresponds with the third theme that explains positive social interactions. This contrast (between positive and negative) affirms the power of loving and positive social interactions in relation to psychological and economic well-being, though the ideal image of loving social interactions may seem unrealistic. As evidenced by the interviews, passing from hateful or negative social interactions to positive and loving social interactions is possible depending upon the group, and on peoples’ differences since diversity corresponds with the element that connects both types of social interactions (negative and positive). Nevertheless, the idea of an honest and equal (‘top-down/bottom-up’) communication (grouped under the second theme regarding diversity) seems to make a difference and can be a determining factor in leading an individual or a group toward either a positive or a negative interpretation. Equal and honest communication within a diverse group, as being indirectly connected to consciousness, may lead to positive and loving social interactions, and therefore psychological

and economic well-being. The role of communication seems to be of principle importance for loving or positive social interactions. Both the endogenous and Western knowledge referenced earlier recognises the power of communication in relation to consciousness, which is confirmed by the indigenous knowledge gathered over the course of this study, since the concepts of consciousness and communication are in the same group. Thus, communication may lead one to think differently first, and consequently behave differently, leading to the adoption of a different attitude. An honest, positive, and bi-directional or equal communication (positive and honest dialogue) seems to represent a bridge offering a way for different groups of people to change their way of thinking, their behaviours, and their attitudes, thus making a change at both the individual and social levels. This is visible throughout South African history, where a change in apartheid policies started through communication and negotiation. After this dialogue, people started thinking and behaving differently. Over the years, the majority of South Africans, despite their differences, adopted a different and more positive attitude toward one another because of an open dialogue between people of different races and classes. Moreover, many black South Africans (a minority though) found ways to improve and change their social class years after the dialogue between Mandela and de Klerk, or the abolishment of apartheid. In other words, the way a diverse group communicates may determine the level of consciousness and well-being of its members. Loving social interactions, and, more precisely, an honest and positive dialogue, may lead to consciousness, well-being, and may - indirectly - help one (who is affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty) to change or improve his/her social class.

The material dimension, though highlighted by participants, is ignored by the endogenous and Western knowledge referenced herein. It emphasises the important role of materiality in terms of loving social interactions for both a social and individual change. The idea of sharing, in contrast to the concepts of corruption or selfishness, may refer to different types of materiality, such as amenities/spaces or money, according to the results of the interviews. The only positive point highlighted by the participants about apartheid was the availability of jobs (or sharing of tasks), which led to the sharing of money between different people according to their tasks. The participants prompted the researcher to reflect on the initial position taken regarding apartheid, and to see the positive side of what was a horribly discriminatory political system: even though the jobs and money were not fairly and equally distributed, it was still shared and largely distributed. Today, it is well-known that there is an even deeper gap between different

communities according to their race and social class in South Africa, where sharing (spaces, jobs, money) may represent the bridge needed to build across this gap.

The insourcing process of Wits is considered to be a process of money-sharing for the participants, which directly affected and improved their own psychological well-being. A communicative exchange, in terms of dialogue, or a fight, are not enough; people may also need to share materials, to share money, in order to mark a social love or to help people change their social class and create a more equal and united society. The endogenous and Western knowledge referenced in the literature review explain that a change in social class may happen via the education system, which is itself epistemologically reachable or accessible through a certain consciousness and psychological well-being (Hajji, 2018). However, education also has a cost: there may be epistemological access, but not physical access to education because of economic reasons. Human bodies, minds, and embodied minds are not enough to ensure a change of social class; sharing a certain materiality, such as money, is also necessary for people who are affected by the traumas of racial prejudice and poverty to change their social class and challenge the maintenance of the historical trauma of poverty. Moreover, according to the participants, sharing materials may lead to psychological well-being due to the strong connection between a higher salary ('better wages') and well-being ('better energy'). In the current research, the notion of freedom is defined in terms of consciousness and well-being. However, participants highlighted the change in social class as defining freedom, despite its possibility through consciousness and well-being. For those affected by the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice, real freedom corresponds to consciousness, well-being, and a change of social class. In other words, one cannot become completely free only through loving social interactions taking place outside the system; social interactions should be loving both outside and inside the system since real freedom also depends on the economic system. Sharing, as an economic and behavioural support, may therefore ensure a change of society at the macro-level, and a change of psychological well-being at the micro-level, which both seem necessary for real freedom.

