

SOL PLAATJE: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

by

Crystal Alicia Welman

2007071737

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PSYCHOLOGY

in the Department of Psychology, the Faculty of the Humanities

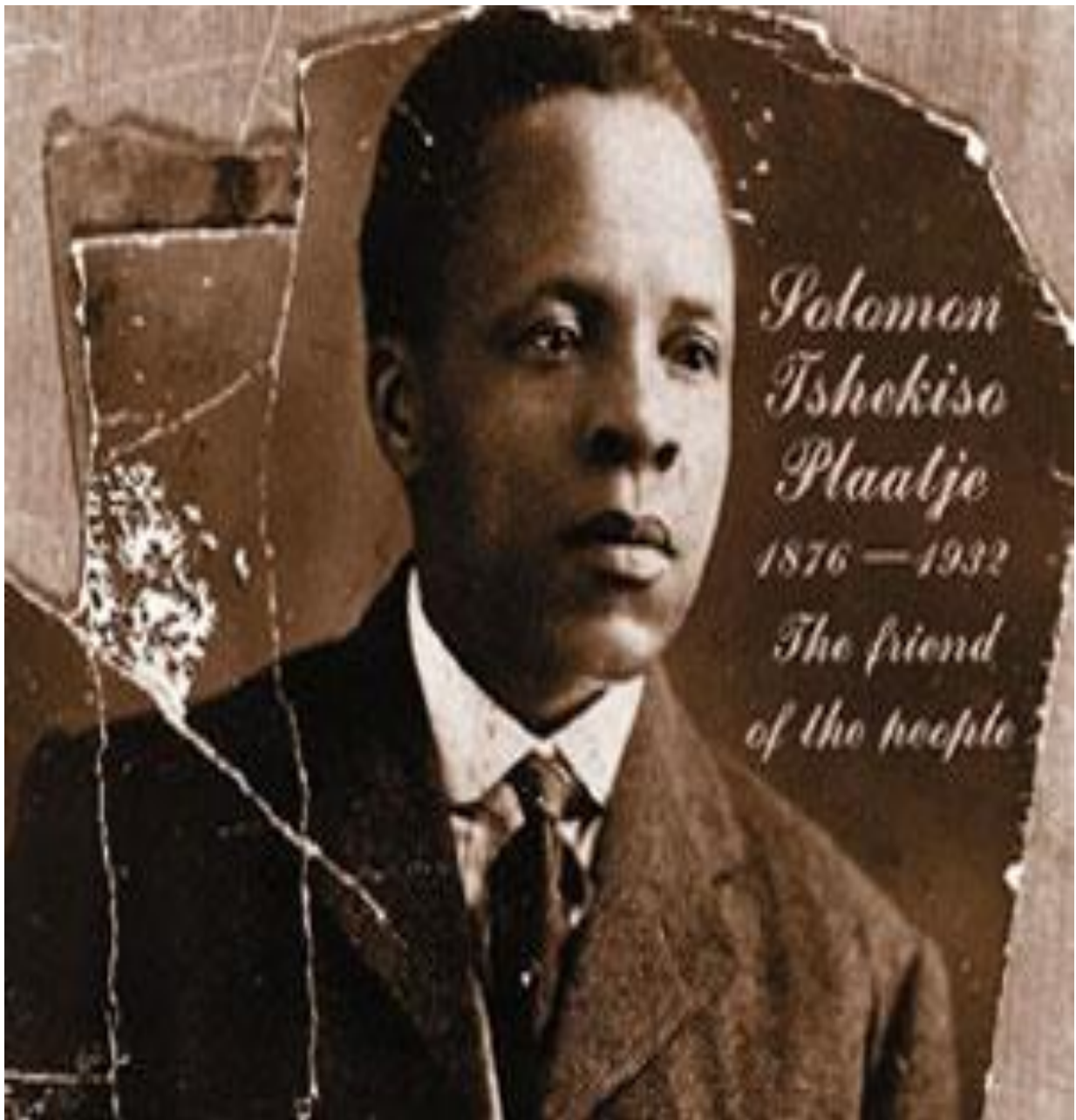
at the University of the Free State

Bloemfontein

January 2020

Promoter: Prof. J. P. Fouché

PHOTOGRAPH OF SOL PLAATJE



Source: <https://geography.name/plaatje-sol/>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All glory and honour to God for the following people in my life, whose continued guidance and support made this study possible:

- My promoter, Prof. Paul Fouché, who introduced me to the field of psychobiographical research and for encouraging, guiding, and supporting me throughout my research journey.
- Both my parents, Fanie and Leonora Welman, for their unfailing support and encouragement.
- Close family members, friends and colleagues, for their interest in my academic endeavours and words of inspiration.
- The Plaatje family, more specifically, two of Sol Plaatje's great-grandsons, Mr Richard Sebeka Plaatje and Mr Daniel Plaatje, for granting me permission to complete the study and for providing me with valuable information.
- Mr Johan Cronjé, for his generous and enthusiastic assistance and access to archival material at the Sol Plaatje Library and Museum.
- Dr Brian Willan for generously providing me private access to his 2018 biography on Sol Plaatje before it was published.
- Mrs Anneke-Jean Denobili for language editing this thesis.
- Dr Jacques Jordaan for assisting with the APA editing of this thesis.

STUDENT DECLARATION

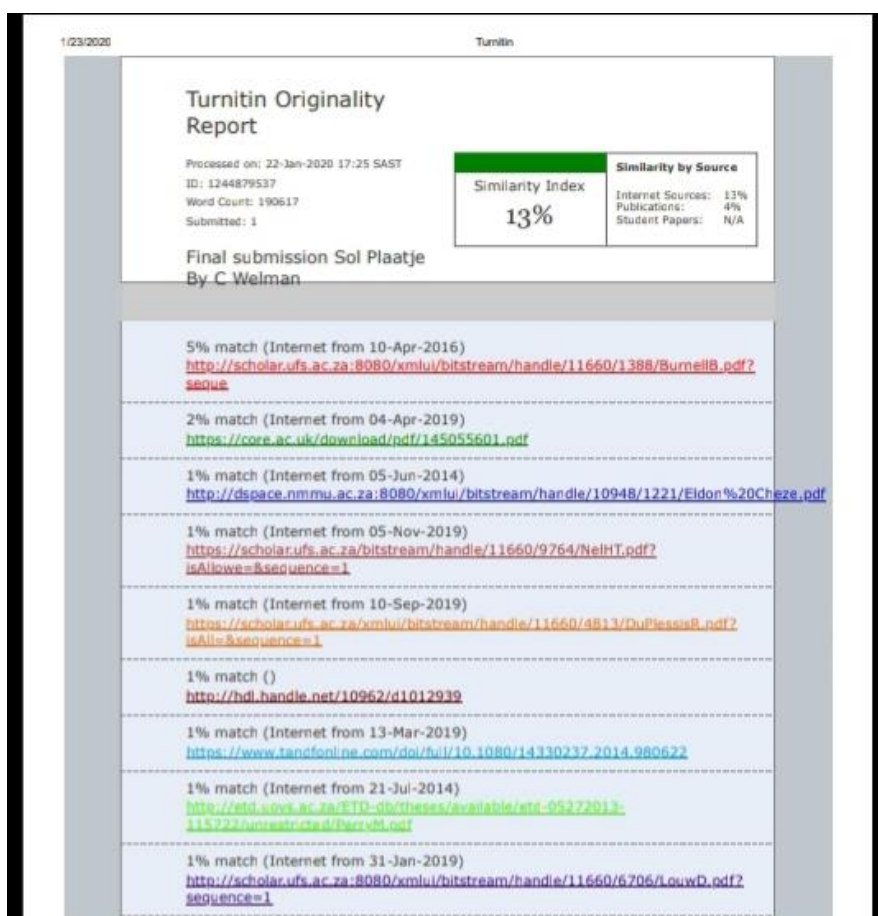
I, Crystal Alicia Welman, declare that the thesis I hereby submit for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted for a qualification at another institution of higher education. Furthermore, I cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.



Crystal Alicia Welman

30 January 2020

Turnitin is an Internet-based plagiarism detection service available at the library of the University of the Free State. Returned percentages of below 15% indicate that plagiarism has not occurred.



1/23/2020 Turnitin

Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 22-Jan-2020 17:25 SAST
ID: 1244879537
Word Count: 190617
Submitted: 1

Similarity Index	Similarity by Source
13%	Internet Sources: 13% Publications: 4% Student Papers: N/A

Final submission Sol Plaatje
By C. Welman

- 5% match (Internet from 10-Apr-2016)
<http://scholar.ufs.ac.za:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11660/1388/BurnellB.pdf?sequence>
- 2% match (Internet from 04-Apr-2019)
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/145055601.pdf>
- 1% match (Internet from 05-Jun-2014)
<http://dspace.nmmu.ac.za:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10948/1221/Eldon%20Cheze.pdf>
- 1% match (Internet from 05-Nov-2019)
<https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11660/9764/NelHT.pdf?isAllowe=Bsequence=1>
- 1% match (Internet from 10-Sep-2019)
<https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11660/4813/DuPlessisB.pdf?isAll=Bsequence=1>
- 1% match ()
<http://hdl.handle.net/10962/d1012939>
- 1% match (Internet from 13-Mar-2019)
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14330237.2014.980622>
- 1% match (Internet from 21-Jul-2014)
<http://etd.ufva.ac.za/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-05272013-115722/unrestricted/berzB.pdf>
- 1% match (Internet from 31-Jan-2019)
<http://scholar.ufs.ac.za:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11660/6706/LouwD.pdf?sequence=1>

STATEMENT BY LANGUAGE EDITOR

LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER: Anneke Denobili

BA Communication Science (Corporate and Marketing Communications)*
BA Hons Communication Science (Corporate and Marketing Communications)*
* Cum Laude

6 Carl van Heerden Street
Universitas Ridge, Bloemfontein

Tel: 084 244 8961
annekedenobili@gmail.com

January 2020

DECLARATION

I, Anneke Denobili, hereby declare that I did the language editing of the dissertation of Crystal Alicia Welman titled, *Sol Plaatje: A Psychobiographical Study*, for submission purposes in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Free State. All the suggested changes, including the implementation thereof, were left to the discretion of the student.

Please note:

The editor will not be held accountable for any later additions or changes to the document that were not edited by the editor, nor if the student rejects/ignores any of the changes, suggestions or queries, which he/she is free to do. The editor can also not be held responsible for errors in the content of the document or whether or not the student passes or fails. It is the student's responsibility to review the edited document before submitting it for evaluation.

Sincerely



SATI Registration #: 1003466

STATEMENT BY APA EDITOR

P.O. Box 31300
Fichardt Park
9317
Tel (w): (051) 4012890
Cell: 0842004401
E-mail: jordaanj1@ufs.ac.za

19 January 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

STATEMENT WITH REGARD TO APA EDITING OF DISSERTATION

Hereby I, Jacques Jordaan (I.D. 7905125022080), confirm that I have APA edited the following thesis:

Title of thesis: SOL PLAATJE: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

Author: Crystal Alicia Welman

The APA editor will not be held accountable for any later additions or changes to the document that were not edited by the APA editor, nor if the client rejects/ignores any of the changes, suggestions or queries, which he/she is free to do. The APA editor can also not be held responsible for errors in the content of the document or whether or not the client passes or fails. It is the client's responsibility to review the edited document before submitting it for evaluation.

Yours sincerely



Dr. J. Jordaan

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
STUDENT DECLARATION	iii
STATEMENT BY LANGUAGE EDITOR	iv
STATEMENT BY APA EDITOR	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xx
LIST OF TABLES	xxi
LIST OF APPENDICES	xxiii
ABSTRACT	xxiv

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1	Chapter Preview	1
1.2	Introduction and Aim of Research	1
1.3	Context of the Research	2
	1.3.1 General Problem Statement	3
	1.3.2 The Psychobiographical Subject	5
	1.3.3 The Psychobiographical Approach	7
	1.3.4 Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development	8
	1.3.5 Holistic Wellness and The WoW Model	9
	1.3.6 Reflexivity	11

1.4	The Researcher's Personal Journey	12
1.5	Overview of the Study	14
1.6	Chapter Summary	15

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE OF SOL PLAATJE: A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

2.1	Chapter Preview	16
2.2	The Context: Pre-Apartheid	16
2.3	Historical Periods in the Life of Solomon T. Plaatje	18
	2.3.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein & Pniel (1876 – 1894)	19
	2.3.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	27
	2.3.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	40
	2.3.3.1 Before the Siege	40
	2.3.3.2 During the Siege	50
	2.3.3.3 After the Siege	58
	2.3.4 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	78
	2.3.5 The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	116
2.4	Closing Remarks	140
2.5	Chapter Summary	140

CHAPTER 3

ERIKSON'S THEORY OF PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1	Chapter Preview	141
3.2	Erik H. Erikson: Historical Perspective, Theoretical Contributions and Psychobiography	141

3.3	Description of Relevant Concepts	147
3.3.1	Personality and Personality Development	147
3.3.2	Ego Development and the Epigenetic Principle	147
3.3.2.1	Ego Strengths	148
3.3.3	Crisis and Crisis Resolution	149
3.3.4	Organ Modes and Psychosocial Modalities	150
3.3.5	Ritualization	152
3.4	Psychosocial Development: The Eight Ages of the Life Cycle	153
3.4.1	Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust – Hope (age birth – 18 months)	156
3.4.2	Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Will (age 18 months – 3 years)	158
3.4.3	Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose (age 3 - 6 years)	160
3.4.4	Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence (age 6 - 12 years)	163
3.4.5	Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity (age 12 - 20 years)	165
3.4.6	Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love (age 20 – 35 years)	168
3.4.7	Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care (age 35 - 65 years)	170
3.4.8	Stage 8: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom (age 65 years - onwards)	172
3.5	Extensions and Expansions on Erikson’s Theory	175
3.5.1	Stage 9: Gerotranscendence (85 years and onwards)	175
3.5.2	Other Extensions and Expansions on Erikson’s Theory	176
3.6	Erikson in Current Research	178
3.7	Summary of Erikson’s Proposed Life Stages	179
3.8	Criticism of Erikson’s Theory	180

3.9	Chapter Summary	184
-----	-----------------	-----

CHAPTER 4

HOLISTIC WELLNESS AND

THE WHEEL OF WELLNESS MODEL

4.1	Chapter Preview	185
4.2	Positive Psychology and the Wellness Movement	185
4.2.1	The Domination of the Medical Model	185
4.2.2	The Development of Positive Psychology	186
4.2.3	The Wellness Movement	189
4.3	The Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model	192
4.3.1	Life Tasks	195
	<i>4.3.1.1 Life Task I: Spirituality</i>	195
	<i>4.3.1.2 Life Task II: Self-direction</i>	198
	<i>4.3.1.3 Life Task III: Work and Leisure</i>	206
	<i>4.3.1.4 Life Task IV: Friendship</i>	207
	<i>4.3.1.5 Life Task V: Love</i>	209
4.3.2	Life Forces	210
	<i>4.3.2.1 Family</i>	210
	<i>4.3.2.2 Community</i>	211
	<i>4.3.2.3 Religion</i>	212
	<i>4.3.2.4 Education</i>	212
	<i>4.3.2.5 Media</i>	213

4.3.2.6	<i>Government</i>	213
4.3.2.7	<i>Business or Industry</i>	214
4.3.3	Global Events	215
4.4	Empirical Investigation for the Wellness Model	215
4.5	The Value of the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model in Psychobiography	219
4.6.	Criticisms of the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model	221
4.7	Chapter Summary	223

CHAPTER 5

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

5.1	Chapter Preview	224
5.2	Qualitative Research	224
5.2.1	Definitions and Descriptions of Qualitative Research	224
5.2.2	Case Study as a Qualitative Research Approach	229
5.2.3	Types of Case Study Research	232
5.3	Psychology and Biography	233
5.4	Psychobiography and Related Concepts	235
5.4.1	<i>Autobiography and Biography</i>	235
5.4.2	<i>Life Stories, Life Narratives and Life Histories</i>	237
5.4.3	<i>Psychohistory, Historical Psychology and Historiography</i>	238
5.5	History and Trends in the Development of Psychobiographical Research	240
5.6	Psychobiographical Research in the South African Context	249
5.7	The Value and Benefit of a Case Study with a Psychobiographical Focus	255

5.7.1	The Uniqueness of the Individual Case within the Whole	256
5.7.2	Incorporation of the Individual's Sociohistorical Context	257
5.7.3	Tracking Process and Pattern over Time	258
5.7.4	Uncovering the Subjective Reality of the Individual	258
5.7.5	The Development and Testing of Theories	259
5.7.6	An Educational Tool in Diverse Fields	260
5.7.7	The Study of Psychological Outliers	262
5.8	Criticisms of Psychobiography	263
5.9	Guidelines to Write a Good Psychobiography	265
5.10	Professional and Organisation Initiatives	268
5.11	Chapter Summary	269

CHAPTER 6

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1	Chapter Preview	270
6.2	Preliminary Methodological Considerations in Psychobiographical Research	271
6.2.1	Researcher bias	272
	<i>6.2.1.1 Researcher Bias Explained</i>	272
	<i>6.2.1.2 Strategies Applied against Researcher Bias</i>	275
6.2.2	Reductionism	277
	<i>6.2.2.1 Reductionism Explained</i>	277
	<i>6.2.2.2 Strategies Applied against Reductionism</i>	279
6.2.3	Considering Cross-Cultural Differences	280

6.2.3.1	<i>Cross-Cultural Differences Explained</i>	280
6.2.3.2	<i>Strategies Applied against Cross-Cultural Differences</i>	282
6.2.4	Analysing an Absent Subject	283
6.2.4.1	<i>Inadequate evidence and the Absent Subject</i>	283
6.2.4.2	<i>Strategies Applied against Issues of Analysing an Absent Subject</i>	284
6.2.5	Elitism and Easy Genre	285
6.2.5.1	<i>Elitism and Easy Genre Explained</i>	285
6.2.5.2	<i>Strategies Applied against Elitism and Easy Genre</i>	286
6.2.6	Inflated Expectations	288
6.2.6.1	<i>Inflated Expectations Explained</i>	288
6.2.6.2	<i>Strategies Applied Against Inflated Expectations</i>	288
6.2.7	Infinite Amount of Biographical Data	289
6.2.7.1	<i>Infinite Amount of Biographical Data Explained</i>	289
6.2.7.2	<i>Strategies Applied to Manage the Infinite Amount of Biographical Data</i>	291
6.2.8	Criticisms Relating to Validity and Reliability	292
6.2.8.1	<i>Explanation of criticisms relating to validity and reliability</i>	292
6.2.8.1.1	<i>Internal Validity (Credibility) Explained</i>	293
6.2.8.1.2	<i>Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje</i>	295
6.2.8.1.3	<i>External Validity (Transferability) Explained</i>	296
6.2.8.1.4	<i>Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje</i>	297
6.2.8.1.5	<i>Construct Validity (Confirmability) Explained</i>	298
6.2.8.1.6	<i>Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje</i>	299

6.2.8.1.7	<i>Reliability (Dependability) Explained</i>	300
6.2.8.1.8	<i>Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje</i>	301
6.3	Ethical Considerations in Psychobiographical Research	301
6.3.1	Overview of ethical considerations	301
6.3.2	Strategies Applied to the Study of Plaatje	306
6.4	Chapter Summary	306

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

7.1	Chapter Preview	307
7.2	The Research Aim, Design and Method	307
7.3	The Selection of the Psychobiographical Research Subject	309
7.4	Data Collection	313
7.5	Data Extraction and Analysis Procedures	319
7.5.1	Identifying and Extracting Salient Information	320
7.5.1.1	<i>Alexander's Model of Salience</i>	320
7.5.1.2	<i>Questioning the Data</i>	327
7.5.2	Conceptual Framework and Psycho-historical Matrices	329
7.6	Ethical Considerations in Psychobiography	332
7.7	Ensuring Trustworthiness and Rigour	334
7.8	Reflexivity	335
7.9	Chapter Summary	337

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

8.1	Chapter Preview	338
8.2	Conceptual Outline to the Presentation and Discussion of Findings	338
8.3	Plaatje's Psychosocial Development across his Lifespan	339
8.3.1	Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust – Hope (birth – 18 months)	340
	8.3.1.1 <i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	341
8.3.2	Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Will (18 months – 3 years)	343
	8.3.2.1 <i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	343
8.3.3	Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose (3 – 6 years)	346
	8.3.3.1 <i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	347
8.3.4	Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence (6 - 12 years)	349
	8.3.4.1 <i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	350
8.3.5	Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity (12 - 20 years)	354
	8.3.5.1 <i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	354
8.3.6	Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love (20 – 35 years)	360
	8.3.6.1 <i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	360
	8.3.6.2 <i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	367
	8.3.6.2.1 <i>Before the Siege</i>	367
	8.3.6.2.2 <i>During the Siege</i>	368
	8.3.6.2.3 <i>After the Siege</i>	369
	8.3.6.3 <i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	374
8.3.7	Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care (35 - 65 years)	375

8.3.7.1	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923) – continued</i>	376
8.3.7.2	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)</i>	381
8.4	Summary of Plaatje’s Psychosocial Development	385
8.5	Chapter Summary	387

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: HOLISTIC WELLNESS

9.1	Chapter Preview	388
9.2	Conceptual Outline to the Presentation and Discussion of Findings	388
9.3	Holistic Wellness Throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan	389
9.3.1	Life task 1: Spirituality	389
9.3.1.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	390
9.3.1.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	393
9.3.1.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	398
9.3.1.3.1	<i>Before the Siege</i>	398
9.3.1.3.2	<i>During the Siege</i>	401
9.3.1.3.3	<i>After the Siege</i>	404
9.3.1.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	412
9.3.1.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)</i>	419
9.3.2	Life task II: Self-direction	423
9.3.2.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	424
9.3.2.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	428
9.3.2.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	431
9.3.2.3.1	<i>Before the Siege</i>	431
9.3.2.3.2	<i>During the Siege</i>	433

9.3.2.3.3	<i>After the Siege</i>	435
9.3.2.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 - 1923)</i>	438
9.3.2.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)</i>	442
9.3.3	Life task III: Work and Leisure	447
9.3.3.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	448
9.3.3.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	449
9.3.3.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	451
9.3.3.3.1	<i>Before the siege</i>	451
9.3.3.3.2	<i>During the siege</i>	452
9.3.3.3.3	<i>After the siege</i>	453
9.3.3.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	456
9.3.3.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)</i>	461
9.3.4	Life task IV: Friendship	464
9.3.4.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	464
9.3.4.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	465
9.3.4.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	468
9.3.4.3.1	<i>Before the siege</i>	468
9.3.4.3.2	<i>During the siege</i>	470
9.3.4.3.3	<i>After the siege</i>	472
9.3.4.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	474
9.3.4.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)</i>	479
9.3.5	Life task V: Love	481
9.3.5.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	482
9.3.5.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	483
9.3.5.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	486

9.3.5.3.1	<i>Before the siege</i>	486
9.3.5.3.2	<i>During the siege</i>	487
9.3.5.3.3	<i>After the siege</i>	488
9.3.5.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	491
9.3.5.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)</i>	494
9.4	Life Forces and Global events throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan	497
9.4.1	<i>The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	498
9.4.2	<i>Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	499
9.4.3	<i>Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	500
9.4.4	<i>Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	502
9.4.5	<i>The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)</i>	505
9.5	Synopsis of holistic wellness findings	506
9.6	Chapter Summary	513

CHAPTER 10

INTEGRATION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

10.1	Chapter Preview	514
10.2	Conceptual Outline for the Presentation and Discussion of Integrated Findings	514
10.3	Similarities and Differences between the Theoretical Frameworks	515
10.3.1.	Similarities between the Theoretical Frameworks	515
10.3.1.1	<i>Eugraphic approach</i>	515
10.3.1.2	<i>Integrative approach</i>	516
10.3.2.	Differences between the Theoretical Frameworks	517
10.3.2.1	<i>Developmental orientation</i>	517
10.3.2.2	<i>Dynamic emphasis</i>	517

10.4	Comparative Summary	518
10.4.1	The Formative Years: Doornfontein & Pniel: 1876 – 1894	518
10.4.2	Plaatje at Kimberley: 1894 – 1898	521
10.4.3	Plaatje at Mafeking: 1898 – 1910	524
10.4.4	Tales of Travels: 1910 – 1923	528
10.4.5	The Autumn Years: 1923 – 1932	531
10.5	Chapter Summary	534

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1	Chapter Preview	536
11.2	The Research Aim Revisited	536
11.3	Summary of Key Research Findings	537
11.4	The Value and Contributions of the Study	538
	11.4.1 The Psychobiographical Subject	538
	11.4.2 Psychological Frameworks Used in the Study	539
	11.4.3 Psychobiographical Case Study Research	540
11.5	The Limitations of the Study	542
	11.5.1 The Psychobiographical Subject	542
	11.5.2 Psychological Frameworks Used in the Study	544
	11.5.3 Psychobiographical Case Study Research	548
11.6	Recommendations for Future Research	550
11.7	Final Reflections on the Researcher’s Personal Journey	551
11.8	Chapter Summary	553

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
<i>Figure 4.1</i> Wheel of Wellness model	194
<i>Figure 4.2</i> Indivisible Self model	217

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 3.1	<i>Defining the Ego Strengths</i>	148
Table 3.2	<i>Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development</i>	155
Table 5.1	<i>South African Psychobiographies completed: 1939 – 2012</i>	250
Table 5.2	<i>South African Psychobiographies completed: 2013 – 2018</i>	252
Table 5.3	<i>Best Practice Guidelines for Psychobiography</i>	266
Table 7.1	<i>Primary and Secondary Sources</i>	316
Table 7.2	<i>Matrix of Psychosocial Development over the Historical Lifespan of Sol Plaatje</i>	331
Table 7.3	<i>Matrix of Holistic Wellness over the Historical Lifespan of Sol Plaatje</i>	332
Table 8.1	<i>Timeline for the First Historical Period: The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)</i>	340
Table 8.2	<i>Timeline for the Second Historical Period: Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)</i>	353
Table 8.3	<i>Timeline for the Third Historical Period: Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)</i>	366
Table 8.4	<i>Timeline for the Fourth Historical Period: Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)</i>	373
Table 8.6	<i>Timeline for the Fifth Historical Period: The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)</i>	381
Table 9.1	<i>Wellness in the Life Task of Spirituality throughout Plaatje's Lifespan</i>	507
Table 9.2	<i>Wellness in the Life Task of Self-Direction throughout Plaatje's Lifespan</i>	509
Table 9.3	<i>Wellness in the Life Task of Work and Leisure throughout Plaatje's</i>	

	<i>Lifespan</i>	510
Table 9.4	<i>Wellness in the Life Task of Friendship throughout Plaatje's Lifespan</i>	511
Table 9.5	<i>Wellness in the Life Task of Love throughout Plaatje's Lifespan</i>	512
Table 10.1	<i>Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the First Historical Period</i>	520
Table 10.2	<i>Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Second Historical Period</i>	522
Table 10.3	<i>Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Third Historical Period</i>	524
Table 10.4	<i>Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Fourth Historical Period</i>	528
Table 10.5	<i>Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Fifth Historical Period</i>	532

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page	
Appendix A	Dimensions of the Life Tasks of the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model	627
Appendix B	Consent from Sol Plaatje Educational Trust	629
Appendix C	Permission to use the WoW model	630
Appendix D	Sol Plaatje Legacy: Post-humous Accolades and Awards	631

ABSTRACT

In recent years, interest in psychobiographical research has seen remarkable growth both internationally and nationally. The number of academically institutionalised psychobiographies conducted in South African universities have also increased significantly. South African psychologists may further be motivated by the country's political history to embark on the study of significant and exceptional figures who helped shape its history. A renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists might contribute to a deeper understanding of South Africa's troubled past by exploring these individuals' roles in the journey towards democracy. Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (1876-1932) was an enigmatic multilingual novelist, journalist and leading figure in South Africa's liberation history. He is best remembered as one of the founding members of the 1912 South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the present-day African National Congress (ANC). Sol Plaatje lived through times of tumultuous political change, yet he consistently demonstrated tenacity and resilience, often under very trying conditions. His legacy to South African history is widely recognized and his acumen and determination ensured that he became known for his intolerance of injustice and disempowerment of the disenfranchised.

Despite the wealth of information available on Sol Plaatje, none of the works provide an in-depth psychological perspective on his life. Therefore, he was selected as the subject for this psychobiographical study through purposive sampling, in order to provide a psychologically-driven exploration and description of aspects of his life, within his socio-historical context. This was achieved through the application of two specific psychological frameworks to the available biographical and historical data collected on Plaatje. The two frameworks employed in this study are (a) Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, and (b) the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) model for holistic wellness. Hence, the primary aim of this study was to

provide a psychologically-driven exploration and description of Plaatje's psychosocial development and his holistic wellness across his lifespan, within his socio-historical context.

The use of two methodological strategies in this study proved meaningful in the extraction and analysis of data. Firstly, five significant historical life periods were identified, and prominent salient themes in the collected data were extracted, organised and analysed according to Alexander's nine indicators of psychological saliency. In addition, to assist with the wealth of information available on Plaatje, the researcher posed specific questions to the data, which enabled the extraction of units of analysis relevant to the aim of the study. Secondly, the use of two conceptual matrices facilitated the analysis, categorisation, presentation and discussion of the stages of psychosocial development and the constructs of holistic wellness within the five historical periods identified on his life.

The eugraphic focus of the two frameworks utilised in this study allowed the researcher to uncover Plaatje's life history in terms of healthy development and holistic wellness. Findings from this study suggested that Plaatje successfully navigated all the psychosocial stages of development and attained all ego qualities as proposed by Erikson. He exemplified a case where certain stages were entered before their prescribed period, or where others were revisited or prolonged, depending on his interaction with his historical setting. Findings from this study also suggested that Plaatje achieved a relatively high degree of wellness in all the dimensions of the WoW model across his lifespan. The integrative, holistic approach of both psychological frameworks highlighted the impact of his political, cultural and historical environment on his psychosocial development and holistic wellness.

This study contributed to the body of knowledge on Plaatje and also served to demonstrate the value and relevance of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model for holistic wellness when applied to an individual life. Based on the application of these

psychological frameworks to this study, recommendations are made for future psychobiographical studies.

Keywords: Psychobiography, Sol Plaatje, psychosocial development, Erikson, holistic wellness, Wheel of Wellness model, Alexander.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 Chapter Preview

In this introductory chapter, the researcher presents the reader with a general orientation to this psychobiographical study. First, the primary aim is provided, followed by an outline of aspects such as the general problem statement, the psychobiographical subject, the psychobiographical approach, as well as the psychological frameworks selected and utilised for this study. The concept of reflexivity is also discussed. The chapter concludes with reflections of the researcher's personal journey throughout this study and a brief overview of all the chapters incorporated into this study.

1.2 Introduction and Aim of Research

Psychobiography aims to explore and describe the development, growth, creativity and productivity of distinguished, extraordinary and even controversial individuals such as renowned serial killers over their entire lifespan, within their socio-historical contexts and from a psychological frame of reference (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Gronn, 1993; Ponterotto, 2015a). This qualitative, longitudinal study, with its morphogenic perspective, employed a psychobiographical case study research design and methodology (Flick, 2006; Kóváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014a; Roberts, 2002; Runyan, 1984). The primary aim of this study was to provide a psychologically driven exploration and description of Sol Plaatje's life within the context of his socio-historical milieu. This aim was achieved by applying two psychological frameworks to the biographical and historical data collected on Sol Plaatje's life. These psychological

frameworks included: (a) Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) stage-based theory of psychosocial development; and (b) the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) model for holistic wellness (Myers, Sweeney, & Witmer, 2000; Sweeney & Witmer 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) situated within the Positive Psychology paradigm. Detailed discussions of the two psychological frameworks are provided in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. The study's primary aim, thus, was to explore and describe Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development and his holistic wellness throughout his entire lifespan and within his socio-historical milieu. This goal is said to fall within an inductive research approach (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2018) and reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of this study. In following this approach, the researcher conceptualised Sol Plaatje's life in terms of specific psychological constructs, which are introduced in the following section.

A secondary aim of this study was to assess the relevance and applicability of the two psychological frameworks applied to Sol Plaatje's life. This was made possible due to the inherent descriptive-dialogic quality of psychobiographical research within the deductive approach (Edwards, 1998). The intention was, however, not to generalise the findings to a larger population (Yin, 2018), which is why the research findings were compared solely to the proposed expected outcomes and constructs of the aforementioned psychological frameworks that were utilised in this study.

1.3 Context of the Research

This section includes the general problem statement, a brief introduction to the psychobiographical research subject, namely Sol Plaatje, as well as a brief description of psychobiography as a research approach. An outline of the two psychological frameworks which were used to guide the analysis of the data is also incorporated. Also, a brief overview of the concept of reflexivity is provided.

1.3.1 General Problem Statement

The 1990s saw “a renaissance of psychobiography” (Kőváry, 2011, p. 739), evidenced by more life history researchers who started to value psychobiography for its ability to address the components that were left unanswered by traditional biographical research. As psychobiography is regarded as a subdivision of psychohistory, it also focuses on psychological understandings of groups or individuals employing both psychological and historiographic methods (Ponterotto, 2014a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Thus, psychobiography can be regarded as a way of conducting both biography and psychology (Elms, 1994), which implies an intrinsically interdisciplinary characteristic of psychobiography (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; McAdams & Ochenberg, 1988). The established alliance between the two fields has resulted in reciprocal benefits, with psychology improving biography as much as biography improves psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché, Smit, Watson, & Van Niekerk, 2007; Runyan, 1988a).

The upsurge in both national and international interest in psychobiographical research continued into the new millennium and various researchers have advocated its value in advancing an understanding of the self and others (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2017b). The multitude of handbooks and articles published within the field of psychobiography in the past few decades confirm that it is a growing discipline that continues to attract attention (Barenbaum & Winter, 2013). A pioneer in the field of psychobiography, Professor Joseph Ponterotto, launched his own research programme in psychobiography in 2008 (Ponterotto, 2014b). His contributions incorporated valuable ethical guidelines for conducting psychobiographical research and has also promoted the value of psychobiography as a recognised research approach in psychology (Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014b).

Despite the increase in psychobiographical research, the approach has also been heavily criticised regarding its lack of generalisability (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b) and other methodological issues (Runyan, 1983, 1984). These issues, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Section 6.2, include, amongst others, subjectivity and researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences between the researcher and research subject, and analysis of an absent subject. Despite these criticisms, many South African universities, more specifically, supervisors and postgraduate students in various departments of Psychology, have recognised and pursued academically institutionalised psychobiographies with more vigour and enthusiasm, as reflected by the increasing number of psychobiographies completed as part of postgraduate degrees (Coetsee, 2017; Holz, 2014; Oosthuizen, 2018; Panelatti, 2018; Rust, 2019). Furthermore, several articles relevant to psychobiographical research have been published in the past few years, particularly in the *Journal of Psychology in Africa* (Fouché, 2015), which was edited by Professor Elias Mpofo. Similarly, in August 2018, the *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* published a special edition to explain the relationship between phenomenology and psychobiography (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). In August 2019, a book titled *New Trends in Psychobiography* was released internationally (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019). The book outlines psychobiography's outstanding contribution to psychology from 36 internationally reputable authors (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019).

South African psychologists may be motivated by the country's political history to embark on the study of significant and exceptional figures who helped shape its history. In post-apartheid South Africa, several psychobiographical studies have been conducted on the lives of those who actively contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle. These studies include Steve Biko (Kotton, 2002), Bram Fischer (Swart, 2010), Desmond Tutu (Eliastam, 2010), Beyers Naude (Burnell, 2013) and Helen Suzman (Nel, 2013). Similarly, the lives of apartheid-era

statesmen, such as Hendrik Verwoerd (Claasen, 2007) and B. J. Vorster (Vorster, 2003), have also been illuminated under the psychobiographical lens (Nel, 2013).

A renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists might contribute to a deeper understanding of South Africa's troubled past by exploring the individual roles they played in the journey towards democracy. The researcher, therefore, hopes that this study will add to the growing field of academic psychobiography in South Africa and that it will also highlight aspects of the life of one of the country's great human rights activists.

1.3.2 The Psychobiographical Subject

South African born Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (1876-1932) was a polyglot (i.e., fluent in at least seven languages), a translator, a journalist, a politician and a novelist (Midgeley, 1997; Mokaie, 2010). Despite his love for his family, he has been described as something of a nomad, who left his wife, Elizabeth, and his eldest son, St Leger (or Sainty), to shoulder most of the financial burdens at home (Willan, 1984, 2018). He spent many years away from home – mostly in Britain and the United States of America – spreading the news of the 1913 Natives' Land Act and its subsequent conditions on the African people living in South Africa (Willan, 2018). *Native Life in South Africa* was, in fact, also the title of his most famous political work, which exposed the ruinous effects of the 1913 Natives' Land Act that almost completely stripped Black South Africans of the right to own land (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). Plaatje emerged as one of the first African novelists to write in English and finally managed to publish his book *Mhudi* in 1930 after he had written it almost 10 years earlier (Plaatje, 1930a). In his other literary endeavours, he embraced Shakespeare and English, although he equally supported Setswana and his African culture (Limb, 2003). Plaatje's almost pathological urge to communicate and share his thoughts on paper is reflected in a seemingly excessive

demonstration of generativity, a construct rooted within adulthood in Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development (Burnell, Nel, Fouché, & Van Niekerk, 2019).

However, Plaatje is best remembered as one of the founders of the 1912 South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the present-day African National Congress (ANC) (Midgeley, 1997; South African History Online [SAHO], n.d.). Plaatje lived through times of tumultuous change in South Africa that also included the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 and the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Nearly 30 years after the country's democratic elections in 1994, long neglected dimensions of the historical experience of South Africa's Black majority have been rediscovered and memorialised in the form of, for example, erected statues of pioneers, revamped museums and renamed streets – an honour that has also been bestowed on Plaatje to reclaim his place in South African history (Willan, 2018). In 2004, Plaatje was saluted as a fighter for human rights and civil liberties when he was awarded the Order of Luthuli in Gold, South Africa's highest award (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). More recently, the Sol Plaatje Local Municipality, as well as the Sol Plaatje University that opened its doors in 2014, both based in Kimberley, were named in his honour (SAHO, n.d.).

In his foreword to the fourth edition of Plaatje's 1916 classic, *Native Life in South Africa*, Professor Neil Parsons from the University of Botswana described Plaatje as a true "renaissance man" (Plaatje, 1998, p. 5), further implying that Plaatje possessed qualities such as courage, resilience, tenacity and determination in the face of adversity. This study aimed to uncover and expose aspects of Sol Plaatje 'as a person' by exploring and describing his life through the application of two psychological frameworks, namely the theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model.

1.3.3 The Psychobiographical Approach

Psychobiography entails the qualitative analysis of a single case via an idiographic and longitudinal approach (Simonton, 1999). It has been defined as “the systematic use of psychological (particularly personality) theory to transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story” (McAdams & Ochenberg, 1988, p. 2) through which the researcher aims to make psychological sense of the research subject (Schultz, 2001b). It, therefore, provides the opportunity for an in-depth study and an enhanced understanding of an individual’s life through the application of psychological theory and/or research principles, methods and themes (Kramer, 2002; Schultz, 2001a, 2001b). This anchors psychobiographical studies within the social constructivist and interpretivist paradigms (Van Niekerk, 2007). Psychobiography has also been linked to the indirect assessment of a biographical subject in order to confirm certain hypotheses (Nel, 2013). Thus, it may permit the further development, refinement and testing of psychological theories (Runyan, 2005). Schultz (2005a) also stated that psychobiographies may lead to formal propositions that could eventually be verified against larger groups of people.

In this study, the life of Sol Plaatje is explored via two psychological frameworks, namely the theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model. This reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of the inductive approach (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2018) adopted in this study, as it entailed a novel, but comprehensive, exploration and ‘thick’ description (Denzin, 1989; Ponterotto, 2006) of the subject’s psychosocial development and holistic wellness. This study also provides an opportunity to informally assess the propositions and constructs of the two psychological frameworks applied to Plaatje’s life, which reflects the descriptive-dialogic nature of the deductive approach (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2018) adopted in this study, since it involves forming a dialogue between the psychobiographical research findings and the

theoretical propositions and constructs of the utilised frameworks (Chéze, 2009; Edwards, 1998; Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004).

The psychobiographical research approach is believed to have some irrefutable advantages for the discipline of psychology (Elms, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Kövary, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014a). In this study on the life of Sol Plaatje, these advantages comprised: (a) appreciating the uniqueness of Plaatje's case as a whole; (b) incorporating the socio-historical context of his life; (c) considering his subjective reality; (d) exploring processes and patterns across his lifespan; (e) assessing the relevance of two psychological frameworks applied to his life; and (f) integrating the research findings within the discipline of psychology. A detailed discussion of psychobiography as a research approach and its methodological considerations is provided in later chapters (see Section 1.5).

1.3.4 Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

Ponterotto (2017b) observed that mental health professionals utilise a range of theoretical frameworks when conducting psychobiographies. For this study, Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development was selected to explore and describe Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development as it: (a) offers sufficient structure for the morphogenic nature of psychobiography; (b) provides a theoretical basis that covers the entire lifespan; (c) is relevant to current research; and (d) allows for socio-historical explanations of development (Runyan, 1982).

Erikson's work expanded psychoanalytic concepts of psychosexual development to include the impact of genetic or biological, and environmental or social factors (Kivnick & Wells, 2013; Louw & Louw, 2014; Schultz & Schultz, 2017). According to his epigenetic principle, psychosocial development is predetermined and unfolds sequentially through eight stages across the lifespan (Erikson, 1997; Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986). At each stage, the

individual is confronted with the task of integrating unique opposing forces successfully in order to gain a specific ego strength or virtue (Erikson, 1997). Thus, as the individual navigates each stage successfully, this results in a new ego strength or virtue being added to the individual's ensemble of life-skills (Erikson, 1969). Even though Erikson (1950, 1963a, 1968) maintained that unsuccessful integration during early stages would negatively affect the individual's ability to resolve later crises, the dynamic nature of his theory does allow the individual to return to and rectify previously unresolved or negatively resolved stages at any time (Craig, 1996; Marcia, 2002).

Erikson's approach demonstrated the interplay between the individual and his or her social environment and stated that their constant, reciprocal influences are mediated by the synthesising power of the ego (Erikson et al., 1986; Kivnick & Wells, 2013; Watts, Cockcroft, & Duncan, 2009). Therefore, although Erikson described psychosocial development as unfolding across the lifespan, he did not stipulate fixed age ranges because of his belief that human development is influenced by biological maturation, as well as by broader environmental and social processes of the society within which the individual lives (Newman & Newman, 2012). Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development is said to be well-suited for psychobiographical research (Fouché, Louw, Naidoo, & Van Niekerk, 2018; Fouché, Nel, & Van Niekerk, 2014; Louw, 2017; Panelatti, 2018; Rust, 2019) and has been recommended for future use. A detailed explanation of this theoretical approach and its application to psychobiographical studies is found in Chapter 3.

1.3.5 Holistic Wellness and The WoW Model

Wellness and the universal pursuit of health, has become an accepted paradigm in the field of academic and professional psychology (Myers, 1991; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Peterson, 2000; Roscoe, 2009). The counselling profession, in particular, supports the promotion of

optimal health and wellness, which, in turn, has prompted the development of several assessment instruments and conceptual wellness models for counselling purposes (Adams, Bezner, & Steinhardt, 1997; Els & De la Rey, 2006; Hettler, 1984; Myers, 1991, 1992, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2007). One such model that was developed to conceptualise wellness as a multidimensional and synergistic construct is the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). For this study, the WoW model was selected to explore the research subject's holistic wellness across his lifespan.

The WoW model is a neo-Adlerian conceptualisation of several dimensions of the broad construct of wellness (Roscoe, 2009). The model's eugraphic focus allowed for an exploration of Sol Plaatje's holistic wellness from a Positive Psychology perspective (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The developers of the WoW model, Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) have incorporated components that were verified as having a direct link with health, quality of life or longevity. Thus, the WoW model has a multidisciplinary theoretical grounding (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Furthermore, in the WoW model, the five life tasks of neo-Adlerian Individual Psychology were used to organise the different components of wellness (Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2005a). These life tasks include: (a) spirituality; (b) self-direction; (c) work/leisure; (d) friendship; and (e) love (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). All five life tasks dynamically interact with various life forces either for the well-being or to the detriment of the individual (Sweeney, 2009). These life forces include: (a) family; (b) community; (c) media; (d) education; (e) religion; (f) business/industry; and (g) government (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). The WoW model also appreciates the impact of global events, such as war, disease, poverty, pollution, overpopulation and economic exploitation on the life tasks and life forces (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Therefore, the relevance and applicability of the WoW model in exploring Sol Plaatje's

psychological wellness are supported by the model's theoretical constructs that relate to optimal human functioning and well-being. A detailed explanation of this theoretical model and its application to psychobiographical studies is found in Chapter 4.

1.3.6 Reflexivity

In qualitative research, a certain degree of researcher bias or subjectivity is considered to be an integral and unavoidable part of the research process (Dodgson, 2019; Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). It is, therefore, imperative that researchers manage their subjectivity effectively in order to minimise the negative effects thereof on the research process (Morrow, 2005). Qualitative researchers are urged to approach their research reflexively and ambivalently in order to address possible biases and assumptions which may stem from personal life experiences or from emotionally-laden interactions with research subjects over extended periods of time (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Morrow, 2005; Schultz, 2005a; Stroud, 2004). Reflexivity has been defined as:

Turning of the researcher lens onto oneself to recognise and take responsibility for one's own situatedness within the research and the effect that it may have on the setting and people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation. (Berger, 2015, p. 220)

Simply put, it highlights the researcher's personal motivations and recognises the collaborative role of both the researcher and the research subject in the construction of meaning (Dodgson, 2019; Kóváry, 2011; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Willig, 2008, 2013). The reflexivity construct originates from qualitative research methods rooted in the constructivist-interpretivist epistemology (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017) and is a process that requires critical reflection on oneself as a researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 2008).

Ponterotto (2014b) noted that in some instances, the subject is seen as a role model or hero to the researcher, while in other instances, the subject may represent a deep mystery to the researcher, who is then determined to unveil that life mystery. Therefore, the researcher needs to reflect on how his or her own values, interests, life experiences, beliefs, environment, political views and any other unspoken agendas may have shaped the research. According to Willig (2013), it is equally important for the researcher to reflect on how writing the life story of an eminent individual may have affected, and possibly changed, the researcher in his or her personal capacity. In order to critically reflect on the self as a researcher (which is explored in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7), the researcher's personal motivations for undertaking this research project on Sol Plaatje are highlighted in the next section.

1.4 The Researcher's Personal Journey

When the researcher was first introduced to the field of psychobiographical research, the qualitative, in-depth and investigative nature of the approach immediately appealed to the researcher. The opportunity to conduct qualitative research on a single, significant individual in order to gain an in-depth understanding of that individual's personality, motivations, experiences and behaviour, resonated with the researcher's role as a psychotherapist. Psychobiography thus provided the researcher with a platform to act as researcher, journalist and biographer of sort, while also contributing to the field of psychology. The researcher also has a keen interest in South African history and understanding how certain individuals manage to maintain high levels of psychological wellness, resilience and perseverance amidst great adversity. Furthermore, the researcher is interested in individuals who can maintain a sense of personal integrity and make positive contributions to their society, despite the personal cost. The psychobiographical approach further complemented the researcher's desire to better understand a life of prominent historical significance from a psychological vantage point.