In conclusion, this research shows that loving and positive social interactions between different people (in terms of race and class) may affect peoples' well-being and consciousness at the individual level, and make a change at the macro-level in terms of class distribution. *Love/uthando* may therefore be defined in the following way according to endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge: (1) it is possible to make a change both at the individual and social levels through a honest, unique (as adapted to the specific context), and positive co-

constructed dialogue (2) through material and emotional supportive behaviour and through a fight in terms of actions (or through material, emotional, and physical sacrifices), (3) and through a positive attitude of equality and unity or by adopting an attitude promoting the fact that we are all humans despite our differences. Among all these elements defining love/*uthando* in the South African context, the most important seems to be the communication: the positive, honest, and unique dialogue, which can bring violent people or people who indulge in hatred to adopt a new and positive way of thinking, a new attitude, and new behaviours. A positive, honest, and unique dialogue may lead one to the process of love/*uthando*, to the process of humanisation.

3. Pro-self and pro-social dimensions for a deeper understanding of love and hate

One of the objectives of the current research was to adopt a pro-self and pro-social approach in finding a way to make a change, mostly on behalf of the most discriminated population or those people who are affected by traumas of poverty and racial prejudice. The endogenous and Western knowledge referenced herein follow a pro-self and pro-social approach, as does the indigenous knowledge, despite a lack of this combination in the literature (as highlighted in the introduction). According to the former forms of knowledge, social-love, coming from another, may lead to self-love: the love from another (social love) may help us to love ourselves (self-love) and, in turn, love others (social love) which may affect one's well-being and consciousness. According to the participants' indigenous knowledge, self-love and social love ('good support for oneself and others') may lead to and be influenced by psychological well-being ('better energy'). Earlier, the code 'better energy' was explained in relation to the emotion of love, which is in turn associated with the feeling of happiness and satisfaction, according to the participants. More specifically, participants explain that the feeling of being loved is a source of happiness or satisfaction: being loved by someone or by a group of people seems to align with positive emotions, which are strongly connected to self-love and social-love. In other words, self-love and social-love are inseparable according to the indigenous, endogenous and western knowledge referenced herein. Thus, an individual and social approach is necessary to address the question of well-being.

The indigenous knowledge espoused by the participants recognises the connection between the individual dimension and the social dimension in relation to love but also in relation to hate as explaining negative social interactions. The participants talk about 'pretending for others and oneself' (or denial). In the literature on racial studies, the concept of social denial is related to

the white population, and is even analysed as a 'white consensus' (van Dijk, 1992, p. 94). This denial may be exemplified by de Klerk since, despite his efforts in the past to reach out for peace, he recently said that apartheid does not represent a crime against humanity (IOL, 2020), while it was a traumatic experience for many South Africans, as shown in this research. De Klerk may socially pretend to love black people and socially deny his individual/personal hatred for them. Indeed, the participants relate to the white population when talking about pretending, but also refer to people 'on top' or belonging to a higher social class, who can be white or black. In other words, people may socially pretend to show love while individually feel hate for others, which is feelable, hearable or visible by the 'other'. In other words, socially pretend to love may reflect individual and negative emotions, such as hate, toward the other, which in turn may lead to negative social interactions. Both the social and individual dimensions are connected and approaching both may enable to fully understand social interactions.