Sol Plaatje was selected as the psychobiographical subject because of: (a) the significant amount of information available on his life; (b) the relevance and applicability of his life in relation to the psychological frameworks used in this study; and (c) the value of studying exemplary and extraordinary individuals. These aspects are discussed in more detail in Section 7.3. Prior to embarking on this research journey, the researcher had limited knowledge of Sol Plaatje's personal life story, which the researcher considered an advantage since it reduced the likelihood of subjectivity or researcher bias. This consideration is discussed further in Section 6.2.1. Furthermore, the researcher was intrigued by the significance of Plaatje's role during the formative years of the current ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) and the contributions he made towards the anti-apartheid struggle. An overwhelming amount of the available biographical data on Plaatje's life had a very specific focus on his political persona, although the researcher felt that it was unjustified to disregard the complexity of his nature, as well as the impact his socio-historical context had on his development and overall functioning. It was, therefore, important to the researcher to methodically extract threads of life history data in order to reconstruct a narrative that is representative of Plaatje as a whole and to also highlight the other roles he embodied – that of husband, father, son, brother, Christian, teacher and linguist who became one of the first Black South Africans to write in English. Numerous sources containing biographical information were incorporated in order to triangulate the collected data before it was analysed. The researcher also conducted an extensive literature study regarding the political, social, historical and cultural milieu in which Plaatje lived in order to gain a better understanding thereof. Although exploring South Africa's troubled past was a sobering and emotional task, it did highlight the magnitude of all the contributions made by individuals who fought for equality and justice under harrowing circumstances. These individuals seemed to share similar moral and personal convictions and a clear vision for a democratic society.

Simonton (1999) suggested that Positive Psychology benefits substantially from studies of extraordinary or eminent individuals who display positive traits such as creativity, charisma, talent, morality, spirituality or wisdom, which, according to Van Niekerk (2007), overlaps significantly with the goals of psychobiographical research. The data on Sol Plaatje's life made the researcher aware that his life was characterised by qualities that indicate optimal human functioning such as tenacity, efficiency, creativity and goal-directed behaviour. The desire to better understand the origins and dynamics of his exemplary qualities prompted the researcher to choose him as a psychobiographical subject. A final reflection on the researcher's personal reaction to the research subject throughout this study is provided in Chapter 11, Section 11.7.

1.5 Overview of the Study

This psychobiographical study consists of 11 chapters. The current chapter provides the reader with an introduction and a preview of what will follow. Chapters 2 to 5 comprise the literature review of the study. A comprehensive, biographical account of the salient socio-historical events in Sol Plaatje's life is presented in Chapter 2. This is followed by a discussion on Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development in Chapter 3, while Chapter 4 presents holistic wellness and the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Chapter 5 concludes the literature review chapters with a theoretical overview of psychobiographical research.

Chapters 6 and 7 describe the methodological aspects of this study. A detailed discussion of the preliminary methodological considerations and challenges inherent to psychobiographical research is provided in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 focuses on the research design and methodology as it applied to this study.

In Chapters 8, 9 and 10, the research findings and the discussion thereof are presented. Chapter 8 is dedicated to the discussion of the research findings pertaining to the psychosocial

development of Sol Plaatje. In Chapter 9, the research findings related to the holistic wellness of Sol Plaatje are discussed. Chapter 10 follows with an integration of the research findings, along with a discussion concerning the similarities and the differences between the two psychological frameworks employed in this study. Chapter 11 concludes the study and provides a discussion on the value and limitations of the study, as well as recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with a personal reflection on the researcher's journey regarding this study on Sol Plaatje.

1.6 Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter offered the reader a general orientation to the research study by outlining the research aim, the rationale and the problem statement. An outline of the research subject, the psychobiographical approach, as well as the psychological frameworks selected for this study, were included. A brief discussion of the concept of reflexivity was also provided. The researcher's personal journey regarding this study was expressed before the chapter concluded with a broad outline of all the chapters to follow. A comprehensive account of the salient socio-historical events in Sol Plaatje's life is presented next.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE OF SOLOMON T. PLAATJE: A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter serves to provide a detailed historical overview of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje, with a presentation of his life over five historical periods ranging from his birth in 1876 until his death in 1932. The chapter includes a description of the socio-historical context within which he lived, followed by a comprehensive account of the biographical literature available on Plaatje's life. The chapter concludes with a few highlights of the numerous accolades and awards that were bestowed on him posthumously.

2.2 The Context: Pre-Apartheid

In the 1800s, British and European missionaries travelled throughout South Africa, spreading Western culture and the Christian faith (Willan, 2018). Afrikaners, descendants from Dutch, French and German immigrants, initially settling in the Cape Colony, developed their own culture and language, namely Afrikaans, despite the British proclaiming English as the only language within the colony (Ramoroka, 2009). The Afrikaners migrated into the present-day Free State region and established their own independent Boer Republics (or White Afrikaner nation) of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State colonies. The Boer Republics attempted to invade Bechuanaland (better known today as the independent Republic of Botswana), but the Barolong chiefs, the African leaders of Bechuanaland who were regarded as kings back then, had the area declared as a British Protectorate state and therefore managed to retain control over their area (Ramoroka, 2009). The royal Barolong, a Batswana name for the tribe's Setswana-speaking members, comprised of a number of different estranged clans. The Plaatje family traces its origins to one of these clans, namely the chiefdom of King

Modiboa (Molema, 2012; Ramoroka, 2009). Rival attacks on the fragmented Barolong clans in the early 1900s left them outnumbered and forced many, including Plaatje's paternal grandfather, to the safety of the European mission stations (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

The discovery of diamonds and gold on the South African Witwatersrand in the 1870s and 1880s and the self-regarded superiority amongst the Afrikaners led to land and labour disputes with the British and eventually culminated into the Anglo-Boer war in 1899 (Mettler, 2016). Post-war, in 1902, the Afrikaner Boers signed over their independence to the British via the Treaty of Vereeniging. Continued post-war peace negotiations between the British and the Boers produced a unitary government that effectively became the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910 (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 1984, 2018). The new Union government institutionalised several segregation laws that violated the human rights and dignity of non-White South Africans (Mettler, 2016). These segregation laws included: 1) the Native Land Act of 1913, which forced non-White South Africans off their rightfully owned land and confined them to 'Scheduled Native areas'; 2) the Colour Bar Act of 1926 that prohibited non-whites from entering skilled occupations and evidently reduced their income for unskilled work; and 3) the abolishment of the non-racial Cape franchise in 1929 which deprived non-whites from their constitutional right to vote (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 1984, 2018). The International Socialist League was the first non-racial organisation in South Africa and aimed to accomplish ideological-intellectual and political reformation (Kotze, 1974). The South African National Native Congress (SANNC), the original name for today's ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), had similar expectations and aspirations (Gerhart & Karis, 1977). The socio-economic and political laws of this era gave rise to the era of apartheid, a racially discriminatory system that today still holds many negative effects for various groups in post-apartheid South Africa (Mettler, 2016).

2.3 Historical Periods in the Life of Solomon T. Plaatje

The comprehensive searches conducted on the life of Solomon T. Plaatje (hereafter referred to as Plaatje) made use of the library services of the University of the Free State (UFS), Bloemfontein, South Africa, in order to access databases such as EBSCOHost and Research Gate, as well as the worldwide web. Unpublished archival information retained by the Sol Plaatje Educational Trust and the Sol Plaatje Museum and Library, both based in Kimberley, Northern Cape Province, South Africa, was accessed and consulted with the relevant consent obtained. The collection of biographical data used in this study include both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included a wide range of newspaper articles, books, speeches and extracts from letters that Plaatje wrote himself. His 1916 classic, *Native life in South Africa* and *Mafeking diary* written during the Anglo-Boer war provided valuable personal information. Secondary sources included written biographical accounts (e.g., Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010, 2012; Molema, 2012; Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018), as well as audio-visual documentaries (e.g. Couzens, 2001; Couzens & Willan, 1979). The biographies written by Molema (2012) and Willan (1984, 2018) were of particular value due to it being based on the information sourced from individuals who had personal contact with Plaatje. Willan's (2018) revised version of his original 1984 biography provided substantial archival information obtained from the collection, *The Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje Papers*, housed at Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand. For purposes of this psychobiography, the life of Plaatje is presented over five historical periods. These periods were identified in relation to the presence of salient characteristics, events and influences that impacted his life. The following five subsections include an exploration of the biographical data relevant to each of these historical periods.

2.3.1 *The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)*

Plaatje was born on 9 October 1876 on a farm at Doornfontein in the Boshoff district in the Free State Province, South Africa (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Shortly after his birth, Plaatje's parents, Johannes and Martha, moved to a mission station at Pniel, near the town Kimberley in the Cape Colony (today known as the Northern Cape Province) (Midgeley, 1997). Here they worked for the German missionaries in charge of the Berlin Missionary Society¹ based there (Schoeman, 1991). Living on a mission station served as proper protection against the worst excesses of the colonial administration of the day (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje's parents were devout Lutheran Christians and eventually had a total of nine sons (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010). Simon was their eldest, followed by Andrew, Samuel, Moses, Elias, Plaatje, Joshua, Ramokoto (or Johannes Daniel) and Monnapula (or James) (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's mother Martha decided to name Plaatje after Solomon, the wise Biblical king, as she believed that Plaatje too, would become a wise man one day (Molema, 2012). The Christian name, Solomon, means *Salomo* in its German form and the Setswana name, *Tshekisho*, translated as *judgement*, which is a reminder of one of King Solomon's biblical attributes (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's second name choice may have symbolised his mother's acceptance of God's will and judgement in granting her another boy rather than the girl she wished for, but in later years, Martha Bokako (Plaatje's niece), recalled that the name actually emphasised Martha Plaatje's repentance at having sought to anticipate God's will (Willan, 2018). On 14 January 1877, at

¹The Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) was a German Protestant (Old Lutheran) Christian missionary society that supported work in South Africa, China and East Africa. They established the Pniel mission station on the Vaal River between modern Barkly-West and Kimberley, South Africa, in 1845. The BMS emphasised spiritual inwardness and puritanical values such as morality, hard work and self-discipline (Schoeman, 1985).

four months old, Plaatje was baptised by Karl Wuras, a senior German missionary at the Berlin Society's older mission station at Bethanie, several kilometres away from Pniel (Schoeman, 1991; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's parents had lived at Bethanie for a long time before relocating to Pniel, thus it was understandable for them to share this occasion with old friends and family there (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

As mentioned, Pniel was ideally situated close to Kimberley and its diamond fields and visitors were often in awe of the great fertile stretch of land with its exceptional natural beauty and wealth of flora (Leflaive, 2014; Williams, 1902). The primary mission buildings, the church, school and missionaries' houses, lay on the banks of the Vaal river, just high enough to escape the occasional floods (Couzens, 2001; Willan, 1984; 2018). At one point, the river flooded the surrounding areas and the Plaatje family shared in the benefits of a temporary but very lucrative milk-delivery business to owners of wagons stuck in the nearby valleys (Duminy & Sabatini, 2011; Plaatje, 1916b). Education, hard work and Christian traditions were fundamental and the residents' work ethic, diligence, impeccable behaviour and dress code markedly distinguished them from the residents of the neighbouring villages (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Important aspects of religious worship included bible study, praying, the singing of hymns and regular church attendance (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). These were values that also guided the Plaatje household (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003). Listening to the hymns at church is something that Plaatje found particularly enjoyable and relaxing (Willan, 2018). He also formed a deep affection to the books used for religious worship, in particular, the Setswana prayer-book and Bible, which most likely laid the foundation for the efforts he devoted towards the translation of hymns in later years (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Plaatje and his family lived in a large thatched-roof house on the mission estate that became known as ‘Plaatje’s Heights’². They prospered from the sale of their livestock and vegetables and wood for use as fuel, in the nearby towns of Kimberley and Barkly West (Couzens, 2001; Molema, 2012). The mission received part of the proceeds in return for the right to live there and to graze their livestock (Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s father, Johannes and his eldest brother, Simon’s respective involvement in the church as deacon and elder also elevated the family’s status as the two men often acted as intermediaries between the German missionaries and the Black residents (Willan, 2018). For a number of years, both Johannes and Simon’s names regularly appeared on the list of attendees for the monthly church council meetings (Willan, 1984, 2018). Johannes was often asked to chair these meetings and it became customary for him to also close the meetings off in prayer (Willan, 2018). An inscription in the family’s own prayer book, dated 30 October 1881, documented the drowning in the Vaal river of six-year-old Joshua, one of Plaatje’s elder brothers (Willan, 2018), although little else is known about this incident.

Evidence suggests that the young Plaatje had a particularly close relationship with his mother, strengthened through mutual interests in reading and languages (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018). In later years he referred fondly to her as his ‘moral compass’ (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). He also felt great admiration for his paternal grandmother, ‘*Au Magritte*’ and his two aunts who often shared valuable stories with him about the family’s ancestry (Molema, 2012). Amongst these stories was a collection of parables and proverbs that conveyed the wisdom of the Batswana people, which impacted Plaatje significantly and he later reflected:

²It earned the name due to its location on the edge of the estate, at the foot of a ridge close to the main road from Kimberley (Couzens, 2001; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

The best Sechuana (Setswana) speakers known to me, owe their knowledge to the teachings of a grandmother, or a mother, just as I myself. . . am indebted to the teachings of my mother and two aunts (Molema, 2012, p. 16).

The mission station accommodated a diverse number of cultures (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997), thus from a young age, Plaatje had formed close relationships with and was able to converse in the mother tongues of his friends from Herero³ or Koranna⁴ origin (Rall, 2003). His curiosity and enthusiasm for knowledge were evident from the age of five when he mastered reading and writing in Setswana (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Not long after he formally started attending the small mission school, his teachers labelled him as a well above average learner with an “astounding memory” (Molema, 2012, p. 20) – seemingly, an attribute he had inherited from his mother. By the age of seven, Plaatje had mastered storytelling and captivated many listeners around the evening fire by recounting events he had witnessed, heard or read about (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Around this same age, he also started herding goats and cattle for the family, a customary tradition amongst children of Batswanas in the formation of their African identity (Molema, 2012) that Plaatje later referred to it as “the occupation most honoured among the Bechuana” (Batswanas) (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 7).

Shortly after Plaatje had started school, his father volunteered to manage a newly established Berlin mission station, called Majeakgoro, approximately 100 kilometres away from Pniel (Lunderstedt, 2014; Mokae, 2010). Johannes was keen to take his entire family with him, but

³ Also known as Ovaherero, the Herero are an ethnic group that speak Otjiherero, which is an African language (Cocker, 2001; Fage, 2002).

⁴ The Griqua people are sometimes incorrectly referred to as *Koranna*. They are a subgroup of South African, Afrikaans-speaking heterogeneous and multiracial ‘Coloured’ people, who have a unique origin in the early history of the Cape Colony. Coloured people have ancestry from a combination of ethnicities, therefore, different families or individuals within the same family may have a variety of different physical features (Morris, 1997; Penn, 2005).

he was unable to persuade his eldest son Simon (nearly 22 years Plaatje's senior), whom now had a family of his own and who had no desire to leave Pniel (Willan, 1984; 2018). The family split when Simon chose to take Plaatje under his care and remain at Pniel, resulting in the two brothers only seeing their parents and other siblings – who had all relocated to Majeakgoro – only every several months (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). Plaatje had to adjust to the absence of both his primary caregivers, especially his mother, as well as to the newly enforced 'parental' rules and boundaries set by Simon and his wife (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Simon's daughter, the six-year-old Lydia, was left as the closest relative to Plaatje in age (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). For a while, the situation caused a rift within the entire Plaatje family when Martha blamed her husband for preventing her other children from attending school at Pniel (Willan, 2018). Nonetheless, Johannes continued his duties as deacon of the mission community at Majeakgoro and occasionally visited Simon and Plaatje when he travelled to Pniel to attend meetings of the church council (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

During this time, Plaatje developed a close relationship with Simon, adjusted well to the new circumstances at home and excelled at school (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). He walked to and from school every day, which was a distance of about 6.5 kilometres from Simon's house (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). At school, Plaatje formed a close relationship with the man who was to become, outside his immediate family, the single most important person in this period of his life: teacher and German missionary, Ernst Westphal (Leflaive, 2014; Mokae, 2010, Willan, 1984). Although Reverend Westphal was a strict man, his teaching style demonstrated discipline and fairness and instilled within his learners, several values such as dedication, punctuality and conscientiousness (Van Wyk, 2003; Willan, 2018). Westphal became a father-like figure to Plaatje and affectionately called him "kleine Salomo Plaatje" (Willan, 2018, p. 3) He was intrigued by Plaatje's academic ability, curiosity and "exceptional facility with languages" (Willan, 2018, p. 27) and regarded him as the most talented child at

the mission school, as did others (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Westphal's appreciation of Plaatje's intellect contributed to the strong bond that developed between them. Later on, Plaatje often accompanied Westphal on his work visits to Majeakgoro where he visited his own family; these journeys typically included Plaatje's amusing and entertaining stories (Willan, 2018).

Meanwhile, Plaatje's chores at home included herding goats and cattle and assisting Simon with the horses, sheep and planting of crops and vegetables (Couzens, 2001; Willan, 1984, 2018). At the age of nine, Plaatje started working as a herdsboy for a shrewd Dutch farmer (Molema, 2012), who habitually slaughtered his own livestock in secret, but accused his workers of theft and deducted the value of the 'stolen' livestock from their salaries (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Plaatje, however, diligently kept a record of all the livestock that was taken by carving a nick into his herder's stick, an action that protected him from retribution and secured his wages (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). In addition, he worked as a groom and herdsboy at the Bend Hotel⁵ near Pniel (Lunderstedt, 2014).

The mission school at Pniel offered Plaatje an elementary education up to the level of Standard 3, known today as Grade 5 (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997), which meant that pupils generally left the mission school well before the age of 14 (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). At the age of 14, when Plaatje completed this formal schooling, he was employed as a student teacher at the mission school and worked there for about two years (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). Student teachers provided an inexpensive means of resolving the acute shortage of properly qualified teachers, although for somebody in Plaatje's position, the advantages that came with being a student teacher allowed him to quench his thirst for education (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

⁵ The Bend Hotel was a well-known stop next to the Vaal river on the Barkly West-Kimberley road. (Retrieved from <http://www.kimberley.org.za>)

Young Plaatje was popular with the children he taught and he captivated them with his stories (Molema, 2012). Most of these children were of Setswana or Koranna origin, but from time to time several of the missionaries' children (the only White learners at the school) also sat in his classroom (Willan, 1984, 2018). Reverend Westphal's son, Gotthardt, years later recalled that it was Plaatje, the 'monitor' who had first taught him the alphabet in the classroom at Pniel (Willan, 2018). After school, Plaatje often read the missionary newspaper to a small audience of elderly men at Pniel (Lunderstedt, 2014), which, in hindsight, might have been a microcosmic representation of the far wider role he assumed in his future journalistic career: "How little did the writer dream...that journalism will afterwards mean his bread and cheese" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 5). Physical activities were limited to exploring life on the estate as the German missionaries regarded competitive games and the playing of sport an entirely inappropriate form of acculturation (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018).

During these formative years, Plaatje developed a love for financial independence, which is exactly what eluded him throughout most of his adult life (Leflaive, 2014; Limb, 2003). At Pniel, Simon attended to his younger brother's financial needs and he evidently never needed to spend his own money (Willan, 2018). Their parents, however, were less settled, as Johannes had relocated again after only a few years at Majeakgoro, taking Plaatje's two youngest brothers, Ramokoto and Monnapula, with him when he moved to an area called Ditlarapeng, which was known as prime grazing land in the Mafeking district (Molema, 2012). Those days Ditlarapeng belonged to Barolong chief Joshua Molema, who provided Johannes with a grazing area for his cattle and other livestock (Molema, 2012; Ramoroka, 2009; Willan, 2018). Limited information regarding the whereabouts of Plaatje's mother and other immediate family members was found in the literature, and it is thus assumed that they remained at Majeakgoro. This assumption is confirmed by Willan (2018) who stated that Martha had travelled from 'Majeakgoro to Pniel' with her other son, Elias, when he and Plaatje completed their

confirmation classes and were formally accepted into the Lutheran faith by Reverend Westphal on 6 June 1892. Sadly, Elias died of a fever at Majeakgoro in September 1893 and Simon arranged for his body to be buried at Pniel (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984; 2018).

At school, Plaatje's ambition and appetite for learning earned him additional private tuition from Reverend Westphal and his wife, Marie, at their home (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The Westphal's daughter, Erna, recalled years later that Plaatje himself had approached her mother and told her: "I want to be able to talk English and Dutch and German as you do" (Willan, 1984, p. 21). He was confident in his ability to do so (De Villiers, 2000; Willan, 2018). The Westphals nurtured Plaatje's young mind and firmly believed in providing him with a good education (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Marie Westphal gave most of the lessons herself, especially when her husband's duties in the running of the mission increased; she introduced Plaatje to English literature, and more specifically, Shakespeare (who eventually became his all-time favourite author) and she taught him how to speak and write English, Dutch, as well as German (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Seddon, 2004). He soon became fluent in other South African languages too, including Sesotho and Zulu (Lunderstedt, 2014). Marie Westphal also cultivated Plaatje's natural musical talent and taught him to play the piano, violin and even trained his singing voice (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), which was valuable 'leisure' activities during this historical period that proved very useful sources of income in later historical periods, particularly on his travels abroad (Midgeley, 1997). The violin held a certain status in European musical culture in those years and could be indicative of Plaatje's wider potential (Willan, 2018).

Overall, the Westphals treated him as one of their own children and he often stayed over at their home (Molema, 2012). Their ultimate goal was for Plaatje to pursue a university education at the Lovedale Educational Institute in the Eastern Cape Province (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). When it was established in 1841 (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012), Lovedale had

originally been a missionary school but grew into the only place in South Africa where Africans were afforded some kind of university education (Molema, 1920; Stewart, 1887). Unfortunately, Plaatje's father's refusal to pay for his studies (despite being able to do so) sparked his decision to move to Kimberley in 1894 where, at the age of 17, he found a job as a messenger in the town's Post Office, which was well-known for employing mission-educated Africans (Couzens, 2000; Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984). No further details regarding Johannes' unwillingness to assist his son were found in the literature.

Plaatje's decision to leave Pniel was met with mixed emotions and everyone, including the Westphals, feared that he might become consumed by the temptations of life in the city, especially after since he had a sheltered upbringing on the mission station (Midgeley, 1997, Willan, 2018). Nevertheless, Reverend Westphal supported Plaatje's ambition and provided him with a commendable testimonial letter that accompanied his job application (Willan, 1984, 2018).

2.3.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

During the 1890s, Kimberley was dominated by one big corporation, namely De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited, driven by its founder, Cecil Rhodes (Duminy & Sabatini, 2011). The town accommodated many people from different nationalities due to the influx of foreigners and migrants after the discovery of diamonds on the nearby mine (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). Many of the White people who had previously worked on this mine were replaced by African migrant labourers from outside the Cape Colony, as they were willing to work for less remuneration and generally better able to cope with the harsh living conditions of the tightly guarded compounds that De Beers provided (Roberts, 1976; Willan, 2018). Government employment, on the other hand, was a highly regarded avenue of advancement and official recognition due to its place in colonial society (Stewart, 1887). Though many of

the positions in government available to Africans were at the lowest levels, the expectation was that over time, the acquired experience in conjunction with other additional qualifications would facilitate promotion (Willan, 2018). Many White workers snubbed the government position (Stewart, 1887) that Plaatje accepted, namely that of messenger (or courier) at the Kimberley Post Office (Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003), although a reasonable degree of literacy was still necessary to ensure efficient delivery of letters and telegrams (Willan, 2018).

On 1 March 1894, Plaatje officially started his job (Comaroff, Willan, Molema, & Reed, 1999; Mokaë, 2010; Van Wyk, 2003; Willan, 1984). His positive attitude soon earned him a reputation as a “speedy, industrious and energetic messenger, knowledgeable about his work and impeccably well-mannered” (Molema, 2012, p. 22). He proved to be a very hardworking, popular employee and was well-liked by colleagues and friends (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). He enjoyed his work because of the knowledge he acquired and later described the Post Office as his ‘educational institution’, where ‘no-one was too humble or too young to teach him something’ (Comaroff et al. 1999; Molema, 2012). In a short time, Plaatje was so competent in his job that he was promoted to being a special letter carrier, which was a better paid position with a higher degree of responsibility (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). The promotion occurred around mid-year 1895, more or less the same time that Reverend Westphal came to visit Plaatje in Kimberley (Willan, 2018). Plaatje was as accustomed to working under strict discipline and pressure as his colleagues and, therefore, such working conditions were hardly problematic (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). With this reassurance, Reverend Westphal returned to Pniel with a light heart (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Shortly after his arrival in Kimberley, Plaatje met a man of Fengu⁶ descent called Isaiah Bud-M'belle (seven years his senior) who later became his brother-in-law (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003). Their paths crossed when Plaatje was delivering yet another telegram to Isaiah's office (Willan, 2018). Despite the age difference, the two friends shared similar Christian values and career ambitions (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 1984, 2018). Isaiah received his secondary education at a missionary institute in the Eastern Cape Province and worked as a teacher for a few years while he prepared to write the Cape Civil Service examinations⁷ (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). His outstanding performance in these examinations at the end of 1892 not only catapulted Isaiah into higher paid permanent employment as a court interpreter and clerk (Willan, 1984) but also elevated his status as the first African to ever pass these examinations successfully (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). His friendship with Isaiah integrated Plaatje with the African mission-educated community staying in the Malay⁸ Camp, which was a racially mixed residential area with gambling rooms, bars, dance halls, mosques and Christian churches near the centre of town (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Though it was sometimes overcrowded and disorderly, the Malay Camp was a vibrant, cosmopolitan hub where people had the freedom to do as they pleased (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984).

According to Willan (2018), it is assumed that Plaatje had initially stayed with his brother, Samuel, who was working for a shoe retailer in town but had moved out to join Isaiah at a

⁶ Fengu, also known as Mfengus in Xhosa, the African language which they speak, lived in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Originally they were closely to the Zulu people, but are considered to have assimilated to the Xhosa people (Stapleton, 1996; Vail, 1991).

⁷ Entry examinations required for admission to work in government service, open to all (Willan, 2018).

⁸ Named after its inhabitants who were originally from Malaysia and Indonesia. Malay artisans arrived from Cape Town in the 1870s and have a history similar to Cape Town's District Six. The Malay Camp was subject to forced 'slums clearance' after the owner of the land donated the area to the Kimberley Municipality in 1939. Most of the houses, churches, mosques, shops and other buildings were demolished, making way for today's Kimberley's Civic Centre. (Retrieved from www.kimberley.co.za/places/kimberley/free/malay-camp)

boarding house within the Malay Camp. No other information regarding the details of Plaatje's stay with Samuel or the nature of their relationship was available in the literature. Since the High Court and magistrate's building, as well as the Post Office, were no more than a few minutes' walk from the Malay Camp, it was a convenient arrangement for both men (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). The members of the African mission-educated community in town were committed Christians and churchgoers from diverse backgrounds and keen supporters of the institutions of the Cape Colony, particularly the non-racial franchise⁹ and its equal judicial system (Leflaive, 2014). To Plaatje and his friends, the very existence of such institutionalised rights represented a vision of a common society of equal treatment and inclusion and thus rendered them loyal supporters of the British Imperial government (Willan, 1984, 2018). The group shared similar beliefs of progress, "improvement" and individual advancement through education and hard work (Comaroff et al., 1999, p. 10).

The community had great respect for African ministers and court interpreters, such as Isaiah, as their positions signified invaluable contributions to the institutional life of the colony (Willan, 2018). It was assumed that court interpreters, in particular, provided access to the judicial system that could realise the dream of equal treatment to all (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). This notion, as well as bearing witness to the financial benefits that being a court interpreter brought, must have inspired Plaatje's eventual decision to pursue a career in law (Willan, 2018).

In June 1895, Plaatje joined the South African Improvement Society (SAIS) that helped Africans cultivate and master the English language (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He shared the society's vision, namely without good English, employment, 'improvement' and 'progress' would remain impossible (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje attended several social

⁹ This non-racial Cape Colonial Constitution of 1883 provided equal voting rights to men of all races (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

gatherings such as debates, play readings, talks and musical evenings, which the SAIS and other organisations in town held (Comaroff et al., 1999; Lunderstedt, 2014). The SAIS members met fortnightly and worked hard to help each other (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003). Plaatje was actively involved in familiarising the younger members in particular, with the finer points of the English language, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of other aspects of European 'civilised life' (Willan, 1984, 2018). An example of the latter is reflected when his chosen topic for debate, '*Is insurance a proper provision for life?*', made such an impression that many members ended up making related proposals to their respective company unions (Willan, 2018). Furthermore, Plaatje's affiliation with the SAIS allowed him to improve his own literary skills and since he already possessed a natural talent for languages, he was soon fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa, German and Sesotho (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). These proficiencies undoubtedly improved his job prospects (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012).

Through the SAIS, he also formed a friendship with Patrick Lenkoane, whom Plaatje later jokingly referred to as the 'humorous Black Irishman' and whose funny stories were labelled '*Lenkoanics*' among the members of the SAIS (Willan, 2018, p. 52). The blend of humour and self-confidence often displayed at this society's meetings reflected the members' underlying optimism and Plaatje later also made these positive qualities his own (Willan, 2018). In addition to the SAIS, Plaatje became involved in church fundraising campaigns and was elected secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1896 (Midgeley, 1997). In fact, Plaatje's earliest written letter to have survived is written under the auspices of the YMCA and is signed 'Your humble servant, Sol T. Plaatje' (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). He also joined the local Philharmonic Society and enjoyed singing in its choir and performing in other musical concerts in town (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). These concerts were mostly held in churches, and on occasion, the town hall, which was open for hire to all (Willan, 1984, 2018).

During a ‘Grand Vocal Concert’ held in the town hall on 22 July 1896, Plaatje sang a solo (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Earlier that year, he played the harmonium¹⁰ during a fundraising concert for the church that took place in the Malay Camp (Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s election as secretary to the Kimberley Eccentrics Cricket club in September 1896 epitomised the extent of his sporting career, despite cricket being particularly popular in Kimberley and among Africans in areas elsewhere (Willan, 1984, 2018). Isaiah was the captain of the Eccentrics Cricket club and regular fixtures between it and the other African team were eagerly anticipated on the social as well as the sporting calendar (Willan, 1982). However, sport was one domain in which Plaatje did not feel confident, not only owing to his childhood upbringing but because of his physique (he was short, skinny and had thin, delicate fingers) (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). Plaatje preferred activities such as horse-riding and in later years, hunting (activities not quite suited to Kimberley or understood by his peers) (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Although racist sentiments surfaced from time to time, Kimberley was more liberal than most towns in the Cape Colony and it provided opportunities to experience a broad range of musical entertainment (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). The town was also large enough to entice a variety of visiting companies such as the Virginia Jubilee Singers, an African American musical company which toured South Africa in the early 1890s (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Their music was popular among Black and White citizens alike due to their inspiring message of education, opportunity and advancement (Erlmann, 1991). Plaatje’s sociable manner made him very popular and it was during this historical period that he saw his first Shakespearian play, *Hamlet*, performed on stage at the local theatre (Midgeley, 1997;

¹⁰ A foot-pumped, organ-like keyboard instrument whereby the player presses two pedals with his or her feet, one at a time. This is joined to a mechanism which makes a sound by blowing air through small metal reeds, which are tuned to different pitches to make musical notes. Both of the player’s hands are thus free to play the keyboard (Sadie & Tyrrell, 2004).

Willan, 2018). This experience made him “curious to know more about Shakespeare and his works” (Willan, 1996, p. 210). The *Merchant of Venice* was the first of Shakespeare’s plays he had read and he was amazed at the playwright’s ability to transcend different contexts:

The characters were so realistic that I was asked more than once to which of certain speculators, then operating around Kimberley, Shakespeare referred to as ‘Shylock’. All of this gave me an appetite for more Shakespeare, and I found that many of the current quotations used by educated natives to embellish their speeches, which I had always taken for English proverbs, were culled from Shakespeare’s works (Willan, 1996, pp. 211-212).

Few of his friends shared his fascination with drama, nor his enthusiasm for Shakespeare (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The British travelling company performed numerous other Shakespearian plays in Kimberley during 1896 and 1897 such as *Othello*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Merchant of Venice* and *Taming of the Shrew*, and was pleased by the appeal that Shakespeare had on its local audiences (Foulkes, 2002; Willan, 2018). As an African, Plaatje saw no reason why Shakespeare should not be as accessible to him as to his White fellow citizens and he was thankful for continuously being able to improve his knowledge of the English language, as it aided his understanding and appreciation of ‘the great English literature’ even more (Willan, 1984, 2018).

However, racial tensions remained inescapable regardless of all the liberties and freedom that Plaatje and his friends enjoyed during these years (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003). Irrespective of how well they performed at work, many White people, especially poor White people, insisted that these jobs be reserved for their own kind (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The verbal abuse and belligerent letters in the newspapers would sometimes escalate into assaults and other acts of physical violence, but the Africans’ standard response was to avoid

such situations and instead, emphasised their loyalty to the colonial authorities in an attempt to secure potential allies for themselves (Willan, 2018). Furthermore, Plaatje and his friends believed that an alliance with John Tengo Jabavu, the African newspaper editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*¹¹, would be a more viable way to express themselves (Willan, 2018). Jabavu was an experienced politician who believed that ‘civilised’ Africans had a special responsibility to act as spokesmen for their less articulate comrades (Ngcongco, 1979). His weekly editorials, which mainly urged fellow Africans to become involved in the political life of the colony, made a great impression on Plaatje (Willan, 1984, 2018). Since the proclamation of pass law legislation in 1872 to govern the movement of Africans, the columns of *Imvo Zabantsundu* had also regularly reported on cases of harassment and wrongful prosecutions of Africans by police and magistrates in town (Willan, 2018).

Another ally of Kimberley’s African community in this regard was the White South African born lawyer, Henry Burton, who often provided them with legal assistance since he opened up his practice in 1892 (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). Burton’s willingness to defend them in court was greatly valued by the entire African community, even more, when they emerged victoriously. The local municipality, however, was less than pleased whenever this happened, because regular arrests provided a steady flow of prison labourers who could carry out the work of night-soil removal free of charge; without prison labourers, they were forced to employ contractors to ensure that the work was done (Willan, 2018). For Plaatje, a winning case underscored his belief in a fair legal system (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

¹¹ *Imvo Zabantsundu* (or *Native Opinion*) was published in King Williams Town and edited by an African of Fengu origin, namely John Tengo Jabavu. The newspaper operated independently from missionary control which gave it a sense of freedom in the field of native journalism. It circulated widely in Kimberley and contained plenty of news of the latest activities of the town’s mission-educated African community, as well as the general social, religious and political affairs of the Colony (Ngcongco, 1979).

Despite his busy lifestyle in Kimberley, Plaatje often travelled to Pniel and Ditlarapeng in the Mafeking district to visit his family (Willan, 1984, 2018). Sometimes, Simon fetched Plaatje from Kimberley on horseback for their family visits at Pniel (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Unfortunately, no specific details surrounding these visits were found in the literature. In September 1896, the same year the destructive Rinderpest epidemic (or the cattle plague) swept across South Africa, Plaatje's father died (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). This affected the entire Mafeking district badly and the Barolong people, including Johannes, lost virtually all their cattle (Willan, 1996). Plaatje and Simon hurried to Ditlarapeng but arrived too late for their father's funeral (Molema, 2012). The funeral was arranged by two of their uncles, with the help of the prominent Molema family, on whose land Johannes had been staying (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). No evidence in the literature indicates whether Plaatje's mother Martha had attended her husband's funeral. Years later, Plaatje simply recalled, "needle-like pangs" when he heard the news (of his father's death) and that "grief was easily thrown off in tears" (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 63). Months after Johannes' burial, the paramount Barolong Chief Montshioa died and Plaatje travelled to Mafeking yet again to pay his last respects (Molema, 2012).

Early in 1897, while employed at the Post Office, Plaatje put in leave and returned to Mafeking in order to finalise his father's estate (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's younger cousin, Modiri Molema (2012) recalled that with the proceeds from Johannes' estate, Plaatje sent his two younger brothers, Ramokoto and Monnapula, to school at Morija (a town) in Basutoland (known today as Lesotho) (Willan, 1984, 2018). Due to Plaatje excluding his other brothers from this decision caused a temporary rift amongst them, but his relationship with Simon was soon mended (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). There is no further evidence in the available data to describe Plaatje's relationship with the rest of his siblings.

In the winter of 1897, Plaatje met and established a romantic relationship with Isaiah's younger sister, Elizabeth, when she came to visit her brother in Kimberley (De Villiers, 2000; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). Although Plaatje and Elizabeth came from different African tribes and cultural heritages, they were of similar age and shared the same Christian faith and religious heritage (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). At the time, Elizabeth was a qualified teacher at an Anglican mission school in Steynsburg¹², she shared Plaatje's love for reading and spoke five different languages (Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1916b). Initially, their respective families strongly opposed the couple's relationship and forbade any contact between them since intertribal marriages were unheard of (Mokae, 2010). During the early stages of Plaatje and Elizabeth's courtship, Isaiah (who had married Maria, a woman from Setswana origin the previous year) was Elizabeth's only family member with whom Plaatje enjoyed a close relationship (Willan, 1984, 2018). The rest of Elizabeth's family prohibited her from visiting Plaatje in Kimberley and even destroyed the letters she wrote to him (Comaroff et al., 1999; Ward, 1902; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's family also disapproved of their relationship:

My people resented the idea of my marrying a girl who spoke a language which, like the Hottentot language, had clicks in it; while her people likewise abominated the idea of giving their daughter in marriage to a fellow who spoke a language so imperfect as to be without any clicks. But the civilised laws of Cape Colony saved us from a double tragedy in a cemetery... (Willan, 2018, p. 70)

Nonetheless, Plaatje continued to write frequent letters to Elizabeth and often complained of "the long and awful nights in 1897 when my path to union...was so rocky" (Plaatje, 1999,

¹² Steynsburg was a small town about 320 kilometres south-east of Kimberley (Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1916b).

p. 76). Despite heavy familial opposition, their romantic relationship blossomed and they got married in the Kimberley magistrate's office on 25 January 1898 (Molema, 2012; Ward, 1902). The couple moved into a new home in the Malay Camp after Elizabeth submitted her resignation and a few weeks later she was pregnant with their first child (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Although their families eventually accepted their relationship (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018), the debates surrounding their mixed marriage left such a transformative impact on Plaatje that he evoked it many years later in his historical novel *Mhudi*: "the idea of the daughter of a [Barolong] marrying a man whose language was full of clicks as that of the wild Masarwa was too hard for *Mhudi's* conception" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 72).

In the broader community, the country's upcoming general elections, scheduled for the middle of 1898, created a tense political climate among citizens as the two opposing political parties, the (British) Progressive Party and the (local) Afrikaner Boers, competed openly for the African vote (Trapido, 1980). Since the Jameson Raid,¹³ the relationship between the British Imperial government and the South African Boers had deteriorated so dramatically that there was an obvious political division amongst the White people of the Cape Colony (Willan, 1984, 2018). Kimberley's African community, including Plaatje, chose to rely only on certain individuals, such as Henry Burton and Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner (husband of novelist Olive Schreiner) for assistance (Ngcongco, 1979; Willan, 2018), especially after the latter had publicly accused Cecil Rhodes of deceitfully forming a false alliance with the Boers a few years earlier (Ngcongco, 1979). However, the De Beers mine came to Rhodes' defence via a

¹³ Over the New Year's weekend of 1895-1896, a botched raid against the South African Republic (commonly known as the Transvaal) was launched by British colonial statesman, Leander Jameson and his troops. The purpose of the raid was to trigger an uprising by the primarily British expatriate workers (known as *Uitlanders* or foreigners) in the Transvaal. However, poor communication led to the Boers receiving warning of the attack and instead, those foreigners who were involved were handed over to their own government and put on trial in Johannesburg, South Africa. Cecil Rhodes, who supported the planned uprising, was forced to resign as premier of the Cape Colony and the political problems between Afrikaans and English-speaking white people worsened (Blainey, 1965; Mendelsohn, 2007).

young lawyer, Jan Christiaan Smuts, who advocated White supremacy and publicly called African people ‘semi-barbarous natives’ (Hancock & Van der Poel, 1966; Smuts, 1942). For Plaatje and the other members of the SAIS, Smuts’ speech was discouraging, although Cronwright-Schreiner’s comments had earned him their support (Willan, 2018).

At almost 22 years old, it was the first election Plaatje qualified to vote in (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984). Plaatje chose to support the Afrikaner Boers simply because Henry Burton (whose campaign was actively supported by Cronwright-Schreiner and his wife) stood as their main candidate against Cecil Rhodes for the British (Rotberg, 1988; Trapido, 1980; Willan, 2018). Although the British eventually emerged victorious (Ramoroka, 2009), Plaatje continued to believe in the value of the non-racial Cape franchise and that it would remain in existence in the colony (Willan, 1984, 2018). His childhood mentor and teacher, Reverend Westphal, had since become a British citizen and saw Plaatje’s alliance with the Afrikaners as treasonous:

He [Westphal] sent me a hot letter going for me for having leaning towards the Transvaal...simply because I sympathised with advocate Burton during the last election, and he could not be convinced by my reasons that...earned my sympathies not because he was supported by the Afrikaner Bond, but simply because he was negrophilist and did a lot for us while I was in Kimberley (Plaatje, 1999, p. 141).

Despite his unwavering respect for Westphal, Plaatje was not afraid to differ from him on this issue (Willan, 2018). Regardless of allegations of irregularities and corruption in the British/Rhodes camp during the election campaign, the election result was endorsed (Leflaive, 2014; Odendaal, 2012; Willan, 2018). Unaware of any drama behind the scenes, Plaatje’s experience of the existing election system was a positive one (Willan, 2018).

After four years employed at the Post Office, Plaatje was frustrated at the monotony of his work and contemplated a more rewarding and challenging occupation (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). More than ever, he hoped to work as a court interpreter (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Plaatje had enriched his limited formal education and improved his job prospects by ensuring proficiency in seven languages – a skill highly useful to any court interpreter (De Villiers, 2000; Willan, 2018). The opportunity he had been waiting for arose around early August 1898 when he secured a job as a clerk and court interpreter at the Mafeking’s magistrate’s court in the North-West Province of South Africa (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). However, his current salary would remain unchanged in Mafeking (Willan, 2018). Unsurprisingly, Plaatje was not happy at the news, because the cost of living in Mafeking was higher than in Kimberley, yet, conversely, the new job offered better prospects for promotion and came with an elevated status that interpreters in the magistrate’s office enjoyed, particularly in rural areas (Limb, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Plaatje’s planned relocation to Mafeking in October 1898 was thwarted by an unknown illness (suspected to have been malaria), which was the first documented incident of a series of future health problems (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Challenges with his health would ultimately affect Plaatje throughout his adult life (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018), especially since he typically ignored the symptoms. The delay did, however, enable him to celebrate his 22nd birthday at home with his nine-month pregnant wife, Elizabeth, who stayed in Pniel with Simon and his wife until after the birth of their baby (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). In later years, Plaatje reflected on his time in Kimberley as “a happy South Africa that was full of pleasant anticipations” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 63).

2.3.3 *Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)*

2.3.3.1 *Before the Siege*

Since 1857, *Mafikeng* (meaning ‘*place of stones*’) had been the main home of the Barolong people who lived in the district (Jacobson, 1980). The Barolong finally won lengthy land disputes with the Boers after the British government agreed to assist them by declaring the area a British Protectorate (Jacobson, 1980; Molema, 1966; Ramoroka, 2009) that maintained paramount Chief Montshioa’s sense of independence and authority over his own people (Starfield, 2001). The Chief’s power of authority drastically weakened in the years to come (Willan, 1984, 2018). At the time of Plaatje’s arrival in Mafikeng, around 5000 Barolong lived in the *stadt*¹⁴ in traditional round huts with red walls and thatched, peaked roofs, interspersed with giant boulders (Ramoroka, 2009; Willan, 2018). Most residents lived off the land or tended herds of livestock on communal land around Mafikeng and supplemented their income through paid employment, if necessary (Willan, 2018).

After the British had annexed Bechuanaland (known today as Botswana) back in 1885, they (the British) decided to settle on the other side of the railway line, adjacent to the Barolong *stadt* and called it *Mafeking* (its name simply a corruption of the Setswana name *Mahikeng*¹⁵). *Mafeking* (the town of the ‘*makgoa*’ or ‘*White people*’) grew into an important commercial and administrative centre and by 1898 it featured amenities such as a hospital, racecourse, four churches, tennis courts – a far cry from the once rural region of the British empire (Willan, 2018). The two settlements, *Mafikeng* and *Mafeking*, were, in reality, closely connected and part of an expanding interdependent, racially interwoven economy as growing numbers of men and women *lived* in the Barolong township but *worked* in the European township (Molema,

¹⁴ The Dutch term for the Barolong settlement or township (Willan, 1984, 2018).

¹⁵ Although the town’s name has officially been changed to this, it is still known as *Mafikeng*. Today it is the capital city of the North West Province of South Africa (Mbenga & Manson, 2012).

2012; Willan, 2018). Many people from different ethnicities such as Coloureds, Indians¹⁶, Fengu, Basotho and even a few Chinese (Molema, 1920), had since migrated to Mafeking, which further gave it a similar cosmopolitan atmosphere as Kimberley, albeit on a smaller scale (Willan, 1984, 2018).

The offices of Plaatje's new boss, the magistrate and civil commissioner, Charles Bell, were situated in the centre of town, about one kilometre's walk from the *stadt* (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's presence in Charles Bell's office was a testimony to the judicial restrictions that confined the lives of his own people, the Barolong (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The destruction caused by the Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-1897 ruined the economic self-sufficiency of the Barolong and their remaining livestock were either eaten or sold off to raise money (Comaroff et al., 1999; Shillington, 1985). Many of the younger men were forced to migrate to the mines of the Witwatersrand in search of work (Willan, 1984, 2018). The death of the trusted 85-year old Chief Montshioa in 1896 further compounded the challenges within the Barolong chieftom, as his son and successor, Chief Wessels Montshioa, was failing dismally to make a success of the chieftaincy he had inherited from his father (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). He drank excessively, was frequently ill and above all, illiterate – thus, unsurprisingly, he never earned the same respect that was bestowed on his renowned father (Willan, 2018). Plaatje would in later years write about the Sechuana (or Setswana) proverb that proved its wisdom here: “*Kgosi e tsala diphera*” (‘Chiefs often beget scapegraces’); the European equivalent is stated as: “sweet meat will have sour sauce” (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 46). In spite of these challenges, the institution of chiefly rule remained the prevailing factor in the daily lives of the Barolong and the Chief's court continued as the focal point both geographically and symbolically (Willan, 2018). Thus, the people continued to bring their problems to the chief and his council, a truth that was captured in a proverb: “*Kgosi ke kgosi*

¹⁶ Many were descendants of migrants from colonial India (South Asia) (SookDeo, 1988).

ka morafe” (A chief is a chief by the people’) (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 6). Though Plaatje found this peculiar at first and quite distinct from anything he had known in Pniel or Kimberley, he later accepted their beliefs and principles (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Shortly after Plaatje arrived in town, he stayed with the prominent Barolong landowner, Silas Molema and his family (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). Silas Molema was the nephew of Chief Joshua Molema and twice Plaatje’s age; in all likelihood, the two men had met each other during Plaatje’s earlier visits to his father Johannes, who had lived on one of the Molema farms until his death in 1896 (Willan, 1984, 2018). Silas Molema owned several businesses and properties on both sides of the Bechuanaland Protectorate border, including a school (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Similar to Plaatje, he believed in promoting education and Western ideas of civilisation amongst his people (Molema, 2012). Molema was held in high regard by everyone in the district, including Charles Bell (Willan, 1984, 2018). For Bell, a good relationship with the Molema family secured the cooperation of the Barolong in the administration of their affairs, while for Molema, a good relationship with the magistrate proved beneficial when finer points of interpreting government proclamations, assessing tax liabilities or even the granting of trading and firearm licences arose (Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Willan, 2018). Since Molema was consulted whenever a vacancy arose in Bell’s office for which an African employee was required, more than likely, he may have played a part in Plaatje’s appointment as court interpreter and clerk (Willan, 2018). Molema’s large, European-style home in Mafeking, well attended by servants, reflected the family’s superior status (Willan, 2018). His eight-year old son, Modiri, was struck by Plaatje’s generosity and lively sense of humour and despite their age difference, Plaatje and Modiri Molema developed a close relationship that grew into a “close personal friendship” (Molema, 2012, p. 10) over the remainder of Plaatje’s life.

Before long, Plaatje decided to move into a small ‘hut’ of his own in the *stadt* where he cultivated cross-cultural relationships with like-minded individuals, mainly from the Fengu community who lived nearby (Willan, 1984, 2018). This community shared Plaatje’s religious background and values, regularly attended church services and sent their children to the local mission schools (Comaroff et al., 1999; Van Wyk, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). Within this community, Plaatje established close friendships with two individuals, namely Patrick Sidzumo and David Phooko, whom he later discovered were both distant relatives of his wife Elizabeth (Willan, 2018). Sidzumo was also married with a small child and eventually became Plaatje’s colleague when Sidzumo started working as a messenger in the magistrate’s office (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). Plaatje called Sidzumo “*Sibale*” (or brother-in-law) (Willan, 2018, p. 83), while Phooko, who was employed as a constable and an interpreter for the Inspector of Native Locations¹⁷, shared Plaatje’s sense of humour as well as a number of mutual friends back in Kimberley (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 1984).

Plaatje’s new job officially commenced on 14 October 1898 (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokaie, 2010; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). His job and his relationship with Silas Molema afforded him the respect of most people in the district, including the White residents (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Plaatje’s duties included routine clerical work such as copying documents, issuing passes, witnessing statements, writing out charge sheets, filing correspondence and typing (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). He often had to translate incoming letters written in Dutch and Setswana into English, as he was the only one of the three clerks who understood all three languages (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Other times, he acted as interpreter in court when it was in session, which was the more challenging part of his job and something he enjoyed doing most (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Most of the cases that

¹⁷ The Inspector of Native Locations had a general responsibility to look after the well-being of the African settlements in the district, and also had a duty to collect hut tax (Comaroff et al, 1999).

came before the magistrate's court were petty crimes such as theft, drunkenness, trespassing, committing a public nuisance and disturbing the peace, yet, the vast number of these cases necessitated the magistrate's court in Mafeking to sit for several days each week (Willan, 2018). In the wake of the Rinderpest epidemic, conditions were far worse than before and these cases were more often than not, the consequences of sheer poverty (Lunderstedt, 2014). At times, more serious cases (e.g., murder, rape, robbery and assault) also appeared before Bell whose main task was to conduct preparatory investigations on behalf of the Griqualand West High Court in Kimberley and if the evidence found was strong enough to take to trial, the case would be presented during the Circuit Court's next visit to Mafeking (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). When the Circuit Court judges were in town, they refused to use the small and poorly ventilated courthouse, which was stifling hot in the summer months and preferred the airier Masonic Hall in town, an option not available to Bell and his staff (Willan, 1984, 2018). These occasions provided a bonus opportunity for Plaatje to see his friend Isaiah, who travelled with the court as its interpreter (Willan, 2018).

On 23 November 1898, five weeks after Plaatje started working in Mafeking, Elizabeth gave birth to a boy and Plaatje rushed back to Pniel to see his young son (Midgeley, 1997; Mokaë, 2010; Molema, 2012). Frederick York St Leger, or Saintry for short, was named after the founder and editor of the newspaper, the *Cape Times* because Plaatje appreciated and respected the newsman's liberal views towards African people's rights (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Saintry's birth was also announced in the columns of Tengo Jabavu's *Imvo Zabantsundu* several weeks later (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Elizabeth and Saintry joined Plaatje in Mafeking and stayed with him until just before Christmas that year (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Due to his demanding work schedule, Plaatje missed out on their first Christmas as a family (Willan, 1984, 2018) and his feelings of loneliness were exacerbated over the holiday period when he was confined to bed with influenza and spent "three lengthy, solitary days" (Molema, 2012, p.

33) wishing that “I could drive the thought from my mind” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 73). He vowed that his family would be with him for the next Christmas holiday (Comaroff et al., 1973; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje’s new job at the Mafeking magistrate’s office was far more demanding than anything he was accustomed to in the Post Office in Kimberley and it kept him fully occupied (Limb, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). The staff consisted of Magistrate Charles Bell, two senior White clerks who occasionally alternated as Bell’s deputies when he travelled out of town, Plaatje who was appointed as a junior clerk and a court interpreter; a few months later, Plaatje’s friend, Patrick Sidzumo was appointed as an office messenger (Willan, 2018). The small staff struggled to stay up to date with the mountain of paperwork generated by Bell’s duties, as he was both the administrative and judicial representative of the Cape government (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). The long hours in the cramped office and badly ventilated courthouse took its toll on the clerks and sometimes also affected their health (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014).

Sometimes, Plaatje received a ‘break’ from his confined working conditions and accompanied Bell on his monthly visit to the more spacious court at *Setlagoli*; the Barolong settlement situated 80 kilometres down the railway line (Willan, 1984, 2018). Here, the chief and his council had jurisdiction in civil cases where customary law applied (a right that expressed the chief’s power and autonomy), which provided an important source of income generated by the fines they were able to impose. Typical cases in which Plaatje was asked to interpret, involved ownership of livestock or the occupation of land under customary tenure (Willan, 2018). At Bell’s request, Plaatje submitted a written summary of the chief’s final decision; a duty he performed with such accuracy that over time, Bell also began entrusting Plaatje with more responsibilities than the other two senior clerks back in the office (Willan,

1984, 2018). Plaatje found his work enjoyable but remained cognisant of the heavy burden of responsibility attached to it (Willan, 1996).

Bell was impressed by Plaatje's "commendable seriousness of purpose" and "high level of professional competence (Willan, 2018, p. 95). Plaatje, in turn, was impressed with the way Bell handled his own administrative duties in relation to the welfare of the African population and was even more pleased to discover that Bell was an accomplished linguist as well (fluent in Dutch and English, had a clear grasp of Xhosa, Setswana, Sesotho and Zulu), which allowed him to provide Plaatje with the initial guidance and support he needed to do his job (Willan, 2018). Bell's proficiency in languages provided Plaatje with a source of security and comfort in the process of 'cultivating the art':

I always made my translations with a perfect security, believing that he could rectify my errors, if any. I cannot express the satisfaction this gave me – always – not only because of the correctness of my renditions but on account of the knowledge that the chances of a miscarriage of justice were non-est. (Willan, 1996, p. 56)

From the start, it was evident that Bell insisted on maintaining the highest standards; a creed the two men shared and a friendly, albeit somewhat unequal, relationship ensued (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). In social circles, Bell was a popular choice as an after-dinner speaker and he also served as president for a number of societies within Mafeking's European community; people particularly remembered his lively sense of humour (Willan, 2018). Plaatje considered himself fortunate to have "served my apprenticeship under such a man" (Jacobson, 1980, p. 7) and always remembered Bell with affection, including his sardonic sense of humour as typifying a '*white Lenkoane*': "His acumen in fixing sarcastic phrases and aptitude in putting comical jokes is beyond description. His mere silence gives him a very ferocious appearance" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 77). Years later, Plaatje reflected on his experiences as a court interpreter in

Mafeking in an unpublished personal document called '*The Essential Interpreter*' (Mizoguchi, 2009; Willan, 1996; Woeber, 1998). It is a revealing illustration of what he had personally witnessed and experienced during that time and portrays an image of a confident and conscientious young man, the attitudes he developed towards his job, as well as how he responded to the demands that Bell placed upon him:

Mr Bell informed me, when I first came into his office, that interpreting in court and interpreting at the sale of a cow were two different things entirely, and that it was as necessary to cultivate the art as to acquire a knowledge of the respective languages (Willan, 1996, p. 54).

African court interpreters were highly regarded due to the unmatched familiarity with their dialect during trials where Africans were involved (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984). Although Plaatje was confident in his own capabilities, he remained conscious of the heavy burden of responsibility, as the slightest mistranslation could impact the judicial process (Willan, 1996, 2018). One of his biggest frustrations centred around accurately translating and explaining legal terminology (in English) to witnesses in a manner that they would understand: "I found out that this was too difficult a phrase to render into intelligible Dutch, or any of the native languages, in half a dozen words" (Willan, 1996, p. 58). For example, where the magistrate used five words such as 'You are committed for trial', the interpreter had to use 46 words for the exact translation (Willan, 1996, 2018). Even when the phrase was in their mother-tongue, Plaatje found that African prisoners could not fully comprehend its meaning and rarely understood their fate (Willan, 1996, 2018).

If Plaatje struggled with the obvious injustices of his environment, he did not show it and he let the law take its course (Willan, 1996). He also did not allow the inequalities to affect him and chose to "turn what the witnesses said into the formal written testimony that due process required" (Willan, 2018, p. 115). He continued to demonstrate a high level of competence and

performed his duties as interpreter conscientiously and efficiently (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997).

Occasionally, Plaatje enjoyed a few lighter moments at work. For example, when he walked into the courtroom to report for duty one specific morning, he immediately noticed that he and the magistrate were wearing exactly the same shirt and quickly rushed into one of the waiting rooms to hide ‘the offending garment’ before people could become confused between the magistrate and the court interpreter (Willan, 2018). Another example was when he accompanied his friend, David Phooko, on an evening journey to collect a horse from a *stadt* a distance away from Mafeking (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). Although it was quite far, Plaatje was confident that Whiskey, his pony, would have him back in time for work the next morning. Unfortunately, on the return journey, Phooko’s horses caused a delay until Plaatje had to hurry ahead on his own, despite still arriving at the office late (and dusty), which dented his reputation for punctuality, while his friend arrived in Mafeking only hours later (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018).

In his private time, Plaatje was also studying for the Cape Civil Service examinations, which, to him, signified a higher salary and opportunities for promotion (Midgeley, 1997). His plan was to write the proficiency examinations for people already employed in government service; not the entry examinations that Isaiah Bud-M’belle became famous for (Willan, 1984, 2018). The fact that his brother-in-law passed the proficiency examinations in Sesotho and Setswana in July that same year, amplified Plaatje’s own eagerness to pass (Willan, 2018). Although he had been employed as a court interpreter for less than a year, Plaatje felt increasingly unhappy with his ‘unrecognised’ position at work, particularly after magistrate Bell formally instructed him to perform extra duties for the Bechuanaland Protectorate in town (at no extra payment), despite overriding Plaatje’s initial refusal to do so (Mizoguchi, 2009). In Plaatje’s mind, his position entitled him to a certain level of respect and he found it especially

annoying to be ordered around as if he were a junior office messenger (Willan, 2018). The extent of how it galled his sensitivities, is evident from his vivid recollection years later:

My chief [Bell]...added that as an employee of the Cape Government, I should render my services free as the Cape was bound to assist the Imperial Government whenever necessary. I told him of my inability to appreciate the logic of this contention; that it was monstrous, from my point of view...I could not, I told him, go and render free services to facilitate the work of well-paid officers any more than I could afford to work in his office without a salary. I did not press my claim, however, and the matter lapsed. (Mizoguchi, 2009, p. 21; Willan, 1996, p. 52)

Clearly, it infuriated him when his skills and status went unrecognised. However, wider political developments and tensions between the British imperial government and the Boers were mounting (Nasson, 2004), and because of Mafeking's geographical location, as well as the large quantities of railway equipment being stored there, it was a likely target to attack in the event of a war. Furthermore, its association with the Jameson Raid had not been forgotten in the Transvaal and by midyear in 1899 there was open talk of war (Midgeley, 1997; Nasson, 2004; Shillington, 1985; Willan, 1984, 2018).

The Barolong was, understandably so, concerned about being drawn into any conflict that might occur and repeated requests (to the magistrate and the judge president of the Griqualand West High Court) for ammunition to defend themselves in the event of war, remained ignored (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Subsequently, they demanded an additional meeting with Bell in the *stadt* where Plaatje acted as interpreter and recorded Bell while he was saying that "it was a White man's war and that if the enemy came, Her Majesty's White troops would do all the fighting and protect the territories of the chiefs" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 239). In September, after months of prohibiting the nearby imperial military force based in the Bechuanaland

Protectorate from stationing any of its men in town, the Cape government finally allowed Colonel R. S. Baden-Powell to move his entire Protectorate regiment into Mafeking and preparations to secure the town proceeded with urgency (Willan, 2018). A town guard was formed, trenches dug, forts constructed and inner and outer defensive perimeters created. Many of the White women and children left town for other areas of safety (Jeal, 2001). Plaatje was relieved that his wife and son were safely at her parents' home in Burghersdorp, because if Mafeking was going to be attacked, he was not prepared to risk their lives, even if he himself was forced to remain at his post (Jeal, 2001; Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018).

On 11 October 1899, two days after Plaatje's 23rd birthday, the South African war, also known as the Anglo-Boer war,¹⁸ broke out and Mafeking was besieged for eight months (De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009). Plaatje's intentions to write the Cape Civil service examinations "were completely defeated" (Willan, 2018, p. 104) with the onset of a war, which became one of the most celebrated episodes in the history of the British empire (Beinart, 1985; Couzens, 2001; De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

2.3.3.2 During the Siege

For the duration of the war, Plaatje moved back into the Molema family home, along with his friend, David Phooko, for two reasons, namely more protection and more company (Willan, 1984, 2018). Silas Molema was often away from home because, in addition to his normal duties, he was also the commander of a regiment defending the residents of the *stadt* (Molema, 2012). Several war correspondents anticipated that Mafeking would soon be in the news and started travelling there (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018).

¹⁸ It was fought between the British and the two Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, over the British's influence in South Africa (Millard, 2016; SAHO, n.d.).

Plaatje continued his work at the magistrate's office and supplemented his income by doing administrative tasks for the war correspondents, writing articles for the local newspaper and typing out the handwritten diaries of individuals such as Charles Bell (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Plaatje enjoyed a financially beneficial friendship with the correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle*, E. G. Parslow, and was negatively affected when Parslow was shot dead in November 1899, as he stated:

This murder has not only deprived me of a good friend but it has wrecked me financially... He paid for my little assistance so liberally that I never felt the prices of foodstuffs that [have] reigned here since the commencement of the siege. (Plaatje, 1999, p. 32)

Plaatje also did some work for the *Times* correspondent, Angus Hamilton who reported on the history of the Barolong and the daily activities in the *stadt* (Willan, 2018). On one occasion, as Plaatje was accompanying Hamilton through the *stadt*, the latter captured a photograph of Plaatje standing and gesturing with his right hand, while interpreting an account of two dispatch runners in the presence of Bell and a regiment commander; a rare visual illustration of Plaatje's role as intermediary (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018).

Another profitable relationship was with Vere Stent, the *Reuters* correspondent who helped Plaatje with arrangements for money and letters to be sent to Elizabeth. Plaatje also wrote to Isaiah Bud-M'belle via one of the dispatch runners in an attempt to reassure Isaiah that he was still alive and "have never felt better in my life" (Willan, 1984, p. 45). Interestingly, Plaatje concluded that letter with a request to Elizabeth to send his regards to Mr and Mrs Cronwright-Schreiner, though his reasons for mentioning the couple, in particular, is unclear (Willan, 1996, 2018). Angus Hamilton and Vere Stent may not have paid him as much as his 'late lamented friend' E.G. Parslow used to, but it pleased him enough to "sing the twenty-third psalm (Plaatje, 1973, p. 41). Stent also appreciated Plaatje's value as "a liaison officer, between me and my

little corps of native dispatch runners” (Willan, 2018, p. 119) and described him as “an extraordinarily capable assistant...who was quick on the machine...and quick-witted” (Willan, 2018, p. 119).

Bell, for his part, supported Plaatje’s ‘extra-curricular’ and allowed him to use the office typewriter in his reports for Stent and the other newspaper journalists (Willan, 2018). By this time, Plaatje’s linguistic skills elevated him to a position of privilege among the African people and also earned him the job as liaison between the White British forces led by Colonel Baden-Powell and the Black Barolong chiefs during what was essentially termed a “White man’s war” (Mizoguchi, 2009, p. 22). In addition, Plaatje was assigned to conduct a census amongst the African people in the *stadt* and consequently assisted with the implementation of a food rationing system (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018).

When his two co-workers resigned, Plaatje was the only remaining clerk left in the magistrate’s office, which meant that his duties multiplied all the more to include the issuing of passes and dispatching of African runners and riders to take messages out of Mafeking (Lunderstedt, 2014). Upon the runners and riders’ return, Plaatje would also be responsible for the recording and translation of their stories before presenting a detailed report regarding events around Mafeking to Colonel Baden-Powell (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Baden-Powell sent a number of Plaatje’s reports to the editor of the special siege edition of the Mafeking Mail, which was published daily (Willan, 2018). This type of work gave Plaatje an unrivalled view of the dangers the dispatch runners faced and he respected one in particular, namely Freddy Manomphe (Mizoguchi, 2009). Plaatje labelled him “a Black Sherlock Holmes” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 37) because of the serenity and tact with which he outwitted the Boers (Mizoguchi, 2009; Willan, 2018). Besides this, Plaatje was also in demand with Baden-Powell’s staff officers and was often summoned, at short notice, for translating and interpreting work (Lunderstedt, 2014). This is how he became friends with one of the staff officers, Captain

Douglas Marsham, and Plaatje was very sad when Captain Marsham later died during a Boer attack on Cannon Kopje¹⁹. Additional interpreting work came a month later with the establishment of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction²⁰ (Willan, 2018).

For most of the siege, the Boers tried to shell, instead of attack, Mafeking into submission on a daily basis by firing a large 94-pound (42.6 kilograms) heavy, siege gun (Comaroff et al., 1999). At one point though, the Boers launched an attack on the *stadt*, as they believed it to be the weakest point in the defence camp (Baillie, 2012; Willan, 2018). However, they were surprised to find nearly 500 Barolong and two squadrons of the Bechuanaland Protectorate regiment blocking their way, which prevented them from trying to invade Mafeking via this route again for another six months (Plaatje, 1916b, Willan, 2018). For seven months, the British never attempted to escape because they did not believe that the war would last that long (Willan, 1984, 2018). Much to their relief, the Boers declared Sundays as a Holy day of rest, and thus, no offensive military operations took place on those days, for example firing at the convent, occupied by the Irish Sisters of Mercy or firing at the Victoria Hospital (Comaroff et al., 1999; Leflaive, 2014; Willan 2018).

On Sunday 29 October 1899, Plaatje started to keep his own detailed diary, mostly for his own enjoyment, regarding the daily ongoings of the war and the involvement of the local Black community in defence of the town (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's involvement with the Westphals back at Pniel taught him the importance of recording the progress of events, thus it was unsurprising that he would keep a diary of events surrounding the war (Steinitz, 2011; Willan, 1984, 2018). Also, the diary was a chance to experiment with his English vocabulary

¹⁹ Cannon Kopje Fort is a ruin(s) and is located in Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality, North-West, South Africa. The estimate terrain elevation above sea level is 1305 metres. It was one of Mafeking's key defensive positions (SAHO, n.d.).

²⁰ The Court of Summary Jurisdiction was formally constituted on 16 November 1899, its purpose being to bring to trial persons not directly liable to trial by Court Martial and for offences not recognisable by such court (Willan, 2018).

and narrative form (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). At times, he used words and phrases from other languages if he thought the originals expressed a phrase better (Comaroff et al., 1999). The diary's obvious tone of privacy suggests that it may have simply been a pastime he never intended to publish (Willan, 2018). Reportedly, Plaatje "gave the scrapbook to [his future daughter] Violet apparently with little explanation of its content...where it gathered dust languishing among a...literary rubbish-dump... of books and other memorabilia" (Mkhize, 2015, p. 190), which Violet eventually passed on to her own son, Victor (Comaroff et al., 1999). This is how it was serendipitously discovered by an anthropologist, John Comaroff who was carrying out fieldwork in the Mafeking district in 1969. It was originally published in 1973 under the title, *The Boer War Diary of Sol T. Plaatje: An African at Mafeking* and re-edited and published in 1989 as *Mafeking Diary: A Black Man's View of a White Man's War* (Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010; Willan, 1984, 2018). It was the first document of its kind to be produced in English by a Black South African (De Villiers, 2000; Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014).

For over five months, the daily entries were interrupted only during times when he was ill and confined to bed; times that always seemed to flare up feelings of loneliness within him (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). When he was too ill to write himself, he dictated to his friend, David Phooko who wrote Plaatje's usual daily entries into his diary, which in turn, also enabled him to practice his written English (Jacobson, 1980; Comaroff et al., 1999). Since both men were staying together for the duration of the siege, this activity created a sense of camaraderie that often led to nostalgia about the past and their shared memories (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Biblical and musical metaphors were two of Plaatje's favourite ways of making connections between his past and present experiences (Willan 1984, 1996) and he, therefore, wrote about his friends and family, the time he spent in Kimberley and individuals such as Reverend Westphal, Charles Bell, Patrick Lenkoane and Chief Wessels Montshioa (Comaroff et al., 1999).

On other days, the diary entries reflected rare and direct references to Plaatje's love for horse-riding, for example: "There being no danger I took the pony and went out for a ride round" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 61). On Sundays, he participated enthusiastically in the gymkhanas and polo matches along with other civilians and soldiers in town and also enjoyed the musical concerts that were presented in the evenings (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Furthermore, Plaatje's inscriptions on Sundays, which he called "the Lord's day" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 50) and "different and blessed than the other days of the week" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 42), indicated his continued devotion to his faith and he participated in regular worship at church: "we spent this day in church" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 38).

Regular reference regarding weather conditions is also noted throughout Plaatje's diary. For example, on the mornings after it rained the previous night, Plaatje often spent the day in the garden or on the veranda and described how he "drank deeply of the soft balmy air and enjoyed the atmosphere with the sentiments of one watching a classical show of myth and melody" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 74). Another example in this regard was: "Today was quite extraordinary...the weather would keep the Boers quiet...fine soaking rains were the order of the day...it was quite a holiday and many of us during our movements quite forgot the big gun's presence" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 120). However, Plaatje disliked intense heat, as it made him feel "quite seedy" and "uncomfortable" and on one occasion even rendered him weak and "in bed all day" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 71). More than anything, the diary was an opportunity to reveal 'an intriguing sense of humour' (Willan, 1996) that described not only the hardships of life under siege but also its lighter moments (Clarke & Tyson, 2003). An example of Plaatje's generally positive attitude includes the joking description of 'Au Sanna', the large siege-gun mentioned earlier (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 1996).

It was difficult for him to spend another Christmas separated from his wife and son, especially since he was confined to bed with influenza and struggled to feel optimistic about

the future: “It is becoming too big a burden for my shoulders and I wish I could drive the thought from my mind” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 73). The celebrations enjoyed by others, including the toys and sweets that Lady Sarah Wilson²¹ distributed amongst the children of the *stadt*, merely amplified his loneliness: “Surely, providence has seldom been so hard on me” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). He reflected on the next day (Boxing day), as ‘the mistake of the siege’ when Colonel Baden-Powell’s decision to launch an attack on a well-defended Boer position ended in the killing of 23 of his own men and left 26 others wounded:

...The fiasco appears to have been a heart-rending burlesque. Never was such a wilful suicide committed by a community in our condition... It was a lamentable affair and the least said about it the better. The consternation amongst the inhabitants was so deeply rooted that it is clearly visible amongst men and women and old and young of both White and Black. (Plaatje, 1999, p. 80)

Meanwhile, the persistent shelling and sniping were starting to take a negative toll on the lives and morale of the broader community of Mafikeng. Several people, Black and White, had been killed, including Martha Sidzumo, the wife of his good friend, Patrick Sidzumo (Willan, 2018), while Plaatje also had numerous narrow escapes of his own, as shells landed close by: “I was riding ‘Pony’...I have never felt so nasty as during that little period of my life, until it burst and the pieces flew overhead” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 138). An old man in a nearby house, however, was killed instantly in the explosion (Willan, 2018).

By early 1900, the food supplies were running low (Baillie, 2012; Willan, 2018) but Plaatje received government rations and was initially unaffected (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). In the *stadt*, however, starvation among the African people was rife and Plaatje’s direct

²¹ Lady Sarah Wilson, a sister of Winston Churchill, and married to one of Colonel Baden-Powell’s staff officers, had arrived in Mafeking earlier that month. After being captured by the Boers she was exchanged for a Boer prisoner and arrived in town on 7 December (Willan, 2018).

involvement in the implementation of measures by his employer, the colonial government, to conserve food supplies, placed him in a precarious position with his own people (Willan, 2018). He did, however, try to assist them when even stricter rationing arrangements were imposed and he became involved in the soup kitchen set up by the authorities in an effort to keep them from starvation (Willan, 1984, 2018). However, for Plaatje, being surrounded by about “50 hungry beings, agitating the [engagement] of your pity and to see one of them succumb to his agonies and fall backwards with a dead thud” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 144), only reminded him of the privileges that he (as a fellow African) enjoyed during the war (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). As the siege continued, Plaatje was eventually also put on rations: “I have a very strong appetite just now when food is scarce...food becomes one of the greatest desires of a man’s dreams” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 118). The situation deteriorated to the extent that he was also deprived of regular meals, as indicated by: “If we had as much food as rain, then things would be all right” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 143).

On 13 March 1900, a shell struck the courthouse, making a “terrible mess of everything inside” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 136) and ruined Bell’s private office (Willan, 2018). Fortunately, nobody was inside the building at the time, but the force of the shell burst against an outer wall and killed and wounded several Africans who had been waiting outside for payment of their wages (Comaroff et al., 1999). One of Plaatje’s worst experiences during the siege was having to interpret at the trials of Africans who received guilty verdicts and then also to interpret at their places of execution (Willan, 1984, 2018). It was a harrowing experience to translate the blindfolded prisoners’ final words or requests and convey it back to the senior officer present (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). One such an African prisoner was sentenced to death for stealing ‘and killing for food purposes’ a horse that belonged to Silas Molema, in whose house Plaatje was staying (Willan, 2018). Plaatje simply recorded the event in his diary as “the horse thieves sentenced” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 132) but did not mention any further details in this regard

(Willan, 2018). Events such as these were not written about candidly in his diary, as he preferred to refrain from it completely or recorded it very discreetly (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). For Plaatje, his active involvement in these events increased his awareness regarding human rights, equality and respect for human dignity, because they were values that he applied rigorously in his political and journalistic career later on (Limb, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Plaatje's final diary entry ended abruptly on 30 March 1900 (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018), as the number of blank sheets that remained in the book in which the diary was written, indicated that Plaatje's diary was never completed. Well into April, large numbers of Barolong exited the *stadt*, leaving it almost deserted; some died of starvation, while others were shot while trying to pass through the Boer lines (Willan, 2018). Evidently, on 12 May 1900, the Boer commander, Sarel Eloff (a grandson of President Paul Kruger) ineffectively launched an attack through Mafeking (Baillie, 2012; Jeal, 2001). The Barolong forces, led by Silas Molema and supported by soldiers of the British Protectorate Regiment, killed or captured most of Eloff's followers after surrounding them in the *stadt* (Willan, 2018). Two days later, the relief troops, led by a number of officers who had been involved in the Jameson Raid in 1895, made their way into Mafeking until finally, on 17 May 1900, after 217 days, the siege of Mafeking came to an end (Baillie, 2012; Jeal, 2001; Lunderstedt, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009; Willan, 2018).

2.3.3.3 After the Siege

A month after the war ended, trains were operational again and many citizens who were previously evacuated or who left the *stadt* returned to Mafeking (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje was proud of his service to authorities in defence of the town. Colonel Baden-Powell, now promoted to Lieutenant General, along with Major Hamilton Goold-Adams, resident commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and commandant of the Town Guard (Baillie,

2012; Crebs, 1999; Jeal, 2001), issued Plaatje with certificates testifying to ‘services rendered to the Imperial Government ... during the siege of Mafeking’ (Willan, 2018). On all accounts, the Anglo Boer war represented a turning point in the history of Southern Africa (Odendaal, 2012; Ramoroka, 2009). The British withdrew from the affairs of the Barolong and subsequently, left them without compensation or funds for the reconstruction of their *stadt*, despite Baden-Powell’s earlier promises to do so (Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009). Baden-Powell maintained that it was ‘a White man’s war’ and explicitly forbade the *Mafeking Mail* to report on the true nature of the combative role the Barolong played in defeating the final Boer attack on the town (Willan, 2018). This misrepresentation evoked great critique from Black and White people alike and Plaatje later publicly accused Baden-Powell of lying in his own account of the Barolong’s behaviour during the war, which he submitted to the Royal Commission on the War (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984). The Barolong chief and his tribe received nothing but a vote of thanks and a plea for patience in an official ceremony (Leflaive 2014), as for the moment, martial law was still applicable in the Mafeking district, which meant that the Boers still controlled large portions of the surrounding countryside (Willan, 1984, 2018). Additional tensions were felt by the continued presence of numerous British soldiers who monopolised grazing land around the Mafeking district and regularly quarrelled with the town’s residents, including the civil authorities (Willan, 2018).

Meanwhile, the staff in the magistrate’s office were inundated with work, trying to handle the administrative consequences of the war (Jacobson, 1980; Leflaive, 2014). Charles Bell applied to head office in Cape Town for additional assistance, in view of the temporary absence of his two European clerks: the first had been summoned for ‘special duty’ elsewhere, while the second was granted leave to visit his elderly mother in England and to recover from insomnia difficulties he developed during the war (Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s remaining colleague and friend, David Phooko, also resigned shortly afterwards when he started a new

position as constable and messenger to the magistrate's court in his hometown, Aliwal North (De Villiers, 2000; Willan, 2018). In addition, Charles Bell also left town to pursue a magistrate's position in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape province in the hopes of eventually becoming the Colony's Secretary for Native Affairs (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Bell was replaced by J.B. Moffat in November 1900 who unwillingly transferred from Cape Town to Mafeking and as a result, often neglected his duties (Willan, 2018). Under his leadership, the office routine struggled to regain its equilibrium and constant collegial disputes resulted in a high level of staff turnover (Willan, 2018). Bell's resignation, specifically, impacted upon Plaatje's typical optimistic nature, although he continued to work with customary diligence, especially after his request for a salary increase was granted (Jacobson, 1980). Plaatje justified this increase in a written letter via Bell, to the Attorney General's office in Cape Town, articulating the volume of his responsibilities at work, as well as the 'adverse effects' and delays the war had left on his initial plans to write the Cape Civil Service examinations (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Although his new salary did not match the extra income he used to earn from the (now disbanded) Court of Summary Jurisdiction or from the (now departed) war correspondents, Plaatje still regarded it better than nothing (Willan, 2018).

By this time, Elizabeth and Sainty had moved to Mafeking, which meant that outside working hours, Plaatje now had his family to go home to (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Elizabeth soon settled in, her knowledge of Setswana a major asset in helping her to get along with her new neighbours (Willan, 2018). At first, the Plaatje family lived at the Molema residence but after a while moved into a new home of their own, built on a plot of land provided by the Molema family, situated on the banks of the Molopo River nearby (De Villiers, 2000; Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). Plaatje and Elizabeth were popular among their peers and neighbours, especially the Fengu families (who mainly worked as teachers at the local mission schools in town) and as a result, the couple regularly entertained visitors at their home (De

Villiers, 2000; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). A frequent visitor, the young Modiri Molema, was struck by Plaatje's hospitality, especially towards children who were being bullied, his "ready and hearty laugh" ...and "how he would become absorbed passing a bookstore" (Molema, 2012, p. 8). Years later, Molema's more detailed recollections of Plaatje were published in a Setswana biography translated into English by academic scholars, D.S. Matjila and Karen Haire, called *Lover of His People, A Biography of Sol Plaatje* (Molema, 2012). This is the only biography written by someone who had direct and personal contact with Plaatje. Another neighbour, Maud Sidzumo, a teacher at one of the mission schools in town, fondly recalled the welcoming and loving atmosphere at the Plaatje family home (Willan, 2018).

Conversely, Plaatje and Elizabeth also frequently attended "entertainment functions in the town hall" (Willan, 2018, p. 206) since the relationship between Blacks and Whites in Mafeking were generally very civil (Midgeley, 1997). The couple also shared a love of music, which resulted in their creation of the Mafeking Philharmonic Society – apparently modelled on the Philharmonic Society in Kimberley during Plaatje's earlier days (Willan, 2018). In addition, both Plaatje and Elizabeth became increasingly active in the communal life of the Barolong tribe. Plaatje assisted the chief and his council in dealing with the authorities, for example, when the British Secretary of State for Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, visited Mafeking in 1903, he acted on their behalf (Comaroff et al., 1999; Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984). Plaatje was an already trusted and familiar figure at the *kgotla's* (chief's) court and people knew they could depend on him for advice and guidance (Willan, 1984, 2018). Furthermore, his literary skills and education made him the ideal candidate to represent the Barolong's interests when the need arose (Molema, 1966; Willan, 1984, 2018). An added bonus for Plaatje was the financial compensation he received from the chief for his services rendered (Comaroff et al., 1999; Molema, 1966). Given Plaatje's official employment position and obligatory sense of loyalty to the colonial government, he knew he needed to maintain a

delicate balance, both publicly and privately, between his duties as a civil servant and as a representative for the Barolong (Willan, 2018). Elizabeth was also entrusted and had to handle the catering arrangements for the royal wedding of Israel Molema (Silas's brother) in February 1901, which was a clear indication that she had been accepted into the life of the Barolong community (Willan, 1984, 2018).

In his private time, Plaatje re-registered for and wrote two subjects (Dutch and Typewriting) in the Cape Civil service examinations in Cape Town in December 1900 (Leflaive, 2014; Mokae, 2010; Rall, 2003). His application to write a third subject, German, was declined, as there were apparently not enough candidates enrolled to justify an examination sitting (Willan, 2018). More than 200 White candidates and three other African candidates also working as court interpreters, were registered to write the examinations, one of whom applied to write Xhosa. The examiner for the Xhosa examination was Isaiah Bud-M'belle who was recently appointed as interpreter to the Special Treason Court based in Cape Town (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). It is assumed that Plaatje stayed with Isaiah during his time (Willan, 2018).

On 21 December 1900, while on his way back home, he was delayed for four days at the town of De Aar (approximately 500 kilometres south of Mafikeng) by a group of Boers troops who were travelling into the Cape Colony from across the Orange Free State border (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Although the railway services resumed a few days later, Plaatje ended up spending the third consecutive Christmas separated from his wife and son (Willan 2018). He arrived home on 27 December 1900 (Willan, 2018).

When the Cape Civil Service examination results were released a few weeks later, Plaatje was proud that he achieved top marks, heading the list of candidates, although when the results were published in the government gazette a few months later, he was disappointed at not being acknowledged accordingly (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). His name appeared sixth on the list for the Dutch examination and third on the list for the Typewriting examination (Willan,

1984, 2018). Not receiving public recognition for his achievement, especially after following up on this discrepancy, fuelled his resentment towards the perceived injustice (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

Though a career in journalism was a future ambition of his, Plaatje realised it was not yet time to give up his full-time employment (Couzens, 2001; Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He had worked in the Cape Civil Service longer than most of the inexperienced young White men who were appointed to jobs that he felt he was far better qualified for and he regarded his current salary “a waste of time” (Willan, 1996, p. 60). However, the birth of his second son, Richard, in September 1901, made immediate resignation financially more difficult, particularly since Richard’s health quickly deteriorated because of the hot, dry climate and he was eventually sent to live with relatives in Bethanie, situated close to Pniel to spend the majority of his childhood years (Mokae, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Thus, for two more years, Plaatje continued his work at the magistrate’s office and at times, also acted as interpreter for the Dutch-speaking Boer prisoners during the treason investigations held by the Special Treason Tribunal in November 1901 (Lunderstedt, 2014). These Boer prisoners had been arrested in early June 1900 and the Mafeking jail was overcrowded at the time (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). The tribunal that comprised of a panel of three judges, oversaw the more serious treasonous cases, which were accompanied by additional charges such as murder, manslaughter or looting (Willan, 2018). While many of these prisoners may have been uncomfortable with putting their trust and faith in a Black man (even if he was fluent in both Dutch and English), Plaatje too enjoyed the challenge of such a responsible position (Willan, 2018). This also prompted him to put in another request for a salary increase, especially since “the necessity for a better Dutch interpreter did not arise when these hearings began, the fact speaks for itself as regards my competency” (Willan, 2018, p. 138). During these court trials, Plaatje was faced with numerous moral and ethical challenges that had a

lasting impact on him (Willan, 2018). In one case, Plaatje was called as a witness for the defence by their lawyer and his long-time friend, Henry Burton (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Plaatje's testimony completely collapsed the prosecution's case and although many people, especially Africans, were upset with the resultant positive outcome for the Boer prisoner, Plaatje maintained that he had acted ethically and demonstrated his beliefs courageously (Willan, 1984, 2018). In other cases, the guilty verdicts and actual death sentencing of five White men who murdered different Black men (Jooste & Webster, 2002), rekindled his belief in the integrity of the Cape judicial system and in equality before the law emphasising that "a Black man has just as much right to live as a White man" (Willan, 1996, p. 385). Throughout his life, Plaatje often quoted the judge's words from memory in his relentless fight for a colour-blind judicial system (Limb, 2003; Willan, 2018).

In the surrounding countryside, the violence between the Africans and the Boers continued. On the night of 12 January 1902, Boer forces from the Transvaal invaded the Mafeking district, knowing that the British authorities had disarmed most of the Barolong after the siege (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Fearful of the realities of such an attack, the Barolong repeatedly requested permission to carry weapons in order to defend themselves and their property and were angered when the Boers looted large numbers of cattle and other livestock, killing several people in the process (Willan, 1984, 2018). The Barolong suffered more damage in that one night than during the entire seven months of the siege and for Plaatje, it was yet another injustice that made journalism seem like a better prospective career (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

In his final months at the magistrate's office, Plaatje overhauled its system of record-keeping and pointed out to acting magistrate, Mr E. Graham Green that "I have done my utmost to arrange them (the office records) in such a manner that you could expect to find something in its proper place..." (Willan, 2018, p. 160). He most probably wanted to leave his mark; after eight years of working as a civil servant in the Cape Colony he had acquired a wide range of

skills and possessed “an ability and character that were not easy to find” (Willan, 2018, p. 160). This was a sentiment later voiced by Mr Green who regretted accepting Plaatje’s resignation when persistent complaints about bad interpreting in court were received from the town’s two lawyers (Willan, 2018).

Five days after Plaatje’s resignation, the Treaty of Vereeniging concluded the peace negotiations between the British and the Boers and the political climate in the country stabilised (Nasson, 2004). However, the discussion of the Black enfranchisement ‘question’ was put on hold until the Boer republics could attain self-government (Lunderstedt, 2014). This was a huge disappointment to the Barolong, as their contribution to the war effort, it seemed, remained unrewarded (Leflaive, 2014). In this regard, Plaatje remarked that “...no peace terms could be considered which did not extend to the native races the same privileges – the rights of the franchise...” (Oakes, 1992, p. 266).

Around May 1902, at the age of 26, Plaatje officially became editor of the first Setswana-English weekly newspaper, *Koranta ea Bechoana (The Bechuana Gazette)*, privately financed by Silas Molema (Couzens, 2001; Limb, 2003; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Unlike several other African-run newspapers at the time, *Koranta ea Bechoana* had no White shareholders, nor was it subsidised by any political party (Willan, 2018). At this stage, Plaatje formed part of a select band of Black pressmen in South Africa (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). He was proud of this achievement: “...in no way is the saying that ‘the pen is mightier than the sword’ more exemplified than in the publication of a newspaper” (Molema, 2012, p. 40). He was confident that he would make a success of a newspaper whose political creed matched his own long-standing beliefs of equality before the law for everyone and his pride in his African heritage (Willan, 1984, 2018).

It seems Plaatje’s fascination with newspapers dates back to his time in Kimberley when he was an avid reader of John Tengo Jabavu’s newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu* (which had been

temporarily shut down by the government in August 1901 for expressing ‘disloyal sentiments’) and was further influenced by the positive impression left on him by Frederick York St Leger, the editor of the *Cape Times* (he even named his first son after him) (Willan, 2018). In addition, recent interaction with journalists such as Angus Hamilton and Vere Stent served as further encouragement. One of Plaatje’s friends, Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner who was once a newspaper editor himself, also urged Plaatje to resign from the government service and to pursue a career in journalism (Plaatje, 1925; Willan, 2018).

Only two other African newspapers were being published regularly at the time, namely *Izwi la Bantu*, the English-Xhosa newspaper that was printed in East London and the *South African Spectator* that was published in Cape Town (Lunderstedt, 2014). It seemed that all three editors of these newspapers shared a sense of common purpose, aiming to give expression to the native opinion and to convey their aspirations and grievances to the authorities (Couzens, 1990; Willan, 2018). They also shared a commitment to the four principles of ‘Labour, Sobriety, Thrift and Education’ (Couzens, 1990; Willan, 1984, 2018). The launch of *Koranta ea Becaana* was a major event in Plaatje’s life, because it brought a position filled with great influence and importance in the affairs of his people, especially since he had every prospect of elevating his reputation as their spokesman (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Several of Plaatje’s White friends, including Vere Stent and Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner, wrote congratulatory letters when they heard about his new venture (Willan, 2018).

From the onset, Silas Molema was satisfied that Plaatje decided on the content of each issue and that he handled the day-to-day running of office affairs (Molema, 2012). Although Plaatje wrote the editorials and a variety of other unsigned articles, in English and Setswana, he regularly discussed what was to be printed with Molema during the evenings (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Before long, the newspaper developed into a very professional publication, its success due to the quality, humour and optimism that featured throughout its columns

(Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Over time, Plaatje was exchanging English articles with newspapers in Europe, Britain and West Africa, especially with African-American publications and its well-known journalists such as John Edward Bruce in Washington DC; all in an attempt to boost readership and increase their subsequent income (Lunderstedt 2014; Willan, 2018). Despite its success, *Koranta ea Becoana* was burdened with financial challenges from the onset but Plaatje worked long hours and even incurred personal debt to ensure its survival (Midgeley, 1997). Collaborating with other publications was also an avenue at broadening the general knowledge of the Batswana people, while preserving their cultural integrity through regular reports on the positive leadership of the Batswana chiefs in the Setswana columns of *Koranta ea Becoana* (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's core readership, for him, was Setswana and he intended to address their concerns in their vernacular, which served as a direct link between the educated leadership, the chiefs and the people, including a means of building up communal strength and identity (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje was a staunch supporter of gender equality and disregarded it as a legitimate barrier to equal treatment: "Just as strongly as we object to the line of demarcation being drawn on the basis of a person's colour, so we abhor disqualification founded on a person's sex" (Molema, 2012, p. 92). He relentlessly encouraged the education and progress of all (African) people but was unafraid to criticise them when he considered they fell short by, for example, abusing alcohol or engaging in traditional customs such as circumcision that did not align with Christian practices (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). He also criticised them when they failed to support progressive causes such as equal treatment for men and women (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). In addition, Plaatje's strong opinionated editorials evoked a lot of negative reaction from other local newspapers such as *The Bloemfontein Friend*, *The Natal Witness* and *The Mafeking Mail*, accusing him of being ungrateful towards the British (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Fortunately, Plaatje had a good relationship with the editors of *The Diamond Fields Advertiser*

in Kimberley and the *Cape Argus* in Cape Town that sometimes included extracts from *Koranta ea Becoana* as authentic expressions of ‘native opinion’ (Willan, 2018). Through his articles, Plaatje quickly became known as a leading spokesperson for African opinion (Couzens, 1990; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018).

An air of assertiveness was also observed in these articles, which found expression in a biblical quotation from the Song of King Solomon that soon appeared under the title of each issue, in both English and Setswana, including other newspapers that he would edit in the future:

I am Black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar,
and the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me because I am Black for the sun
hath looked down upon me; my mother's children were angry with me; they
made me the keeper of the vineyards; but my own vineyard have I not kept.

(Plaatje, 1930, p. 94)

It became a type of motto that asserted his pride in his African heritage (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). By 1903, the small office staff consisted of five other African men, including Plaatje’s younger brother Ramokoto who lived in the *stadt* (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje’s political career started around August 1903 when he was invited to join a delegation of Barolong chiefs to the British government in Cape Town to claim compensations for the losses suffered by the African people during the war (Comaroff et al., 1999; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984). During the month that the delegation spent there, they stayed with F. Z. S. Peregrino, the editor of the *South African Spectator* (Willan, 2018). They managed to lobby support among sympathetic members of parliament that now also included Plaatje’s old friend Henry Burton who was very critical of the treatment of the Barolong at the hands of the Compensation Commission (Willan, 2018). Although the deputation’s mission was unsuccessful, it was the first of a long series of discussions to follow (Lunderstedt, 2014). For

Plaatje, the trip to Cape Town provided invaluable experience and refined his skills as a political lobbyist and negotiator at the highest levels of government (Willan, 1984, 2018). Furthermore, his striking work ethic during this trip landed him a commendation in the *Cape Argus* newspaper at the time (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Towards the end of 1903, Plaatje created the South African Native Press Association in an attempt to unite *Koranta ea Becoana* with the other two African newspapers in the country, as all of them were facing similar challenges in their respective areas (Willan, 1984, 2018). The association's motto was '*Defence, not Defiance*' and their overall purpose was to improve the press of the natives in general (Willan, 1996). Unfortunately, it was a short-lived venture that ceased functioning less than a year later due to financial pressures and insurmountable practical obstacles such as trying to include too wide a demographic (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Over the next few years, Plaatje developed a more critical conviction of the policies and behaviour of the new British administration in the Transvaal and Orange River colonies and its "oppressive pass laws" (Willan, 2018, p. 182) that were introduced specifically to control the movements of Black people in South Africa (Cousins & Walker, 2015). In the absence of any direct political representation for Africans living in these colonies, *Koranta ea Becoana* and its editor became extensively involved in activities aimed at fighting for this oppressed majority (Willan, 1984, 2018). In the process, Plaatje also volunteered as an advisor to those affected by the pass laws and assisted them with their preparations for court, which proved successful in some cases (Leflaive, 2014). An example of one such a case concerned the rights of African residents living in a township in the Johannesburg district to acquire legal title deeds for the plots of land they had already paid for (Willan, 2018). When the local native commissioner refused their request, Plaatje's research for evidence of this law in the Transvaal Law Book proved that the commissioner's refusal was based on an outdated law, resulting in him publically criticising the "snow-White Government official" (Willan, 2018, p. 183) in the

columns of *Koranta ea Becoana*: "...all we claim is our just dues; we ask for political recognition as loyal British subjects..." (Molema, 2012, p. 46). This letter enabled the residents' representative to secure a victory when the case was taken to court (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Willan, 2018). A few months later, Plaatje was personally notified of this outcome by the advocates involved who also complimented him on 'the best letter that ever reached us by the Johannesburg mail since the declaration of peace' (Cousins & Walker, 2015).