If pretending to others may lead to negative social interactions, then pretending to oneself may lead to negative social interactions as well. According to the participants, people can pretend to themselves to be someone else and differentiate themselves from the other members of their own social groups because of self-hate. In other words, some people, white or black, may negotiate their identities and reject or deny their original social group based on their race and social class. According to Bandile, by loving oneself first, one can love own identity, own social group, not feel the need to deny and change one specific identity over another, and stay loyal to oneself. Hating oneself or pretending to love oneself may also be felt by other members of the same social group in terms of identity. As explained earlier, negative social interactions can occur if hate is felt by others. Thus, self-hate may also lead to negative social interactions. This specific dynamic shows the connection between the individual and social dimensions in terms of hate and denial. A self-hate seems connected to a social-hate (regarding own social group) as much as a self-love seems connected to a social-love, as explained earlier in the theoretical framework. According to the indigenous, endogenous and Western knowledge herein, one should use both an individual and social approach, which are both interconnected, to unearth a deeper understanding of the dynamics in play.

Focusing mostly on the social over the individual may lead to negative social interactions as well. In the first group of connections, the social dimension dominates, where negative interactions, defined in terms of violence and hate are explained by the participants in terms of separation between 'us' and 'them'. In other words, according to participants' indigenous

knowledge, violence and hate seem to follow social dynamics rather than individual dynamics. Social differences may easily lead to separation, and, to some extent, violence and hate, where this social separation is connected to negative emotions ('managing problems'), hardness, pain, and dependency ('stuck in a struggle'). Negative emotions and the experience of pain, dependency, and hardness may be social as much as individual, where participants imply that a social and violent separation may be influenced by anger, sadness, dissatisfaction, pain, hardness, dependency, and by diversity ('mixed group'). In other words, all this negativity, in terms of emotions and experiences, may be directed toward the 'other', where the indigenous knowledge highlighted by participants may provide an explanation of social and negative dynamics. Furthermore, according to the indigenous knowledge, the factor leading to negative interactions is social ('separation between us and them') while one of the factors leading to positive interactions is based on individual and social dynamics ('good support for oneself and others'). Indeed, at the centre of the first group of connections defining negative interactions, we can find the code 'separation between us and them'. There is no code in the first group of connections that highlights an individual aspect in opposition to the third group of connections with the code 'good support for oneself and others' defining positive interactions. This difference may show that considering social over individual dynamics is more likely to lead to negativity, separation or even violence.

Contrarily, considering the individual aspect in social dynamics may lead to more positivity, support, peace and love. We may need to consider the individual as much as the social in order for all to reach a well-being due to the strong connection between the code 'good support for oneself and others' and the code 'better energy'. Thus, considering a pro-self and pro-social approach may be necessary to construct a theory that leads to social and individual positivity, peace, love. In other words, it may be important to focus on micro-interactions in order to consider the individual aspect as much as the social and gradually make a change at the macro-level. Indeed, as we know thanks to Vygotsky's theory of cognitive development (1978), social dynamics depends on individual dynamics since a social culture (that shapes knowledge) is taught and is maintained through micro-interactions between two individuals. The theory of love/*uthando* is constructed according to micro-interactions considering on one hand the self and on the other hand the different other or the social. In conclusion, the theory of love/*uthando* is more likely to make a positive social change at the macro-level and at the micro-level in terms of consciousness, well-being and a change of social class through micro-interactions.

4. Endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge as being complementary

It is pertinent to approach questions or dynamics related to African challenges by using a combination of endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge. Throughout this discussion, it is evident that endogenous, Western, and indigenous knowledge seem to complete one another in terms of bringing insights relevant to the African context in addressing African challenges. Regarding the theory of love/*uthando*, endogenous and Western knowledge may seem too optimistic and do not explain whether one element (such as the mind, body, and embodied mind) is more important than the other, or where one should start. The indigenous knowledge provided by participants suggests that the process should start through an honest dialogue, since it can make people conscious and influence them away from separation and toward unity; from violence to peace. Participants highlight the fact that believing in only positive and loving social interactions may be too optimistic regarding methods of addressing the negative and violent social interactions that happened in the past, which are happening in the present, and will continue to happen (as seen under the code ‘time’). Moreover, participants highlight the question of trust as not being as meaningful as the notions of ‘pretending’ versus ‘honesty’. Thus, the indigenous knowledge shapes the endogenous and Western knowledge according to the understanding and experiences of South African people who experience the historical traumas of racial prejudice and poverty. In other words, the indigenous knowledge unearthed herein makes the theory of love/*uthando* more realistic (and less idealistic) by outlining the presence and maintenance of negative social interactions based on people’s differences, and by providing ways to deal with this type of interaction.

A dialogue between the different kinds of knowledge may be necessary in order to construct a singular knowledge body that leads to social change. Each of the different knowledge types (the endogenous, Western and indigenous) promote an equal co-construction of a story for consciousness through dialogue. As explained earlier, both the participants and Freire and Fanon promote a dialogue: a co-construction of a unique and honest story for consciousness. Thus, it also seems necessary to undertake a dialogue within research in order to co-construct a unique and honest knowledge that leads to consciousness: the theory of love/*uthando* may help South African people dealing with the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty, but it could also help others, such as academics, to deepen their consciousness. The unicity of the story or knowledge is aligned with the importance and the role of the context in research, which is highlighted by the notions of critical realism and the decolonising methodology. The co-construction of knowledge is also aligned with critical realism since it assumes that it is not

one truth that exists, but many, all of which help to explain reality: many constructed and unique truths trying to make sense of reality are assumed in critical realism, one of which (and which is applied in the current researcher) is a decolonising reality.

Moreover, the principle of honesty is aligned with the importance of the trustworthiness of data, which prompts the researcher to be truthful regarding the results and the interpretation of the results. As explained in the context of reflexivity earlier, one way to assume this trustworthiness is to be transparent and honest as a researcher about one's active influence on the results and on the interpretation of the results (which has been addressed herein by sharing information regarding the challenges, such as being exposed to a positive aspect of the apartheid era). Furthermore, as explained in the introduction, a dialogue is undertaken in this research that acknowledges the role and benefits of the Western, endogenous and indigenous knowledge to make sense of a decolonising and South African reality. In other words, this research follows the principles of *love/uthando* in terms of honesty, unicity, co-construction, and dialogue, which makes one conscious of the associations between the different forms of knowledge, of the power of *love/uthando* in terms of consciousness, well-being and for a change of social class for South African people affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty.

5. Conclusion

This research shows that the combination of the Western, endogenous and indigenous forms of knowledge enable the construction, shaping, and adaption of the theory of *love/uthando*. This is enacted according to the psychological and material needs – in terms of consciousness, well-being, and a change of social class or 'real' freedom – of South Africans affected by the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Moreover, this research reveals that using an individual and social approach of understanding may help to deepen our comprehension of the questions related to the traumas of racial prejudice and poverty and the questions of well-being and consciousness.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION, STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

Conclusion

This research attempts to give a description of positive social interactions, called love/*uthando*, that seem to be beneficial for those affected by the historical traumas of racial prejudice and poverty in South Africa. The literature on oppression, such as Freire and Fanon's theories, imply that positive social interactions may lead to freedom in terms of consciousness and well-being. The literature on trauma explain that consciousness and well-being, or freedom, may address the historical traumas of racial prejudice and poverty. Through the theories of Freire and Fanon, as belonging to the endogenous knowledge, we can understand that love, or *uthando* in Zulu, may represent a process of social and self-love through dialogue, construction of a unique story, sacrifices and trust as involving the mind, the body and the embodied mind. In other words, the endogenous knowledge (including the Western knowledge) explains that love/*uthando* - as being a process of self and social-love and as defining loving social interactions - may be beneficial in humanising those who have been dehumanised by the social context.