Plaatje was always seen travelling around the country on a bicycle to observe consequent injustices of the oppressive and segregated pass laws (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Shillington, 1985), subsequently reporting it in his newspaper (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). He was a persistent advocate for "equality of all...before the law" (Leflaive, 2014, p. 48). However, despite his public critique of the British administration in these immediate post-war years, he never advocated armed conflict and instead, preferred civilised discussions based on factual evidence that could be argued in a court of law, if necessary (Willan, 2018). In a relatively short period, Plaatje had earned a reputation as an influential public figure with a powerful, independent voice who was accepted as spokesman, not only of the Barolong but of a much wider African political constituency spread out across the Northern Cape province, the Transvaal and Orange River colonies, as well as the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Sadly, keeping his newspaper afloat became an increasingly desperate and all-consuming struggle (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

On the home front, Elizabeth had given up teaching to be a full-time mother and created a warm home environment for the family (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1996). She kept in touch with her own family and often visited them without Plaatje; she felt that his work commitments interfered with his family responsibilities and that he did not always make enough time for their children (Lunderstedt, 2014). It was during one of her family visits, in December 1903, that their first daughter, Olive, was born (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Olive

(named after the novelist Olive Schreiner) became a special favourite of Plaatje and he often told many amusing anecdotes about her (Willan, 1996). In one of these anecdotes, he relates an account of one occasion, when Olive went to visit a Sunday school in Beaconsfield, the teacher asked her for her name and she replied: 'Olive Schreiner', which prompted great amusement from the rest of the children in class (Willan, 1996, 2018). Years later, Plaatje wrote a poem entitled 'Olive and I', which was a touching record of a day they spent together in the countryside outside Mafikeng (Willan, 2018). Plaatje later also paid tribute to her in his historical novel, *Mhudi* (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Pampalis, 1992). The long hours at work and the numerous absences from Mafeking limited the time that Plaatje was able to spend with his family but he enjoyed the times when they were together (Willan, 2018).

Meanwhile, grim political developments in the broader country warned of the implementation of a uniform 'native policy' (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Shillington, 1985), which proposed two things: 1) separate occupation of land for Black and White citizens and 2) White economic and political domination (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). The British government was eager to reach a settlement with the Boers that would grant the latter self-government (Willan, 2018). With total segregation, Africans would be forced to work for White farmers and mine owners, whilst their own political aspirations were to be confined to the 'reserves' (or farms) where most of them would live under White domination (Rotberg, 1988; Shillington, 1985). In addition, this vision threatened the existence of the non-racial Cape franchise that still applied in the Cape Colony and the belief in the notion of equality for all in the country (Willan, 2018). In ruling circles, the non-racial Cape franchise was the central political obstacle to the creation of a uniform 'native policy' (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Against this political backdrop, educated Africans, such as Plaatje, infuriated poorly educated White employees whose main qualification for their job was often merely the colour of their skin (Lunderstedt, 2014). In April 1904, a personal incident at a police station in the

town of Lichtenburg, just across the Transvaal border, magnified Plaatje's concern regarding the impact of the growing racially discriminatory laws of government (Willan, 1996, 2018). The incident occurred when Plaatje went to the police station to check the validity of his pass book but was shocked by the treatment of the officers on duty who told him to "take off your hat you damned, bloody dirty Black swine! And always wait till you are spoken to!" (Willan, 1996, p. 89). Despite Plaatje's outrage, he kept calm, recorded the evidence in his notebook and left. Two days later he wrote to Sir Richard Solomon, the Attorney General (the highest legal officer in the Cape Colony) and reported the distasteful incident (Willan, 2018). Ironically, Plaatje and the Attorney General knew each other from the 1890s when they were both living in Kimberley but he did not request any personal favours and kept his letter to the point:

I may add for your information that I am not quite sure whether or not I am 'damned', but of the following I am quite certain, viz., (1) I had no blood stains on me, at the time; (2) I was not dirty, while I need hardly add that (3) I was not a pig. I transacted business with half a dozen businessmen in Lichtenburg, directly before and after this episode, none of whom objected to my appearance. (Willan, 1996, p. 90)

In a separate incident, Plaatje's friend and brother-in-law, Isaiah Bud-M'belle, suffered serious head injuries during an unprovoked assault in a street in Kimberley and took several months to recover (Willan, 2018).

Expectedly, Plaatje's extensive travels were financially and physically taxing on top of mounting challenges at *Koranta ea Becoana* (Leflaive, 2014). It was running at a loss, because its circulation, along with revenue from subscriptions and advertising, was limited by poverty and low levels of literacy among the Setswana population in the area (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Both Plaatje and Silas Molema incurred substantial personal debts to help meet the

newspaper's running expenses and Plaatje worked nearly eighteen hours a day to ensure that it appeared regularly (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). However, by mid-1906 the over-indebted newspaper was forced to shut down (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje and Molema had exhausted all sources of credit available to them and were incapable of meeting the repayments nor the interest on the loans they had taken out (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Another important issue that had preoccupied Plaatje during this time concerned the state of Setswana orthography and its lack of uniformity (Midgeley, 1997). He criticised the London Missionary Society (the largest missionary body operating among the Batswana) for its failure to attempt a unification of the various orthographies and also for their failure to consult native speakers, like himself, on the issue (Willan, 2018). Since the only organisations that were producing books in Setswana were the missionary societies, they started to resent the influence that Plaatje was increasingly exerting on African opinion in this regard (Midgeley, 1997). Thus, when a conference was eventually called in 1910 to try to resolve the issue, Plaatje was deliberately excluded from it (Midgeley, 1997; Plaatje, 1916a; Willan, 2018).

In the meantime, the Barolong had managed to attain two victories in the courts of law: 1) over the council's legal right to impose tax levies on owning dogs in November 1904 and 2) against the implementation of the Native Reserves Locations Act²² in 1905 (Moguerane, 2016; Ramoroka, 2009). However, each year the local authorities tried to make further inroads and the Barolong struggled more and more to resist government proclamations (Ramoroka, 2009; Willan, 2018). In order to address this issue, there was another Barolong deputation to Cape Town in 1906, but again, they returned disappointed (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Their situation was aggravated by growing poverty that forced them to rely heavily on the income of the young men sent out to work in the mines. The young Barolong chief was also not coping

²² It authorized the government to set up and control African residential areas outside towns (SAHO, n.d.).

with his responsibilities and despite Plaatje's best efforts to assist, he realised that the great symbol of Barolong independence, Paramount Chief Montshioa giving judgement in council, was now nothing more than a distant memory (Willan, 2018). The vision of the proud Setswana people, with the Barolong at its core, leading the way into the modern world, appeared increasingly unrealistic as the colonial government further tightened its grip (Comaroff et al., 1999; Cousins & Walker, 2015).

With the demise of *Koranta ea Becoana* in 1906, Plaatje had been left without a steady income and covered in debt (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018), which was followed by a period of rapid financial deterioration for the next three years (Lunderstedt, 2014). The pressure to provide for his family escalated when Elizabeth gave birth to their second daughter, Violet, in January 1907 (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). While Olive was his favourite, Plaatje was also very proud of his eldest son, Sainty who was performing well academically in the mission school in town – similar to his parents, Sainty displayed a natural talent for languages and music and was fluent in English, Setswana and Xhosa by the time he turned nine years old (Willan, 2018). It was at this age that Plaatje and Elizabeth sent him to attend the Lyndhurst Road Native school²³ in Kimberley, under the care of his uncle, Isaiah Bud-M'belle (Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012).

The family's financial predicament continued. Between 1906 and 1910 Plaatje was issued with summonses 16 times for repayment of outstanding debts, mainly loans and bills related to the newspaper but also for goods that were supplied on credit (Willan, 1984, 2018). Silas Molema sold off land and large numbers of cattle in order to cover some of their joint debts (Molema, 2012). Unfortunately, Plaatje was also in trouble for habitually evading the annual hut tax that all African households were required to pay, which meant that he was guilty of not

²³ It was the only African-run secondary school in the Colony that was supported by the Education Department and where he could attend higher grade classes (Willan, 2018).

upholding the law that he always strongly advocated for (Willan, 2018). Eventually, in 1909, he was compelled to work as a labour recruiter for the Mines Labour Supply Company in town, which specialised in providing labour for the coal mines in the Transvaal (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). The labour recruiter licence that Plaatje needed in order to do this job was only issued by the magistrate when the company stood as surety and agreed to help pay off his outstanding debts on a monthly basis (Willan, 2018). Though it was a job he hated, Plaatje coped with the demands of the mining environment if it kept his creditors at bay (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Unfortunately, his new job was short-lived as the ill-fated company went into liquidation just several months later (Willan, 2018).

The year 1909 turned into one of the most challenging times in Plaatje's life. He was still heavily in debt and his hope to produce a new newspaper seemed impossible, even more so in view of the gloomy political developments that were happening around him (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Discussions of a new 'White-ruled' Union of South Africa were continuing that essentially threatened the preservation of the human rights and dignity of all Africans (Odendaal, 2012; Thompson, 1960). Between October 1908 and February 1909, a convention of White, male representatives from all four colonies in Southern Africa had gathered in Bloemfontein to reach an agreement on a constitution, although no African representatives were consulted or invited to attend (Odendaal, 2012; Thompson, 1960). Only a few of those present at the convention argued that the Cape franchise should become the model for the Union as a whole, but this was rejected by the British imperial government who mainly focused on reconciliation between themselves and the Boers (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Subsequently, protest meetings held in different parts of the country, objected against the failure to preserve the Cape's non-racial franchise (Lunderstedt, 2014). The movement of protest eventually culminated in the South African Native National Convention (SANNC) that was held in Bloemfontein from 24 to 26 March 1909 (Odendaal, 2012; Walshe, 1970; Willan,

2018), which was attended by 60 delegates that rendered it the most representative meeting ever convened by Black South Africans (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.; Walshe, 1970). The grave danger that the threat of Union posed to their future political status activated an extraordinary sense of unity among them (Odendaal, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje, however, was absent from this meeting because of work responsibilities and instead, Silas Molema was one of the representatives who actively represented the Barolong of Mafeking in the proceedings (Willan, 2018). In the end, the resolution was to send a deputation to appeal against the abolishment of the Cape's non-racial franchise to the British imperial government directly (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). A day after the convention, 27 March 1909, the *Mafeking Mail* published a letter from Plaatje appealing to all African voters in the Mafeking district to register in view of the impending challenges by the proposed new Union parliament (Limb, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje also added his voice to other protest meetings that followed (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Odendaal, 2012; Shillington, 1985). Though the SANNC was largely ignored both locally and in England, its organisers resolved to set up a permanent organisation in an effort to mobilise the momentum they had created (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.). Thus, when the SANNC held its second annual meeting in March 1910, again in Bloemfontein, Plaatje had become so involved that he was elected Assistant Secretary of the new organisation (Limb, 2003; Willan, 2018). A week later he led a deputation to Pretoria and addressed several meetings, including two in the Marabastad Location in town in an attempt to inspire Black South Africans to vote in the upcoming elections, via the SANNC (Willan, 1984, 2018). The trip, as well as the debates about the future governance of the country's African population, offered Plaatje a welcome escape from his increasingly limited role as advisor to the ineffective Barolong chief (Molema, 2012; Odendaal, 2012). He spoke out against the impracticality of total segregation through an essay-writing competition in the *Transvaal Chronicle* (a daily

newspaper based in Johannesburg) regarding the ‘segregation debate’ and earned some extra money when he won the third cash prize (Willan, 2018).

By April 1910, however, the majority of Plaatje’s debts were still connected to the newspaper and his inability to settle them all caused him to become embroiled in legal matters (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The bailiff seized a few of the assets in his house, which must have been upsetting for Elizabeth since she was once again forced to deal with this family matter on her own (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). As usual, Plaatje was away from home and unable to support his wife when the incident occurred (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). In light of this incident, it was obvious to Plaatje that he needed a stable source of income. He decided that journalism was the only career in which he could achieve this and somehow managed to secure backers for a new newspaper, *Tsala ea Bechoana (The Bechuana’s Friend)* (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). The wealthy Barolong landowners of the Thaba Nchu²⁴ district trusted the reputation he had earned in Mafeking and elsewhere (Willan, 2018) and believed that a newspaper remained one of the most effective means to have their voices heard (Plaatje, 1916b). Thus, towards the end of April 1910, Plaatje uprooted his family and moved to Kimberley, where he assumed editorship of the new newspaper (Comaroff et al., 1999; Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). As a father of four children of school age, Plaatje thought that the diamond town offered better educational facilities than Mafeking and was also generally better placed economically, socially and politically, from which to run a newspaper (Lunderstedt, 2014; Roberts, 1976; Willan, 2018).

²⁴ It is a town just outside Bloemfontein in the Free State Province, South Africa. The population is largely made up of Setswana and Sesotho people (Raper, 1987).

2.3.4 *Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)*

The new White-dominated Union of South Africa became official in May 1910 (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.) and coincided with Plaatje's arrival in Kimberley (Willan, 2018). Although the low price of diamonds on the world market dunked the diamond town into a recession from which it was only just starting to recover, it still had a sense of economic well-being and *Tsala ea Becoana* evidently set up its office at the corner of Brett and Shannon Streets (Lunderstedt, 2014). With the backing of the wealthy Barolong landowners, *Tsala ea Becoana* soon gained momentum and attracted the support of Thomas Mapikela, a Fengu businessman based in Bloemfontein who had been wanting to establish a newspaper himself, and John Tengo Jabavu, whose credentials and experience as a newsman was greater than those of any other African alive (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Jabavu wanted to create a stronger presence in the Northern Cape Province for his own business, Jabavu & Co., and assisted Plaatje to complete the necessary registration formalities to have it appointed as *Tsala ea Becoana*'s proprietor, printer and publisher in Kimberley (Willan, 2018). For Plaatje, it was an arrangement that allowed him to do what he enjoyed best and he worked closely with Jabavu (who also became godfather to Plaatje's eldest daughter, Olive) (Willan, 1984, 2018). There were, however, challenges with the day-to-day operations of the newspaper because, for nearly a year, Jabavu & Co. would print the copies of *Tsala ea Becoana* on its printing press in King William's Town in the Eastern Cape Province, which was over 600 kilometres away (Willan, 1984, 2018). This logistical difficulty often caused delays for the printed copies to be sent back timeously to Kimberley and distributed among its main markets (Willan, 2018).

Soon after they arrived in Kimberley in 1910, Plaatje and Elizabeth had another son, Hally, named after Halley's Comet, which appeared at the time of his birth (Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). Similar to the limited information available on their daughter, Violet, not much detail about Hally's childhood is provided aside from being

described as the ‘accredited chatterbox of the family’. Their eldest sibling, Sainty, was doing well at the Lyndhurst Road Native School and helped out in the newspaper office during school holidays; sometimes articles, such as a report of the school inspector’s visit, appeared under his name in the newspaper (Willan, 2018). Olive, on the other hand, was determined to claim as much of her father’s attention as she could by, for instance, taking tea to his study and insist on sharing a cup with him before he could continue with work (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 1996). The special fondness Plaatje had for Olive is evident in that he wrote more about her than about all his other children put together (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 1996). Ultimately, the move back to Kimberley brought them closer to Isaiah Bud M’belle who was living in town, Simon and other family members who were still living at Pniel (Willan, 1984, 2018), as well as old friends who had remained in town (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014).

Plaatje and his business associate Jabavu were optimistic about the promise of positive changes within the new Union government. Both men believed that: 1) the liberal traditions of the Cape Colony would become the dominant force in managing the new government’s affairs, 2) dealing with only one administration will generally be more fruitful and therefore, 3) residents of the Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland Protectorates needed to form part of the new Union, because they would be protected against arbitrary imperial misrule under the protection of the Supreme Court (Willan, 2018). In one of his *Tsala ea Becoana*’s editorials, Plaatje stated:

In my opinion, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court alone warrants the change as it will give to the common people the King’s protection in practice as well as in theory. The sooner the protectorates could be handed over to the Union, the better. (Willan, 2018, p. 220)

Nonetheless, Plaatje became a “watchdog” (Willan, 2018, p. 225) of the new government and the contents of *Tsala ea Becoana* reminded of *Koranta ea Becoana*’s familiar balance of advertisements, local correspondents’ reports, readers’ letters and news items, while his

editorial matter carried a hopeful but critical message where he believed it was required (Lunderstedt, 2014; Odendaal, 2012). Plaatje managed to preserve good relationships with the authorities and was especially pleased when a number of Cape liberals and ‘friends of the natives’ were included in the Union cabinet after the general elections in September 1910 (Willan, 2018). These ‘friends’ included F.S. Malan as Minister of Education, J.W. Sauer as Minister of Railways and Harbours and Henry Burton as Minister of Native Affairs (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje was equally happy at the appointment of Edward Dower as Burton’s secretary, and that of W.P. Schreiner as one of four ‘Native Senators’, whose duty, in terms of the new constitution, was to look after ‘native interests’ (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). He was optimistic that these individuals would implement fair and favourable ‘native policies’ within the new government (Willan, 1984, 2018).

In November 1910, Plaatje addressed a grievance regarding legal restrictions on the occupation of property on behalf of the Thaba ’Nchu Barolong landowners (Willan, 2018). He attended several meetings in this regard, locally and in Cape Town, with Henry Burton, W.P. Schreiner and Abraham Fischer (Minister of Land), who in the end recommended the legalisation of the occupation of land in Thaba ’Nchu, but their proposal was rejected by White landowners and ignored by the Boer government, which had its own plans for land reform (Willan, 2018). In other matters, Plaatje also took a hands-on approach to object against the replacement of African civil servants by White workers; on the railways, in the post office and in the courts of law (Moguerane, 2016). To him, the biggest threat was to the replacement of Black court interpreters, because it not only highlighted unfair employment practices but it spelled worrying consequences for the proper functioning of the judicial system (Moguerane, 2016; Willan, 2018). In an attempt to appeal against this issue, he arranged a series of meetings with several cabinet ministers during a week-long visit to Pretoria in December 1910 and returned home with promises to investigate his concerns (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje then travelled to various other towns and gathered evidence about the breakdowns in justice that resulted from the use of unqualified or inexperienced interpreters, Black and White, and brought it to the attention of the Minister of Justice, General Hertzog (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). In one incident towards the end of 1911, Plaatje witnessed an accused being sentenced to one-year imprisonment with hard labour as a result of an incompetent White interpreter but after his explanation of the injustice to General Hertzog a month later, the sentence was set aside (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje doggedly examined the new political set-up of the country (Limb, 2003; Lunderstedt, 2014) and used his newspaper reports and editorials to promote change and denounce injustices (Comaroff et al., 1999). While the Cape non-racial franchise was still in existence in the Union government, most cabinet ministers readily accepted Plaatje as a responsible spokesman for his people, listened to his representations, and in some cases, as previously mentioned, took remedial action – as long as he did not demand any major new initiatives (Willan, 1984, 2018). During the period 1910 – 1912, Plaatje enjoyed an easy sense of influence and access to government that Isaiah Bud-M'belle later described as “a rare and valuable quality not possessed by other Bantu leaders” (Willan, 2018, p. 228).

Although *Tsala ea Becoana* was published at weekly intervals for over two years, its financial situation was a constant challenge under Kimberley's struggling economy, particularly amidst the growth of nearby Johannesburg as an industrial and gold mining centre (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). At one stage, Plaatje even went without a salary for three months and was forced to ask the Molema family for a loan to keep the newspaper afloat (Willan, 2018). On more than one occasion, Isaiah Bud-M'belle paid the overdue rent on the newspaper's office while other friends and family members also often came to Plaatje's rescue and settled some of his personal debts (Jacobson, 1980; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Tengo Jabavu had gradually withdrawn from *Tsala ea Becoana* and spent most of 1911 in England

until eventually the printing contract with Jabavu & Co. was terminated, which meant that the newspaper would henceforth have to be printed in Kimberley somehow (Willan, 2018).

Constant pursuit by creditors from Mafeking added to Plaatje's financial pressures, but he did his best to meet those obligations and found additional part-time work selling policies as an insurance agent (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). He also generated additional income through writing regular articles for the local *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, acting as a correspondent for the London-based newspaper, the *African World* (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018) and under the editorship of his old-time friend, Vere Stent, wrote numerous articles for the *Pretoria News*, which were frequently reproduced in the *Cape Argus* (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The editor of the *African World*, a South African journalist, Leo Weinthal, was the founder and first editor of the *Pretoria News*, and would later also become one of Plaatje's friends (Rosenthal, 1967; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's articles often appeared under the heading 'Through Native Eyes' and covered topics such as the pros and cons of annexing the protectorates to the Union of South Africa, the Dutch Reformed Church Bill (which restricted African membership), the policies of the 'White Labour Party' and sometimes, his own travels in Basutoland (present day Lesotho) and the rest of the country (Willan, 2018). He enjoyed writing to a larger audience but regarded the income generated by the articles equally important: "I work day and night just to have something at the end of every month to pay up these things" (Willan, 2018, p. 227). Plaatje received news from Mafeking that his plot of land in the *stadt* had been claimed by a Molema family member in the meantime (Willan, 2018). As it was originally granted to him by the Molema family under traditional terms of tenure (meaning at the pleasure of the Chief), Plaatje did not possess rightful ownership to the land; this was also the case with the house that he had built on the plot of land provided by the Molema family, near the Molopo river (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). However, given his services rendered to the Barolong chiefdom in Mafeking over the past decade, Plaatje felt

entitled to the land and the house and the dispute, of which the outcome is unclear, complicated his relationship with the Barolong (Willan, 2018).

The White Afrikaners' rising demand for harsher 'native policies' led to the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in Bloemfontein in January 1912 (Limb, 2003; Midgeley, 1997; SAHO, n.d.). Plaatje and another former newspaper editor, Cleopas Kunene's suggestion for the organisation to be given a distinct, native name - *Imbizo Yabantu* (or Bantu Congress) - was rejected by fellow committee members (Willan, 2018). The SANNC, the forerunner of today's existing African National Congress (ANC) was established to give a stronger and united voice to the African people (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Plaatje saw the formation of the SANNC as a turning point in African politics in that its conference "was one of the most important events that have ever happened in South Africa" (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 32). The Zulu clergyman, Reverend John Dube who was also the editor of an English-Zulu newspaper in the Natal Province, was elected president of the organisation (SAHO, n.d.). Pixley Seme, a lawyer, and Thomas Mapikela, a businessman, became its treasurers, while G. D. Montshioa, also a lawyer, became the recording secretary. Twenty-two African chiefs became honorary presidents and Plaatje, as an experienced newsman and political spokesman, was elected the organisation's first secretary general (Leflaive, 2014; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Initially, Plaatje seemed reluctant to accept this position given the amount of time, work and money it would take to get the SANNC effectively off the ground and what effect this was bound to have on his newspaper business: "its editor...has been saddled with nearly all of the secretarial work..." (Willan, 2018, p. 233). However, the nomination was a recognition for the work he was doing for his people and he understood the importance of achieving unity amongst his people (Limb, 2003; Willan, 2018).

John Tengo Jabavu returned from England a few days before the SANNC's convention and set up his own rival organisation (Willan, 2018). Although this significantly challenged the

SANNC's claims to be fully representative of all people in the country, Plaatje and the other committee members did their best to demonstrate the SANNC's legitimacy in the eyes of the African people and emphasised their wish to work in partnership with government, not in opposition to it (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Initially, the government's positive response to their representations, guided by Henry Burton and Edward Dower, created a sense of hope amongst its members and as expected, Plaatje was regarded "best equipped by temperament and experience" to handle the meetings with Burton and Dower (Willan, 2018, p. 239).

The question of the gazetted Squatters Bill, which proposed drastic new restrictions on African landownership and purchase was of special concern to the SANNC and they denounced it in the strongest terms (Lunderstedt, 2014; SAHO, n.d.). Even so, their condemnation of the Squatters Bill: "We oppose the Bill and ask for its withdrawal until land has been provided for the natives" (Willan, 2018, p. 238) was respectful in comparison with that of Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, president of the African Political Organisation (APO), a predominantly Coloured party (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). The eventual abolishment of the proposed Squatters Bill (irrespective of the real reasons why) enforced the SANNC's credibility (Willan, 1984, 2018).

During one of Plaatje's SANNC trips to Cape Town in March 1912, he met with Dr Abdurahman at the APO's offices in Loop Street to explore co-operation between their respective organisations, after which they agreed to stay in touch and meet up on an annual basis (Willan, 2018). In later years, Plaatje also established a branch of the APO in Kimberley (Lunderstedt, 2014). While in Cape Town, Plaatje again met with Henry Burton to discuss the appalling manner in which Africans were treated when travelling on trains and the introduction of pass laws that would soon apply to both African men and women (Willan, 2018). Although Burton agreed that women should not be forced to carry passes, he advised against a protesting

women's deputation to Cape Town but they ignored Burton's warnings and several women were arrested by the police when their campaign escalated into violent behaviour (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Regrettably, Burton was replaced as Minister of Native Affairs by General Hertzog a few months later, signalling a sharp decline in the influence of the Cape liberals and African prospects within government (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

For most of March, April and May 1912, Plaatje's preoccupation with his political duties at the SANNC had him travelling regularly around the country (De Villiers, 2000; Rall, 2003). The mental and physical demands of these unpaid trips were exacerbated by the financial demands his long absences from the newspaper placed on it, as well as on his family (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). By June 1912, Plaatje was burdened with debts he could not settle (Jacobson, 1980), which forced the newspaper into bankruptcy (Midgeley, 1997). When he briefly managed to revive the newspaper under a new name, *Tsala ea Batho* (*The Friend of the People*) three months later, it included articles in English, Setswana and Sesotho that reflected the unity advocated by the SANNC (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Exactly *how* Plaatje was able to secure the necessary finances to relaunch the newspaper remains a mystery (Lunderstedt, 2014). On 7 September 1912, the same day as its formal opening, Plaatje and Elizabeth's youngest son, Johannes, was born (Lunderstedt, 2014; Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012).

During this period, Plaatje continued to work very hard and Elizabeth remained his pillar of strength and support even though she may not always have agreed with his decisions (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). More than anything, she was concerned for his health and often commented that the only time she could spend some time with her husband was when he was ill and confined to bed (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). The days that he was in Kimberley he mostly spent working in the newspaper office or in his library at home or attending meetings in town (involving, for example, the local branches of the SANNC and APO, local liquor

licensing meetings and the Lutheran Church), but the heavy workload was exhausting: “Working from 8 a.m. to midnight and often till later than 3 a.m. next day (with only short intervals or meals) and 5 or 6 hours sleep in 24 hours, we cannot have the same time we formerly devoted to the children” (Willan, 2018, pp 255-256). Plaatje admitted that his long working hours strained his health and often interfered with his family responsibilities (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Political developments in the country looked increasingly ominous as General Hertzog’s Afrikaner nationalism was rising both inside and outside parliament. Another alarming proposed legislation, the Natives’ Land Bill essentially deprived Black people (who encompassed the majority population in the country) of the right to acquire land outside their existing areas of occupation and prohibited White people from acquiring land within these ‘Scheduled Native Areas’ (Leflaive, 2014). Much to Plaatje’s dismay, the bill was passed by parliament and the Natives’ Land Act of 1913 became one of the most significant pieces of legislation in South African history (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.). The implementation of the Natives’ Land Act was a catastrophic step towards total segregation for the SANNC and a dire threat to the non-racial Cape franchise (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). From this point onwards, the removal of the “Native Land Plague” (Woeber, 1998, p. 7), as Plaatje called it, became one of the central events in his life (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Once again, he toured South Africa and collected evidence of the Act’s effects (Comaroff et al., 1999) and reported it in his newspaper (Rall, 2003). His editorial in *Tsala ea Batho* after the passing of the Natives’ Land Act was to the point: “the die is cast...natives...shall not buy land in the country of their birth...thanks to the ‘Papbroek’ senators...” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 40). On his journey, Plaatje encountered many Black families that were evicted from farms that now fell under the ‘Scheduled White Areas’ and witnessed many children and cattle dying in the harsh southern winter after having wandered on the roads with their families in search of

shelter (Molema, 2012). Such scenarios caused him to become more disillusioned with the government's actions:

The scenes I have witnessed...during the cold snap of July, of families living on the roads, the numbers of their attenuated flocks emaciated by lack of fodder on the trek, many of them dying while the wandering owners ran risks of prosecution for travelling with unhealthy stock. I saw the little children shivering... and contrasted their condition with the better circumstances of my own children in their Kimberley home; and when the mothers told me of the homes they had left behind and the privations they have endured since eviction I could scarcely suppress a tear. (Willan, 2018, p. 250)

Plaatje also supported women's protest campaigns against the Natives' Land Act and publicised the plight of female political detainees, whom he called "Black suffragettes" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 91) in the columns of *Tsala ea Batho* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). By early 1914, the newspaper's circulation had increased to 4000 copies, which suggested a positive reaction to his work from the Black community (Plaatje, 1916b, Willan, 2018). During this period, Tengo Jabavu was the only African politician to come out in favour of the Natives' Land Act, as his company now included three cabinet ministers as shareholders, which provoked widespread condemnation from Africans inside and outside the Cape Colony and cost him the reputation he had built up over the years (Willan, 1984, 2018). Furthermore, Jabavu refused to meet with Plaatje when the latter had travelled to King William's Town in November 1913 specifically to see him, which, given the closeness of their past association, heightened Plaatje's sense of betrayal. It was the end of their friendship (Willan, 2018).

In May 1913, Plaatje joined an SANNC delegation to Cape Town in an attempt to appeal against the "draconian law" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 17) but its failure to persuade the authorities to support their protest prompted a second delegation to England in May 1914 (Comaroff et al.,

1999; Limb, 2003). The SANNC delegates were determined to exhaust all constitutional options despite their awareness of the British government's reluctance to veto any South African legislation (Leflaive, 2014). The three months prior to their departure, Plaatje spent most of his time preparing for and gathering funds to finance his trip (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003). He also obtained helpful testimonials from the mayors of Kimberley and Mafeking and the secretary of the De Beers mine, just in case he needed it (Willan, 2018). In addition, the editor of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, who had previously worked as a journalist in England, also provided a letter of introduction to the Institute of Journalists in London, which proved particularly helpful (Willan, 2018). As a final precaution, Plaatje wrote to Henry Burton, now Minister of Railways and Harbours, for advice on any necessary official travel documents but was assured that he did not need a passport to enter England (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Plaatje expected to be away for five months at most but it would be nearly three years before he saw his wife and family again (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Shortly after the SANNC delegation's departure, Plaatje's two-year old son, Johannes, died after months of struggling with an unidentified illness (Willan, 1984, 2018). His death deeply affected the entire family and left "an indelible gap ... in our domestic circle" (Willan, 2018, p. 257). W.P. Schreiner and Vere Stent were among those who sent letters of condolence when the news was announced (Willan, 2018). The family's sadness was exacerbated shortly afterwards when Isaiah and his wife's 11-month old daughter, Maria, also died as a result of illness (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). As a result, practical and financial constraints made it impossible for Plaatje to return home for the funerals in time (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

On the three-week journey to England, Plaatje started writing a "little book which I hope to put to press immediately after landing England" (Willan, 1984, p. 174). This 'little' book swelled into an excess of 400 pages by the time it would eventually be published and it gave expression to his frustrations about political developments in South Africa: "...the South

African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 15). Ultimately, *Native Life in South Africa*, as it was called, earned him the label of ‘hero’ who was willing to ‘risk himself’ to expose injustice (Midgeley, 1997; Rule, 2016).

The declaration of World War I in August 1914 (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.) foiled the SANNC delegation’s mission in England that year, including Plaatje’s planned visit to Berlin in September as per invitation by the Berlin Missionary Society (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). When the rest of the delegation returned to South Africa in October, Plaatje remained in England to complete his plans for his book (Leflaive, 2014; Limb, 2003). Despite promises that the SANNC would fund a later trip back home, it was clear they expected him to return with them (Willan, 2018). Although the SANNC’s brief attempts to influence opinion failed to repeal the Natives’ Land Act, they did receive favourable responses from the British public and in particular, from the *National Brotherhood Movement*²⁵, which reminded of a domestic missionary society (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). Its members held regular meetings on Sunday afternoons, devoted to religious and educational teachings usually accompanied by music and singing of hymns (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). The Brotherhood movement’s creed resembled Plaatje’s own personal attempts at applying the basic tenets of Christianity in the political and social affairs back home. The Brotherhood movement had established branches in numerous countries around the globe, including South Africa, although the latter’s branches were for White males only (Willan, 2018). In light of this, Plaatje was especially humbled when he was invited to contribute an editorial in support of the SANNC’s campaign for the *Brotherhood Journal* in England:

²⁵ Firmly non-denominational, the movement drew its support from non-conformist churches and it claimed a national membership of over 6000 people. It promoted teetotalism, self-improvement, and racial equality and members were expected to live according to the tenets of Christianity. Work was carried out voluntarily without payment (Willan, 2018).

Brotherhood is not only between man and man, but between nation and nation, and race and race. If our Brotherhoods did not rise to a cause like this, it said, we might well question the reality of their fraternal pretensions. (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 225)

The period Plaatje spent in England between 1914-1917 turned into a significantly fruitful time in his life. He divided his time between working on *Native Life in South Africa* and promoting the rights of Africans back home with a programme of public lectures and meetings, usually under the auspices of the Brotherhood movement (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). At first, these meetings were held in and around London, but soon, he had to travel outside of the city hosting these lectures (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's involvement with the Brotherhood movement also led to a future personal ambition to translate its *Fellowship Hymnbook* into Setswana and other African languages (Willan, 2018). This affiliation also prompted an introduction to Alice Timberlake, with whom he eventually stayed in London rent-free for over a year and who also supported him "with exceptional kindness" through an illness in 1915 during the "most strenuous winter" of his life (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 351). Around this time, he struck up a friendship with fellow Brotherhood member, William Cross (Willan, 2018). Cross worked as a tax collector but he was also a popular and versatile speaker on the Brotherhood circuit who shared Plaatje's love for music and drama and often accompanied him on his public engagements. At one stage, when Plaatje fell so ill that he was unable to work, Cross arranged for him to recuperate on a farm in Buckinghamshire until his health improved, which to Plaatje, was "a practical demonstration of the good Samaritan in action" (Willan, 2018, p. 279).

Back in South Africa, Elizabeth and Isaiah were left in charge of *Tsala ea Batho* and both regularly sent Plaatje letters with news from home (Willan, 1984). However, despite their best efforts, the newspaper ceased publication in July 1915, as they simply could not sustain its

running costs (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). On Christmas Eve 1915, Isaiah also suddenly found himself unemployed, as his position as Interpreter of Native Languages in the Griqualand West High Court was made redundant and he was informed that there was no alternative post available for him (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Nevertheless, it appears that Isaiah somehow managed to continue to support his sister and her family (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's eldest brother, Simon, who still lived at Pniel with his own family, also contributed financially from time to time (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). Furthermore, Sainty received a scholarship to further his studies at the Lovedale Institute, around the same time that the South African Native College (currently known as the University of Fort Hare) was launched as the country's first tertiary educational institution open to Black South Africans (Matthews, 1981; Willan, 2018). Uncle Isaiah accompanied his nephew on his trip to Lovedale (Willan, 2018). Meanwhile, Elizabeth also regularly sent Plaatje the newspapers he needed in order to write up developments in South Africa for *Native Life in South Africa* (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). She continued to support her husband's cause, although biographical data suggests that Plaatje's frequent absences from home were challenging, as she complained in one of her letters to him that "it is strange that we should be separated each time there is a war" (Willan, 2018, p. 288).

Plaatje's popularity as a speaker started generating various engagements which, in turn, continuously broadened his circle of contacts and friends. When he met Leo Weinthal in person (the editor of the newspaper, the *African World*, for whom he had written several years earlier), Weinthal commissioned Plaatje to contribute articles on 'Native topics' that were published in the newspaper's weekly issues as well as in their *African World Annual* (Willan, 2018). However, an Afrikaner newspaper, *Die Volkstem*, objected to what they perceived as Plaatje's 'anti-Boer comments' and demanded that his articles be banned by the wartime censor (SAHO,

n.d.; Willan, 2018). In response, the *African World* simply printed an editorial in defence of freedom of opinion and continued to publish Plaatje's articles (Willan, 2018).

Another valuable friendship that Plaatje formed during this period was with Alice Werner, a lecturer in African languages at King's College in London who was fluent in several African and European languages, as well as an accomplished journalist, poet and writer of short stories ("Werner, Alice [1859–1935]," Frankl, 2006). Werner often befriended Africans that visited London. She was supportive of Plaatje's cause and listened sympathetically to his plans for his book on the Natives' Land Act (Willan, 2018). When Plaatje shared his love of Shakespeare with her, she introduced him to her colleague, Israel Gollanz²⁶, who was busy with a commemorative project for the tercentenary anniversary of Shakespeare's death (Gollanz, 1916), which is how Plaatje managed to secure a chapter contribution to *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (Gollanz, 1916). Plaatje's tribute was called 'A South African's Homage', in both English and Setswana (Plaatje, 2016; Remmington, 2013). Furthermore, Werner was instrumental in Plaatje's collaborative work with Daniel Jones, a professor in Phonetics at the University College in London (Jones & Plaatje, 1916). The two men's plans to compile a collection of Setswana proverbs started off as a professional partnership that developed into a friendship of mutual respect; Professor Jones later referred to Plaatje as "a personal friend of mine" (Collins & Mees, 2002, p. 145). Their joint efforts culminated in the publication of two books: *Sechuana Proverbs with Literal Translation and their European Equivalents* and *A Sechuana Reader in International Phonetic Orthography (with English translations)* (Jones & Plaatje, 1916).

Plaatje became especially close to Sophie Colenso and her family during his time in England. Sophie Colenso's father-in-law was a South African bishop who frequently assisted

²⁶ Israel Gollanz was a professor of English at King's College in London and honorary secretary of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee (Willan, 2018).

visiting African delegates and thus it came as no surprise when the SANNC delegation stayed at the Colenso family home (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's visits to the Colenso family became more regular after that and he spent several relaxing weekends with them (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The Colenso family, in turn, loved Plaatje's 'lively company, unfailing humour and irresistible laugh' (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje also, over the years to come, often exchanged letters with Sophie Colenso and shared many of his experiences with her. For example, while working on the translation of Setswana proverbs with Daniel Jones, he wrote to her: "You will be agreeably surprised that he has agreed to publish my proverbs and that I got him to improve the terms considerably in my favour..." (Willan, 2018, p. 298). Throughout his life, Plaatje maintained a special connection to the Colenso family, although the familiar nature of their relationship was inconceivable by Black and White alike back in South Africa (Willan, 2018).

More close friendships developed with Georgiana Solomon, Betty Molteno and Jane Cobden Unwin, all of whom were active committee members of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society²⁷ in England (Willan, 1979, 2018). All three women had some prior connection with or interest in South African affairs and were drawn to Plaatje's cause and personal qualities. Georgiana Solomon hosted the SANNC delegates in her home in Hampstead shortly after their arrival and had two nephews in South Africa who were strong supporters of Cape liberalism – one had been a judge in the Special Treason court in Mafeking in 1901 and the other one was the Attorney General to whom Plaatje had once complained about the unfair treatment of police during an incident in Lichtenburg (Willan, 2018). Georgiana Solomon was an avid supporter of women's and African rights and often participated in radical women's

²⁷ The Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) was an international human rights organisation that protected the health and well-being of the indigenous people. The APS merged with the British Anti-Slavery Society in 1909 to form the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society (Nworah, 1971; Willan, 1979).

protests (Pienaar, 1981; Van Heyningen, 2006). Interestingly, Georgiana Solomon was also friends with General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and his Irish-born wife, Annie, since the two women had co-founded the *Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie* (the South African Women's Federation) more than a decade earlier (Van Heyningen, 2006; Willan, 2018).

Olive Schreiner was a mutual friend of Plaatje and Betty Molteno (Barham, 2007). She also opposed British policy and supported Emily Hobhouse's campaign in the Boer concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer war (Barham, 2007). Betty Molteno grew to believe that she thought she "knew Plaatje better than anybody" (Willan, 2018, p. 430). Both Georgiana Solomon and Betty Molteno shared his passion for a fair society and often accompanied him to his public lectures (Willan, 2018). Similarly, the writer Jane Cobden Unwin had been a member of the South African Conciliation Committee during the Anglo-Boer war and after the publication of her book, *The Land Hunger: life under monopoly* (Unwin, 1913), she became especially interested in Plaatje's stories about the situation in South Africa and often invited him to stay with her and her husband, Richard, at their home in Sussex (Willan, 2018). Occasionally, Plaatje preached at the couple's local church (Rogers, 1990).

Other friendships with like-minded Christians included Dr Alfred Salter, who was also a member of the Independent Labour Party in London and who gave Plaatje a large financial donation towards furthering his cause for African rights, and Dr Theophilus Scholes, a former Baptist medical missionary to the Congo, who had written several books about the British empire and also focused on race relations in the United States (Brockway, 1949; Willan, 2018). Like Plaatje, Dr Scholes was in the process of raising funds to publish his latest book (Willan, 2018). Plaatje gradually established a variety of contacts within London's African and African American community such as the Egyptian-born Duse Mohamed Ali, who regularly covered stories of colonial injustice and allowed Plaatje to use his newspaper office in Fleet Street as

his address for personal correspondence (Willan, 2018). Plaatje also befriended a number of individuals from the colony of British Guinea, including E. F. Fredericks and Samuel Cambridge (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Overall, Plaatje had a demanding schedule and often travelled to Scotland, combining his lecturing programme with spending time with his cousin, Modiri Molema, who was studying medicine at Glasgow University (Willan, 2018). During these visits, Modiri Molema frequently assisted Plaatje to raise funds towards the publication of *Native Life in South Africa* (Molema, 2012).

Finally, in May 1916, Plaatje managed to fulfil his goal and his book, *Native Life in South Africa: Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion*, was published (Limb, 2003; Plaatje, 1916b). Though he had already completed it by April 1915, he struggled to raise enough funds to have it printed (Willan, 2018). This book is the first ever published investigative journeying into South Africa's rural heartlands, accompanied by a lengthy description of the crippling consequences of the 1913 Natives' Land Act (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Peterson, Willan, & Remington, 2016). Several English newspapers such as the *Christian Commonwealth* had shown their appreciation towards *Native Life in South Africa* (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984) but the Prime Minister of South Africa at the time, General Louis Botha, disagreed with its contents and commented:

Mr Plaatje...has exaggerated incidents which tell in his favour and suppressed facts that should be within his knowledge which would show the honest attempts made by the Government to avoid the infliction of hardship...on the Natives of the Union... in carrying out a principle which...was sanctioned by the Legislature. (Willan, 2018, p. 309)

Another newspaper, the *South African*, was especially critical of Plaatje and called him "...an educated native whose Black head is swollen by negrophile adulation" (Willan, 2018, p. 316). Nonetheless, Plaatje hoped that the book would generate wider interest and sales in the United

States too and he not only shared copies with friends and family but also sent copies to W.E.B. Du Bois in New York for distribution through his newspaper, *The Crisis*, where it appeared in the new books list (Willan, 2018). As Plaatje's time in England drew to an end, he continued to address numerous meetings for the Brotherhood movement as well as the *National Temperance Foundation* in Stratford-upon-Avon, Birmingham, Eastbourne and Oxford that concluded more than 305 meetings over a period of three years (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Georgiana Solomon organised a farewell reception in his honour on 10 January 1917 and donated a financial parting gift (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Several other friends, under Alice Werner's guidance, decided to form a special "committee to watch over native interests...and the workings of the Land Act" (Willan, 2018, p. 314), as a tribute to Plaatje's work, while the Brotherhood movement wished Plaatje "all success in the continuance of your noble work in the service of Christ, the cause of humanity, and on behalf of your people, to whom we send our fraternal greetings" (Willan, 2018, p. 315). Eventually, on 27 January 1917, Plaatje left England to return to a politically volatile South Africa (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984).

Wartime conditions delayed Plaatje's journey but he occupied his time by translating Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into Setswana (Midgeley, 1997). Upon arrival in South Africa 29 days later, the news of a proposed Native Administration Bill (an extension of the 1913 Native Land Act) (Lacey, 1981; Leflaive, 2014), further deferred his return to Kimberley when he chose to stay in Cape Town with Dr Abdul Abdurahman for two weeks to rally support against the implementation of the bill (Lunderstedt, 2014). The proposed bill threatened Africans' access to two vital buffers in defence of their rights: The Supreme Court and the non-racial Cape franchise (Lacey, 1981; Tatz, 1962). To Plaatje, this took preference over a personal

reunion with his family and he immediately launched himself into a vigorous political campaign (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

When he finally arrived in Kimberley, he was warmly received by friends and family but other challenges awaited him. Elizabeth and the children, Sainty, Halley, Olive and Violet, were all in good health despite the strenuous financial challenges they endured in Plaatje's absence (Willan, 2018). Elizabeth received financial support from both her own brother Isaiah, as well as Plaatje's brother, Simon (Leflaive, 2014) but the SANNC, in contrast, failed to contribute in any way and Plaatje himself had accrued a personal debt of nearly £500 to finance his campaign in England (Willan, 2018). Elizabeth had not earned a stable income since *Tsala ea Batho's* demise in 1915, while ongoing conflicts within the SANNC leadership had left it in turmoil (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Political unrests and a series of miner strike actions during this period hindered Plaatje's attempts to resuscitate *Tsala ea Batho* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). The more radical faction of the Transvaal branch of the SANNC also aligned itself with the strike action of the miners and supported their combative methods (Bonner, 1982; Limb, 2003), which caused further division within the organisation (Willan, 2018). Plaatje attended the fifth annual SANNC meeting in Bloemfontein in May 1917 to discuss the proposed Native Administration Bill but the party had weakened to such an extent that its president was obliged to resign (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Despite being offered the presidency, Plaatje declined and instead spent the rest of 1917 travelling around the country advocating against the horrors of the proposed bill (Leflaive, 2014). On these travels, he spoke at numerous meetings and also shared some of his experiences in England (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014).

Plaatje became the senior vice-president of the SANNC but his ambitions did not lie in political leadership (Willan, 2018). His stature as a national political figure reached new heights in the first few months after his return to South Africa and was further amplified by the positive

publicity in the press given to his book, *Native Life in South Africa* (Mkhize, 2015). The publicity increased sales of the book to the point that William Cross had to make arrangements for an extra 100 copies to be printed in England, which were sold out two days after it arrived at the Central News Agency in Johannesburg (Willan, 2018).

Meanwhile, Plaatje's meetings and public critique of, for example, General Smuts' remarks in his controversial 'Savoy Hotel' speech²⁸ in London, evoked heated debates among members of the South African parliament who condemned General Botha's policy as "an insult to White people since it permits a *Kafir* (a derogatory name for a Black person) to criticise their policy" (Willan, 2018, p. 327). A minority of White people in South Africa appreciated the broader significance of Plaatje's book, including his accompanying activities but at one point, the South African government considered issuing a banning order on Plaatje's politically driven activities (Lunderstedt, 2014). However, General Botha vetoed the banning order on the grounds that it would only add fuel to Plaatje's fire and allowed him to continue his work (Willan, 2018).

Another one of Plaatje's time-consuming preoccupations concerned the rise in (often fatal) shootings of Black people by White vigilante groups in the countryside (Murray, 1989). He compiled resolutions that demanded civil proceedings be brought against such perpetrators instead of appearing before the usual all-White jury and sent it to General Botha and his Ministers of Justice and Native Affairs (Willan, 2018). He also organised memorial services for victims of those shooting tragedies and somehow even managed to obtain compensation for the widow of one such victim (Murray, 1989; Willan, 2018).

The time in-between was devoted to establishing a Brotherhood movement branch in Kimberley, which eventually launched when De Beers donated a venue for this purpose

²⁸ General Smuts commented that 'natives are almost animal-like in the simplicity of their minds and ways' and that South Africa should be considered 'a white man's country'. He further stated that 'political ideas, which apply to our white civilization largely, do not apply to the administration of native affairs' (Smuts, 1942).

(Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In Plaatje's eyes, the Brotherhood movement represented a means of overcoming racial and class tensions in Kimberley and although the weekly meetings were well attended and Plaatje himself did his best to place it on a secure footing financially, it was not always an easy task (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The launch of '*The Diamond Fields Men's Own Brotherhood*' occurred in June 1918 but a year later its name changed to '*The Native Brotherhood Institute*' (Willan, 2018).

The unremitting nature of all his activities took its toll on Plaatje (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018) and when the devastating Spanish influenza epidemic (that reminded of the Great Plague of London²⁹) swept the world in October and November 1918 (Philips, 1990), it left him and his entire household seriously ill for several days (Lunderstedt, 2014). In general, the year 1918 appeared to be a difficult year for the Plaatje family, as months before the outbreak of the epidemic, Sainty had been involved in a student riot at the Lovedale Institute and Olive accidentally burned herself with boiling water while at home (De Villiers, 2000; Willan, 2018). The consequences of the epidemic, however, impacted the family negatively (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Willan, 2018). It left Plaatje with a heart condition that was aggravated whenever he overworked himself and while the other family members recovered well, Olive contracted rheumatic fever three months later and could no longer attend school (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Following the family doctor's advice, Plaatje took Olive to hot springs to alleviate her suffering but they were denied entrance on arrival, as the hot springs were now for Whites only (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Willan, 2018). This incident infuriated Plaatje and served as a personal warning of the dangerous path the country was on (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Willan, 2018).

²⁹During the Great Plague of London in 1665-1666, the disease was caused by the *Yersinia pestis* bacterium, which is usually transmitted through the bite of an infect rat flea. The disease killed almost 200,000 people in London, England. In seven months, almost one quarter of London's population (one out of every four Londoners) had died from it (Leasor, 1962; Porter, 2012).

In June 1919, Plaatje led another SANNC deputation to England to remind the British government and its public of their continued mistreatment by the Union authorities but once again, the trip was a disappointment (Limb, 2003; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984). Initially, Plaatje was ambivalent about travelling because his health was still not back to normal and because of his poor financial situation but was persuaded by the efforts of the Barolong who wanted to ensure proper representation of their interests (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). They had never relinquished their claim to autonomy and in Mafikeng, Silas Molema initiated a fundraising campaign towards this cause and also approached the local magistrate to request the government to release some money from the Barolong National Fund³⁰ to support Plaatje on his trip (Willan, 2018). The Barolong in Thaba 'Nchu also assisted and paid off all Plaatje's remaining debts before his departure (Willan, 1984, 2018).

On a personal front, Plaatje was excited to reunite with old friends in England he had kept in touch with, especially Georgiana Solomon, Jane Cobden Unwin, William Cross, Dr Alfred Salter and the Colenso family, who were all eagerly waiting for him to resume his campaign in England (Willan, 2018). In addition, travelling to England presented an opportunity to attend the Pan-African Conference in Paris, France in February 1919, including a meeting with the renowned African-American scholar and politician, Dr W. E. B. du Bois (Geiss, 1974). Plaatje also contemplated a detour to the United States of America, which would prove a more viable option from England (Lunderstedt, 2014). Thus, he left South Africa with an agreement from executive members within the SANNC to support Elizabeth with a fixed monthly amount, while he was away attending to their business (Willan, 2018).

Shortly after the SANNC delegation arrived in England, Plaatje attended the funeral of W.P. Schreiner, along with Generals Botha and Smuts who also came to pay their last respects

³⁰ This was a fund made up of contributions from the Barolong, collected and administered by the government, who retained control over how the money was spent (Willan, 2018).

(Willan, 2018). This was the last time Plaatje saw General Botha before he died a few weeks later (Lunderstedt, 2014). General Botha's death launched General Smuts into the role of acting Prime Minister of South Africa (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). During this time, Plaatje and the other SANNC delegates visited Georgiana Solomon's home for a friendly gathering that was attended by a few of Plaatje's other friends, including Betty Molteno and Sophie Colenso (Willan, 2018). Since the proclamation that women in England could stand for parliament, Plaatje's circle of women supporters there, developed an interest in the campaigns of women elsewhere (Willan, 1984, 2018) and eagerly listened to his stories on the strides that leading African women such as Charlotte Maxeke (née Manye) of the Women's Bantu League³¹ were taking in South Africa (Mkhize, 2015; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018).

Public interest in the SANNC's cause extended beyond Plaatje's immediate circle of friends and supporters and included other sizable networks in England, such as the Free Church Council (a women's movement), the Independent Labour Party and the Church Socialist League (Willan, 1984, 2018). Despite limited funds, Plaatje and his fellow SANNC delegates addressed an array of meetings at various locations which were widely reported on in newspapers such as the *African Telegraph* and sometimes attracted coverage in American-based newspapers as well (Willan, 1984, 2018). As a result, Plaatje spent his 43rd birthday, 9 October 1919 addressing three separate meetings (Willan, 2018).

The mental and physical demands of such a busy schedule were taking its toll on Plaatje and it came as no surprise when he complained of "being frightfully overworked" (Willan, 2018, p. 358). Though he had little time for rest and relaxation he did prioritise visits with the Colenso family and other friends on several occasions during this period (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In November 1919, he attended a performance by the Southern Syncopated Orchestra,

³¹ This was the first women's organisation in South Africa. It was started in 1918 by a woman activist, Dr Charlotte Maxeke. One of the issues at stake was the carrying of passes by black women (SAHO, n.d.).

a Black jazz band, and enjoyed it so much that he felt like “I too had a holiday” (Willan, 2018, p. 359). The band’s manager, African-American lawyer George W. Lattimore (whom he had met on a previous occasion through mutual friends) kept him company afterwards (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

The friends who kept the South African cause alive during Plaatje’s absence. contributed towards securing a private interview between the SANNC delegates and the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, in November 1919 (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The latter was concerned about continued unrest in South Africa and wider ramifications of the global rise in Black Nationalism and, therefore, requested Prime Minister Smuts to meet with the delegates once they were back in South Africa (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Smuts, however, was irritated that Plaatje and his colleagues impressed the British Prime Minister with the strength of their case and was uninterested in being told what to do (Willan, 2018). Ultimately, the British government decided not to interfere in South Africa’s internal affairs (Leflaive, 2014) and evidently, the SANNC delegates’ pleas were muted (Midgeley, 1997).

Plaatje’s health continued to decline but as usual, he ignored doctors’ advice of rest to prevent burnout (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Due to financial constraints, he missed the Pan-African conference: “It is a great pity I have not been able to get to Paris in February...” (Willan, 1984, p. 231) but he was able to travel to France later on in 1919 where he produced a pamphlet entitled *Some of the Legal Disabilities Suffered by the Native Population of the Union of South Africa and Imperial Responsibility*, which was printed and published by the *African Telegraph* (Midgeley, 1997). From France, he travelled to Scotland, where he spent a week lecturing and addressing several meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow (under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party and the Union of Democratic Control), before returning to London at the end of December 1919 (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Although he was physically exhausted, he also started with translations on the Brotherhood movement’s

Fellowship Hymnbook and finalised versions in Setswana and Xhosa (Midgeley, 1997). He was able to relax for a few days at the Colenso family home over New Year's, a reminder that it was yet another Christmas holiday spent away from his own family (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). The few days' rest proved only a brief respite from another gruelling upcoming programme.

Earlier that year, Plaatje delivered an impressive speech at the International Brotherhood Congress in London, which led to his election as a member of its business committee (Mkhize, 2015). Plaatje, who still wished to travel to the United States, looked to the Brotherhood movement as an opportunity to do so (Willan, 2018). His proposal for them to sponsor a lecturing tour to the United States slowly took shape. In an attempt to further substantiate his trip, Plaatje wrote letters to prominent African American leaders, such as his long-time journalist colleague, John E. Bruce (who was now working in New York) and John W. Cromwell (who was president of the American Negro Academy in Washington) to inform them of his plans (Moss, 1981; Willan, 2018).

The Brotherhood movement finally agreed to finance Plaatje's trip but despite a long battle to obtain the necessary travel documents, his passport application was denied (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). According to the South African government, it was an unnecessary trip and instead, expected Plaatje to return to Kimberley to improve the chaotic financial affairs of his Brotherhood organisation (Willan, 2018). Deeper concerns related to the rapid growth of Black nationalists within Jamaican-born activist Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the United States and it was feared that if Plaatje's passport application was granted, he would link up native activities in South Africa with the UNIA's "mischievous activities" (Willan, 2018, p. 370). While the UNIA fostered a renewed spirit of pride and hope amongst Black people, it also generated extensive anxiety to

government authorities around the world, who perceived it as a potential threat to society (Cronon, 1955).

With no passport, Plaatje was forced to consider other options. He was offered a job in Johannesburg, South Africa, as editor of a new newspaper, *Umteteli wa Bantu* (*The Mouthpiece of the Native Peoples*), ready to be launched by the country's Chamber of Mines (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). However, after brief discussions with representatives of the Chamber of Mines in London regarding editorial independence, Plaatje realised that the newspaper would not necessarily prioritise the interests of African people and that accepting editorship might jeopardise his political credibility among his people (Willan, 1984, 2018). Consequently, he declined the offer, as it evoked negative memories of how Tengo Jabavu ruined his own political reputation in earlier years (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Although Plaatje fretted about the unsettling financial situation his Brotherhood organisation in Kimberley was facing, he was still determined to travel to the United States (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). His personal financial difficulties were somewhat relieved in May 1920 when he received a grant from the benevolent Royal Literary Fund that existed to support published authors who were struggling financially (Royal Literary Fund, 2019). An old friend and prior beneficiary of the fund, Dr T. E. Scholes, assisted Plaatje with his grant application and advised him to attach to it additional letters of motivation from other influential friends such as Daniel Jones and William Cross (Willan, 2018).

When the grant money was paid out, Plaatje travelled to Glasgow in Scotland again and visited his cousin, Modiri Molema, by now a qualified doctor who, coincidentally at the time, had just published his first book, *The Bantu Past and Present* (Molema, 1920). Plaatje spent six days with his cousin, discussing his own literary plans, which became an important preoccupation over the last few months. In fact, he wrote to Modiri's father, Silas Molema, and

informed him that he was working on a novel – a love story based on historical facts - called *Mhudi*, which remained unpublished for 10 years (Plaatje, 1930a).

Mhudi explores the historical experiences of the Barolong and was inspired by one of Rider Haggard's popular Zulu novels, *Nada the Lily*³² (Haggard, 1892), which was popular among black and white people alike during the 1890s when Plaatje was busy improving his English in Kimberley (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). As was the case with *Native Life in South Africa* a few years earlier, Plaatje refused to return to South Africa until *Mhudi* was completed and published (Molema, 2012). Alice Werner recommended that a Setswana version might be more authentic but Plaatje insisted that a book written in English would reach an international audience much easier (Mkhize, 2015; Willan, 2018). While *Mhudi* received priority for the majority of 1920, Plaatje and a group of his supporters also tried to raise funds for his Brotherhood organisation in South Africa. He was concerned about his family's welfare but felt powerless to support them until the bigger political and constitutional questions were resolved (Willan, 1984, 2018).

News from home was that Sainty, now 21 years old, received another study bursary, this time at the South African Native College in Fort Hare; Violet was about to enrol for her training as a teacher at the Lovedale Institute; Olive's health, however, had deteriorated significantly by mid-July 1920 and left Sainty feeling obliged to stay at home and assist his mother in his father's (long) absence (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). This was around the same time that a few of Plaatje's friends, especially Alice Werner and Jane Cobden Unwin, also started worrying more about his wife and children since he had already been away from

³² Set in the time of Zulu King Shaka and his successor Dingane, *Nada the Lily* tells the tale of Zulu warrior Umslopogaas (an illegitimate son of King Shaka) and his love for the beautiful Nada. Nada's father, Mpho, is the narrator. It is a Victorian novel that boasts an all-black cast of real and fictional characters (Haggard, 1892; Willan, 2018).

home for a long time – maybe enjoying life in England a bit too much (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Plaatje, on the other hand, was not ready to return home and re-applied for a passport at the end of September 1920, which was rejected once again (Willan, 2018). This prompted an idea to enter the United States via Canada instead since (a) he did not need a passport to enter Canada and (b) his sustained contact with members of the Canadian Brotherhood Federation soon produced a contractual agreement that permitted Plaatje to address meetings in Canada under their auspices over a period of six weeks (Willan, 2018). On 22 October 1920, Plaatje was on his way to Canada armed with hundreds of copies of *Native Life in South Africa*, his *Sechuana Proverbs, Mhudi*, his translations of the Brotherhood Fellowship Hymnbook, his pamphlet on *Legal Disabilities* and his translations into Setswana of three of Shakespeare's plays, namely *Comedy of Errors*, *Julius Caesar* and *Merchant of Venice*; all of which he intended to sell or publish in order to financially support himself and his family and assist his Brotherhood organisation in Kimberley (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997).

Plaatje spent two weeks in Montreal before he travelled to the Canadian Brotherhood Federation's headquarters in Toronto (Skinner, 2010; Willan, 2018). He received a warm reception in both cities. Although he was apprehensive of the harsh Canadian winter, he was relieved to find it moderate to mild upon arrival: "beautiful sunny days and starry nights, especially after the rain, made the chill very agreeable and bracing" (Willan, 1996, p. 289). For the next two months, Plaatje addressed church and Brotherhood meetings and left a profound impression on audiences and on others who got to know him on a more personal level (Willan, 2018). He attended most of the numerous dinner party invitations he received. A local, Black community leader, who was also an office holder in the Toronto branch of Marcus Garvey's UNIA, wrote a heart-warming article about the impact that Plaatje made during his stay in this city:

To hear Mr Plaatje on that subject – the subject of his great work – is to be convinced that the man is not out on his own but called by a higher power as well as by the votes of his people to be the Frederick Douglass of the oppressed South African slaves of today. (Holder, 1921)

Meeting Garvey in person during a visit to Toronto in January 1921 was a bonus, although after merely six weeks in Canada, Plaatje was eager to get to the United States: “I have very pressing invitations from Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and New York” (Willan, 2018, p. 388). However, he still needed a valid passport to enter the United States and he was experiencing problems with his health (Willan, 2018). He finally consulted a heart specialist who told him that “your heart leaks so badly that we cannot help you. All we could do is prescribe something to ease the pain, while matters take their course” (Willan, 1996, p. 292). Nonetheless, the ominous prognosis did not derail his travel plans. He managed to sell over 400 copies of *Native Life in South Africa*, the Canadian Brotherhood Federation committed to pay for the publishing costs of his *Fellowship Hymnbook*, the Black community launched a fundraising campaign for his Brotherhood organisation in Kimberley and a joint effort between local Black churches and the Toronto branch of the UNIA arranged a farewell concert in his honour (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje finally left for the United States in February 1921, thanks to continuous efforts from Dr W.E.B. Du Bois (to whom he had written for help) as well as his Canadian Brotherhood friends (Myers, 2012); arriving in Buffalo city in the state of New York (Myers, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Here, Plaatje was hosted by Dr Theodore Kakaza, an African doctor originally from South Africa who had relocated to the United States in 1896 after receiving a scholarship to study in Ohio; he had qualified in Canada but now ran his own practice and lived with his wife and children in Buffalo city (Hill, 2006). At the time of Plaatje’s visit, Dr Kakaza was also the president of the Buffalo division of the UNIA (Hill, 2006; Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s initial plan

was to address one meeting in this city and spend a few days relaxing and sightseeing, before moving on to New York but that meeting was so well received by the African-American community that he was obliged to repeat it every evening during his stay there (Willan, 1984, 2018). Thereafter, Plaatje boarded a train to New York and travelled along the Hudson River before he reached Grand Central station (Willan, 2018).

The city of New York saw an influx of Black immigrants during the war years and its African-American community was concentrated in the overcrowded district of Harlem (Willan, 2018). Marcus Garvey made a particular impact on this community since his arrival in New York in 1916 (Cronon, 1955; Myers, 2012). Garvey's UNIA was the largest mass movement amongst African and African-American communities; its headquarters being in Harlem (Grant, 2008). The UNIA's global network of branches were all interconnected via the association's newspaper, the *Negro World* (Cronon, 1955). Garvey's mission was to effect unity among Black people across the world and he was particularly interested in the past achievements of Africans and the conditions within which they lived (Hill, 2006; Willan, 2018). Plaatje sought to capitalise on these factors in order to generate support and sympathy for his own cause and to raise money for his Brotherhood work in South Africa (Willan, 2018). An enduring friendship with John E. Bruce - active in the UNIA as an editor of the *Negro World* and as Garvey's private secretary - perfectly positioned Plaatje to gain access to UNIA platforms (Cromwell, 2007). Plaatje and Bruce also shared, among other things, a love of Shakespeare (Cromwell, 2007). Moreover, it was Bruce who arranged for Plaatje to visit a local German-American doctor, George Sauer, for treatment that improved his chronic heart condition to the extent that it seemed to be "permanent and really miraculous" (Willan, 2018, p. 394).

During Plaatje's three-month stay in New York, he made a significant impact on Black opinion. The largest audiences were attracted to occasions when he shared the platform with Marcus Garvey (Mkhize, 2015; Willan, 2018). The *Negro World* reported on several of

Plaatje's other individual meetings in the city. Two such meetings, where he spoke about the 'Black Man's Burden in South Africa' and the 'Black Women's Burden in South Africa', were held at the same venue where Garvey's presidential address had propelled the UNIA into action three years earlier (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Whilst the community's interest in Africa had increased, their first priority remained to the complexities within the UNIA (Willan, 1984, 2018). In spite of this, Plaatje was able to sell quite a number of copies of *Native Life in South Africa* by the time he left New York, including over 18 000 copies of a new pamphlet he had produced during his stay, entitled *The Mote and the Beam: an epic on sex relationships 'twixt white and black in British South Africa*³³ (Plaatje, 1921).

Plaatje left for Boston to fulfil speaking engagements there and stayed for a month before he moved on to Atlantic City, New Jersey (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). In New Jersey, he replied to Dr du Bois' invitation to address the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in Detroit and when the night for his speech arrived, he once again captivated the audience with his account of conditions in South Africa (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In turn, Dr du Bois promoted *Native Life in South Africa* in the newspaper he edited and also urged the SANNC to pay for Plaatje's attendance of another Pan-African Congress to be held in Europe in July that year (1921), although no evidence exists that the SANNC ever replied to this letter (Mkhize, 2015; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's personal finances limited his prospects for travel outside of the United States, thus it was decided that at the conference, Dr du Bois would read out Plaatje's speech about the "inferior position of negro (Black) people throughout the world" on his behalf (Mkhize, 2015, p. 198).

When Plaatje arrived in Washington DC, he received disappointing news of his eldest daughter's death six weeks earlier (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Since Plaatje last saw her,

³³ A thirteen-page discourse on the hypocrisy of white South African attitudes towards the question of sex across the colour line (Willan, 2018).

Olive's health had deteriorated and she had started training as a nurse at the Indaleni Training Institution in Natal (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). However, the humidity in Natal was not good for her and she was forced to return home. The journey to Kimberley was delayed by a three-hour stopover in Bloemfontein (Willan, 2018). According to Olive's travelling companions, it was a long and physically taxing journey for her and when she was denied access to the 'Whites only' waiting room and prohibited from laying down on a seat on the outside platform during the three-hour wait, it exacerbated her condition and she subsequently died of heart failure (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje was dismayed that South Africa's discriminatory laws could impact his family so tragically (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Furthermore, he had been unable to attend his daughter's funeral, similar to the death of his son, Johannes in 1914 when he was abroad (Willan, 1984, 2018). In "memory of our beloved Olive" (Willan, 2018, p. 424), Plaatje dedicated to her his (as yet unpublished) novel, *Mhudi* (Plaatje, 1930a).

Interestingly, Plaatje did not return home as many would have expected and instead travelled to Chicago to continue with his meetings (Willan, 2018). He returned to Washington DC to address more meetings, while he stayed with former newspaper editor, lawyer and teacher, John W. Cromwell (Leflaive, 2014; Moss, 1981). Cromwell, then in his mid-seventies, was a respected figure in the city's older-established, more prosperous African-American community, many of whom were educated at Howard University (Cromwell, 2007; Moss, 1981). He invited Plaatje to attend the 25th annual meeting of the Negro Society for Historical Research, held at the university during the Christmas holiday of 1921, where he introduced him to several new contacts (Willan, 2018).

Over the next few months Plaatje fulfilled further engagements in schools and churches, intermixed with visits to Baltimore and Philadelphia, where he stayed with Reverend J. A. Johnson, a former head of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in South Africa

(Ayandele, 1970; Willan, 2018). Reverend Johnson donated to Plaatje an expensive portable movie projector suitable for presenting 35mm educational films – a gift that would play a big part in Plaatje’s future attempts to educate and enlighten the African people of his home country (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 2018). By March 1922, Plaatje was back in New York, where Dr Sauer diagnosed him with neuritis (inflammation of the nerves) and rheumatism (inflammation in the joints), which triggered his usual accompanying feelings of loneliness (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The biographical data is unclear as to whom Plaatje stayed with during this period of illness.

Although he was forced to stay in bed, he continued to update Sophie Colenso on his activities in the United States and also wrote to her about news he received from Elizabeth, for example, after Sainty had completed two years at the University of Fort Hare, his studies were discontinued due to a shortage of funds (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). It seemed his scholarship only partly covered the costs, and despite his uncle Isaiah’s offer to pay the immediate outstanding balance, Sainty believed that the only (right) alternative was to return home and find work (Willan, 1984, 2018). The family’s persistent financial troubles and his father’s prolonged absence most likely led to this decision (Willan, 2018). Thus, instead of fulfilling his dream to study medicine, he found a clerical job in the town De Aar and supported his younger brother Richard by paying for his school fees at the Lovedale Institute where he was studying towards a building apprenticeship (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje’s ill-health complicated his ability to earn an income (Rall, 2003) and all hope of raising any significant sums of money for his Brotherhood organisation in Kimberley faded amidst additional struggles of finding publishers for his manuscripts (Willan, 2018). Thus, he wrote to Georgiana Solomon to inform her of his imminent return to England but decided to

postpone such plans when he was awarded a monetary grant from the Phelps Stokes Fund³⁴ (Hunt, Carper, Lasley, & Raisch, 2010; Willan, 2018). The director of the fund, Dr T. Jesse Jones, also promised to cover a portion of the publication costs of his *Fellowship Hymnbook* translations if Plaatje could secure the rest (Willan, 2018). Thus, Plaatje used the grant money and travelled to Tuskegee in the south of America at the beginning of May 1922 to visit its famous Black university (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014).

When he arrived at Tuskegee University, he was amazed at how much money was being channelled into it by White philanthropists (Willan, 2018). In accordance with the philosophy of its founder, Booker T. Washington, the university concentrated its efforts on developing the practical skills of its students, a custom that Plaatje had long ago reported on in *Koranta ea Becoana* (Willan, 1984, 2018). He formed an immediate rapport with the university principal, Robert Moton, that evidently developed into years of sporadic correspondence (Moton's portrait eventually hung in Plaatje's home in Kimberley) (Willan, 2018). Moton reciprocated Plaatje's admiration and after his visit wrote: "I have been favourably impressed with Mr Plaatje, both as to his unselfish interest in his own people and his tactful dealing with the difficulties of the situation which he must face and endure" (Willan, 2018, p. 410). Plaatje left Tuskegee with a donation of several films that illustrated different scenes and activities that took place at the university (films he planned to share with interested parties when he returned to South Africa), while additional films showcased the town itself, including the April 1922 unveiling of a statue of Booker T. Washington (Willan, 1984, 2018).

³⁴ The Phelps Stokes Fund in New York was founded in 1909 from the proceeds of the will of philanthropist Caroline Phelps Stokes. The fund allocated money to individuals promoting educational development for both Africans and African-Americans (Hunt et al., 2010).

Plaatje's last few weeks in the United States were spent in Chicago, where he stayed with Ida Wells-Barnett,³⁵ while he addressed his final round of meetings (Willan, 2018). His concluding speech on 'Native Conditions in South Africa' took place on 23 July 1922 during a farewell evening arranged by Barnett; interestingly, amongst the audience members were Alfred B. Xuma, who would become president-general of the future SANNK executive (Gish, 2000). A few days afterwards, Plaatje crossed the Canadian border and stayed there for a month (details of this period are unknown). Several gifts awaited him in Canada, for example, a typewriter from the Corona company, medicine from Dr Sauer in New York and more educational films from Henry Ford (founder of the Ford Motor Company) whom he met personally at one stage (Willan, 2018). What annoyed Plaatje though, was that a pair of reading glasses he had ordered and paid for from an eye doctor in Chicago had not arrived by the time he was due to leave for England (Willan, 1984, 2018). Nevertheless, Plaatje tackled the journey and travelled via France before finally arriving in England in September 1922 (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). By the time the ship docked, he had translated Shakespeare's *Othello* into Setswana (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Back in England, Plaatje pursued efforts towards the publication of his *Brotherhood Fellowship Hymnbook* before he made plans to return to South Africa (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Unfortunately, despite several attempts to renew contacts with his Brotherhood networks in London, he made little progress as they had lost interest in Plaatje's cause during his long absence in the United States (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). With the normal day-to-day financial pressures to contend with, Plaatje was happy to write articles for a few newspapers, including the *African World* and even happier when Alice Werner landed him a job as a language assistant at the university where she worked (Willan, 1984, 2018). He was also able

³⁵ Ida Wells-Barnett was an African-American journalist and leader in the fight for equality for African-Americans, especially women. One of the founders of NAACP, she arguably became the most famous black woman in the United States during this era (Bay, 2009).

to re-establish contact with Professor Daniel Jones and they discussed possible further collaborations (Lunderstedt, 2014).

When a royal Swaziland deputation, led by its Swazi king, arrived in London in January 1923, Plaatje met them at a function held at Georgiana Solomon's house (Willan, 1984, 2018). The purpose of their month-long visit was to discuss the complex land-concessions issue with the Colonial Office and they decided to employ Plaatje as their guide and advisor for this period (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's responsibility also mainly centred around the introductions at the various functions the deputation attended, resulting in the Swazi king not being keen when Plaatje approached him to request additional financial assistance beyond the agreed on salary (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

After the deputation's departure, Plaatje continued his attempts to raise funds for his *Fellowship Hymnbook*, with help from William Cross, who did what he could to collect donations (Willan, 2018). In a letter to Betty Molteno requesting her assistance in this regard, Plaatje complained that "...the slow response to our efforts on behalf of the hymn book are giving me much concern. I have long overstayed my time..." (Willan, 2018, p. 420) but he was adamant to raise enough money to at least rectify the hymn book proofs before he went home (Willan, 1984, 2018). Betty Molteno was sympathetic but unable to assist financially and although she and Plaatje continued to spend a lot of time together as friends, there was not much she could do to boost his hymn book fund (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). As for his novel, *Mhudi*, Plaatje struggled to find a publisher who did not require a subsidy first; even Sophie Colenso and Georgiana Solomon did their best to promote his manuscripts but it seemed a pointless exercise (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

By the end of May 1923, Plaatje's health started acting up again and he was ready to return home to his family. He had kept in regular contact with Elizabeth and promised her that he would be home by July that year (Willan, 2018). An unexpected temporary offer of

employment came from George Lattimore, former manager of the Southern Syncopated Orchestra and an old acquaintance of Plaatje, who had secured the rights to show a wildlife film in London (Lunderstedt, 2014). Thus, despite his declining health, Plaatje accepted the offer. He assisted in preparing the film for commercial presentation in English and devised an accompanying live theatrical sketch to enhance the audience's enjoyment and appreciation of the film (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The production, '*The Cradle of the World*', eventually debuted at the Philharmonic Hall in London's West End on 9 August 1923, although a prolonged heatwave in the first week of August generated a disappointing audience turnout (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

In a final attempt to have the *Fellowship Hymnbook* printed, Plaatje arranged a music concert in the Philharmonic Hall for late August - George Lattimore and Betty Molteno were happy to assist and managed to secure singers who would perform free of charge (Willan, 2018). After the concert, Plaatje was physically exhausted, still short of the required amount and ready to leave England for good (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Upon informing his friends of his plans, they arranged a musical/farewell evening in his honour that, coincidentally, took place on his 47th birthday (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje himself performed two songs, one in Sesotho and one in Xhosa (Willan, 2018). The evening was attended by "a large audience that testified to Mr Plaatje's popularity" (Willan, 2018, p. 430). It was a fitting send-off with friends who had formed an integral part of his life over an extensive period of time (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Shortly before his departure, Plaatje was invited by Professor Daniel Jones to recite and record, in Setswana, two stories from their *Sechuana Reader* at a studio in Hayes, West London (Collins & Mees, 2002). A week later Sophie Colenso accompanied him on the piano when he returned to the studio to record traditional African songs and hymns for the Zonophone company who wanted to expand their original 1912 Native Records series for South Africa

(Cowley, 1994). The three discs that were recorded features a number of hymns sung by Plaatje in Setswana and Xhosa but a noteworthy moment occurs at the end of the second disc where Plaatje is heard singing ‘Nkosi Sikel i’Afrika’ – nowadays the national anthem of South Africa (Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2008; Midgeley, 1997).

On 23 October 1923, Plaatje attended a final, small farewell gathering with close friends at Georgiana Solomon’s house. Most of them thought that he stayed away from home for far too long and financially contributed towards his return-ticket (Willan, 2018). In addition, Betty Molteno presented him with money for a gramophone as a gift for Elizabeth on their 25th wedding anniversary (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Three days later, on 26 October 1923, Plaatje returned to his family after being away from them for four years (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003).

2.3.5 The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)

When Plaatje arrived in South Africa in November 1923, he discovered the political climate to be less volatile, despite the Union government’s internal conflict and the Natives’ Land Act of 1913 that was still being fuelled by General Hertzog’s growing (Afrikaner) National Party (NP) (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje’s own family had suffered during his long absence, as empty promises of support made by the SANNC (since renamed to the African National Congress or ANC) had forced Elizabeth to sell the family home in the Malay Camp in order to survive (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Thus, Plaatje’s joy at returning home was curtailed when he found his wife and children living at 32 Angel Street (previously rented by Isaiah and his wife, who had since relocated to Pretoria) (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Their situation left Plaatje extremely bitter towards the ANC, especially since he felt he had been overseas campaigning towards their cause (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley,

1997). Conversely, he expressed his admiration for Elizabeth in a letter he wrote to Georgiana Solomon a month after arriving home: “Few men can boast of a spouse so faithful under such trying circumstances, she has been remarkably patient bringing up the children almost alone during the past eight years” (Willan, 2018, p. 437).

Elizabeth’s eyesight had deteriorated severely and she struggled to read or write at night; Sainty was still employed in the De Aar district; Richard was continuing his training at the Lovedale Institute but spent most holidays in Johannesburg doing casual jobs (Willan, 2018). Halley and Violet, 13 and 17 years old respectively at the time, were home in Kimberley when their father arrived (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Violet, however, was one of a few Africans that year studying to be a teacher at the (Coloured) Perseverance Training College in town (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje’s own plans were uncertain once he was back on home ground. He had no money to relaunch his newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho*, his Brotherhood organisation was riddled with debt due to outstanding payments for municipal rates and taxes incurred and the ANC was a shadow of its former self, its position challenged by the mass African trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) of South Africa, who preferred more direct, collective action such as strikes (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). Although Plaatje was not in favour of the ICU’s methods, he welcomed its efforts on behalf of the Black people of South Africa (Willan, 1984, 2018). Most of the older generation of SANNC leaders, such as John Dube, Pixley Seme and Walter Rubasana no longer played an active role in the ANC’s affairs and several other older counterparts, such as Saul Msane, had already passed away (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 1984, 2018). It seemed the ANC’s prestige had, as Plaatje’s position as an independent African spokesman, lost its major effect (Midgeley, 1997). The De Beers mine agreed to write off the Brotherhood organisation’s existing debt, in exchange for full control over the organisation, which essentially, released Plaatje from all personal liability but left him without

any control over the affairs of the organisation (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). It was another bitter reminder of the failure of his mission overseas (Willan, 2018).

A few weeks after his return to Kimberley, Plaatje travelled to Johannesburg hoping to promote the establishment of a national Brotherhood organisation via a host of public and private meetings but it proved a fruitless mission (Willan, 1984, 2018). The Afrikaner nationalists were tightening their grip on urban African affairs and they discouraged any initiative that was independent of their control (Lunderstedt, 2014).

Back in 1920, the strike of Black miners had underlined an urgent need for formal channels of communication between government and the African people, which prompted the passing of the 1920 Native Affairs Act (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Its implementation was emphasised to compensate for the unsuccessful Native Administration Bill of 1917. A subsequent (Whites only) Native Affairs commission was established to handle African interests within the government (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). This illogicality was criticised by the more volatile African working class but many African leaders, including a few in the ANC, believed it finally provided a platform and a degree of recognition and legitimacy from the government (Willan, 2018).

By mid-January 1924, Plaatje and Elizabeth travelled to Cape Town together. The trip, although brief, presented an opportunity to rekindle their love for each other after being apart for so long (Willan, 1984, 2018). It was Elizabeth's first visit to the city, thus they spent most of their days outdoors, near the ocean (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). They also visited the city's major attractions and when the *Windsor Castle* (ship) docked, Plaatje took Elizabeth to see the cabin he had occupied on his journey home (Willan, 2018). Just before Elizabeth returned home to Kimberley, the couple visited Henry Burton and his family, who received them with a warm welcome (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Burton had since been appointed as Minister of Finance in the Smuts administration (SAHO, n.d.). Interestingly, no evidence in

the literature exists on how the Plaatje couple financed this trip, especially since they were heavily indebted and without a steady income at the time (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje stayed behind to attend to a variety of political matters. Although he struggled to adjust to the radical transformation changes that were happening in the country and within the ANC, he remained loyal to the party and attended sessions in the House of Assembly to represent the African people's interests in, for example, the Barolong Land Relief Bill (Comaroff et al., 1999; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Furthermore, he arranged personal visits and interviews with political leaders and vehemently spoke out against the latest 'anti-native' legislative bills proposed by General Hertzog, particularly the threat to abolish Black people of the Cape from the voter's roll (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). During the upcoming general election period, Plaatje aligned himself with Smuts' South African Party (SAP), as it seemed the only realistic means of resisting the growing political influence of the electoral pact that was formed in 1923 between General Hertzog's National Party (Afrikaners) and the Labour Party (White working class) (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018).

Several of Plaatje's articles urged African readers to vote for the SAP and were published in English newspapers in Cape Town and Johannesburg, as well as in Kimberley's *Diamond Field Advertiser* and in the Chamber of Mines' newspaper, *Umteteli wa Bantu* (Willan, 1984, 2018). Once he was back in Kimberley, Plaatje solicited support for two SAP candidates, Sir David Harris and Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (chairman of De Beers) (Willan, 2018). Sir Harris was instrumental in De Beers' venue donation for Plaatje's Brotherhood organisation back in 1918 and now, Plaatje had similar hopes of him assisting with the revival of his newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

In June 1924, both Harris and Oppenheimer were elected as members of the House of Assembly, but overall, the SAP was in the minority against the Labour-Nationalists' joint parliamentary majority (Giliomee, 2003; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Consequently, Prime

Minister Smuts lost his seat, as did numerous other ‘advocates of native well-being’ politicians, including Henry Burton (Willan, 2018). Plaatje was discouraged at these developments, as it seemed only a matter of time before the newly inaugurated Prime Minister General Hertzog (Butler, 2017; Giliomee, 2003) would implement his prospective ideas for segregation and proceed to abolish Black people of the Cape from the voter’s roll (Butler, 2017; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje’s attempts to lobby support for a newspaper in the ensuing months remained unsuccessful until in January 1925, he wrote to General Smuts seeking assistance in this regard (Lunderstedt, 2014). Smuts agreed to discuss the matter with Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, although the Chamber of Mines already ran its own newspaper, its chairperson was not likely to endorse a direct competitor (Willan, 2018). It seemed that there was simply less scope for an independent spokesman such as Plaatje (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), especially in the bigger cities since “he was never fully able to come to terms with the massive transition brought about by rapid industrialisation in South Africa” (Comaroff et al., 1999, p. 15).

Plaatje was struck by the virtual demise of the African press but he continued to campaign for the cause of rural Africans and travelled around the country to smaller towns where he addressed people in schools, hospitals and prisons (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003). At the same time, he earned some money as a ‘bioscope impresario’ showing educational and uplifting films on the projector he received abroad; this activity earned the title “Plaatje’s bioscope” (Leflaive, 2014, p. 57). At times, Saintry accompanied his father on these trips to assist with the operation of the projector or to provide musical accompaniment by singing or playing the piano (Willan, 2018). Modiri Molema (who had since moved back to Mafeking and ran his own medical practice there) later recalled all the office equipment (or ‘food for the road’ as Plaatje called it) that were taken on these trips – pens, ink, paper, a typewriter, dictionaries, reference books, newspapers and so forth – evidently a sight to behold (Molema, 2012). Through these

films, Plaatje hoped to inspire self-help and moral improvement amidst situations of despair, although he soon discovered it was a message not to everybody's taste. The shows for children were far more popular than those for adults but it was enough for him and he wrote about this experience to Robert Moton in September 1924:

With the poverty of the natives it is a profitless job: but when I see the joy, especially of the native kiddies, at sight of the thrilling drills of Tuskegee and my explanatory remarks enabling them to enjoy that which I have witnessed and they cannot, it turns the whole thing into a labour of love. (Willan, 2018, p. 449)

For some reason, Plaatje deemed it appropriate to also write to Prime Minister Hertzog about this experience and enclosed a newspaper clipping about one of the bioscope shows (Willan, 2018). The two men met on a number of occasions in the past and Plaatje never stopped believing that Hertzog might one day see the error of his ways, nor did he stop trying to persuade Hertzog to do so (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Prime Minister Hertzog's proposal to abolish the non-racial Cape franchise and its accompanying Native Affairs Administration Bill³⁶ (Giliomee, 2003; SAHO, n.d.), threatened one of Plaatje's most cherished principles: equality before the law (Rall, 2003) but at least General Smuts' SAP administration also supported the preservation of the non-racial Cape franchise (Leflaive, 2014).

On the side, Plaatje wrote hundreds of articles that were published in various English newspapers of the day (e.g., the *Johannesburg Star*, the *Pretoria News*, the *Cape Times*, the *East London Daily Dispatch* and the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*); often under the heading 'Through Native Eyes' (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018) and it seemed that he had managed to

³⁶ This Bill was to adopt the themes of the unsuccessful Native Administration Bill of 1917. It was subsequently renamed the Bantu Administration Act, 1927 and the Black Administration Act, 1927 (Giliomee, 2003; SAHO, n.d.). The administration of African law fell under a separate legal system which made the proclaimed Black areas subject to a separate political regime from the rest of the country (Willan, 2018). Under this act, the Governor-General of South Africa had the right to 'banish' African people from certain areas as he deemed necessary (Giliomee, 2003; SAHO, n.d.).

reclaim his reputation as spokesman for the African people (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). However, what Plaatje wanted most was to be the editor of his own newspaper again and ultimately to publish his manuscripts (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje interrupted his tour around the countryside to attend the ANC's annual conferences in Pretoria in 1925 and 1926, in the capacity of an observer, rather than an official delegate (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). He chose not to align himself with the ANC's stance on armed conflict but wanted to show his support against the proposed abolishment of the non-racial Cape franchise (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The majority of those that attended were in agreement that the land on offer in exchange for relinquishing the franchise would simply effect similar exclusions such as those enforced under the Native Land Act of 1913 (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Other segregating pass laws, such as the Wage Bill and the Colour Bar Bill that favoured White workers, were also tabled around this time (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). The Hertzog administration held several meetings seeking African approval for the proposed bills but failed each time since no African in the country was willing to agree to their terms (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje added his voice in his protest by aligning himself with other African spokesmen, church leaders, the APO, the SAP and the Chamber of Mines (Willan, 2018). He even travelled to Cape Town to address a protest meeting organised by the APO, but it seemed that Plaatje's prior persuasive abilities did not have the same influence anymore on current national policies (Willan, 1984, 2018).

In 1926, Plaatje purchased a car with help from De Beers. The Ford came with a portable generator that enabled him to show his bioscope films in remote areas where there was no electricity (Saks, 2004; Willan, 2018). Meanwhile, he continued to follow the activities within the Circuit Courts, as he had done before, and through his articles, reported on any mistakes of justice he encountered (Lunderstedt, 2014). Occasionally, he wrote on historical topics, such

as the Barolong's first encounter with the Boers in the 1830s or on aspects of missionary history (Willan, 2018). He also consistently reported on evictions that were still happening in the countryside under the terms of the Natives' Land Act of 1913 (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). These evictions made Plaatje more critical of the supposed unconcern of Africans who lived in towns towards those struggling in the countryside and accused them of 'callous indifference to their own flesh and blood' (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). He also criticised the younger African leaders for their failure to unite and support each other (Willan, 2018).

The Wages Act and the Colour Bar Act were sanctioned in 1925 and 1926 (Kiloh & Sibeko, 2000). The Wages Act of 1925 benefited unskilled White workers, because it prevented Black workers from undercutting 'civilised' levels of wages (Kiloh & Sibeko, 2000), while the Colour Bar Act, also called the Mines and Works Act of 1926, protected White workers by barring African, Coloured and Indian workers from entering into skilled occupations (Lunderstedt, 2014; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Both acts underlined the country's growing apartheid system (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). Amidst these disturbing developments, Plaatje highlighted the need for moral regeneration and became a personal advocate for sobriety for the International Order of True Templars (IOTT) in June 1927 (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Similar to the National Brotherhood movement in England, the IOTT was an inter-racial organisation that promoted the tenets of morality, Christianity and more specifically, abstinence from alcohol (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997). A lifelong teetotaler, Plaatje had singled out the temperance issue in many of his previous articles, although his vice was smoking cigarettes (Lunderstedt, 2014).

He was offered paid employment by the IOTT and travelled around the countryside for most of 1927 and 1928, promoting the movement's cause (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). He wrote descriptive articles on his observations, in-between the written obituaries for the European press, which were mostly about significant figures of Cape liberalism. One such obituary was

Silas Molema's, who died in Mafeking in September 1927, at the age of seventy-eight (Molema, 1966; Verwey, 1995). For Plaatje, Silas Molema personified the independent, progressive Barolong society that once represented his own hopes and aspirations (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Silas Molema had essentially launched Plaatje's journalistic career and supported him like a father-figure ever since. Plaatje always called him *Rra* (father) indicating a closeness to Molema who in turn always titled his letters to Plaatje 'Dear Son' (Molema, 2012). As expected, Plaatje was deeply saddened by Molema's death and shared his grief in a letter to Molema's son, Modiri: "You will not believe what a shock we got from your telegram conveying the news of Father's passing...I was lying ill at the time and was simply beside myself" (Willan, 2018, p. 462). Plaatje's unwavering faith and belief in God is noted later on in the same letter: "blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours" (Willan, 2018. p. 462), an affirmation that Plaatje was indeed "a man of prayer... with a faith that could not be shaken" (Molema, 2012, p. 10).

In the meantime, Sainy resigned from his job in the De Aar district to start work as the first African head clerk in the municipal office of the location superintendent near Maitland in Cape Town (Willan, 2018). It was an opportunity he would have missed (since he was working at a pharmaceutical company in Natal at the time) had his father not submit an application on his behalf while on a visit to Cape Town (Willan, 2018). When the Native Affairs Administration Act was endorsed in September 1927, Plaatje became gravely concerned for the non-racial Cape franchise as its existence was the only remaining leverage African people had in debates on national policies (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; SAHO, n.d.). The disappointing conduct of the Native Affairs Commission, who claimed to be 'friends of the natives' merely reinforced Plaatje's reservations (Willan, 2018). He, therefore, used the 1929 upcoming general elections as an opportunity to again rally voters for the SAP in the hopes of change (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

In 1928, Plaatje was rewarded for his services to the people over the past decade (Lunderstedt, 2014). The Kimberley community came together and donated the house he and his family were living in to compensate for the one Elizabeth had lost in the Malay Camp while he was abroad on ‘native deputations’ (Couzens, 2001). Later that year, Sainty, who was still living and working in Cape Town, married an old school friend in a church there. The couple received several wedding presents that included a bull from Sir David Harris and ten sheep from Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (Willan, 1984, 2018). Unfortunately, no further details regarding the Plaatje family’s role at the wedding were found in the literature.

A few months before the upcoming general elections, Plaatje was busy electioneering in five separate constituencies extending from Hopetown, south of the Orange River, to Mafeking, in an attempt to counter efforts of National Party representatives to prevent African voters from registering for the elections (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). For a short period in April 1929, Plaatje had briefly involved himself in the affairs of the ANC (having kept his distance until then) to attend its 17th annual conference in Bloemfontein (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 1984, 2018). While at the conference, he agreed to draft the ANC’s reply to Prime Minister Hertzog’s ‘Black Manifesto’³⁷ (SAHO, n.d.; Walshe, 1970), commenting that “I feel certain we are going to win this election...” (Willan, 2018, p. 445). However, disappointing election results on 12 June 1929 yielded an outright majority for Hertzog’s Afrikaner Nationalist Party, giving it final and overall control in parliament (Lunderstedt, 2014; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). For Plaatje, these results signified the final nail in his political coffin: “the blow has fallen...the Pact is to rule over us for another five years...” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 74).

Post-elections, Sainty was fired for stealing from his job in Cape Town (Willan, 1984, 2018). Though he admitted the offence and expressed his regret for doing so, his reasons being he needed the money to provide for his sick wife, although this was not accepted and the couple

³⁷ It aimed to exclude the African people from any share of political power (Walshe, 1970).

was forced to return to his parents' home in Kimberley to explore alternative forms of income (Willan, 1984, 2018). Other drastic changes related to Plaatje's political life with his decision to officially resign from the ANC to pursue the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). This preoccupation became a central theme throughout the final years of his life.

Two of Plaatje's friends, David Ramoshoana and Peter Sebina (who were also Setswana scholars) shared his concerns that their mother tongue risked extinction since no other books, aside from those authored by Plaatje had been written or published in Setswana by then (Willan, 1984, 2018). Schools also lacked suitable Setswana reading material, which made it almost impossible to teach (Doke, 1935). In contrast, Afrikaans, the 'newcomer in the Union government', the language spoken by the Dutch people in South Africa, was thriving since it was mandated as an official language in 1925 (Doke, 1935). Similar to how Afrikaans writers had resolved literary issues for it to be acknowledged as a cultural language, Plaatje and his friends wanted to revitalise and preserve the Setswana language and its culture (Willan, 2018). For Plaatje this was a very personal venture because he saw it as a starting point for Batswana people to overcome the divisions within their fragmented tribes and regain a sense of pride in their customs and traditions (Lunderstedt 2014; Willan, 2018). Ultimately, he hoped to lessen some of the negative effects of social and economic change on the lives of the Batswana with regard to alcoholism, lawlessness, breakdown of parental control and disrespect for authority (Willan, 1984, 2018).