Love/*uthando*, as describing loving and positive social interactions in terms of dialogue, trust, construction of a unique story and sacrifices, may explain the peace process that happened in South Africa before the abolishment of the apartheid era. Mandela and de Klerk, the two South African leaders who led the abolishment of apartheid, tried to trust each other individually for their people to build more trusting relations. Moreover, they both undertook a dialogue based on the construction of a unique and new positive story of South Africa. To do so, they both first made sacrifices (even though Mandela made tougher sacrifices than de Klerk). Their courage and will to make a change at the national level was acknowledged, appreciated, accepted, highlighted and promoted by the international community. Mandela and de Klerk received love from the international community. Receiving love may help South African individuals to love themselves and others, which may lead them to interact lovingly with others through their mind (dialogue and construction of a unique story), body (sacrifices) and embodied mind (trust). In other words, love/*uthando* may have guided South Africans toward a long walk to freedom.

Since this research is about and for black South Africans who may be affected by both historical traumas of racial prejudice and poverty, this research is also constructed with them as the indigenous knowledge-bearers of our actual South African context. According to the

indigenous knowledge of the participants, love/*uthando* may indeed be useful in addressing the historical traumas of poverty and racial prejudice. However, in contrast to the endogenous and western knowledge, the indigenous knowledge shows that a positive, honest and unique dialogue or co-construction is necessary to make a change at the individual level (in terms of consciousness and well-being) for those affected by both historical traumas but also for others. Moreover, we may show love to each other and learn to love ourselves mostly through communication, through the mind, more than through the body - in terms of material and physical supportive behaviour or sacrifices - or embodied mind - in terms of positive attitude of unity, equality. Furthermore, the indigenous knowledge explains that the material aspect is of great significance to reach a real freedom in terms of consciousness, well-being and change of social class. The economic or material aspect should not be ignored, as done by the endogenous and Western knowledge, but should be acknowledged in relation to freedom in South Africa. Additionally, according to the indigenous knowledge, negative interactions are mostly based on social factors while positive and loving social interactions are based on individual and social factors. In other words, we need to focus on one-on-one interactions to define love/*uthando* as making a change at the individual or micro-level and gradually at the social or macro-level. Focusing on the individual or micro-level to make a change at the social or macro-level enables to make a change either inside or/and outside the actual subordinating and institutionalised system.

The theory of love/*uthando* itself is constructed through a positive, unique and honest dialogue or co-construction between different knowledges. Indeed, this research uses a unique endogenous, Western and indigenous knowledge to develop the positive theory of love/*uthando* as promoting unity and equality through freedom. This research, about and using love/*uthando*, attempts to lead the readers to consciousness, by deepening our knowledge on addressing the traumas of racial prejudice and poverty through the different perspectives brought by the different knowledges, and well-being, by learning how to love ourselves and others. In conclusion, this research offers a way to commence a long walk to freedom for those who are affected by the historical traumas of racial prejudice and poverty and for others who want to make a positive change for themselves or/and others.

Strengths and limitations

As explained in the method, as a researcher it is important to be honest and transparent regarding our influence on the knowledge construction process through research. The researcher's influence may represent a limitation since it may have influenced the participants through the interview process based on the researcher's interventions and specific words used. In other words, some of the *in vivo* codes used to make sense of the indigenous knowledge may have come from the researcher. However, the indigenous knowledge does not only depend on the researcher's interventions. During the interviews, the researcher positioned herself as the listener. Thus, the participants talked significantly more than the researcher. Moreover, the researcher tried to stay as loyal as possible to the participants' insights even though it may have been challenging for her. Indeed, as explained earlier, the researcher needed to accept, recognise and admit the positive side of the apartheid system highlighted by all the participants despite her opposite opinion. This self-reflective transparency strengthens the research.