David Ramoshoana was an experienced teacher whom Plaatje described as "a keen student of Bantu lore with a wonderful command of English grammar" (Willan, 2018, p. 479). The two men collaborated on a new, enlarged edition of Plaatje's original *Sechuana Proverbs* as well as on the compilation of a more comprehensive Setswana dictionary that would not only include a host of new words but correct any "solecisms and mistranslations' they picked up in

the current English–Setswana dictionary by J. Brown (Brown, 1925; Willan, 2018). At times, a friend and neighbour of Plaatje, Michael van Reenen, also assisted the pair with suggestions of English equivalents to several of their new-found proverbs (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

The revised edition of *Sechuana Proverbs* eventually included an additional 400 proverbs to the original 732 that Plaatje believed truly captured the unique traditions and accumulated folk-wisdom of the Batswana people (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916a; Willan, 2018). Plaatje also believed the collection of proverbs added an important social function in terms of educating young people the etiquette of appropriate behaviour (Plaatje, 1916a; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje’s application for financial support for this project was submitted to the Bantu Studies Research Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg (Willan, 2018). Coincidentally, Wits had a growing interest in African languages and cultures at the time and Plaatje was evidently awarded a research grant to continue his work (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Meanwhile, he looked elsewhere for funds to print three of his individual Setswana translations, namely *Comedy of Errors*, *Julius Caesar* and *Much Ado About Nothing* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). As an extra source of income, he continued to write articles for various newspapers around the country (Lunderstedt, 2014) but it was not enough to finance his literary endeavours (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Towards the end of 1929, he appealed to De Beers for financial assistance since they had often supported his projects in the past (Willan, 2018), but this time, their directors were not persuaded.

Eventually, Plaatje somehow scraped together the money he needed from various sources and *Comedy of Errors* (or *Diphosho-phosho*) was printed by the Morija mission press in July 1930 (Plaatje, 1930b). Several people were impressed by Plaatje’s success in matching the puns, the proverbs, the popular expressions and distinctive tone of Shakespeare’s language (Lestrade, 1934) in “the first Sechuana (Setswana) book that really speaks Sechuana” (Willan,

2018, p. 501). David Ramoshoana commended Plaatje on “his remarkable ability in English and complete mastery of the Sechuana language...it will be well for (such) sceptics to see how successfully a self-educated man has translated Shakespeare’s “Comedy of Errors” into Sechuana (Willan, 2018, p. 502).

The publication of *Diphosho-phosho* sparked the interest of Charles Rey, the resident commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate at the time (Willan, 2018). Impressed with what he read, Rey requested a meeting with Plaatje in November 1930 to discuss the possibility of including “some of his books for our native schools” (Parsons & Crowder, 1988, p. 48). Rey agreed with his director of education and other experts in the Protectorate that primary school children should be taught in their first language and thought that Plaatjes’ books would help remedy the deficiency concerning the Setswana reading matter (Parsons & Crowder, 1988; Willan, 2018). Three months later, *Diphosho-phosho* was included on the reading list for Setswana for the upper primary classes of schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Willan, 2018). The overall disagreement on Setswana orthography complicated Plaatje’s efforts to publish his other manuscripts. Publishing houses were hesitant to publish in a language that had no cohesive printed form (Ndhlovu & Kamusella, 2018; Willan, 1996, 2018). Critics soon complained about *Diphosho-phosho* in the new Protectorate school syllabus on the grounds that it used a ‘weird’ orthography but from Plaatje’s point of view, his phonetic script was the most appropriate for the true representation of the Setswana language (Willan, 1984, 2018).

The Bantu Studies Research Committee at Wits included several university academics and government officials who were interested in a standardised orthography of African languages, resulting in the forming of a sub-committee, called the Central Orthography Committee (with further subcommittees), which had to oversee plans for a uniform orthography for the different African language groups in South Africa (Ndhlovu & Kamusella, 2018; Lestrade, 1934). In principle, Plaatje was in favour of orthographic reform but he feared the potential threat in

linking other African language groups to the integrity of Setswana (Willan, 2018). In his opinion, sub-committees that addressed the orthography of more than one language group simultaneously might comprise and distort the Setswana language with ‘foreign symbols and conventions’ even more than it already was (Peires, 1980). Plaatje was elected a member of the ‘Sotho-Tswana-Pedi’ subcommittee, but his outspoken views in the first meeting held in Pretoria in February 1929, caused friction with the other eight committee members (Willan, 2018). Two of them were Black, while the other six were White, four of whom were sons of Berlin Society missionaries. The lack of unanimity in the subcommittee’s first meeting forced the Central Orthography Committee to recommend the formation of separate district subcommittees for Sotho, Sepedi and Setswana but Plaatje, due to his ‘disruptive influence’ in the first meeting, was not nominated as a delegate for the Setswana subcommittee (Peires, 1980; Willan, 2018). He was, in fact, excluded from all future orthography committees or subcommittees that developed over the next few years (Peires, 1980). As expected, Plaatje reacted angrily to being side-lined and strongly opposed the constitution of the various committees (Willan, 2018). To him, ‘self-appointed’ White academics and government officials were not qualified to decide the future form of a native language, which was not their own:

Personally, I have nothing but the highest respect for the sound learning of University professors. I yield to no one in my admiration for their academic distinction and high scholarship. The only trouble with the professors is that they don’t know my language, and with all due deference, how could a string of letters behind a man’s name enable him to deal correctly with something he does not understand? Only one man is capable of determining the spelling of this language. That man is the Native. (Willan, 2018, p 511)

By the time agreements on an official Setswana orthography were reached in 1937, *Julius Caesar (Dintshontsho tsa bo-Juliuse Kesara*, meaning ‘the several deaths of Julius Caesar’) was published posthumously (Plaatje, 1937; Willan, 2018). According to Matjila and Haire (2014), Plaatje’s translation of Shakespeare was so outstanding that ‘Borutse (Brutus) might well have been a Motswana hero’. The book eventually progressed into the best-selling title in the Bantu Education series and came to be an important source of revenue for Wits University Press in general (Matjila & Haire, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Back in 1930, further demand for a more comprehensive Setswana dictionary came with the publication of Plaatje’s *Diphosho-phosho*, but the project faced practical difficulties. Plaatje’s partner, David Ramoshoana, had left Kimberley and was working in a town more than 100 kilometres away, which naturally complicated their usual daily discussions (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018). Also, it was impossible for Plaatje to collect wide-ranging and representative material on his own given the vast geographical area the Setswana population lived in. An additional setback occurred in 1931 when the Bantu Studies Research Committee decided not to renew Plaatje’s research grant due to a shortage of funds at Wits university (Lestrade, 1934). The combination of challenges made the compilation of a dictionary a near-impossible task and it never even came close to publication (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). All that remains of Plaatje’s work on this project is his own annotated copy of the 1925 edition of Brown’s Setswana dictionary, which reflects an addition of nearly 400 new words, handwritten on the pages of Brown’s dictionary or scribbled on new pages inserted into it (Willan, 2018). It seems Plaatje had made corrections to 200 or so of the existing dictionary entries (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

The good news was that Plaatje’s historical novel *Mhudi* was finally published in August 1930, even if it was nearly 10 years after he had written it (Limb, 2003; Plaatje, 1930a; Willan, 1984). It was the first full-length work of fiction written in English by a Black South African

(Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje was honoured to see his manuscripts published after such long delays (Leflaive, 2014; Limb, 2003; Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Willan, 2018). He was still in touch with Georgiana Solomon, 80 years old at the time, and wrote: “after ten years of disappointment I have at length succeeded in printing my book. Lovedale is publishing it. I am expecting the proofs any day this week” (Willan, 2018, p. 522).

The clergyman R. H. W. Shepherd, who was also an employee at the Lovedale Institution Press, played an instrumental role in the publication of *Mhudi* (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Matjila & Haire, 2014; Shepherd, 1945). Plaatje himself ordered 250 copies of the book, many of which he sold while others were donated to old friends and colleagues as gifts or to compensate for past debts – among those who received donated copies included Marie Westphal (a widow since her husband’s death in 1922), Sir Ernest Oppenheimer in Kimberley, Dr W. E. B. du Bois in England and Dr Robert Moton in the United States (Willan, 2018). Most press reviews on *Mhudi* were positive: the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* and the *Rand Daily Mail* found it ‘fascinating’ and Plaatje’s old friend Vere Stent, still writing for the *Pretoria News* appreciated its significance. Even Stephen Black, the typically critical editor of the *New Sjobok*, thought Plaatje ‘knows English as perhaps no White man has ever known a Bantu language’ (SAHO, n.d.).

Plaatje’s endless frustrations about money continued and he vented to Dr Robert Moton in 1931:

There is much data that wants writing in the line of old Native research, but valuable data lies unprinted, of immense historic and anthropological value; I have no financial aid to visit such localities and the old people are fast dying out and being buried with the information which is thus being lost to posterity. (Willan, 2018, p. 552)

In his opinion, the racial situation in South Africa aggravated his ability to publish his other works because “Whites found no difficulty in securing the funds ‘for half-cooked second-hand information (often distorted) about Natives” (Willan, 2018, p. 552). A more positive change was that his public recognition kept growing as he continued to write a variety of newspaper articles on issues of the day (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan 2018) and continued his temperance work for the IOTT as an additional source of income (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

In January 1931, Plaatje travelled to Johannesburg to attend a three-day conference of the IOTT (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003). At the conference, Plaatje was commended for his work towards the progression of the African people and he was also elected editor of the organisation’s upcoming newspaper, *The Heritage* (Lunderstedt, 2014). The IOTT’s initial plan was for the newspaper to include articles, written predominantly in English, but also in Afrikaans and other African languages, not limited to the affairs of the organisation, but also on issues of broader social and political interest (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). It was an exciting prospect and Plaatje assisted with arrangements for its launch, which included a trip to Cape Town in May that year (Willan, 2018).

Upon arrival in Cape Town, Plaatje noticed advertisements for an upcoming international sport exhibition in Elizabethville in the Belgian Congo (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In his mind, such an exhibition presented an opportune time to study other countries’ race relationships (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018) and he started making plans accordingly. He obtained a letter of introduction from the Belgian consulate in Cape Town, along with a request ‘to refrain from drawing offensive comparisons between the Union and the Belgian administrations’ (Willan, 2018) until, in the winter of 1931, he embarked on the five-day trip to Elizabethville from Kimberley, travelling via the Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe to enter the Belgian Congo (Plaatje, 1931).

What immediately struck Plaatje about Elizabethville was the contrasts in labour and employment policies. A noticeable difference from employment operations in South Africa was that all the staff on a train he had travelled on were Black, while a visit to the law courts highlighted the use of assessors from the different African tribes involved in legal cases – a practise not allowed within the South African judicial system (Willan, 2018). Plaatje hoped that his two-week journey in the Belgian Congo would yield constructive perspectives with which to view his own country, although the constant travelling put a strain on his already weak heart (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). When his visit came to an end, Plaatje was humbled by the hospitality of Belgian authorities and ‘a useful mass of information’ (Plaatje, 1931).

On his way back to South Africa, Plaatje stopped over in Bulawayo, (situated in the Matabeleland region, southwest of Harare, Zimbabwe) to address a meeting of European citizens as per invite by the Native Welfare Society of Matabeleland (Musemwa, 2006; Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s speech captivated a packed hall and afterwards also received positive reports in the local newspaper, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* (Willan, 2018). As noted from the title of the newspaper article, Plaatje’s speech centred around the South African government's treatment of its disenfranchised and marginalised population (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Back at home in Kimberley, the IOTT’s freshly established newspaper had to cope without its editor and it was struggling financially amidst the Great Depression³⁸ (Garraty, 1986; Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s attempts to seek financial assistance for the newspaper from the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria and the Bechuanaland Protectorate authorities were futile (Willan, 2018), which echoed the financial struggles he had encountered with his previous newspapers. Again, financial resources were beyond Plaatje’s reach, which meant that *The*

³⁸ The Great Depression was the most destructive and far-reaching economic turndown in the history of the industrialized world when the stock market crashed in October 1929 (Garraty, 1986).

Heritage turned out to be another short-lived venture and ceased publication after just five issues (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). It was Plaatje's final stint as newspaper editor (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Towards the end of 1931, however, he was offered the editorship of the weekly *Bantu World* in Johannesburg but chose to decline it even though the position promised access to sufficient capital and resources (Couzens, 1976). By then, Plaatje had other priorities – his Setswana literary endeavours – and he was not interested in moving to Johannesburg (Willan, 2018).

In December 1931, Plaatje travelled to Aliwal North to address the Cape Native Voters' Association (Willan, 1984, 2018), with an appeal to his people to take ownership of themselves and their communities (Willan, 1984, 2018). The Great Depression had brutally impacted Africans across the country to the extent that many were unable to pay existing tax levies, let alone the recently enforced poll tax (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Plaatje was aware that African people did not always appreciate his efforts to progress themselves and their 'lethargy', 'fickleness' and 'wanton indifference' regarding their own political and social lives annoyed him. It frustrated him to witness the rise in alcoholism and the growing spirit of jealousy among one another (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In his personal life, he was struggling with a similar frustration involving the frequent alcohol use of his sons, Sainty and Hally (Willan, 2018). They enjoyed going out to drink with friends because unlike their father, saw no virtue in total abstinence (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Their behaviour felt an insult to his temperance work with the IOTT (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). To Plaatje, "Sty (Sainty) and Halley can now be ruled out of the list of humanity and entered up as permanent liabilities" (Willan, 2018, p. 567). This made him wonder about the price he now paid as a father for not being around his family more (Willan, 1984, 2018). He shared his disappointment with several friends and acquaintances, who later recalled Plaatje's unhappiness at his sons' excessive drinking habits (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje was proud of his other son, Richard. Richard most closely resembled his father physically and had also pursued a career as a court interpreter and was working in the magistrate's office in Kimberley (Willan, 2018). Richard had married Mary in 1927, and their son, also named Richard, was Plaatje's first grandchild, born in 1928 (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje became close to Richard and his daughter-in-law Mary during their brief stay at the family home in Angel Street, Kimberley (Willan, 1984, 2018). In later years, Mary recalled the overcrowded household comprising herself and her husband, Plaatje and Elizabeth, Sainty and his wife, Halley, Violet, and at various intervals included Elizabeth's sister (who worked as a cook in town), one of Plaatje's nephews, Gabriel, as well as three girls (who attended school in Kimberley) from a Batswana family in Thaba 'Nchu (Willan, 2018). Mary and Michael van Reenen, a neighbour, particularly recalled the loud arguments between Plaatje and his sons when Sainty and Halley returned home intoxicated, usually well after the daily after-dinner family prayer meeting (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

According to Modiri Molema (2012), Violet's nature was very similar to Plaatje's. She had qualified as a teacher and was popular with the learners she taught at different schools in Kimberley. She earned extra income by giving piano lessons, managed a local girls group who performed at concerts and other social events in town and was a leading member of the Band of Hope (another temperance organisation linked to the IOTT) (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). When Plaatje was not inundated with work, he and Violet would play the piano together in the local Abantu Batho Musical association (Molema, 2012; Odendaal, 2003). Other family activities were usually reserved for Sundays when Plaatje would drive them all for a picnic visit to Pniel, where his eldest brother, Simon (by then in his late seventies), still lived with his own family (Willan, 2018).

During this period, family and close friends observed Plaatje's escalating frustrations with his failing health and decreased mobility (Molema, 2012), although he "refused to feel sick"

(Molema, 2012, p. 86) and ignored doctors' advice to slow down and limit unnecessary strain on his weak heart (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Judging from surviving photographs during this time, struggles with his health could have contributed to him appearing older than a man in his mid-fifties (Willan, 2018). Still, he continued to work for the IOTT and attended several of its meetings out of town (Lunderstedt, 2014).

At the start of 1932, Plaatje travelled to Cape Town to follow-up with the Minister of Education on earlier promises from the Cape provincial authorities to provide secondary education facilities at the Native Lyndhurst Road school in Kimberley (Willan, 2018). Nothing came of these promises as it coincided with parliament sanctioning another gloomy legislature, the Native Service Contract Bill³⁹ (SAHO, n.d.). Despite Plaatje's outrage at the news, he was in no position to undo it. While he was still in Cape Town, the principal of a White girls' school in Rondebosch invited him to address their learners, and even with the overwhelmingly positive feedback of this visit in the press, a number of White Afrikaners considered it 'an inappropriate degree of familiarity between Black and White' (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje arrived back home a few months later in May 1932 bearing good news. He had finally managed to raise sufficient funds to pay for the printing of one of his Setswana manuscripts, thanks to two individuals: a wealthy Cape Town retailer and wholesaler, and the daughter of an ex-mayor of Kimberley (Willan, 1984, 2018). After such a long struggle, Plaatje had reason to be happy. A bit later on in that same month, he held a public meeting in town to share the outcome of his trip to Cape Town with anyone who was interested, a gesture that was met with appreciation from community members who thanked him afterwards for his efforts (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997).

³⁹ Under the Native Service Act 1932, white farmers could call on the labour of their African workers' families and the workers themselves, and evict the entire family summarily if any one member defaulted on his or her labour obligations even if there were no written contracts of service. Additional elements under the act allowed farmers to physical whip workers and force them to carry passes (SAHO, n.d.).

In June 1932, Plaatje went on his final trip to Johannesburg to arrange the publishing of his remaining manuscripts (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). One of the schoolgirls that were boarding with the Plaatje family at the time, accompanied him to the railway station to see him off, along with his daughter-in-law Mary, and both later recalled that he was walking with a limp (Couzens, 2001; Willan, 2018). In Johannesburg, he stayed with his sister-in-law, Maria Smouse, in Pimville, Soweto (an African township about 16 kilometres from the city centre) (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje was his usual busy self and attended numerous social engagements with friends in town (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). On his way back to Pimville from a funeral one day, falling snow plummeted temperatures well below zero, and Plaatje, having had serious problems with his health for a while, fell ill with influenza (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003). He was forced to stay in bed but he continued to finalise his manuscripts while he recovered at his sister-in-law's house (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984).

On 17 June 1932, Plaatje felt better and decided to brave the cold weather to attend to previously arranged appointments with a bank and a printer but he collapsed on a train platform on the way back home (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984). A local doctor was called who drove Plaatje back to Pimville in his car. Coincidentally, this doctor turned out to be A. B. Xuma, the medical student who had first met Plaatje in Chicago back in 1922 (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Dr Xuma reported that Plaatje's influenza had complicated into severe double pneumonia (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Elizabeth was urgently summoned from Kimberley to be with her husband. She arrived on the morning of Sunday, 19 June 1932 to find Plaatje fighting for his life (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje died later that afternoon at the age of 56 years, surrounded by Elizabeth, Isaiah and other family members (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

De Beers arranged to have Plaatje's body transported back home to Kimberley, where he was buried three days later (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). A crowd of mourners gathered at the Johannesburg railway station as a final send-off when his body was taken to Kimberley (Willan, 2018). The funeral itself was an elaborate affair attended by over a 1000 people, who included well-known individuals such as William Humphreys (a member of parliament), George Simpson (editor of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*), I. P. Joshua (a representative of the Coloured community), B. Cohen (the mayor of Kimberley) and five city councillors (Lunderstedt, 2014). Other tributes sent included wreaths from the Lyndhurst Road School staff and the Indian Welfare Association (Lunderstedt, 2014). The service was conducted by Plaatje's old comrade, Methodist minister Reverend Z. R. Mahabane, who was the most recent President-General of the ANC (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). He called Plaatje a "great patriot who devoted his talents to the service of his people and country" (Willan, 2018, p. 575). Plaatje's brother-in-law, Isaiah Bud M'belle, spoke on behalf of the family and emphasised two primary things he had fought against, namely alcohol abuse and racism (Lunderstedt, 2014). A Lutheran minister, Gerhard Kuhn, delivered the funeral oration at the gravesite in the West End cemetery and addressed the mourners in both English and Setswana: "Our deceased friend, Solomon Plaatje may also be rightly called a prince and a great man, that is why we have gathered here in such numbers to pay him the last respect" (Willan, 2018, p.575).

Post-funeral tributes from Black and White people alike followed in the African press in the weeks after Plaatje's death to commemorate his achievements (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). One such article in the *Bantu World* on 2 July 1932, written by Professor Edgar H. Brookes carried the title "*Faithful Servant of Bantu Nation Passes Away: Solomon T. Plaatje*". Another article written by the editor in *Imvo Zabantsundu* stated: "...the deceased gentleman battled with indomitable courage from humble surroundings to lofty educational and social

attainments...” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 4). The overwhelming number of public tributes was complemented by a flood of telegrams, letters and messages of condolence for Elizabeth and the rest of the Plaatje family, received from around South Africa and abroad (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Many of the comments from close friends and ex-colleagues highlighted Plaatje’s personal values of integrity, courage, empathy and incessant concern with the well-being of the disenfranchised (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Leflaive, 2014; Limb, 2003; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). More personal memories included Michael van Reenen’s fond recollection of his and Plaatje’s late-night conversations over a cup of coffee in his kitchen about Shakespeare, the proverbs Plaatje and David Ramoshoana were collaborating on and newspaper articles Plaatje had written (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Simon Lekhela, a teacher and relative, remembered how Plaatje always took an interest in and encouraged his educational progress and ‘felt proud to be related to a man of that stature’ (Willan, 2018). David Ramoshoana’s highlights centred around Plaatje’s outstanding contribution to the advancement of Setswana linguistics (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In July 1932 the IOTT held a special memorial service in Kimberley as a celebratory tribute to Plaatje’s ‘distinguished service for the Temperance movement’, as well as Elizabeth’s significant role in her husband’s achievements (Willan, 1984, 2018).

In 1935, three years after Plaatje’s death, his tombstone with the inscription: *We thank thee O Lord for lending us so rare a flower to bless our lives*, followed by an injunction in Setswana: *I Khutse Morolong: Modiredi Wa Afrika - Rest in Peace Morolong, You Servant of Africa*, was unveiled by George Simpson (Lunderstedt, 2014; SAHO, n.d.). Simpson stated that “his body lies buried beneath this stone but his soul goes marching on” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 6). A sizeable crowd, including Plaatje’s widow, Elizabeth, and their four surviving children, was present to witness the unveiling. After all the speeches were concluded, the local Abantu Musical Association Choir and the Lutheran Church choir jointly sang South Africa’s official

national anthem at the time, ‘God Save the King’ as well as the country’s present-day national anthem, ‘Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika’ (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018). Sadly, an unfortunate mistake on the tombstone occurred when the date of his death was wrongly engraved as 19 July 1932 instead of 19 June 1932 (Willan, 2018).

2.4 Closing Remarks

Posthumously, Plaatje received an array of accolades and honorary awards, including an honorary doctorate degree from the University of the North West in 1998 (for full details see Appendix D). It appears that the force of his personality left a profound impression on everyone he met both nationally and internationally – be it through personal contact or through his speeches and writings. His 1916 classic, *Native Life in South Africa* was republished in 2007 and continues to bring focus to, and inform debates about the struggles of the African people who were relegated to landless and dispossessed squatters by the Native Land Act of 1913 (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). Plaatje, it is said, remains “one of the great South Africans of the 20th century” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 78).

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the major sociohistorical events in the life of Sol Plaatje. Following theoretical discussions regarding the chosen psychological frameworks and methodology used in this psychobiographical endeavour, these sociohistorical events will be reflected on in Chapters 8, 9 and 10. One of the chosen psychological frameworks, namely the theory of psychosocial development, is discussed in the next chapter. The other chosen psychological framework, namely the WoW model for holistic wellness, will be discussed thereafter, in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

ERIKSON'S THEORY OF PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter focuses on Erik H. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, which is the psychological theory used in this psychobiography to uncover and delineate the personality development of Sol Plaatje. In order to contextualise Erikson's theory, a brief outline of Erikson's life history is provided, followed by a discussion of his theoretical contributions to the field of developmental psychology and psychoanalysis. Significant concepts are clarified and a comprehensive description of each of the eight psychosocial developmental stages, as proposed by Erikson, is provided. A short explanation of an additional ninth psychosocial developmental stage is also included. Furthermore, the relevance of Erikson's theory and its implications for psychobiography is explored. This is followed by a brief discussion on the theoretical expansions and extensions of the theory, as proposed by researchers in the field of developmental theory. The final section of the chapter includes a summary of Erikson's proposed life stages as well as the main criticisms against the theory.

3.2. Erik H. Erikson: Historical Perspective, Theoretical Contributions and Psychobiography

Erik Homburger Erikson (1902 – 1994) was an ego psychologist and well known for concepts such as *identity crises* and his theory on psychosocial personality development across the entire lifespan (Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen, 2003). Erikson's birth was the result of a secret

romance between his mother, Kasla Abrahamsen, and an unknown Danish man who abandoned her before Erikson was born (Crowne, 2009; Flemming, 2004). She raised Erikson in Buehl, near Frankfurt, where she became friends with members of an artistic community (Alexander, 2005; Crowne, 2009). Alexander (2005) postulates that the members of this community most probably accepted and adored the young child of an artistic single mother and the male members of the community were most probably his first role models (Erikson, 1975).

Erikson's mother met and married his paediatrician, Dr Theodor Homburger, when he was three years old, yet kept the fact that he was not Erikson's biological father from him for many years (Erikson, 1971; Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen, 2008). Dr Homburger agreed to adopt Erikson on condition that his true origins remain a secret (Crowne, 2009). Erikson retained his biological father's blonde hair and tall stature and as a result of this Nordic appearance, was taunted by the Jewish children at his stepfather's synagogue (Allen, 2006). Many of his German peers at school also shunned him because of his stepfather's Jewish religion. Erikson was an alienated youth (Coles, 1970) whose social, contextual and personal experiences ensued in the conceptualisation of the psychosocial emphasis on identity (Erikson, 1975; Flemming, 2004; Hoare, 2002). Having defined himself as an "outsider" (McAdams, 1994, p. 656), Erikson took pleasure in his art until he became friends with two boys in his final year at school – Bloss and Stonorov (Alexander, 2005). In 1927, when Erikson turned 25 years old, Bloss invited him to Vienna, where he was introduced to and joined Sigmund Freud's circle of psychoanalysis (Friedmann, 2000; Roazen, 1976).

As a student and teacher at a school with young children who were under analytical treatment or whose parents had some sort of connection with psychoanalysis (Alexander, 2005), Erikson's interest was piqued, partly due to his self-confessed search for a father-figure with whom he could identify (Schultz & Schultz, 2013). His life and work thus exhibited a remarkable historical alignment (Chéze, 2009), as he drew on his identity crisis and socio-

historical factors that influenced his life to formulate the basic motivation for human development as a striving for identity (Coles, 1970; Hoare, 2002; Meyer et al., 2003, 2008; Welchman, 2000).

Freud's daughter and colleague, Anna Freud, noticed Erikson's exceptional manner of working with children and she invited him to enter into child psychoanalytic training under her guidance (Alexander, 2005; Crowne, 2009). In 1930, Erikson married Joan Serson, a Canadian dance teacher and work colleague (Alexander, 2005). Joan proved to have a significant influence on Erikson's life. She helped him to improve his English fluency and provided him with opportunities to assume responsibilities related to family life, which, in a way, encouraged his entry into adulthood (Alexander, 2005). In 1933, she also provided him with entry into the United States when they decided to migrate there with their young children in response to the growing threat of Nazism in Germany (Allen, 2006). Before the family left Vienna, Erikson became a full member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (Crowne, 2009). Six years later, he became an American citizen and officially changed his surname from Homburger to Erikson. The decision to keep Homburger as a second name may well have symbolised the maturation of his own identity (Boeree, 2006; McAdams, 1994).

Erikson's theory of psychosocial development with its focus on investigating the relationship of the *self* with the *environment* represented a departure from his predecessors' psychoanalytical stance (Corey, 2005; Erikson, 1963a; Hoare, 2005; Sollod, Wilson, & Monte, 2009). In his first independent book, *Childhood and Society* in 1950, he professed his intention to shed light on the relation of the ego to its environment (Erikson, 1963a; Nel, 2013). Herein he elaborated on the role of the ego in personality functioning and subsequently used the term *psychosocial* in an attempt to complement the dominant focus on *psychosexual* development (Crowne, 2009; Erikson, 1997). Since Freud's focus was on early childhood, instincts and pathology arising from intrapsychic conflict, Erikson (1975) summarised it as "backward",

“downward” and “inward” (p. 37). He was, however, anxious and cautious not to insult Freud and defended his deviation from Freud’s perspective by acknowledging that Freud’s psychoanalytic theory enabled him to formulate his theory (Capps, 2004). According to Alexander (2005), the anxiety of losing a father figure or losing his identity as psychoanalyst links to the theory. Erikson (1975) eventually described his theoretical focus as an extension of Freud’s theory, specifically pertaining to the following three main ways: (a) *outward* in recognition of the importance of social influence, (b) *forward* throughout the entire lifespan and (c) *upward* in consciousness (Hoare, 2005).

3.2.1 *Outward to the social world*

Freud assumed that individuals are closed systems that are largely impermeable to environmental influences (Hoare, 2005), however, Erikson recognised and acknowledged the vital interplay between the socio-cultural and socio-historical processes of society on our psychological development (Schachter, 2005). More specifically, Erikson regarded individuals as open systems and argued that socio-cultural phenomena are internalised within the developing ego through the mediation of cultural institutions and traditions such as the family, school and church (Erikson, 1950, 1959; Hoare, 2005).

3.2.2 *Forward throughout the lifespan*

Erikson rejected Freud’s proposition that early experiences are deterministic and that personality characteristics are “permanently fixed” during the first six years of life (Meyer et al., 2008, p. 72). He contended that if adult behaviour is viewed exclusively in terms of their childhood, then individuals would not take responsibility for their actions (Erikson, 1950). In addition, he extended Freud’s theoretical approach to psychological development beyond the

age of sexual maturation in adolescence and included adult development, which made him the first theorist to also explore psychological development during adulthood (Freiberg, 1987; Hoare, 2005). Furthermore, Erikson promoted an optimistic view of development and focused on psychosocial health rather than psychopathology (Hoare, 2005). Marcia (2002) suggested that perhaps the most compelling characteristic of Erikson's psychosocial theory lies within the individual's ability to rework and overcome difficulties that may have arisen during particular developmental stages. Since Erikson theorised that personality continues to develop in a succession of eight stages over the entire lifespan (Swartz, De La Rey, Duncan, & Townsend, 2008), unresolved crises in a particular developmental stage can be attended to and rectified in subsequent stages (Swartz et al., 2008).

3.2.3 *Upward in consciousness*

Freud maintained that instincts are motivational drives that form the basis of personality (Swartz et al., 2008). Erikson's main focus was on the conscious self and the adaptive abilities of the rational ego, which moved away from Freud's emphasis on unconscious drives (Erikson, 1950; Meyer et al., 2008). Erikson regarded the ego as an executive element of personality that can make choices and initiate action in an attempt to resolve developmental crises in a creative way. At each developmental stage, the ego is able to choose between different developmental possibilities and attempts to launch creative solutions to the developmental crisis (Meyer et al., 2008). He seldom referred to Freud's two other components of personality, namely the id and the superego (Meyer et al., 2008). Erikson (1963a) believed that ego development fosters the individual's sense of identity in the social world through the process of dealing with and mastery of personal, societal, historical and familial forces in the environment. Erikson's approach is, therefore, an integrative one, that acknowledges the diverse aspects that may

interact to produce human behaviour and experience (Kivnick & Wells, 2013; Nel, 2013; Schachter, 2005).

Erikson attempted to enhance the understanding of the psychoanalytic perspective by writing extensively on the development of prominent or historical people who, like him, had grappled with serious struggles with their own identity (Erikson, 1959; Meyer et al., 2008). He referred to this as psychohistories (Roazen, 1976). Erikson (1958) contended that social history and personal psychology converge in the concrete behaviour of 'great' people and that the disciplinary focus of one could assist in the illumination of another. His interest in case histories and lifespan development also turned his attention to the field of psychobiography (Nel, 2013; Stevens, 2008). Erikson's psychobiographies on Martin Luther (Erikson, 1958, 1993) and Mahatma Gandhi (Erikson, 1968) are leading examples of the necessity to view an individual's evolving psychosocial identities within their complete socio-cultural and historical context across time (Chéze, 2009; Meyer et al., 2008). Further attempts to elaborate on the work of Freud is evident through his essays on other historical figures such as Freud, Einstein, Hitler, Shaw and James (Stevens, 2008). Erikson demonstrated a significantly wider focus than that of Freud's widely criticised psychoanalytic interpretation of *Leonardo da Vinci* in 1910 (Stevens, 2008) and thus became an influential figure in the field of psychobiography (Pietikainen & Ihanus, 2003; Stevens, 2008). It is worth noting that Erikson still influences the development of psychobiography as well as personality psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). Although Levinson seems to be the favoured theorist in South African psychobiographies (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010), Erikson's (1950,1974) theory of psychosocial development has also been widely used and shown to be well suited for psychobiographical studies (Fouché et al., 2014).

3.3 Description of Relevant Concepts

3.3.1 Personality and Personality Development

According to Louw and Louw (2009), people have enduring qualities that make them unique and recognisable, but they are also able to adapt to changes in their environments when it is required of them. The development of personality is seen as an “interactive cycle” between the individual, family, society and personality (Runyan, 1982, p. 212). Thus, the individual is exposed to and influenced by experiences and environments, which in turn influences the type of experiences and environments the person will search for (Runyan, 1982). Ponterotto (2017a) indicated that culturally-contextualised psychosocial models of human development, such as the one offered by Erikson (1980), are critical to psychobiographical studies. Erikson’s theory encompasses the entire lifespan of the individual by applying the eight stages of his development theory (Graves & Larkin, 2006; Kivnick & Wells, 2013; Meyer et al., 2008; Ponterotto, 2017a). In accordance with contemporary theories that view personality development as occurring throughout the lifespan (Santrock, 2001), Erikson’s theory on human development states that the personality develops throughout life (Runyan, 1982) and that the individual can at each stage spontaneously change/adjust in an attempt to rectify problems which may surface during the course of the development (Meyer et al., 2008). Although the stages are discussed within certain age groups, Erikson remained “gentle and implicit” (Roberts & Newton, 1987, p. 154) regarding the age boundaries.

3.3.2 Ego Development and the Epigenetic Principle

Erikson believed that the ego generates coordinated and planned functioning (Erikson, 1968), but that this continuing functioning is subject to and regulated by an epigenetic principle (i.e., a genetically determined ground plan and linkages) and, therefore, he did not define exact

starting or ending ages for the stages. This ground plan causes specific characteristics of the ego to come to life in a predetermined order (Erikson, 1963a, 1968; Meyer et al., 2008; Miller, 2010, Newman & Newman, 2012). The term, *epigenesis*, borrowed from embryology, refers to the step-by-step unfolding of development in an organism according to a genetically determined order or sequence (Peedicayil, 2012). The social environment, however, with its demands and opportunities, influences the way in which the ego develops and in which the genetically predetermined stages of development are realised (Meyer et al., 2008; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Therefore, both personal and situational variables, or both biological and social factors, affect personality development (Meyer et al., 2008; Miller, 2010; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). The effect of these variables causes conflict during each of the eight stages of development, although the quality of conflict management by the ego (i.e., the individual) greatly impacts on the psychosocial development (Fitzpatrick, 1976). When the environment forces certain changes because of the conflict, a crisis is experienced (Meyer et al., 2003), which involves a change in perspective, asking the individual to refocus and adapt to the needs of each stage of the life cycle (Louw & Edwards, 1994; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Freud saw the ego only as an executive agent of mediation between the id and superego, but Erikson added the important function of selecting among different developmental possibilities and also hunting for solutions for developmental crises (Meyer et al., 2008).

3.3.2.1 Ego Strengths

Erikson's psychosocial theory also aimed to explain ego development and the emergence of different ego strengths in a predetermined sequence during crises or critical periods of the life cycle (Meyer et al., 2008). He utilised paradox and polarity in his work to demonstrate the idea that the ego's critical function is to integrate oppositional forces, which he labelled *contrary dispositions*, one being syntonic and the other dystonic (Nel, 2013). In his model of lifespan

development, he used the concept of dichotomous forces in a progression of eight stages (see Table 1). Each stage is characterised by the ego’s task to choose between the two opposing developmental opportunities to either resolve the conflict or fail to master the developmental task (Corey, 2005; Erikson, 1963a). The successful resolution of each task leads to the emergence of a new ego strength or quality (Erikson, 1997) that allows the individual to advance to a higher level of development (Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1989; Meyer et al., 2003; Newman & Newman, 2012; Watts et al., 2009). Erikson termed these ego strengths *virtues*, which develop if the ego is able to create a favourable working balance between the complementary opposites during a developmental stage (Gross, 1987; Roazen, 1976). Table 1 provides a more detailed explanation of the eight ego strengths, namely hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care and wisdom.

Table 3.1

Defining the Ego Strengths (adapted from Capps, 2012, pp. 272-273)

	Ego Strength	Definition
1.	Hope	The enduring belief in the attainability of fervent wishes, in spite of the dark urges and rages which mark the beginning of existence.
2.	Willpower	The unbroken determination to exercise free choice as well as self-restraint, in spite of the unavoidable experience of shame and doubt in infancy.
3.	Purpose	The courage to envision and pursue valued goals uninhibited by the defeat of infantile fantasies, by guilt and by the foiling fear of punishment.
4.	Competence	The free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of tasks, unimpaired by infantile inferiority.
5.	Fidelity	The ability to sustain loyalties freely pledged in spite of the inevitable contradictions of value systems.
6.	Love	Mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonisms inherent in divided function.
7.	Care	The widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident. It overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation.
8.	Wisdom	Detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself.

3.3.3 Crisis and Crisis Resolution

Central to Erikson’s conception of crisis is that the self (or the ego) becomes unstable and fragmented (Erikson, 1968) and evidently causes a person to feel incongruous within their understandings of self (Robinson, Demetro, & Litman, 2016). Furthermore, the individual may

experience a sense of inauthenticity, particularly during an adult crisis (Robinson & Smith, 2010). Robinson, Wright and Smith (2013) assert that crises typically elicit an intensive questioning of one's current lifestyle, beliefs and understandings, which Erikson regarded as a positive phenomenon: a turning point in the life of an individual, especially when a new task or challenge must be confronted and addressed (Atalay, 2007; Prenter, 2015). Erikson's theory also depicts psychosocial development as a lifelong progression towards higher levels of integration and wholeness (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Robinson & Stell, 2015; Torges, Stewart, & Duncan, 2009) and crises are catalysts that spur individuals towards psychosocial maturation (Swartz et al., 2008). Each stage contains two opposing extremes (Capps, 2004), although a healthy balance between these extremes or terms of conflict is necessary (Coles, 2001; Meyer, et al., 2008) in order to allow the successful resolution of each crisis (Meyer et al., 2008). Since all the stages are interrelated, failure to adequately resolve a crisis in a specific stage will impact on future stages and may increase the intensity of the challenge of the next crisis (Atalay, 2007; Meyer et al., 2008; Robinson et al., 2013). However, individuals may revisit and rework crises in future stages (Atalay, 2007).

3.3.4 Organ Modes and Psychosocial Modalities

The concept of modes is central to Erikson's theory and includes both organ modes and psychosocial modalities (Erikson, 1963a, 1980; Meyer et al., 2008). An organ mode may be defined as a pattern of behaviour (Sadock & Sadock, 2007) and, more specifically by Meyer et al. (2008) as "physical behaviour patterns in children" (p. 197). Organ modes, which include sucking, biting and defecating, serve primarily, but not exclusively, to describe the specific needs of children during the first six years of life. These physical behaviour patterns in children gradually form the prototype for psychosocial and cognitive behaviour patterns, or psychosocial modalities in adults (Meyer et al., 2008). Erikson referred to three physical modes

that may be viewed as corresponding to Freud's first three psychosexual stages of development (Meyer et al., 2008). These are (a) the mode of incorporation, (b) the mode of expulsion and (c) the mode of inclusion and intrusion.

The *mode of incorporation* dominates during the first year of life and parallels Freud's oral stage as the dominant body zone is the mouth. However, Erikson's explanation of this particular mode is more comprehensive than Freud's. Erikson theorised that the infant solves the developmental crisis of trust by deciding, based on experience, to what extent it can trust the environment to provide for its incorporative needs (Erikson, 1963a, 1968; Meyer et al., 2008). The attitudes and feelings that the infant learns to associate with incorporative behaviour in the first year of life influence later incorporative tasks such as social interaction, worldview and attitudes towards knowledge and cognitive functioning (Erikson, 1963a, 1974; Meyer et al., 2003, 2008).

The *mode of expulsion* becomes evident during the second year of life when children acquire muscle control that enables them to exert control over their lives (Meyer et al., 2003). It is initially linked to Freud's anal stage, and although there are similarities between this mode and Freud's anal stage, Erikson's explanation is more comprehensive (Meyer et al., 2008). The increased desire for choice and children's reactions to their recently discovered capabilities (i.e. developing self-control through toilet training) influence their behaviour later in life as either the enduring qualities of autonomy or shame and doubt (Erikson, 1963a, 1968).

The *mode of inclusion and intrusion* emerges between the ages of three and six and is associated with Freud's phallic stage (Meyer et al., 2008). Erikson (1963a, 1968, 1974) stated that although the sexual organs are significant body zones in this phase of development, the organ modes extend to the child's ability to take more initiative in order to direct movement and do things more independently. Children also have the opportunity to act against social norms, which result in self-reproach and feelings of guilt (Erikson, 1968). However, these

feelings of guilt provoke initiative and curiosity in either active or passive ways (Meyer et al., 2003). The psychosocial modalities of aggression are related to intrusion and manifest through avid curiosity, genital preoccupation, competitiveness and physical aggression (Erikson, 1963a, 1968), while the passive forms related to inclusion involve forming kindred relationships with peers (Welchman, 2000).

3.3.5 Ritualisation

Erikson (1966, 1977) referred to human rituals as ritualisations because it is mainly influenced by culture and hold adaptive value in a playful form. Ritualisation allows people to express their feelings in a socially acceptable way, while providing them with a sense of security in an unpredictable world (Meyer et al., 2008). Ritualisation during infancy occurs between the mother or caregiver and infant through eye contact, cuddling, kissing and the repetition of the infant's name (Meyer et al., 2008). During the second year of life, children begin to discriminate between 'good and bad' and ritualise punishment and reward as they encounter the rules of wider society. The ages of three to five are described as the so-called 'play age' and see children using dramatic ritualisation, such as playacting and wearing grown-up clothes in an attempt to develop their ability to understand situations from different perspectives (Erikson, 1977). In the educational process, formal ritualisation occurs through the repetition of formal behaviour patterns (Erikson, 1966; Welchman, 2000) as children learn how to communicate with teachers and other adults in positions of authority (Meyer et al., 2008) and how to act in society in general. During adolescence, ritualisation relates to the expression, experience and mastery of sexuality, technology and the individual's beliefs within a broader social context (Welchman, 2000). In adulthood, adults exercise ritualisation control over children (Capps, 2004; Welchman, 2000). Erikson (1950) believed that developmental crises, organ modes and ritualisations are elements of behaviour that flow throughout the

individual's life. Development is thus divided into age ranges and stages in order to demonstrate how the elements of personality development manifest as the child matures (Watts et al., 2009).

3.4 Psychosocial Development: The Eight Ages of the Life Cycle

Erikson (1950, 1978) identified eight psychosocial stages of ego development, termed the Eight Ages of Man. According to him, within each of these stages the individual interacts with the self and others, the social environment (Elkind, 1970) and thus faces a new dimension of social interaction. This results in a constant change (development) in ego identity (a reformulation of identity) due to new experiences and information acquired in the daily interactions with others (Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1968). Sadock and Sadock (2007) suggested that physical, cognitive, instinctual and sexual changes work together to cause internal conflict or a crisis during the eight stages of ego development. How this conflict or crisis is handled can bring about psychosocial regression or growth and the development of ego strengths or inherent strengths (Erikson, 1968, 1977; Miller, 2010). Despite not clearly indicating the start or end of a stage (Roberts & Newton, 1987), Erikson did place the crises at certain points along the lifespan continuum but acknowledged differences due to individual unexpectedness in the timing of these issues (Sneed, Whitbourne, & Culang, 2006).

The function of specific psychosocial influences or happenings, or the "hazards of existence" (Erikson, 1963a, p. 274) may cause the eight crises to arise at any point in life, thus indicating that all possible psychosocial crises can crop up at any or all ages (Coles, 1970, 2001). Erikson (1950, 1963a, 1968) used the term, crisis or conflict, to describe a crux in development during which the possibility of both personal growth and failure is high. It is very important to remember that each stage contains two opposing extremes (Capps, 2004) and a

healthy balance between these extremes or terms of conflict is necessary (Coles, 2001) in order to enhance optimal progress of development. Therefore, the solution of each crisis does not lie simply in the eradication of the negative pole, such as *mistrust*, or in favour of the positive pole, namely *trust*, which will lead to optimal development, but it rather lies in a synthesis between the two that favours the positive or syntonic pole (Erikson, 1997; Gross, 1987). This healthy balance or equilibrium thus resolves the crisis successfully by incorporating the negative and the positive extremes into the psyche (Capps, 2004; Coles, 2001; Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1968). Any unsuccessful resolution or failure of a specific stage is reflected in all following stages in the form of physical, cognitive, social or emotional maladjustment (Elkind, 1970; Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2006; Sadock & Sadock, 2003; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Erikson et al. (1989) defined these as specific maladaptive tendencies or malignant tendencies that endanger development. Maladaptive tendencies reflect an overemphasis on the positive, whilst malignant tendencies represent too much of the negative (Capps, 2004; Erikson et al., 1989) (see Table 3.2). For example, a maladaptive tendency in the seventh stage is overextension, where individuals' actions are often too driven by generativity that they are unable to maintain all their commitments adequately; the malignant tendency in the eighth stage is disdain, which is characterised by contempt of life (the individual's own life and the life of others) (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989). This means that progress through each stage is influenced by success or lack thereof in all preceding stages (Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1968, 1977; Morris, 1996). In this way, although an identity crisis may be prominent during adolescence, this crisis is not limited or bound to one developmental stage only but should be appreciated as a life-long process in need of revisiting and resolution even during old age (Sneed et al., 2006; Woodward, 1994).

Erikson postulated that maladaptive tendencies may later be corrected through spontaneous or therapeutic re-adaptation, but that malignant tendencies represent more severe disturbance

which requires more drastic correction (Erikson et al., 1989). Erikson referred to maladaptive tendencies as *neurotic* instabilities and to malignant tendencies as *psychotic* ones, with both maladaptive and malignant tendencies jointly referred to as *maldevelopment* (Erikson et al., 1989). Table 3.2 explains and illustrates these differences by indicating the eight stages of the developmental process as proposed by Erikson (1963a) and Erikson et al. (1989), as well as the approximate age ranges of the stages, as suggested by Hamachek (1990). The possible adaptive ego strengths that may develop as a result of the successful resolution of each stage is also shown. Furthermore, the maladaptive and malignant tendencies that can develop during the different stages are displayed next to their corresponding poles. The different stages of psychosocial development are discussed in the section below.

Table 3.2
Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development

	Age Range	Maladaptive Tendency	Syntonic Tendency	Adaptive Ego Strength	Dystonic Tendency	Malignant Tendency
I	Infancy (birth – 18 months)	Sensory maladjustment	Basic Trust	Hope	Basic Mistrust	Withdrawal
II	18 months – 3 years	Shameless willfulness	Autonomy	Will	Shame and Doubt	Compulsion
III	Early Childhood (age 3 – 6)	Ruthlessness	Initiative	Purpose	Guilt	Inhibition
IV	Middle and Late Childhood (age 6 – 12)	Narrow virtuosity	Industry	Competence	Inferiority	Inertia
V	Adolescence (age 12 – 20)	Fanaticism	Identity	Fidelity	Role Confusion	Repudiation
VI	Early Adulthood (age 20 – 35)	Promiscuity	Intimacy	Love	Isolation	Exclusivity
VII	Middle Adulthood (age 35 – 65)	Over-extension	Generativity	Care	Stagnation	Rejectivity
VIII	Late Adulthood (age 65 onwards)	Presumption	Integrity	Wisdom	Despair	Disdain

Note: Adapted from “The decades of life: Relocating Erikson’s stages,” by D. Capps, 2004, *Pastoral Psychology*, 53(1), 3-32, and “Evaluating self-concept and ego status in Erikson’s last three psychosocial stages,” by D. Hamachek, 1990, *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 68(6), 677-683.