The language-barrier could also have limited the researcher's understanding of the participants' indigenous knowledge and the participants' understanding of the researcher's interventions. The researcher has a strong accent. The English language is not the mother tongue of both the participants and the researcher. At some stage and as explained in the method, some participants and the researcher needed to use non-verbal communication to support their oral communication and align their mutual understanding. This language barrier may have influenced the results of this research based on misunderstandings. Research focusing on the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty in the South African context are needed in different languages. Approaching the indigenous knowledge through interviews in the participants' mother tongue may be more accurate. However, considering the fact that the researcher made the choice to consider the words, the behaviour and the attitude of the participants, there are less chance for the results to be based on misunderstandings. Instead, and as explained in the method, considering the mind, the body and the embodied mind of participants may give more accurate information than only focusing on the words (mind).

The indigenous knowledge of this research is based on different experiences. The participants have numerous common points but also differences in terms of experiences and trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Some are older, meaning that their historical trauma of poverty and racial prejudice may be deeper than those who are younger. Some are poorer because of their

numerous financial responsibilities related to their family, meaning that their trauma of poverty may be deeper than others who have less children, or less family members to take care of. The generational aspect is not taken into consideration in this research. The indigenous knowledge may differ according to the participants' level of historical trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Therefore, more research focusing on the historical trauma of racial prejudice and poverty in relation to the generational and family aspects are needed. However, the differences in terms of trauma is levelled through each code's occurrence. The most used codes or concepts (which highlights a similarity in terms of experience) are visible in the model illustrating the results through strong connections. The higher is the occurrence/quantity, the higher and stronger are the connections. Therefore, this research differs the similarity and the differences of the participants' experiences by distinguishing the strong and the weak connections (or social/shared experiences versus individual experiences) between the different concepts belonging to the indigenous knowledge. This distinction strengthens the research since both dimensions (social and individual) are acknowledged to understand the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty. Indeed, as explained in this research, considering a social and individual dimension may guide toward more accurate information and may deepen our understanding.

Finally, this research has also been limited by the requirements of the faculty in terms of time and number of pages. This research represents a part of the Master of Arts in Psychology that is supposed to last a year. The time allocated to do this research limited the number of participants. The time and the page restrictions represent an obstacle in reducing the number of limitations and in deepening the construction of the knowledge regarding love/uthando. For instance, the generational and family dimensions of the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty may have been considered if more time and more pages were allowed. However, the language limitation does not depend on the time or on the number of pages but is also restricted by the faculty since it is necessary to request and pass through a long process in order to write a research in a different South African language than in English. In other words, we need to explore further – through different languages and angles - the questions related to real freedom (consciousness, well-being and change of social class) and historical traumas of poverty and racial prejudice in relation to loving interactions.

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Appendices

1. Interview guideline

(from 20 to 40 minutes)

Introduction	Macro-context/race	How is it today in South Africa for Black people? How is the living situation in South Africa for the Black population?
	Micro-context/social class	How is it to work at Wits as a gardener/helper? Do you have White colleagues or only Black colleagues? What do you think? How does the insourcing at Wits affect you?
Dialogue, trust, sacrifices	Micro-context/social class	What do you think about the relations between you or your colleagues and the management of the university? Do you talk to each other? What do you think about trust between the management of the university and you? What did you and your colleagues do during the protest for the university to increase your salary? How did you do? Do you think that the university made/make a lot of efforts for you?
	Macro-context/race	What do you think about the relations between Black and White people? Do you think that they talk to each other? Do Black and White people mix? What do you think about that? Do you think that Black and White people should trust each

		other? What do you think, as a Black person, about making a lot of efforts for White people? What do you think about White people making a lot of efforts for Black people?
Construction of a unique story	Micro-context/social class	What did/would you say to the university to convince them to make a change? What did/would the university say to you to make you feel better?
	Macro-context/race	Do you think there is still a division/separation between Black and White people in the country? at the university? What should Black people talk about with White people to bring peace?
Pro-self, pro-social love and love from the other	Macro-context/race	What do you think about being loving with people? Do you think that love can make a difference in our life? Why would we think that Black and White people should love each other?
	Micro-context/social class	What do you think about the university management and being loving? Do you do your job with love?

2. Information sheet



Good day,

My name is Jaida Hajji and I am an international (French and Moroccan) Masters student in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my studies, I have to do a research project, and I am interested in understanding more about the lives and opinions of Black people who work hard in South Africa today. This research project wants to find out how *love/uthando* can make a difference in the life of South Africans.

I would like to invite you to take part in an interview to construct this research with me. You have a knowledge that I do not have and that I hope to get thanks to you. You know better than me the situation of Black South African people who work hard. People, students, lecturers, will learn a lot from you about the ways we can better the lives of Black South Africans who work hard. This activity will take between 20 to 50 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device (i.e. my phone). This recording will only be used to write a transcript of it for me to study what you told me but nobody else will have access to the recording. The tape will be kept in my computer until completion of the research. In other words, once the research is completed, I will destroy all the tapes from my computer.

You will not receive anything special from participating in this research and you will also not lose anything special from participating. But your voice can be heard by all thanks to your participation. You can stop the interview at any time if you want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous and the information you give me will be held securely and not shown to anyone else. Nobody, including the university, will know that you have participated since we will only contact each other (you and I) to organize the interviews. Nobody, including the university, will have access to what you have said. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any bad feeling or distress at any point, you can just tell me and, if you want, we will stop the interview. If you would like to have a free counseling sessions due to the emotions felt during the interviews, you can use the following link and a counsellor (from SADAG) will call you
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSd0ShEMUdtKhzh2UBBH4CoEzArUli43P7EAJ0TtCC_sjclWdA/viewform. Moreover, you can also contact the Emthonjeni Centre, which is at the university, with the following number: 011 717 4518.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Jaida Hajji (researcher)
Jaidahajji@gmail.com

Tanya Graham (supervisor)
Tanya.Graham@wits.ac.za

3. Consent form

Research title: Love/Uthando, a long walk to freedom
Jaida Hajji

I, ..., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. Please circle the relevant options below.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I am aware of the risks and benefits of my participation YES NO

I am aware that I can stop the interview anytime YES NO

I am aware that I have the right to not answer any questions YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes (using a false name) in her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded since my identity will be protected and the access to the tapes will be restricted during completion of research before being destroyed YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously by other researchers following this project YES NO

..... (signature)

..... (name of participant)

..... (date)

4. Permission letter

For the attention of the Registrar's Office of the University of the Witwatersrand

Dear Registrar,

I, Jaida Hajji, student number 177396, wish to carry out a research project as part of a Masters degree in psychology with the university of the Witwatersrand. My research is titled: *Love/Uthando, a long walk to freedom*. The focus of the research is on trauma of poverty and racial prejudice experienced by Black South Africans belonging to a low working class. I aim to investigate the role of love/uthando for freedom, and more precisely for psychological well-being and educational consciousness/awareness.

In order to reach an understanding of the trauma of racial prejudice and poverty in relation to love/uthando for freedom, I need the participation of the population in question. This population, Black South Africans belonging to a low working class, is amongst your supporting staff such as security guards, gardeners and helpers within the different campuses of the university. My data collection method will include the following: interviews and audiotaping. Interviews will take place at the university, inside (in a room dedicated to postgraduate students) or outside (in the outside areas of the university) and will last from 20 to 40 minutes. I will ask the participants to be interviewed either during their break or after their working day. Therefore, I would like your permission to interview this specific community working in the university of Witwatersrand. I would be grateful for your permission and support.