The researcher has chosen Erikson’s psychosocial development theory for this study as (a) it supplies ample structure for the morphogenic nature of psychobiography (Runyan, 1982); (b) it gives a theoretical basis for the entire life, from birth to death, meaning that Plaatje’s individual development can be organised and interpreted in its complexity (i.e., within the

socio-cultural and historical context) with the help of a story-like narrative (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Strack, 2005); and (c) it is applicable and relevant to modern research (Irvine, 2013; Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013; Trzebinski & Zieba, 2013). Furthermore, with the important shaping of identity at later stages, the researcher has a greater possibility of having usable events from those periods in Plaatje's life to uncover and evaluate his psychological development growth (Runyan, 1982; Stewart, Franz, & Layton, 1988), in spite of him having lived only up to the age of 56 years. Thus, it is important to note that Erikson's final stage of development (65 years and onwards) will be excluded in the discussion chapters to follow. Only the stages applicable to Plaatje's life will be utilised and explored. For the purposes of this chapter, however, all of Erikson's (1950, 1973) stages of psychosocial development are discussed.

3.4.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust – Hope (age birth – 18 months)

The first core psychosocial developmental crisis, namely the antithesis of *basic trust* and *basic mistrust*, occurs during the first year of the infant's life (Erikson, 1950, 1963a; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010). The ego's first task is to develop a sense that the world is a safe place (Erikson, 1950, 1964, 1974; Louw & Louw, 2009; Ponterotto, 2017a). During this stage, the mother or the primary caregiver has the greatest effect on whether the infant will be able to resolve this psychosocial crisis or not (Erikson, 1950, 1964, 1973; Miller, 2010; Swartz et al., 2008). Development surrounds the organ mode of the mouth and the psychosocial modality of incorporation, which parallels with Freud's oral stage. The psychosocial modality of incorporation is 'to get' what is being given as well as to elicit what is wanted (Erikson, 1959, 1968, 1977) by using the senses (the mouth, eyes, ears and sense of touch). The most noticeable human ritualisations in infancy are the various greeting and feeding ceremonies between a mother and her infant, which help to foster the earliest sense of identity within the infant of

being present and recognised in the world (Erikson, 1977; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Welchman, 2000). If the infant experiences consistency, continuity and reliability from its mother or caregiver, she develops a sense of basic trust which lays the foundation for the capacity to have hope in the face of adversity (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Erikson (1963a, 1997) cautioned that the ego strength of *hope* is crucial for the development of all subsequent ego strengths, namely *will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love* and *care* due to its innate orientation towards the future. Hope is valuable as it forms the basis for several of the other stages and it will also obtain renewed expression later in the life cycle (Erikson 1997; Nel, 2013; Watts et al., 2009). Furthermore, the life cycle will attain completion when the hope of infancy cultivates into the faith of old age (Erikson, 1997; Nel, 2013).

Infants that experience a drastic impairment of basic trust may feel deprived and abandoned, not only in terms of food but also regarding their emotional, social and bonding stimulation (Freiberg, 1987; Sadock & Sadock, 2003). If the infant's earliest experiences of the social world are perceived as threatening (Morris & Maisto, 2002; Ponterotto, 2017a), it may extend into insecurity in later interpersonal relationships (Corey, 2005; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). The purpose of this stage is for infants to learn to trust their mother or caregiver and the surrounding world, including trusting themselves (Erikson, 1950, 1964, 1973; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010). The maladaptive tendency that may be observed during this stage is either sensory maladjustment at the one extreme or withdrawal at the other (Capps, 2004; Nel, 2013). Over-protective parenting may cause the infant to be overly trusting (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989), which can inhibit their ability to protest against food that is inappropriate or against inadequate care, thus resulting in disorientation and sensory maladjustment. The malignant tendency of withdrawal is an excessive expression of mistrust and may result in understimulation and neglectful caregiving (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989). Furthermore, it is

characterised by depression and paranoia (Boeree, 2006) that may potentially be carried into the following stages causing adolescents and adults to be extremely cautious individuals (Meyer et al., 2008).

Erikson (1963a, 1968) maintained that hope relates to faith in the social environment and in the developing self (i.e. the infant's development of trust is supported by the faith of his or her parents), whose faith, in turn, is also inspired by the hope of their infants. In his view, religion is the social context in which an individual's trust becomes a common faith (Capps, 2004). The successful negotiation of this stage encourages infants to trust and hope in themselves, others and the world (Erikson, 1950, 1974; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009) and readies the infant to develop a measure of autonomy (Erikson, 1959).

3.4.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Will (age 18 months – 3 years)

The second of Erikson's psychosocial stages occurs when children are between the ages of approximately one and a half years and three years (Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). In psychosexual terms, this stage correlates with the anal stage (Shaffer, 2002) and is characterised by the developmental crisis, known as autonomy versus shame and doubt (Erikson, 1950, 1963a). Neuromuscular development allows the child to become physically stronger and more mobile (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009) as he or she learns to walk and attain a degree of independence in the world through self-control and movement (Craig & Baucum, 2002; Morris & Maisto, 2002). The child also develops the cognitive and language ability necessary to think about actions and convey his or her will to caregivers (Freiberg, 1987). The organ mode of this stage is known as retention and excretion, which allows children to experience the two psychosocial modalities of holding on to what they want and letting go of what they do not want (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). The highly dependent child starts to discover his or her own body and how to

apply control over it, which, if carried out successfully will direct him or her towards autonomy, but if not, will lead to feelings of shame and doubt (Erikson, 1968, Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009).

Ideally, the social environment should encourage children to exercise autonomy and ‘stand on their own feet’ (Erikson, 1963a), while preventing them from unnecessary experiences of shame and doubt. This is achieved by helping children deal with failures in a sympathetic way without letting them cross the boundaries of safety or social mores (Erikson, 1995; Graves & Larkin, 2006; Watts et al., 2009). Young children who are punished, constantly criticised and made to feel incompetent about their capabilities, may experience a sense of shame and doubt (Erikson, 1963a; Swartz et al., 2008). This can lead to a breakdown of the trust that was developed in the first stage (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). Freedom to achieve independence and using mistakes as knowledge for development without being shamed, ridiculed or scolded bring a great probability to toddlers becoming independent, competent and self-confident people (Corey, 2005; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989). Caregivers should, therefore, strike a balance between encouragement, support of accomplishments and correction of failures (Holz, 2014; Schultz & Schultz, 2009; Watts et al., 2009).

During this stage, the child is increasingly exposed to social rules and starts learning what is right and wrong, as well as what one wishes to have versus what one is allowed (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). During the second year of life, judicious ritualisation becomes prominent via play in a non-threatening manner (Meyer et al., 2008). For example, when a parent and child playfully scold each other. Socialisation, therefore, occurs as children learn the behaviours and attitudes of their families and cultures (Hoare, 2002). If parental control promotes dependency, children might not develop the capacity for an internal sense of control when wanting to fulfil their own desires, but instead, may become obsessed

with always doing what others regard as correct and expected of them, or they may become unlawful (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Sollod et al., 2009). Maldevelopment at this stage may be characterised by *shameless wilfulness* as a result of the overdevelopment of autonomy at the one extreme and an inclination towards the malignant tendency of *compulsion* at the other extreme (Capps, 2004). Compulsion is characterised by the need to follow rules and complete tasks perfectly at all costs, as prescribed by rules (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (1963a) proposed that such compulsive doubting may lead to other developmental problems such as aggression, cruelty and intolerance. Erikson (1968) therefore suggested that “this stage becomes decisive for the ratio between loving good will and hateful self-assurance, between co-operation and wilfulness, and between self-expression and compulsive self-restraint or meek compliance (p. 109).

A healthy resolution to crises at this stage will give birth to the ego strength, *willpower*, which holds important implications for future development and will inevitably play a role in the psychosocial crises to follow (Erikson, 1968; Nel, 2013). Willpower leads to a positive self-description of “I can control events” (Carr & McNulty, 2006, p. 32) and “I am what I can will freely” (Erikson, 1968, p. 114), within familial and lawful boundaries (Erikson, 1950, 1973; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010). This stage, therefore, leaves a residue on identity formation via the child’s courage to be independent and to choose and guide his or her own future (Chéze, 2009; Meyer et al., 2003). If the child trusts his or her environment, he or she will be equipped to take on the next developmental phase of *initiative versus guilt* (Erikson, 1959).

3.4.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose (age 3 - 6 years)

Erikson’s third psychosocial stage is also referred to as the *play age* and occurs more or less between the ages of three and six years (Erikson, 1950). The curious pre-school child is presented with the developmental crisis, known as the antithesis of *initiative versus guilt*

(Erikson, 1997; Hamachek, 1990). During this stage, the child's mobility and cognitive abilities continue to mature as he or she explores new challenges through increased movement, language and the expansion of the imagination (Erikson, 1968). They become masters of their own bodies as their environment encourages mastery of various tasks, which, together with the arousing of the genitals, becomes the prototypical organ mode of this stage (Erikson, 1968; Watts et al., 2009). Obvious gender differences become apparent for the first time during this stage, with boys acting more intrusively and girls more inclusively in the lives of those around them (Erikson, 1963a; Holz, 2014). The psychosocial modalities of intrusion and inclusion correspond with Freud's phallic stage and cause children to experience conflict between their ability to intrude into others' lives and moral rules (Erikson, 1963a; Meyer et al., 2008; Welchman, 2000).

The ritualisation of play is observed through children's play-acting gender roles and making the imagined future real (Meyer et al., 2008; Welchman, 2000). Children may identify with or idealise a certain parent, yet simultaneously fear that specific parent's power (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). The resolution of Freud's psychosexual Oedipus conflict promotes the development of the superego and identification with the same-sex parent (Erikson, 1963a, 1963b). Parents and caregivers remain crucial in this developmental phase as they guide and discipline their children while encouraging curiosity and imagination (Craig & Baucum, 2002; Hook, 2002). Erikson (1963a) asserted that this particular stage "sets the direction towards the possible and the tangible, which permits the dreams of early childhood to be attached to the goals of an active adult life" (p. 258). Interestingly, Goldstein (2009) reported links between imaginative play, high levels of empathy and good emotional regulation.

During this stage, children have to decide for themselves whether to accept the restrictions and boundaries set out by their parents or caregivers (Hook, 2002). They start initiating

activities and relationships and are aware that the response they receive is an indication of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). If children's attempts at initiative are excessively criticised or punished, or they experience too little success, they may develop feelings of fear, guilt and ultimately, a lack of self-confidence (Erikson, 1968; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009; Swartz et al., 2008). Should parents or caregivers fail to model to the child appropriate conscience and responsibility, the moral development of the child's conscience or superego could also be in danger (Erikson, 1963a). The subsequent guilt that the child starts to experience may lead to the repression of fantasies and a newly experienced sense of moral order, with an ongoing need to show initiative (Erikson, 1968; Meyer et al., 2008).

A child who consistently takes too much initiative without the sufficient development of a capacity for empathy and conscience may develop *ruthless* maladaptive tendencies (Erikson et al., 1989). This suggests that the child uses initiative to plan and achieve his or her own successes often at the expense of others (Boeree, 2006; Capps, 2004). The correlating malignant tendency is to *inhibit* spontaneous action in order to avoid feelings of guilt (Boeree, 2006; Capps, 2004; Erikson et al., 1989).

The psychosocial virtue or ego strength of *purpose* is the desired outcome of the child's ability to balance the innocent excitement of accomplishing and making things, with the inclination to be too harsh in self-judgment (Erikson, 1968; Meyer et al., 2003). A favourable outcome of the psychosocial crisis during this time may influence whether children will pursue meaningful endeavours in later years or rather become inhibited (Greene, Graham, & Morano, 2010; Thimm, 2010). If children consistently experience an exceedingly authoritarian academic setting or find themselves in a family in which they are chastened and shamed, their sense of initiative may be repressed or disguised by an attitude of indifference (Newman & Newman, 2012). The sense of purpose during this stage contributes to the development of an

ethical sense later in life and, should playfulness be retained, remains a driving force throughout their lifespan, also giving rise to the development of a sense of humour (Erikson, 1997; Gross, 1987; Nel, 2013). Further physical and intellectual growth, combined with the conviction of “I am what I can imagine I will be” (Erikson, 1959, p. 82) underpin the development of competence in the next stage where children are tasked to resolve the crisis of *industry versus inferiority* (Newman & Newman, 2012).

3.4.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence (age 6 - 12 years)

During the fourth stage, which spans between the ages of six and 12, children start with formal schooling and begin interacting with the broader environment, as teachers and peers now play a significant role in their development (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963a; Ponterotto, 2017a; Stevens, 2008). Also, children begin to evaluate themselves in relation to their peers’ abilities and teachers’ feedback (Swartz et al., 2008). This stage corresponds with Freud’s latency stage, which is regarded as a more peaceful time in children’s development for both him and Erikson (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). However, Erikson chose not to assign modes of approach beyond the third psychosocial stage. Here, children are not trying to gain mastery over themselves or anyone else but rather attempts to consolidate the growth of the previous stages (Erikson, 1950, 1973; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). The school age is characterised by the child’s continuous desire to develop their competencies of social interaction, making friends, academia, home responsibility and productive work, as well as learning tasks for independent living (Morris & Maisto, 2002; Newman & Newman, 2012; Ponterotto, 2017a; Thimm, 2010). Children watch and learn how to perform methodically through formal ritualisation so that they are able to perform activities in the proper way (Allen, 2006; Erikson, 1995). The child’s desire to “bring a productive situation to completion is an aim which gradually supersedes the whims and wishes of play”

(Erikson, 1963a, p. 251), thus helping to avoid feelings of inferiority and inadequacy (Erikson, 1995). Society provides vital educational opportunities for children to master the skills of production, co-operation and communication (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1968). Due to technology being the social modality shaping and assisting participation in productivity (Massey, 1986), it is thus necessary for the child to master the basics of technology and should be able to refer to the use of basic tools and utensils (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Educational success is, therefore, a central process at this age, because youngsters develop a sense of *industry* if they have mastered the different tasks at school and also if their efforts are rewarded by their parents, teachers and peers (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Schultz & Schultz, 2009; Welchman, 2000). Performance at school is regarded as a child's equivalent of work (Allen, 2006). Children who do not experience recognition for their efforts or who are humiliated or ridiculed for poor performance at school, can be at risk for developing a sense of *inferiority* and lack the motivation to achieve in adulthood (Erikson, 1963a; Carr & McNulty, 2006; Thimm, 2010). Furthermore, children who now begin to feel inferior will lose faith in their own abilities to be self-sufficient (Morris & Maisto, 2002), particularly since comparison of skills and knowledge with other children are frequent at this stage (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Sigelman and Rider (2009) added that a popular child would regard him- or herself as hardworking (industrious), but a bullied child might feel inferior as opposed to his or her peers. The negative attitudes and behaviour of adults contribute to children's negative perception of themselves and associated feelings of inadequacy or inferiority (Ponterotto, 2017a), while positive feedback from adults will foster feelings of competence and industry within the child (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

Maldevelopment at this stage is termed *narrow virtuosity* (Erikson et al., 1989), which often occurs when children are pushed into specialising their talents at the expense of broader interests (Boeree, 2006). Thus, industry is overdeveloped at the one extreme which essentially,

describes workaholics. At the other extreme, the malignant tendency, *inertia*, or apathy, could also develop as a result of a malignant inclination towards inferiority (Erikson et al., 1989). An inert child is described as someone who, because he or she did not develop social skills, may later in his or her life fully avoid social interaction (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (1997) cautioned that this *inertia* threatens to paralyse the productive life in a similar fashion as the tendency towards *inhibition* in the previous psychosocial stage. A healthy resolution to this psychosocial crisis requires a positive balance of mostly industry, with a hint of inferiority to ensure sensible humility (Boeree, 2006). Such a synthesis is reached through the ego strength of *competence* or the development of a sense of know-how or capability (Erikson, 1963a, 1963b, 1968). The ego strength of competence is essential for individuals to contribute effectively to the cultural process of production, and later, family life (Erikson, 1963a). Important virtues at this stage include technological skill and industriousness (Erikson, 1968, Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009). According to Erikson (1968), the sense of identity characterised at this stage is expressed by the conviction of “I am what I can learn to make work” (p. 127). At this point, childhood ends and adolescents are faced with establishing their identity.

3.4.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity (age 12 - 20 years)

The fifth psychosocial stage starts with the commencement of puberty at approximately 12 years of age and lasts through adolescence until about the age of 20 (Watts et al., 2009). Erikson (1959) described this adolescent stage as the cornerstone for resolving psychosocial crises in adulthood. Although this psychosocial stage is the equivalent of Freud’s genital stage, Erikson departed from Freud’s stance that the acquisition of a sexual partner is sufficient for the development of a mature self-concept (Freiberg, 1987; Louw & Louw, 2009). It is characterised by the developmental crisis of *identity versus role confusion*, as the adolescent searches for a stable sense of self within their society by challenging authority, breaking

dependency and testing different roles and ideologies (Allen, 2006; Erikson, 1950, 1973, 1963a; Miller, 2010; Ponterotto, 2017a; Sollod et al., 2009). Rapid physical growth and sexual maturity combined with cognitive development and social expectations cause adolescents to re-examine their lives (Meyer et al., 2003).

Erikson (1963a, 1963b) regarded adolescence as a time of psychosocial moratorium as society shows understanding of adolescents' experimental behaviour and supports them through social institutions in order to facilitate the process of forming an identity (Capps, 2004; Marcia, 2002; Meyer et al., 2008). In order to face the tasks of developing this identity, adolescents ideally need to have successfully resolved the crises of the previous stages to have faith in the world, the will to pursue an imagined future and the competence to work (Erikson, 1963a, 1978; Miller 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). The skills and competencies developed in previous stages should be cultivated for possible use in future occupations (Hook, 2002). The potential core pathology of *role confusion* can also occur when adolescents do not experience a moratorium and fail to experiment with new social roles (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Role confusion manifests as indecisiveness and anxiety about one's sense of self in terms of gender identity, social roles and occupational future (Boeree, 2006; Ponterotto, 2017a) often leads to the imitation of others (Freiberg, 1987). Adolescents who fail to develop a well-founded sense of self may become socially alienated and involved in substance abuse, manifest aggression or other forms of delinquent behaviour (Erikson, 1963a; Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009).

Erikson's concept of *identity* evolved from his clinical experience as a psychoanalyst when he worked primarily with children (Friedman, 2000), which is possibly one of his most significant contributions to psychology (Meyer et al., 2008). He defined a sense of identity or ego integrity as individuals' conscious sense of their uniqueness, as well as their unconscious striving towards continuity of experience (Kroger, 2005; Nel, 2013). Thus, adolescents need to feel secure enough in themselves to assimilate previous identities in order to form a consciously

integrated identity (Erikson, 1950, 1973, 1968; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). The dominant challenge for the adolescent is to find a role in the world and, therefore, it is critical to appreciate that the individual and society create identity together (Erikson, 1959). During this stage, youths also search for a *social identity*, which is observed through the formation of groups and their subsequent intolerance and exclusion of anyone who is different from themselves in some way (Erikson, 1963a). Interestingly, Erikson (1963a) viewed this intolerance of diversity during this stage as the adolescent's defence against role confusion. The stability of the adolescents' home environments is also crucial for encouraging their abilities to make life choices and be supportive of their emotional capacities to self-regulate (Hook, 2002; Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). Once adolescents have established a sense of ego identity, they have increased confidence to face positive and negative life events and changes, a healthier self-esteem and they are able to act according to their own beliefs (Luyckx, Klimstra, Duriez, Van Petegem, & Beyers, 2013; Phoenix, 2001).

Ritualisations such as graduation ceremonies and other rites of passage (e.g., Bar Mitzvahs) during this stage help adolescents to commit to an ideology or worldview without losing their individuality (Boeree, 2006; Fromme, 2010). The maladaptive tendency is known as *fanaticism* and its associated malignant tendency is called *repudiation* (Boeree, 2006). Erikson et al. (1989) cautioned that the adolescent may become fanatic as a result of over-involvement in a particular social role leading to intolerance, thus rejecting the need for an individual identity by fusing with a group that has distanced itself from what society requires of them, for example a gang or a religious cult (Boeree, 2006). According to Erikson (1997), repudiation can manifest as systematic defiance, as it is easier to be 'bad' or 'nobody' than not to know oneself. A successful resolution of the identity crisis leads to the emergence of the ego strength of *fidelity* (Erikson, 1968, 1997; Meyer et al., 2008). Fidelity is a virtue characterised by a clear sense of individual identity, an accepting awareness of other possible choices that could have

been made and the capacity to be loyal and trustworthy in relationships (Erikson, 1959, 1963b; Meyer et al., 2003; Ponterotto, 2017a; Stevens, 2008). Erikson viewed fidelity as the cornerstone of identity and defined its connection to future developmental stages as follows:

The specific strength emerging in adolescence – namely fidelity – maintains a strong relation both to infantile trust and to mature faith. As it transfers the need for guidance from parental figures to mentors and leaders, fidelity eagerly accepts their ideological mediatorship – whether the ideology is one implicit in a ‘way of life’ or a militantly explicit one. (Erikson, 1997, p.73)

The accompanying positive self-description of an adolescent who successfully resolved the conflict between identity and role confusion is “I can be true to my values” (Carr & McNulty, 2006), evidently making the transition to responsible and powerful adulthood (Boeree, 2006).

3.4.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love (age 20 – 35 years)

The developmental crisis of young adulthood, *intimacy versus isolation*, occurs between the ages of 20 and 35 (Erikson, 1950,1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009) and is based on whether or not to be involved in a relationship or not. Young adults who have successfully achieved ego integrity in the previous psychosocial stage generally develop the urge to fuse their identities with others without the fear of losing themselves (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963a; Marcia, 2002). If psychosocial development has been relatively smooth, young adults will be more likely to form and sustain meaningful, long-term and *intimate* relationships with others (Batra, 2013; Erikson, 1950, 1973, 1980; Miller, 2010; Ponterotto, 2017a). Unresolved crises of preceding stages tend to reoccur in this development stage (Hook, 2002). Rituals that promote caring and adult relationships such as marriage is generally the most intimate relationship between people, but intimate friendships or commitment to a chosen career are

also essential developmental negotiations of this stage (Greene et al., 2010; Hamachek, 1990). This stage is also characterised by productive affiliation with others in work, friendships and love (Fromme, 2010; Ponterotto, 2017a). Research conducted by Arnett (2004) found five distinguishing features of what he termed 'emerging adulthood' as an age of identity exploration, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between and possibilities and idealism. Emerging adulthood is more or less between the ages of 18 and 25 years but often extends into the upper 20s (Arnett, 2004). Therefore, the challenges faced by the individual starts in the previously described stage and overlaps into (this) the next stage. This is evident in the tasks to be completed such as a search for identity and the uncertainty and instability individuals experience as they feel family and societal pressure to form a clear life plan in work and love (Ponterotto, 2017a). The individual who is not secure in his or her own identity may fear to become lost or may become diffused in the other person's identity (Erikson, 1950, 1973, 1963a; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). As a result, the individual may avoid such experiences completely, which in turn, may lead to feelings of *isolation* and loneliness (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009). When the individual distances him- or herself from people and forces that are seen as a threat to an unstable sense of identity (Erikson, 1963a), they engage in formal, superficial relationships that are lacking spontaneity and warmth, including self-absorption that leaves the individual feeling empty or isolated (Erikson, 1963a).

Young adults who are unsure of their identity may develop a maladaptive tendency of *promiscuity*, becoming intimate too freely with lovers or friends (Boeree, 2006). The malignant tendency is *exclusion*, where the individual is inclined towards isolating him- or herself from others' hateful and spiteful existence (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989). In contrast, the intimate individual may be seen as a productive member of society as well as a sexual and loving being (Boeree, 2006; Morris & Maisto, 2002). Successful resolution of the opposing forces of intimacy and isolation leads to the ego strength of *love* (Erikson, 1950, 1963a; Miller,

2010; Sollod et al., 2009). Love implies a mutuality of mature devotion that extends to partners and neighbours (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963a). Success at this stage is directly linked to the success of identity formation in the previous stage of development (Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009). Gross (1987) added that due to the development of hope resulting from the successful resolution of the first psychosocial stage, the ego strength of *love* during this stage will enable the individual to endure times of *isolation*. The balance between the capacity for intimacy and the need for some isolation allows the individual to love and be loved and to interact with others with true mutuality (Erikson et al., 1989). Furthermore, it allows individuals from diverse backgrounds to cultivate their own milieu in which the individual identity is preserved, as they fuse together their own habitual ways and create a new shared pattern of living (Erikson, 1997). In the next stage, the individual is faced with the resolution of the psychosocial crisis of mid-life, namely *generativity versus stagnation*.

3.4.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care (age 35 - 65 years)

Erikson's seventh stage is an important stage that occurs during middle adulthood and spans across generations (Erikson, 1963a; Meyer et al., 2003). The developmental crisis during this stage requires the individual to strike a balance between *generativity* and *self-obsession or stagnation* (Erikson, 1995; Watts et al., 2009). In the previous stage, the young adult's focus was on forming commitments with partners, friends and a career, but now the middle aged adult's concerns are primarily directed towards contributing to society at large (Batra, 2013; Dunkel, Mathes, & Papini, 2010). Essentially, middle aged adults are less focused on themselves but still gain insight into themselves and those around them through their involvement in family activities, teaching, mentoring or community projects. They participate in the next generation's development through guidance, productive work, procreation or childcare (Louw & Louw, 2009; Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009). Individuals who do

not have children may make a meaningful contribution to society in the form of products, artwork or ideas that may benefit and be passed on to future generations (Evans, 1981; Van de Water & McAdams, 1989). They may choose to assist in the betterment of society through institutionalised arrangements, for example, adoption, that facilitates intergenerational bonding and the transfer of knowledge, aspirations and cultural traditions (Batra, 2013; Louw & Louw, 2009). During this period adults, paradoxically, depend on the young because adults ‘need to be needed’ (Capps, 2004; Erikson, 1963a, 1963b) and active participation in the development of society helps to meet this need (Erikson, 1963a, 1963b). In turn, younger generations validate the contributions of older generations through ritual sanction and honouring the legacy bequeathed to them, thus encouraging older generations to enter the next stage with dignity and grace (Capps, 2004; Erikson, 1964; Erikson et al., 1989).

Generative adults find fulfilment and have a stronger sense of coherence than adults who withdraw and reject others during this time (McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten, & Bowman, 2001; Newman & Newman, 2012). If adults successfully develop in this stage, they acquire the psychosocial ego strength or virtue of *care* (Erikson, 1950, 1973; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010). Erikson (1964) described care as “man’s love for his works and ideas as well as his children (p. 131). The ability to care implies that an individual has developed the capacity to give without expecting anything in return (Stevens, 2008). The acquisition of the previous ego strengths (i.e. *hope, will, purpose, fidelity* and *love*) enables the individual to find meaning and joy in the major life activities of career, family and community participation (Craig & Baucum, 2002).

Failure to develop in this stage results in a pervasive sense of *stagnation*, which includes regression to past conflicts (Erikson, 1997) as evident through the obsessive need for pseudo-intimacy, self-indulgence, boredom and interpersonal impoverishment (Erikson, 1968; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Welchman, 2000). The midlife crisis signals the self-centred

nature of this type of existence (Craig & Baucum, 2002). It can, therefore, be deduced that stagnation impacts the individual as well as the future generations in society (Boeree, 2006). Middle-aged adults engage in ritualisations such as family traditions and mentoring practices at work to transfer significant aspects of culture to the younger generation (Fromme, 2010). Maldevelopment at this stage may occur due to an *over-extension* of generative concern and care to persons and interests, which are beyond the capacity of the individual (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989). The corresponding malignant inclination towards stagnation is *rejectivity*, which indicates an unwillingness to include others in generative concern (Erikson et al., 1989). Erikson (1997) acknowledge that some selectivity, and subsequently, some distinct *rejectivity* is required, as ethics, law and insight delineate the bearable measure of *rejectivity* in any group. However, *rejectivity* that is not delineated can lead to cruelty against one's children and moralistic prejudice against parts of one's family or community (Erikson, 1997; Nel, 2013) and may manifest collectively in, for example, wars.

A successful synthesis between *generativity and stagnation* leads not only to the ego-strength of *care*, but also to the positive self-description of "I am committed to making the world a better place" (Carr & McNulty, 2006, p. 32). Development in the next and final stage of Erikson's psychosocial stages is mainly characterised by the individual's challenge to attain *wisdom*.

3.4.8 Stage 8: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom (age 65 years - onwards)

Elderly adults in this last stage of the life cycle are faced not only with the final developmental crisis, *integrity versus despair*, but also with the integration of all the previous stages (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al, 2009). Erikson's eighth stage of psychosocial development starts around the age of 65, which he related to the first, with *integrity* as the completion and foundation of infant trust (Erikson, 1963a). During this time,

the individual needs to manage the physical changes and limitations that come with ageing, as well as facing their own mortality (Stevens, 2008), as the duration of a personal future becomes increasingly uncertain (Hamachek, 1990). This is the period when major efforts of the individual are nearly completed and the individual has time to look back and reflect on the life lived (Elkind, 1970; Erikson, 1963a; Louw & Louw, 2009; Miller, 2010). A positive outcome from a re-examination and integration of past events will bring a sense of *integrity* (McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Erikson et al., 1989) and it helps older adults to discover a sense of meaning in their lives, which ultimately, makes it possible for them to face the unavailability of death (Erikson, 1950, 1973; Hamachek, 1990; Miller, 2010; Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

Individuals who have not successfully resolved previous crises are unable to experience satisfaction, characterised by resentment, distress and guilt and the desire to re-live their lives (Corey, 2005; Craig & Baucum, 2002; Erikson 1963a, 1968). They are also plagued by a fear of death and experience a sense of *despair* over past failures and current frailties (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Haber, 2006). The individual in despair attempts to hide these feelings of hopelessness and dread behind a chronic show of disgust and displeasure with particular institutions and particular people (Erikson, 1964, 1968; Watts et al., 2009). An important component of this life review lies in the individual's acceptance of the inalterability of their past choices and to acknowledge and integrate feelings of despair (Erikson et al., 1989; Newman & Newman, 2012). Although it is not possible to retreat to earlier stages, older adults can still reflect on and resolve earlier issues and face the end of life with peace and contentment (Brown & Lowis, 2003; Newman & Newman, 2012). Erikson (1980) implied that integrity is an acceptance of responsibility for one's own life, as well as an acceptance of the people who played a significant role in it. Maldevelopment may occur as a false *presumption* of ego identity and *disdain* or contempt of life (Boeree, 2006). The *philosophical ritualisation* dominant during this stage may be labelled as an integration of all other ritualisations. The pompous

pretention to *wisdom* and contempt of life may lead to the isolation of the elderly individual as it may inhibit others from providing the individual with much needed help and assistance (Erikson et al., 1989).

If older adults are at peace with themselves, others and the universe, they will attain the last ego strength or psychosocial virtue of *wisdom*, which is the integration of all the previously achieved virtues (Erikson, 1964; Hoare, 2002; Louw & Louw, 2009; Watts et al., 2009). Erikson (1964) described wisdom as “the detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself” (p. 133). A successful balance between integrity and despair leads to the emergence of a positive self-description, “I accept myself and my life but I know I will die soon” (Carr & McNulty, 2006, p. 32) and the underlying conviction of “I am what survives of me” (Erikson, 1995, p. 141).

Optimal development can be achieved in every stage of Erikson’s theory of the life cycle (Meyer & Viljoen, 2003), as earlier conflicts and ego strengths are integrated in order to resolve the current conflict (Erikson, 1963a, 1997; Nel, 2013). Optimal development is further socially orientated as the ego strength is meaningful to the individual as well as to society (Erikson, 1977). Thus, optimally developed individuals are able to appreciate their position within the wider cultural and historical world (Erikson, 1977; Hoare, 2002). The cyclical nature of Erikson’s theory of human development suggests a generational relationship between adult *integrity* and infantile *trust* (Nel, 2013). As previously discussed, the ego’s first task is to establish a sense of *trust* and it can be regarded as the faith in the *integrity* of another individual, with *integrity* becoming the ego’s focus during this final stage of life (Graves & Larkin, 2006). As Erikson (1963a) stated: “healthy children will not fear life if their elders have integrity enough not to fear death” (p. 261). Therefore, this final developmental stage enables the life cycle “to weave back on itself in its entirety, ultimately integrating maturing forms of hope,

will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love and care, into a comprehensive sense of wisdom” (Erikson et al., 1989, pp. 55 – 56).

3.5 Extensions and Expansions on Erikson’s Theory

3.5.1 Stage 9: Gerotranscendence (85 years and onwards)

When Erikson developed dementia in the 1980s, his wife and lifelong co-author, Joan, took on a more active role in the editing of his work and the theorising thereof (Agronin, 2014; Panelatti, 2018). After his death in 1994, she extended Erikson’s theory through the addition of a ninth stage of psychosocial development that focused on the theme of gerotranscendence (Brown & Lewis, 2003; Hoare, 2005; Roazen, 1976; Woodward, 1994). According to Tornstam (1989), gerotranscendence is defined as:

a shift in meta-perspective, from a material and rational vision to a more cosmic and transcendent one, normally followed by an increase in life satisfaction. As in Jung’s theory of the individuation process, gerotranscendence is regarded as the final stage in a natural process towards maturation and wisdom. According to the theory, the gerotranscendent individual experiences a new feeling of cosmic communion with the spirit of the universe, a redefinition of time, space, life and death, and a redefinition of the self. (p. 60)

The chapters Joan Erikson wrote in the revised edition of Erikson’s *Life Cycle Completed* (1997) was an attempt at illuminating the demands and difficulties of old age in the ninth and tenth decade of life (Nel, 2013; Tornstam, 1989). The persistent challenge to retain a sense of strength, control and autonomy that the couple faced in their late 80s and 90s replayed the crises of the very first stage and caused Joan to believe that development past the eighth stage is possible (Brown & Lewis, 2003). She proposed that “a new ninth stage was required to

adequately understand and clarify the challenges of this final period of life” (Erikson, 1997, p. 105).

To her, the ninth stage represented an opportunity to re-examine all previous psychosocial crises (Erikson & Erikson, 1997), despite the fact that old age brings “much sorrow to cope with plus a clear announcement that death’s door is open and not so far away” (Erikson & Erikson, 1997, p. 113). According to Erikson et al. (1986), circumstances such as old age and accompanying deteriorating mental and physical capabilities, may place dystonic elements (e.g., mistrust) in a more dominant position before syntonic elements (e.g., trust), which is how it is presented in the ninth stage, in an attempt to accentuate its prominence and power in the elderly (Erikson & Erikson, 1997). As the ageing individual’s sense of purpose and enthusiasm is blunted by the dystonic elements of life, the despair of the eighth stage threatens to develop into the dominant force in the ninth stage bringing with it a feeling of disdain or disgust (Erikson & Erikson, 1997; Panelatti, 2018). The promise of hope, however, born from basic trust and acceptance of the inevitable changes brought about by ageing, gives the elderly a reason to live and allows for the successful attainment of gerotranscendence (Erikson & Erikson, 1997).

3.5.2 Other Extensions and Expansions on Erikson’s Theory

Levinson’s (1986) model of eras or seasons, each with its own biopsychosocial attributes in human development, stems from Erikson’s work. The eras are pre-adulthood, early adulthood, middle adulthood and late adulthood, with periods of *cross-era transition* (generally five years long) that mark the termination of one era and the start of the next. According to Levinson (1986), transitional periods are times during which individuals often deliberate changes as they re-evaluate their existing life structures but experience relative stability within specific eras.

Levinson further deviated from Erikson's theory by suggesting that stages and transitions in adult development are tied to specific ages (Louw & Louw, 2009).

Marcia's (2002) identity status model proposed different styles with which adolescents engage in the process of identity formation (Kroger, 2000, 2015) and was considered the first neo-Eriksonian identity model to stimulate significant research. More than 300 theoretical and empirical publications are based on Marcia's work (Kroger, 2000; Schwartz, 2001). Marcia's model held the view that two dimensions, *exploration* and *commitment*, are essential in the understanding of identity formation (Marcia, 2001). These two dimensions each entail a high and a low level. Marcia then compared each level of one with each level of the other (Nel, 2013; Schwartz, 2001), which resulted in four independent identity statuses: (a) *identity diffusion*, which comprises a low level of exploration and a low level of commitment, (b) *identity foreclosure*, which holds a low level of exploration and a high level of commitment, (c) *identity moratorium*, which is characterised by high levels of exploration and low levels of commitment, and (d) *identity achievement*, in which there are both high levels of exploration and commitment (Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Marcia, 2001; Schwartz, 2001). Although Marcia readily acknowledged the criticism that his model is an under-representation of Erikson's concept of identity, he also justified his position by declaring it "seemingly impossible to measure objectively the interior variables (e.g., synthesis of inner drives, constitution, unconscious wishes, goals, childhood identifications, etc.) that Erikson derived from his observations during psychoanalytic sessions" (Marcia, 2001, p, 59). Marcia later expanded his theory to investigate the other stages of adult development, which included statuses relating to intimacy, generativity and integrity, by adopting the same paradigm with which he constructed his original theory of identity status (Kroger, 2015; Marcia, 2002).

3.6 Erikson in Current Research

Erikson was a pioneer in developmental psychology whose psychosocial theory continues to influence the development of psychobiographical research (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Meyer et al., 2008; Sollod et al., 2009). Erikson wrote for academic audiences and the general public (Kivnick & Wells, 2013) and several of his concepts, such as *identity* and *psychosocial moratorium*, are part of our everyday vocabulary (Benveniste, 2000). Marcia and Josselson (2013) have branded Erikson's psychosocial model as the most comprehensive and empirically validated theory of personality development. According to Miller (2016), Erikson's model is often used to offer insights into the tasks faced by individuals as they mature. In particular, it can aid research in the pursuit of ego development and identity in adolescence and young adulthood as well as identity formation in old age (Miller, 2016; Zhang & He, 2011). With the increasing number of ageing adults, contemporary researchers have started to shift greater focus to the final stages of the life cycle, specifically on Erikson's concept of *generativity* (Miller, 2010, 2016). Erikson's theory has been particularly useful in focusing attention on the importance of context and the influence of socio-cultural factors on identity and personality development (Batra, 2013; Miller, 2010; Zhang & He, 2011).

Marcia and Josselson (2013) further contended that Erikson's theory presents a valuable framework for clinical assessment, case formulation and therapeutic intervention. It proposes realistic developmental goals as a way of monitoring the individual's progress on their developmental path, as well as provides an indication of the ego strengths or virtues needed to move forward (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). To date, many psychotherapists continue to turn to Erikson's work, particularly those who support adolescents in making personal and occupational choices (Miller, 2016). Kramer's (2002) application of Erikson's (1950, 1974) theory and psychobiography to research the lives of numerous individuals who committed suicide, further demonstrates its use in current research. Trzebinski and Zieba (2013) also

utilised Erikson's (1950, 1974) theory to explore the influence of trust on recovery and posttraumatic growth in oncology patients. In a study conducted by Greene et al. (2010), Erikson's (1950, 1974) theory was used to assess healthy psychosocial development in Holocaust survivors.

3.7 Summary of Erikson's Proposed Life Stages:

Welchman (2000) highlighted the principles of Erikson's theory as having the following characteristics:

1. A complete lifecycle is covered within a sequence of stages integrating biological and social processes.
2. The *epigenetic* application offers a fresh way of examining the ever developing nature versus the nurturing debate of human development.
3. Each stage comprises a conflict, crisis or turning point that demands a balance between the positive and the negative, emphasising that a certain amount of negativity or frustration is also important for optimal social development.
4. Stages are interrelated and thus continuously affecting one another.
5. The scheme concentrates on healthy or normal development.
6. There is a relationship between the stages and institutions in society (e.g., between *basic trust versus mistrust*, and *religion*, or between *industry versus inferiority*, and *technology*).
7. A particular ego quality or virtue is linked to the successful outcome of conflict experienced at each stage (e.g., *purpose* from *initiative versus guilt*, or *love* from *intimacy versus isolation*).

3.8 Criticism of Erikson's Theory

Criticisms against Erikson's theory have come from several directions, despite it being widely recognised and generally accepted by the psychological community (Matija, 2014). Some believe that Erikson's idealism may have distorted his work, with his theory being too optimistic and positive and ignoring the negative aspects of life (Hook, 2002; Roazen, 1976; Waterman, 1982). Critics such as Lacan (1977) have suggested that Erikson may have overvalued the adaptive and integrative functions of the ego, which relates to Maier's (1988) question of whether Erikson's theory gives a realistic or pragmatic account of psychosocial development. More specifically, the concern surrounds core pathologies and unexpected stressors, such as divorce, the death of a loved one, bullying or retrenchment that may cross people's paths (Newman & Newman, 2012). The argument is that although unexpected crises may cultivate resilience, they may also cause regression and defensiveness at particular times of development (Newman & Newman, 2012). Welchman (2000) defended Erikson's theory by highlighting that the theory embraces a dialectical approach, which allows for a crisis of conflict and struggle. Hoare (2005) further remarked that Erikson's theory did not pursue mental illness and the dark side of human nature, but rather health, wholeness and positivity. Others maintain that his theory lacks empirical integrity and is inadequately defined (Louw & Louw, 2009; Matija, 2014), since it does not explain in any detail how individuals move from stage to stage or how they actually resolve the crises and conflicts within each stage (Miller, 2011). Welchman (2000) and Douvan (1997) fortified Erikson's theory by indicating that Erikson did, in fact, express the possibility that crises may not be resolved within particular stages and the dangers that may arise if those crises remain unresolved.

Erikson's constructs have been accused of lacking operational quality and of using language that is "rich, often imprecise and sometimes ambiguous" (Weizman, 2009, p. 79). In response to this criticism, Erikson (1995) highlighted that the idiosyncratic nature of personality

development vetoed rigid descriptions of theoretical constructs. Hamachek (1990) and Ochse and Plug (1986) maintained that there are descriptions of emotions and attitudes for each psychosocial stage and that several instruments have in fact been developed to measure Erikson's constructs, namely the Ego-Identity Scale (Dignan, 1965), the Inventory of Psychosocial Development (Constantinople, 1969) and a South African questionnaire to evaluate development during the first seven stages (Ochse & Plug, 1986). Erikson's (1950, 1973) theory has also been criticised for over-emphasising identity formation (Ryckman (1989), but this view may have developed as a result of other researchers' (not Erikson's) decision to focus mainly on the stage of identity formation versus the other stages of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950, 1973).

Another critique against Erikson's theory encompasses that his work is distorted by the assumption of his own gender (Hook, 2002; Kroger, 2015). Maier (1988) stated that his proposed development of *humankind* should actually be called the development of *malekind* due to its focus on men and the limited account of female development. Furthermore, his clinical and research subjects are all male; he used the male pronoun in his writing, although his androcentric model is universally applied to women (Schultz & Schultz, 2009; Swartz et al., 2008). However, Douvan (1997) and Roazen (1976) opposed this criticism by pointing out that Erikson's focus on male development reflected the sexism of his sociohistorical context, as it was common practice to frame one's assertions in masculine terms. Horst (1995) also argued that evidence existed that Erikson did not willingly receive the traditional male-female stereotypes, particularly with the allotment of career tracks, as he enthusiastically encouraged the unique and valuable contributions women could make in different careers.

Much of the feminist critique against Erikson's theory surrounds his portrayal of gender differences as being anatomically based (Horst, 1995; Kroger, 2015). Allen (2006) contended that Erikson's work was influenced by the women's movement and that his interpretation of

female development had evolved by the mid-1970s. Erikson's accentuation on the constructs of trust, intimacy, generativity and the significance of feeling and being aware of healthy development also validate qualities that would easily resonate with women development (Douvan, 1997), but are often underplayed in academic psychology.

Sorell and Montgomery (2001) questioned the applicability of Erikson's theory to understanding contemporary human development due to its origins rooted in the experiences of White, middle-class, European and American men, as well as its definitions of psychosocial normality. The authors conceded that their criticism is constructed from their feminist perspective and that "the developmental trajectory proposed in Erikson's theory should be revised to reduce the most obvious bias of emphasising the triumph of independence over connectedness in the content of developmental conflicts" (Sorell & Montgomery, 2001, p. 122).

The individualistic approach of Erikson's theory has also been criticised by Franz and White (1985). These authors claimed that the theory's emphasis on personal choice and the conception of identity results in neglecting the development of various forms of interpersonal connectedness or attachments. Schachter (2005), however, found this claim ironic "because more than any other of the early psychoanalysts and personality theorists, Erikson...is well-known for his insistence on delineating the interplay between the psychological and social across the lifespan" (p. 137). Schachter (2005) maintained that Erikson regarded the interrelationship between the individual and society as intensely connected to the core of personality.

Critique has also been launched against Erikson's theory for demonstrating cultural bias (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Haber, 2006; Wastell, 1996). Hook (2002) further proposed that Erikson's theory lacks cultural sensitivity because it reflects the 20th century capitalistic values of an American society. Virtues such as independence, initiative and industriousness are

generally qualities deemed desirable within a competitive, individualistic and capitalist society, resulting in not reflecting universal values (Hook, 2002). Similarly, Carr and McNulty (2006), as well as Schultz and Schultz (2009) questioned the applicability of the theory to other ethnic groups or to those who live in lower socioeconomic environments. The authors postulate that such individuals may not have an opportunity during adolescence to try out different roles and develop an ego identity and are therefore unlikely to progress through the psychosocial stages in the way that Erikson theorised (Carr & McNulty, 2006).

In a study conducted by Ochse and Plug (1986), investigations on six of Erikson's constructs (namely *trust*, *autonomy*, *initiative*, *industry*, *intimacy* and *generativity*) among Black and White South African individuals aged 15 to 60, yielded significant differences between the Black and White participants. It suggests that Erikson's theory appears to be more applicable to White South Africans than Black South Africans, but it should be kept in mind that one structure viewed as independent in one culture may be regarded as selfish in another (Allen, 2006; Prenter, 2015). Accordingly, the developmental stages that people pass through may manifest differently for different cultures (Allen, 2006). Erikson acknowledged that it was more challenging for children of oppressed social and ethnic groups to develop feelings of competency during the school age (Allen, 2006).

Proponents of Erikson's theory further argue that he did make every effort to investigate the cross-cultural applicability of his theory (e.g., by travelling to India to discuss development with members of the Hindu population there), prior to writing the psychobiography on Mahatma Gandhi (Alexander, 2005). He also applied his theory to the case of Martin Luther (Stevens, 2008). Therefore, the theory can be universal and culturally neutral, because the theory concentrates on structure (which is universal) and not content (which is dependent on context) (Nel, 2013). Thus, the content of identity is irrelevant to the structure of identity formation (Schachter, 2005).

3.9 Chapter Summary

Despite the aforementioned critiques, Erikson's theory of psychosocial development remains particularly valuable in generating further research. Erikson remains the first to have constructed a developmental model encompassing the entire lifespan and is seen as a dedicated forerunner in the field of psychobiography. The lifespan approach provides a useful and promising framework for examining the complex interconnected unfolding of personality through various stages. In this chapter, Erikson's theory was presented to illustrate the vital interaction between the individual and his environment in order to develop a sense of identity. The theory was selected for this study based on its forward thinking, its applicability to individual life history and its emphasis on growth and change throughout the life cycle. It could afford an opportunity to be informally tested in terms of its relevance to Plaatje's development, considering noteworthy variables such as gender, culture and the sociohistorical milieu. Thus, it might enhance the reader's understanding of Plaatje's inner psychological experiences versus the outer realities he faced.