Participants will be given an information sheet and a consent form. As mentioned in the participants' information sheet, I will not reveal anything of a personal or comprising nature regarding the participants. The interviews will be confidential and anonymity will be guaranteed in the resulting research report.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Jaida Hajji – 1773969

jaidahajji@gmail.com

0739823358

5. Letter of acknowledgement

Wits Department of Psychology

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



Umthombo Building, East Campus, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, 2193 • Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
E-mail: Tanya.Graham@wits.ac.za

13/08/2019

To

We would like to thank you sincerely for your participation in the research project on Love/Uthando. Your participation helps us to understand how we can change the lives of South African people for the better and how we can change knowledge in South Africa.

Your participation has contributed to academic knowledge construction. Thanks to your participation, your time and your trust, we could – together - create knowledge.

Once again, thank you! Ngiyabonga!

Researcher
Jaïda Hajji

Supervisor
Prof. Tanya Graham

6. Ethic clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/19/003 IH

PROJECT TITLE:

Love/Uthando, along walk to freedom: exploring the power of love/uthando using Freire and Fanon's theory to address the trauma of poverty and racial prejudice

INVESTIGATORS

Hajji Jaida

DEPARTMENT

Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

12/06/19

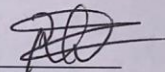
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*

Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 12 June 2019

CHAIRPERSON
(Dr Peace Kiguwa)



cc Supervisor:

Prof. Tanya Graham
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2021

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

7. Letter summarising the results for the director of the services of the university of the Witwatersrand

Jaida Hajji

MA Psychology student,
University of the Witwatersrand

Mr. Mogomotsi
Director of the services,
University of the Witwatersrand

Dear Mr. Mogomotsi,

SUBJECT: suggestions made by the participants (workers) during the interviews

As agreed, I am sharing with you the different suggestions and comments made by the workers of the University of the Witwatersrand who participated in my research titled: *Love/uthando, a way for a long walk to freedom?* Additionally, and as promised, I will also share my full research after its completion (full and final submission).

The following suggestions/comments are shared by the majority of participants:

- 1) All the participants were very clear about their satisfaction related to their wages and the benefits offered as a result of insourcing. The insourcing process sincerely brought happiness and comfort in their lives since they all explained that outsourcing emotionally and financially affected them individually as much as their whole family. The workers are deeply appreciative of all the advantages offered through insourcing. However, they mentioned that sometimes they still feel excluded or subordinated for two reasons:
 - End of year bonus: other university employees (such as administrative staff) receive end-of-year/December bonuses, whilst they do not
 - Access to amenities: participants explained that other employees (e.g. office workers) do not want to share the same amenities (such as the kitchen) with them. Therefore, they end up eating cold food since they do not have access to the kitchen (which is locked) to warm their food. Apart from being an inconvenience, this makes them feel excluded and subordinated by fellow colleagues.
- 2) Another concern to be explored further is that of the sense of inequality between workers, managers, supervisors or the hierarchy. Participants felt quiet strongly about the fact that they do not understand the reasons why many colleagues have the same education or qualification level but have different hierarchical positions, and therefore, different salaries. They describe fairness at work through education and qualification that should be appropriate and adapted to the status.
- 3) Participants mentioned the idea of meeting with senior representatives in order to have an opportunity to share ideas, discuss complaints, and be heard. The feeling of needing to be heard has been defended and highlighted by every participant. These potential meetings may represent an opportunity for the workers to make sure that their complaints have been received, heard and processed. Indeed, they explained that some information coming from them are not passed on to University management. They defend the 'bottom-up' approach already in place through the possibility to share complains as a way to be heard, to complain, but criticise its dysfunctions.

In conclusion, even though the workers are very appreciative and satisfied of the recent changes made through insourcing, they would appreciate more fairness, recognition, to be heard and ultimately to feel equal amongst their colleagues and co-workers.

I would like to sincerely thank you for giving me the opportunity to listen to them and to make them feel heard through my research.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Jaida Hajji', written in a cursive style.

Jaida Hajji - MA Psychology student,
University of the Witwatersrand