In Chapter 8, Erikson's theory is applied to Plaatje's life in order to facilitate a better understanding of Plaatje's personality development across his lifespan. As previously noted, since Plaatje died at the age of 56, the stages of Erikson's theory that does not apply to his life will not be discussed. The next chapter entails a discussion of the second framework that was used to complement Erikson's theory in this study, namely the neo-Adlerian WoW model for holistic wellness, as developed by Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

CHAPTER 4

HOLISTIC WELLNESS AND THE WHEEL OF WELLNESS MODEL

4.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter elaborates on and conceptualises holistic wellness by utilising the theoretical model, namely the Wheel of Wellness (WoW), developed by neo-Adlerian researchers Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The WoW model is largely based on tenets from Adler's framework of Individual Psychology and has been extensively researched by the mentioned authors. The original version has since been expanded with some revisions and modifications made to it (Hattie, Myers, & Sweeney, 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Myers, Leuecht, & Sweeney, 2004). The changes will be discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, an overview is provided of the development of the concept of wellness situated within the paradigm of Positive Psychology, followed by an overview of the empirical investigations regarding the model, as well as its value in psychobiographical research. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the criticisms and limitations of the WoW model.

4.2 Positive Psychology and the Wellness Movement

4.2.1 The Domination of the Medical Model

Traditionally, the medical model dominated a person's approach to health. Its main focus was on diagnosis of illness and the treatment of pathology (Shannonhouse, Myers, & Sweeney, 2016; Zachar & Kendler, 2007), as good health was synonymous with being able-bodied and disease-free (Oliver, Baldwin, & Datta, 2018). For the past quarter of a century, however, attention has moved from the traditional medical model towards a wellness paradigm that augments health and includes other psychological and social influences that may also affect disease (Gong, Diao, Pan, Liu, & Sun, 2015).

4.2.2 The Development of Positive Psychology

Prior to World War II, psychology as a profession had three main objectives: (a) to cure mental illness, (b) to improve the quality of people's lives and (c) to nurture and cultivate the talented (Linley, Joseph, Harrington, & Wood, 2006; Peterson & Park, 2003). Post-war, the profession's focus shifted to the study and treatment of psychopathology, which consequently, neglected the promotion of positive psychology (Faller, 2001; Strümpfer, 2005, 2006). However, in 1946 the World Health Organisation (WHO) revisited their initial definition of health and linked it with wellness promotion and labelled it as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (p. 2), which facilitated the conceptualisation of wellness as a multi-faceted construct (Oliver et al., 2018). However, mental health concerns continued to surface in primary health settings (Johnson, 2013) until, in 1977, the biopsychosocial model was introduced as an alternative to the traditional medical model to treat mental and physical disorders (Gong et al., 2015; Myers et

al., 2000). Unfortunately, insufficient knowledge regarding psychological well-being persisted as compared to existing knowledge on psychopathology (Ryff, 1995).

In his presidential address to the American Psychological Association (APA) during 1998, Martin E. P. Seligman publicly committed to return the profession to a more positive psychology (Linley et al., 2006; Strümpfer, 2005). Such a shift had previously been advocated by theorists such as Abraham Maslow (1962), who had observed that “perhaps this health psychology will give us more possibility for controlling and improving our lives and for making ourselves better people” (p. 5). Subsequently, the last decades have seen a paradigm shift away from illness and pathology towards an emphasis on wellness and health. This “total person approach for improving the quality of life in proactive and positive ways” (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 140) is referred to as *Positive Psychology* (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and has also been labelled as *the paradigm* for counselling and development (Myers, 1992). It stems from the humanistic and existential psychology framework with pioneers such as Maslow, Carl Rogers, and Viktor Frankl, who believed that people want to lead meaningful and fulfilling lives, nurture and develop what is best within them and to enrich their experience of love, work and play (Faller, 2001).

In the introductory article for the *Journal of Positive Psychology*, Linley et al. (2006) proposed an integrated definition of positive psychology:

Positive Psychology is the scientific study of optimal human functioning. At the meta-psychological level, it aims to redress the imbalance in psychological research and practice by calling attention to the positive aspects of human functioning and experience and integrating them with our understanding of the negative aspects of human functioning and experience. At the pragmatic level,

it is about understanding the wellsprings, processes and mechanisms that lead to desirable outcomes. (p. 10)

Positive Psychology values subjective experiences that include well-being, contentment, satisfaction, hope, optimism and happiness (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Furthermore, the positive psychology movement aspires to facilitate positive lifestyle choices, optimal growth and development (Shannonhouse et al., 2016). In South Africa, local researchers also responded to the international trend of Positive Psychology and started to direct their research initiatives accordingly (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). The publication of *Salutogenesis: A new paradigm*, by Strümpfer (1990), revolutionised the positive psychology movement in South Africa (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). Building on the work of Antonovsky (1987), Strümpfer related *salutogenesis* (also known as the origins of health) to five constructs, namely: (a) sense of coherence; (b) hardiness; (c) potency; (d) stamina; and (e) learned resourcefulness (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007).

Five years later, Strümpfer (1995) included two additional constructs, namely: self-efficacy and locus of control. He also expanded the concept of salutogenesis and proposed a new term *fortogenesis* to include the origins of strengths or what he referred to as fortigenic constructs (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). These fortigenic constructs include dimensions of resilience such as engagement, meaningfulness, subjective well-being, positive emotions and proactive coping (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). This gave rise to a new sub-discipline called *psychofortology*, as termed by Wissing and Van Eeden in 1997. They contended that more attention and focus should be on the promotion of psychological wellness and coping (Strümpfer, 2006; Wissing & Van Eeden, 1997). Positive Psychology, as well as the perspectives of Strümpfer and Wissing and Van Eeden, all focus on individual strengths and competencies (Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005; Strümpfer, 2006).

4.2.3 The Wellness Movement

Today, the concept of wellness or *wholeness*, as it is referred to in the literature, is at the core of positive psychology (Roscoe, 2009) and has had a global impact on numerous sectors of society (Fouché, 1999). The concept of wellness dates back to the influential contributions of prominent theorists such as Alfred Adler, Carl Jung and Abraham Maslow (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Wellness suggests following a holistic approach to an individual and involves “the integration of mind, body and spirit” (Myers & Sweeney, 2006, p. 3), which is a definition that complements the work of these theorists (Strümpfer, 2005; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). For example, according to Adler, one should consider the continuous reciprocal interaction between the mind and body as both are seen as part of the greater whole (Adler, 1927, 1992; Mosak & Maniacchi, 2008). Furthermore, Individual Psychology acknowledges and appreciates the importance of the individual’s social context in which development occurs (Adler, 1992; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1967; Mosak & Maniacchi, 2008). Maslow (1962) and Jung (1958) also recognised the importance of healthy functioning and identified constructs in relation to that functioning (Nechal, 2016). Maslow’s explanation of the universal human tendency to strive towards growth, purpose and fulfilment of one’s potential was termed *self-actualisation* (1962, 1970). Similarly, Jung (1958) observed the integration of mind, body and spirit as an instinctive human drive aimed towards achieving wholeness and health. This interdependent dynamic or *holism* that exists between the mind, body and spirit is regarded as integral to the wellness perspective (Myers, 2009; Shannonhouse et al., 2016).

In the wellness literature, three main models have been most pivotal in increasing the guidelines for research (Oliver et al., 2018):

1. Dr. Halbert Dunn’s (1961) High-level Wellness Model;
2. Dr. Bill Hettler’s (1984) Holistic Wellness Model; and

3. J. Melvin Witmer and Thomas J. Sweeney's (1992) Wheel of Wellness (WoW) and Prevention Model (Nechal, 2016; Oliver et al., 2018).

Dunn was regarded as “the father of the modern wellness movement” (Oliver, 2018, p. 3) and published his influential book, *High-level Wellness* in 1961 (Fouché, 1999). High-level Wellness is seen as synonymous to an optimum level of wellness (Dunn, 1961) and is defined as “...an integrated method of functioning which is oriented towards maximising the potential of which the individual is capable.... within conditions that present opportunities and activities for self-actualisation to be reached...” (Dunn, 1959, p. 4). An individual's level of wellness is determined via a “health grid” scale (Oliver et al., 2018, p. 42) that comprises a health axis (ranging from death on one spectrum and peak wellness on the other) and an environmental axis (that includes physical, biological and socioeconomic components that may affect health) (Goss, 2011). High-level wellness results if the individual can maintain balance and purposeful direction within the environment in which they function and can operate on the positive end of the health scale (Goss, 2011; Oliver, et al., 2018). One of Dunn's medical students, John Travis, expanded on Dunn's ideas and formalised wellness education through his Wellness Resource Centre; he is regarded as a pioneer in the modern wellness movement (Fouché, 1999; Nechal, 2016).

Hettler's (1984) existential perspective of wellness refers to it being an “active process through which people become aware of, and make choices toward a more successful existence” (p. 13). This definition remains the official operational definition of wellness utilised by the WHO as well as the National Wellness Institute (NWI) in Wisconsin, America (Goss, 2011). Hettler co-founded the NWI in 1977 (Oliver, 2018; WHO, 1946). His six-dimensional model incorporates a holistic interdependent approach in which all the dimensions work together to contribute to a healthy lifestyle (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Wellness, according to this model, is when an individual takes responsibility for his or her own health via individual lifestyle

choices and optimises all six dimensions of wellness (i.e., physical, social, emotional, spiritual, occupational and intellectual) (Goss, 2011; Oliver, et al., 2018). This model alludes to a sense of control where the individual's own decision-making and actions could potentially influence his or her holistic health (Oliver, et al., 2018).

From a counselling perspective, the Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model was introduced in the 1990s by Witmer and Sweeney to elaborate on the concept of holistic health (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). They based their model on studies of several characteristics that correlated positively with healthy living, quality of life and longevity (Myers & Sweeney, 2004, 2008). This 'lifespan' wellness model, depicted as a wheel with spokes representing interrelated life tasks, life forces and global events, applies concepts of Adlerian Individual Psychology in an attempt to explain the different components of wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Spirituality is the wheel's central life task and is perceived as the most influential domain of a healthy individual (Oliver et al., 2018). The psychological foundations of the model originated from the fields of personality, social, clinical, health and developmental psychology and also incorporates research results and theoretical concepts from various other disciplines such as anthropology, behavioural medicine, psychoneuroimmunology, sociology, education, ecology and religion (Hermon & Hazler, 1999; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model was later renamed to the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) model after it was modified to incorporate new findings relative to issues of diversity and self-direction (Myers, Witmer & Sweeney, 2001). The WoW model has a multidisciplinary theoretical grounding and represents a holistic approach to health (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Thus, it is firmly positioned within the paradigm of Positive Psychology and emphasises wellness and well-being. For the purpose of this research study, the WoW model has been adopted as the most suitable framework from which to explore the holistic

wellness of Sol Plaatje across his entire lifespan. The next section encompasses a detailed discussion of the WoW model.

4.3 The Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model

Myers, Sweeney and Witmer (2000) defined wellness as “a way of life oriented towards optimal health and well-being in which body, mind and spirit are integrated by the individual to live more fully within the human and natural community” (p. 78). Using Adler’s Individual Psychology as a foundation from which to demonstrate the major themes that relate to the totality in mind, body, spirit and community (Oliver et al., 2018), Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) believed that personal wellness may be expressed as a function of five *life tasks*: (a) spirituality; (b) self-regulation; (c) work; (d) love; and (e) friendship (Myers & Sweeney, 2004; Shannonhouse et al., 2016). Adler identified the three latter life tasks, namely work, love and friendship, while the two additional life tasks (spirituality and self-regulation) were later added by Mosak and Dreikurs (2000). The addition carried validity as Adler had alluded to these tasks in many of his writings (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). Myers et al. (2000) also revisited the research and consequently added another component, namely *leisure*, to the life task of work. These life tasks dynamically interact with certain *life forces* that include family, community, religion, education, government, media and business or industry (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These life forces are, in turn, influenced by the broader context of *global events* that may include natural disasters and famine or man-made disasters, such as war (Myers et al. 2000; Witmer & Sweeney 1992).

The model resembles a wheel with spokes that are interrelated and that depict the dynamic interaction between life tasks, life forces and global events as the individual strives for well-being (Oliver et al., 2018). The life task of *spirituality* is at the core of the WoW model as it incorporates religious beliefs and other individualised aspects of meaning-making (Myers &

Sweeney, 2005a). In this context, spirituality is regarded as the source of all other dimensions of wellness (Mansager, 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2004). In the WoW model, the biggest change occurred in the life task of *self-direction* that surrounds spirituality (Myers & Sweeney, 2004). In the previous Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model, self-direction was known as *self-regulation*, which included seven subtasks, but after modification and expansion, it included a total of 12 subtasks (Goss, 2011; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). These 12 subtasks encompass positive strategies that provide an individual with the self-management necessary to cope with daily life (Goss, 2011; Myers et al., 2000). They include: (a) sense of worth; (b) sense of control; (c) realistic beliefs; (d) emotional awareness and coping; (e) problem-solving and creativity; (f) sense of humour; (g) nutrition; (h) exercise; (i) self-care; (j) stress management; (k) gender identity; and (l) cultural identity (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000). Furthermore, the global events, situated on the outermost edges of the wheel, have an influence on the life forces and the life tasks (Myers, 2009), which ultimately, is an apt graphic representation of the interconnectedness of the life tasks, the life forces and the global events (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Figure 4.1 provides a visual depiction of the dynamic interaction of the components of the WoW model that impact the individual's wellness.

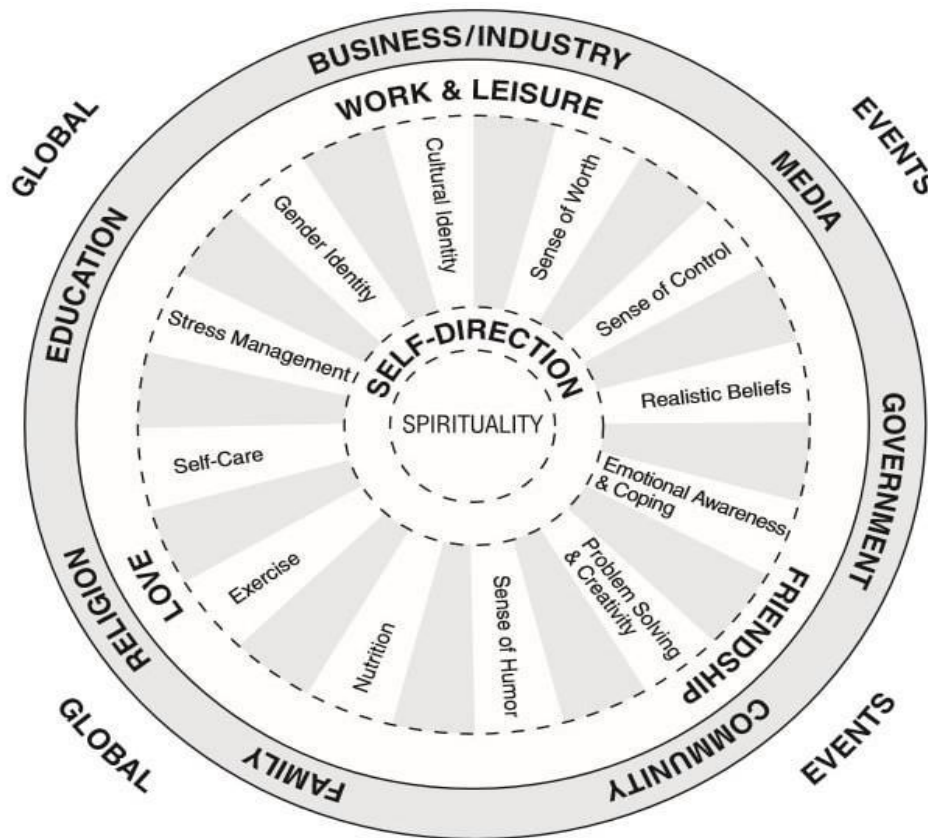


Figure 4.1. The Wheel of Wellness. From “Wellness counseling: The evidence base for practice” by J. E. Myers and T. J. Sweeney, 2008, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 86(4), p. 483. Copyright 1998 by J. M. Witmer, T. J. Sweeney, and J. E. Myers. Reprinted with permission.

The WoW model demonstrates the multidimensional nature of wellness, with all the dimensions of wellness being integral to the whole and not operating in isolation (Roscoe, 2009). Changes in one area of the abovementioned components will affect and influence other areas as well; in both positive and negative directions (Myers, et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009). Myers et al. (2000) stated that dimensions of wellness also influence an individual’s development as different aspects of wellness will be salient at different developmental periods. Henning (2009) further argued that the WoW model embraces the concept of “systems thinking as it attempts to explain the interconnectedness of the characteristics of a psychologically well person” (p. 42), which may be a relevant approach to wellness in a time where positive lifestyle choices and active prevention of illness are emphasised as crucial aspects to ensure health,

quality of life and longevity (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). In the next section, the constructs of the WoW model (i.e., life tasks, life forces and global events) are elaborated on.

4.3.1 Life Tasks

4.3.1.1 Life Task I: Spirituality

In the WoW model, spirituality is indicated as the central life task and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) describe it as the assumption of “certain life-enhancing beliefs about human dignity, human rights and reverence for life” (p. 141). They regarded it as the core characteristic for the maintenance of health, wellness and well-being to many racial and ethnic groups across the world (Shannonhouse et al., 2016), as it is the most important factor that influences how human beings interpret and make sense of events in their external world (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). It is a multidimensional concept that may feature numerous elements such as transcendence, connectedness, meaning and purpose in life and relationships, a ‘higher’ power or divine being and higher moral values (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). The definition of spirituality by Myers et al. (2000) describe it as “an awareness of a being or force that transcends the material aspects of life and gives a deep sense of wholeness or connectedness to the universe” (p. 9), which suggests that spirituality may be regarded as an important construct in the field of Positive Psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman et al., 2005). It is important to clarify that the concepts of *spirituality* and *religiosity* are not synonymous. Religiosity forms part of the broader concept of spirituality and represents narrower institutionalised beliefs and behaviours that are expressed in religious practice (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Religion is, therefore, simply a type of spiritual expression that includes prayer, meditation, a relationship with a holy being or interactions with other people or nature (Fisher, 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991;

Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). According to Witmer and Sweeney (1991), there are seven dimensions or 'subtasks' to the life task of spirituality, namely: (a) belief in a higher power; (b) religious choice and practices; (c) transcendence; (d) meaning and purpose in life; (e) hope and optimism; (f) values; and (g) love, compassion and service towards others (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Mosak and Dreikurs (2000) assert that each individual is faced with the task of deciding whether or not to *believe in God as a higher power*, followed by the task of formulating a subjective view of God and what the nature of this relationship with God will entail. In addition, the believer assumes a stance towards unbelievers and everyone else with a different view of God. Similarly, these unbelievers and agnostics investigate their own beliefs or worldviews and also adopt a certain stance towards believers (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000).

Traditionally, the individual's need to seek and attain peace and freedom from inner conflict and turmoil was gained through meditation, prayer, worship, contemplation and introspection (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The task of *choosing a religious identity and religious goals* confronts the individual with the decision of how best to put their religion into practice (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). The literature indicates that religious experiences, such as meditation, are associated with better physical and mental health while regular participation in religious practices has been related to improved psychological well-being (Keyes & Reitzes, 2007).

Different religious, philosophical and psychological doctrines conceptualise the individual's place in the universe in different ways (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). The individual's personal desire to experience a sense of oneness with nature, the universe or the infinite (Myers et al., 2000) is known as *transcendence* (Harman, 1988; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Transcendence supposedly increases life satisfaction, which, in turn, promotes psychological wellness (Toner, Haslam, Robinson, & Williams, 2012).

The developers of the WoW model, namely Sweeney and Witmer (1991), considered the life task of spirituality as the creative energy source for purposiveness in life. Viktor Frankl (1984) is well-known on the topic of *meaning and purpose* due to his personal accounts of his experiences in the Nazi concentration camps during World War II. He believed that meaning is attributed but also found, and not invented but rather uncovered (Längle, 2004). To him, meaning is considered a gift from life (Mascaro, Rosen, & Morey, 2004). Other theorists (e.g., Dreikurs, 1971; Mosak & Maniaci, 2008) believed that meaning in life is found in service to others and through contributions made to social life and social change. Mosak and Dreikurs (2000) also mentioned different ways in which meaning may be found that include: in suffering, or death, through self-mortification, love, the search for pleasure, self-actualisation, social interest or through religious tasks and experiences. Myers et al. (2000) stated that an individual's values and beliefs are anchored in their sense of meaning and purpose. Evidence in the literature indicated that people who regard their lives as meaningful report a higher sense of well-being, lesser psychopathology and more valuable experiences of spirituality (Steger, 2012). Furthermore, people with a sense of purpose also tend to experience a higher sense of psychological well-being, which also cultivates future resilience to adversity (Diener & Seligman, 2004; Steger, 2012).

Optimism refers to "...an expression of *hope* that with a certain degree of confidence, one can either expect the best possible outcome or dwell on the most hopeful aspects of the situation" (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p.141). Results obtained from a study of a non-clinical population highlighted optimism as one of the characteristics related to positive coping and fewer anxiety-related physical symptoms (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Witmer, Rich, Barcikowski, & Mague, 1983). In the WoW model, optimism is regarded as fundamental to effectively cope with stress (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Hopeful optimists are more likely to have greater life satisfaction and happiness (Cummins & Lau, 2005)

compared to pessimists who are more likely to have poorer life satisfaction and higher levels of depression (Plomin et al., 1992). Furthermore, an optimistic view on life mitigates the effects of stress, which evidently promotes positive well-being (Cummins & Lau, 2005).

Moral and ethical *values* form an important part of spirituality, as they serve to guide an individual's behaviour and decision-making towards the promotion of his or her own well-being as well as demonstrate respect and compassion toward others (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) maintained that values related to character development are associated with cooperation, social participation and contribution to the benefit of self and others.

Values, in conjunction with optimism and inner harmony, may also result in guiding an individual's behaviour toward the promotion of the common good and social interest (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Authors Aknin, Dunn and Norton (2012) have found that people who demonstrate altruistic behaviour feel healthier and experience a higher sense of well-being. The final dimension of the life task of spirituality is, thus, conceptualised as *love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000). The belief is that the successful development of this dimension will have a positive influence on the development of other dimensions in the WoW model (Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The growing awareness of people needing to deal with existential issues confirmed the significance of spirituality within the helping professions (Sweeney, 2009). The life task of self-direction is discussed in the next section.

4.3.1.2 Life Task II: Self-direction

In the original Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model, this life task was known as *self-regulation* and included seven areas of competence necessary for self-direction (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). After the model was modified, an additional five

areas of competence were added (Myers et al., 2000). Self-direction refers to “the manner in which an individual regulates, disciplines and directs the self in daily activities and in pursuit of long-range goals” (Myers et al., 2000, p. 253). It also refers to the individual’s ability to meet major life tasks and long-term goals through a sense of mindfulness and disciplined and purposeful actions (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The practice of mindfulness produces multiple benefits, including positive mood and self-esteem, better mental health, lower levels of distress and an enhancement in self-compassion and empathy (Jha, Krompinger, & Baime, 2007). Certain personal characteristics often referred to in wellness literature as ‘positive personality traits’ (Myers et al., 2000), enable an individual to successfully navigate the self towards ‘wholeness’ and are visually represented as the spokes of the WoW model (see Figure 4.1). These 12 characteristics or competencies include: (a) a sense of worth; (b) a sense of control; (c) realistic beliefs; (d) emotional awareness and coping; (e) problem-solving and creativity; (f) a sense of humour; (g) nutrition; (h) exercise; (i) self-care; (j) stress management; (k) gender identity; and (l) cultural identity (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000; Myers et al., 2000). A detailed discussion of these competencies follows in the next section.

1. *Sense of worth*

The combination of a sense of worth and a sense of control is often referred to in the literature as the psychological construct of *self-esteem* (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Positive self-esteem has been correlated with Adler’s emphasis on human beings’ striving for significance (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991) and has also been highlighted as a useful discriminatory factor between individuals that are more effective at coping with stress and those that cope poorly (Steger, 2012; Witmer et al., 1983). Witmer and Sweeney (1991) also found a strong sense of self-worth as the single most important factor that impacted on personal growth and behaviour. Conversely, poor sense of self-worth has been associated with poor coping, symptoms

of anxiety and depression, more physical symptoms and insomnia (MacPhee & Andrews, 2006; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Psychologically healthy individuals can embrace their own weaknesses and flaws without being upset (Maslow, 1962, 1970) if they, including significant others, wholeheartedly accept, love and respect them for who they are at the core (Keyes, 2006). Research-based evidence presented by the developers of the WoW model, indicated a positive relationship between self-acceptance and positive feelings of well-being, better coping, lower stress levels, better mental and physical health, an internal locus of control and a sense of self-efficacy (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

2. *Sense of control*

A sense of control incorporates concepts such as competence, internal locus of control, confidence, self-efficacy, feelings of mastery, a persistent attitude and proactive behaviours (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals who believe that they have a sense of control over what happens to them are more likely to experience positive outcomes than those who perceive themselves as lacking a sense of control (Myers et al., 2000). A sense of control has been associated with increased participation in healthy behaviour such as physical exercise, improved stress management, higher levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction and positive emotional well-being (Myers et al., 2000). A personal sense of control has also been associated with positive outcomes in the elderly (Beckingham & Watt, 1995). Furthermore, a sense of control has been positively correlated with lower levels of anxiety and depression, as well as fewer physical ailments (Johnson & Kreuger, 2005; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Witmer et al., 1983).

3. *Realistic beliefs*

Cognitive and cognitive behavioural therapists believe that people's perception and interpretation of a situation impacts how they feel about it and, subsequently, how they act (Myers, et al, 2000). *Private logic* (i.e., the subjective view of reality) is the Adlerian conceptualisation of personal beliefs, which guides the feelings and behaviour of individuals (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The subjective and biased nature of an individual's private logic renders it vulnerable to possible errors when viewed against objective reality (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009). The bigger the discrepancy between an individual's private logic and reality, the bigger the likelihood for negative thoughts to cause emotional distress, the manifestation of cognitive distortions or unrealistic expectations and unhealthy behaviours in response to life events (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Conversely, the replacement of what Albert Ellis' Rational Emotive Therapy (REBT) identified as negative 'irrational beliefs' with more positive rational and realistic beliefs and expectations (Ellis, 2008; Mosak & Maniacchi, 2008) will equip the individual to draw logical conclusions and become more mentally healthy (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The correlation between realistic thinking and well-being was confirmed in a study conducted by Witmer et al. (1983) where participants who reported fewer irrational beliefs were also less anxious and reported fewer physical symptoms.

4. *Emotional awareness and coping*

The extent to which an individual can experience and positively manage and express both positive and negative emotions may be an indication of healthy interpersonal functioning, physical and mental health, as well as a subjective sense of well-being (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). On the other hand, if an individual lacks the ability to experience and express emotions, or fail to recognise and respond to

emotions in others, it may restrict the quality and quantity of the relationships they have in their lives (Bar-On, 2010; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Maslow's (1970) view of self-actualising people as more spontaneous and authentic in their emotional responses is echoed in Myers et al.,'s (2000) statement that healthy functioning is reflected in "rich, varied and frequent expressions and responses to people and events within one's daily experience" (p. 254). The experience of positive emotions and a positive mood may also yield direct health benefits as they have been linked to stronger immune functioning and an increased antibody response (Stone, Cox, Valdimarsdotti, Jandorf, & Neale, 1987).

5. *Problem-solving and creativity*

Intellectual stimulation encompasses both problem-solving and creativity, which, in turn, contributes to improved quality of life and increases over the entire lifespan of a healthy functioning individual (Myers et al., 2000). Creativity was also found to have a positive link with self-actualising people and life satisfaction (Goff, 1993; Nel, 2013) and can be defined as a "multidimensional phenomenon involving the ability to develop new or different concepts, ideas, structures or products" (Myers et al., 2000, p. 254). According to Maslow (1962), the ability of self-actualising individuals to freely express ideas without fear or ridicule embodies a vital part of their creativity. Maslow (1962) also pointed out that self-actualising individuals demonstrate 'childlike' aspects that include being spontaneously expressive, open to experience, imaginative and innovative. Intellectually-well individuals stay mentally active and creative throughout their lives and continuously pursue more knowledge and understanding (Sackney, Noonan, & Miller, 2000). Such pursuits enrich their quality of life and increase longevity (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Effective problem-solvers generally report more positive health experiences, higher

expectancies for control, fewer irrational beliefs, an increased hardiness to stress, reduced tendencies toward self-criticism, anxiety and depression and healthier overall psychological adjustment (Dobson, 2010; Elliott & Marmarosh, 1994).

6. *Sense of humour*

Self-actualised individuals employ humour regularly and can laugh at their mistakes and at unexpected events (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Such individuals have greater insight into their problems and only engage in humour that is spontaneous, philosophical and free of ridicule or prejudice (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Their sense of humour “may elicit a smile more than a laugh, is intrinsic to the situation and more spontaneous than planned” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 533). Humour and laughter have been correlated with a positive, healthy and stable self-concept, improved interpersonal and social skills, lower perceived levels of stress and a greater enjoyment of positive life experiences (Kuiper & Martin, 1993). On a physical level, humour has the ability to promote physical health by releasing endorphins into the brain that increases a sense of well-being (Erdman, 1991; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals who laugh at their mistakes and at unexpected events (Myers & Sweeney, 2008) are not as rigid and defensive as those who tend to take life’s predicaments too seriously (Cousins, 1979; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). A good sense of humour can cultivate resilience and greater life satisfaction (Cann & Collette, 2014).

7. *Nutrition*

Research studies on nutrition have indicated clear correlations between what we eat and good physical and psychological health and wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Good eating habits improve our health, mood, intellectual functioning, behaviour and performance, as well as longevity (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 2001; Witmer, 1989). Research studies

on nutrition and wellness encourage healthy behaviour as individuals who follow a healthy diet and exercise regularly tend to live the longest (Sweeney, 2009). Successful ageing and longevity require a nutritionally complete diet and a lifespan approach to nutritional wellness (Myers et al., 2000).

8. *Exercise*

Healthy lifestyle choices, which include regular physical exercise, are viewed as critical in disease prevention and healthy ageing (Myers et al, 2000). Regular physical activity has also been found to positively impact on psychological well-being (i.e., an increase in self-confidence, cognitive functioning, self-esteem and positive emotions) (Sweeney, 2009). Results from a co-twin control study conducted by Stubbe, De Moor, Boomsma and De Geus (2007) observed that individuals who engage in physical exercise were more satisfied with their lives and generally happier than those who do not engage in physical exercise. A similar study conducted a few years later found that regular physical activity is associated with fewer depressive symptoms and an increased internal locus of control (Bartels, De Moor, Vander Aa, Boomsma, & De Geus (2012). Regular physical activity also has the potential to decrease state-trait anxiety and stress levels significantly (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Witmer, 1989).

9. *Self-care*

The concept of self-care is described as an individual's "personal habits of preventative behaviour as well as remedial treatment" (Myers et al., 2000, p. 255). These include safety behaviours to protect the individual from injury or death, routine medical and dental check-ups to maintain health, as well as avoiding the ingestion of harmful and environmentally toxic substances (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al.,

2000). Taking responsibility for one's own wellness has been found to positively impact on well-being, quality of life and longevity (Broman, 1993; Myers et al., 2000).

10. *Stress management*

Failure to manage one's stress effectively may negatively impact mental and physical health (Borkowski, 2011; Myers et al., 2000). Stress management involves an individual's ability to identify stressors and subsequently try to reduce the impact of the perceived stressors by applying strategies to improve mental and physical functioning (Myers et al., 2000). Such strategies may be self-regulatory (e.g., biofeedback, meditation or relaxation); behavioural or environmental (e.g., assertiveness and communication skills training, problem-solving and physical exercise); or social support (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Keita & Jones, 1990; Myers et al., 2000). Individuals who are more resistant to stress experience greater personal growth, stronger immune system responses, an improved sense of control and better quality physical and mental health (Keita & Jones, 1990).

11. *Gender identity*

This is described as the individual's subjective feelings of being male or female (Kosciw, Palmer, & Kull, 2015; Myers et al., 2000). These subjective feelings are guided by the individual's satisfaction with, and confidence in, being male or female (Maccoby, 1990; Myers et al., 2000). Gender identity is culturally constructed, while *gender role identity* reflects the extent to which the individual identifies with and conforms to the social prescriptions associated with each gender (Hyuck, 1990). The individual's gender identity and gender role behaviours are interrelated with the experience of wellness or illness in adulthood (Myers et al., 2000). It can thus be inferred that acceptance of the individual's gender identity by self and others is

connected to reduced levels of depression and improved psychological well-being (Kosciw, Greytak, Diaz, & Bartkiewicz, 2010; Kosciw et al., 2015).

12. Cultural identity

The extent to which individuals fit into the culture of the society within which they live has been associated with well-being (Dockery, 2010) and is seen as a personal strength that may facilitate growth and development across the lifespan (Myers et al., 2000). Cultural identity is a concept that includes racial identity, acculturation and an appreciation for the unique aspects of different cultures (Allinger & Causey, 1995; Myers et al., 2000). The aspects that relate to health and well-being, including self-care, self-esteem, mental health and happiness, are all culturally constructed and may, therefore, be explained differently in different cultures (Allinger & Causey, 1995; Dockery, 2010; Myers et al., 2000). The next section entails a discussion about the life task of work and leisure.

4.3.1.3 Life Task III: Work and Leisure

Adler (1927, 1992) viewed the life task of work as any meaningful activity that benefits the self and others. These activities include formal employment, as well as childrearing, homemaking, educational pursuits and volunteer work (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). In line with Adler's definition, Sweeney (2009) stated that if a maturing individual is unable to meet society's expectation of becoming "more responsible, cooperative and better equipped to cope with life situations" (p. 17) they may experience a loss of confidence and a diminished sense of worth. The ability to work provides the individual with economic resources (i.e., access to obtain goods and services and increased opportunities to engage in leisure activities), social support (i.e., potential friendships, increased opportunities for social interaction and feeling valued by others), as well as good physical and psychological

well-being (i.e., feelings of self-efficacy, mastery and commitment) (Burke & McKeen, 1995; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals who are unable to engage in work activities are likely to miss out on these benefits (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), which makes them more susceptible to mental and physical illnesses, suicide and social difficulties (Myers et al., 2000; Roh, 2010; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Work satisfaction has been highlighted as one of the best indicators of physical and psychological well-being, as well as hardiness, improved productivity and longevity (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer et al., 1983). In addition, individuals who are more satisfied with their work may experience less stress, anxiety and discouragement (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Sweeney and Witmer (1991) expanded on the concept of work and included childhood play and adult leisure activities essential to wellness. These leisure activities include participation in physical exercise, social engagements, intellectual endeavours, volunteer work and creative pursuits that improve self-esteem and perceived wellness, reduce the effects of stress, enhance psychological resilience, provide social support and assist individuals to cope better with and transcend life's challenges (Cheng & Chan 2006). Life satisfaction has a positive relationship with *leisure congruence* (i.e., the choice of leisure activities that is compatible with the individual's personality type (Sweeney, 2009). A discussion about the life task of friendship follows in the next section.

4.3.1.4 Life Task IV: Friendship

Friendship involves the social relationships with individuals or with communities that do not involve marital, sexual or familial commitment (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This is in line with Adler's (1927, 1992) belief that the need for social interaction and interpersonal attachments is innate to human nature. It is reflected in our desire for frequent, positive interactions with the same people, as well as the search to find a stable, satisfying and

caring support system (Myers et al., 2000). He maintained that showing empathy and demonstrating cooperative and altruistic behaviour are all manifestations of social interest (Adler, 1927, 1992; Myers et al, 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals who can successfully establish and maintain friendships may benefit from these friendships as they receive: (a) emotional support through attachment and reassurance; (b) tangible support through direct aid and services; and (c) informational support in the form of advice or feedback (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Thus, the life task of friendship involves the individual's sense of social interest and sense of connectedness, as well as the availability of social support (Myers et al., 2000).

Individuals may manage the life task of work, but true friendships demand greater courage and self-disclosure and require the individual to take risks and assume responsibilities (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991), which may be a bit more challenging. Positive correlations exist between social support, interpersonal relationships and physical and mental health across the lifespan (Sackney et al., 2000). Social support is a protective factor against stress, as it enhances self-esteem and personal control and it promotes well-being (Cheng & Chan 2006; Gülaçti, 2010; Merz & Huxhold, 2010; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Satisfying interpersonal relationships are also instrumental in promoting resilience, quality of life and longevity (Blum, 2005; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Furthermore, those in good-quality relationships are less likely to develop physical illness or mental health disorders such as depression, and more likely to avoid health-damaging behaviours such as smoking, drinking alcohol and not using seatbelts while driving (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The life task of love is discussed in the next section.

4.3.1.5 Life Task V: Love

Both friendship and love are based on positive regard and demand more from the individual in terms of cooperation, reciprocity and respect than the other three life tasks (Sweeney, 2009). The life task of love refers to an individual's bond with close friends, family members, children and romantic partners that are "trusting, self-disclosing, cooperative and long-term in commitment" (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 145). The qualities of such healthy love relationships are recognised by the presence of: (a) the ability to trust, self-disclose to and be intimate with another person; (b) the ability to experience and express affection; (c) the capacity to experience or express non-possessive caring that respects the uniqueness of the other person; (d) concern for the nurturance and growth of significant others; (e) enduring, stable and intimate relationships; and (f) a sense of fulfilment with one's sexual life or the perception that one's desires for physical touch and closeness are being met (Myers, Witmer, & Sweeney, 2001; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Close and loving interpersonal relationships such as marriage, parenthood, close friendships and a healthy family support system that contain trust, intimacy, care, companionship and compassion, contribute significantly to a greater sense of life satisfaction and well-being, good health and longevity (Evans & Kelly, 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Researchers have linked higher mortality rates to individuals who are divorced, single or widowed (Berkman & Syme, 1979) and have also found that detrimental behaviour such as hostility during marital conflict has a negative effect on physical health (Myers et al., 2000; Park & Peterson, 2006; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Toner et al., 2012; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Appendix A contains a summary of the dimensions of the five life tasks discussed above. The next section examines another important feature of the WoW model, namely life forces.

4.3.2 Life Forces

Life forces are defined as “major societal institutions that impinge on the health and well-being of each individual” (Witmer and Sweeney, 1992, p. 537). Life forces have a significant influence on the individual’s mastery of the five life tasks (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). In the WoW model (see Figure 4.1), the different life forces are depicted in a band immediately surrounding the life tasks and include: (a) family; (b) community; (c) religion; (d) education; (e) media; (f) government; and (g) business or industry (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Each life force is discussed individually in the next section.

4.3.2.1 Family

The family can be described as a network of interlocking relationships and an emotional unit, which is best understood when analysed within a multi-generational or socio-historical framework (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004). The influence of family on individual wellness is recognised and established by the developers of the WoW model. Gülaçti (2010) found that perceived social support received from family is an important predictor of subjective well-being, while emotional support from relatives also has a positive impact on subjective well-being (Merz & Huxhold, 2010). Additional studies have indicated that frequent interaction between older adults and their families significantly reduced their self-reported symptoms of depression (Dean, Kolody, & Wood, 1990; Mui, 2001).

Some families can effectively deal with stress, adapt to change, solve problems and recover from adversity, which infers that they possess greater coping and functioning (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; Patterson, 2002). This is also known as resilience, which is a developmental process unique to each family that enables them to create adaptive responses to stress and in some cases, grow in response to stress or crises (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; Patterson, 2002; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The universal characteristics of strong families include: (a)

a commitment to the welfare and happiness of each other; (b) the expression of mutual appreciation; (c) good communication skills; (d) spending time together; (e) spiritual wellness as source of strength and power; and (f) effective coping skills (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

4.3.2.2 Community

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) considered community as an important societal institution that exerts an influence on the well-being of individuals. They believed that community building remains an important task facing modern communities, despite potential factors that may fragment a sense of community (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These potential factors include the disintegration of extended families, industrialisation, urbanisation and social mobility (Sackney et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Zhang, Zhang, Zhou, & Yu, 2018). Certain groups in the community can assist with fostering feelings of connectedness and promote shared values and purpose while retaining a healthy degree of independence (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals in the community who participate in support groups, work groups or church groups in order to improve their social environment may fulfil their social needs and promote social wellness (Sackney et al., 2000).

Families and communities are referred to as *local contexts* by Sweeney (2009), which correspond closely to Bronfenbrenner's (1999) micro-system due to the daily interactions between the individual and his or her immediate environment (Nechal, 2016). Sweeney (2009) also referred to variables such as religion, education, media, government, business or industry as *institutional contexts* since they affect the individual's life in both direct or indirect ways. These institutional contexts correspond to Bronfenbrenner's (1999) macro-system and their influences may be "powerful, difficult to assimilate, and of course be positive or negative" (Sweeney, 2009, p. 40).

4.3.2.3 Religion

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) recommended that religion's significance to wellness merits further investigation. A detailed discussion about spirituality is found in Section 4.3.1.1. Religion transpired as one type of spiritual expression that recognises a higher power and promotes reverence for human life (Sweeney & Witmer; 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Currently, a growing body of research is suggesting that the link between religion or spirituality and well-being has been established. Nelson-Becker (2005) found that religion and spirituality serve as important coping resources. Religion, in particular, is an effective source of structural support towards cultivating social networks, which can aid in stress management (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2012) and predict improved mental health outcomes (Koenig, 2009). Individuals who feel connected or affiliated to a religious community and that are also anchored in their own personal spiritual beliefs are less likely to engage in risk-taking behaviours and report fewer emotional health concerns (O'Brien et al., 2013). Studies conducted by Homan and Boyatzis (2010) and Mochon, Norton and Ariely (2008) found that a positive correlation between religion and well-being can have positive consequences for general physical health and exercise rates. Lastly, individuals with fundamentalist religious beliefs tend to be happier than individuals with more liberal religious beliefs (Green & Elliott, 2009).

4.3.2.4 Education

Education as a life force has the potential to create a community "in which the characteristics of the healthy person can be nurtured" (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 146). A holistic health and wellness approach to education is most effective in an encouraging educational climate that supports healthy lifestyle choices, which may facilitate the strive for life-long wellness (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Education is indicated as an important predictor of positive psychological health and adjustment (Lee & Holm, 2012).

4.3.2.5 Media

The media can influence public policies, as well as shape individual values, beliefs, attitudes and desires (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Its influence is significant as it is capable of delivering daily events from around the world into the individual's home (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Since the media is shaped by societal norms, it is wise to remain mindful of the media's potentially positive and negative influences on wellness (Kirkorian, Wartella, & Anderson, 2008; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Some studies have highlighted a positive relationship between frequent, graphic portrayals of violence on television and the development of aggressive and anti-social attitudes and behaviours (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Villani, 2001). Studies conducted on college students found them to be more aggressive and less empathic towards those in need immediately after exposure to media violence (Bushman & Anderson, 2009; Hasan, Bègue, & Bushman, 2012; Strasburger, 2009). Exposure to prosocial media can also positively influence attitudes and helping behaviour in adolescents by increasing the availability of prosocial thoughts and empathy (Dorr, Rabin, & Irlen, 2002; Greitemeyer, 2011). Listening to prosocial lyrics in songs, for example, is one way to positively influence prosocial behaviour (Jacob, Guéguen, & Boulbry, 2010). Other research suggests that increased exposure to sexual content in mainstream media positively correlated with sexual beliefs that favour non-relational sex (Ward, Epstein, Caruthers, & Merriwether, 2011). This was linked to a higher number of sexual partners and a more liberal attitude towards recreational sex (Ward, Gorfine, & Cytron-Walker, 2002).

4.3.2.6 Government

Government policies and practices have the potential to influence human behaviour and attitudes in a positive or negative manner (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). If governments support and promote policies with prevention and wellness in mind, they have the potential to uplift

and influence citizens positively, but if they engage in discriminatory governmental practices that may “distract from the full development of all citizens” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 537), governments will have a direct, negative impact on citizens’ well-being (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Important community-level resources that may promote mental well-being include residential stability, civic engagement, trust and group cohesion (Araya et al., 2006; Houle, 2014).

4.3.2.7 Business or Industry

The effect of policies implemented in the workplace directly impact the employees’ wellness (Sweeney, 2009). Business and industry benefit from creating working environments that encourage and promote the health of their employees (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This may also increase the financial health of the organisation since healthier people are more productive, creative, cooperative, competent and committed (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Similarly, healthy employees are less absent from work and have fewer illnesses (Leurent, Reddy, Voûte, & Yach, 2008; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The business industry started to recognise the relationship between health and productivity and implemented Employee Assistance Programmes, as well as other wellness initiatives to promote wellness among their employees (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These wellness initiatives attempt to address issues such as smoking cessation, the control of alcohol and substance abuse, stress management, effective communication, good nutrition, exercise, as well as noise reduction and the control of toxic substances (Leurent et al., 2008; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). In the WoW model, all of the life forces that influence the life tasks are equally influenced by global events, which are discussed in the next section.

4.3.3 Global Events

In the WoW model, global events are situated on the outermost edges, surrounding the life forces band (see Figure 4.1). Our global contexts and the events that occur within it are made more salient and personal to individuals through the media, particularly through television as well as the internet (Nechal, 2016; Sweeney, 2009). The daily occurrence of this phenomenon may have a bigger impact on the quality of life and wellness of individuals (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Wars, hunger, disease, poverty, environmental pollution, overpopulation, violation of human rights, economic exploitation and unemployment are all part of the 'global village' our world has become (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). These global events should be considered carefully if a community committed to the ideals of wellness as a lifestyle choice is to be established (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). In the next section, empirical investigations related to the WoW model are explored.

4.4 Empirical Investigation for the Wellness Model

The WoW model is a theoretical model that is validated by empirical studies (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). It formed the basis of an assessment tool, the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle (WEL) that measures constructs related to wellness and adaptive functioning (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2004). Thus, the purpose of the WEL is to operationalise the WoW model (Myers & Sweeney, 2004). Hattie et al. (2004), Myers et al. (2000), and Myers et al. (2004) reported test-retest reliability coefficients ranging from 0.68 to 0.88 as well as Cronbach alpha estimates between 0.61 and 0.89 for the different subtasks. The high reliability estimates encourage meaningful interpretation of scale scores, while the items were shown to be confidently anchored in a

meaningful psychological model of wellness (Hattie et al., 2004). Therefore, the WoW model, as well as the WEL inventory, have been empirically validated.

More extensive research was conducted on the WEL inventory and the constructs have been refined to include one higher-order *wellness* factor, as well as five second-order factors (i.e., *creative, coping, social, essential* and *physical*) (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005b). The factor analysis also confirmed the original 17 components of the WoW model (as it relates to the life tasks of wellness) as distinct third-order factors (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers, 2009). Consequently, a more empirically robust model of wellness, referred to as the Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL) was developed in an attempt to illustrate this three-level factor structure (Myers & Sweeney, 2005b; Myers et al., 2004). The IS-WEL retained the same elements of the WoW model, although the original 17 components of the WoW model were regrouped as third-order factors within the second-order factor structure of the indivisible self (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008). Adlerian theory was again used as a foundation for examining and organising the five second-order factors, each representing the five selves (i.e., coping self, social self, essential self, physical self and creative self), which comprise the individual referred to in this context as the *indivisible self* (Fullen, 2019; Fullen, Richardson, & Granello, 2018; Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2005c). The Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL) is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

CONTEXTS:

Local (safety)

Family
Neighborhood
Community

Institutional (policies & laws)

Education
Religion
Government
Business/Industry

Global (world events)

Politics
Culture
Global Events
Environment
Media
Community

Chronometrical (lifespan)

Perpetual
Positive
Purposeful

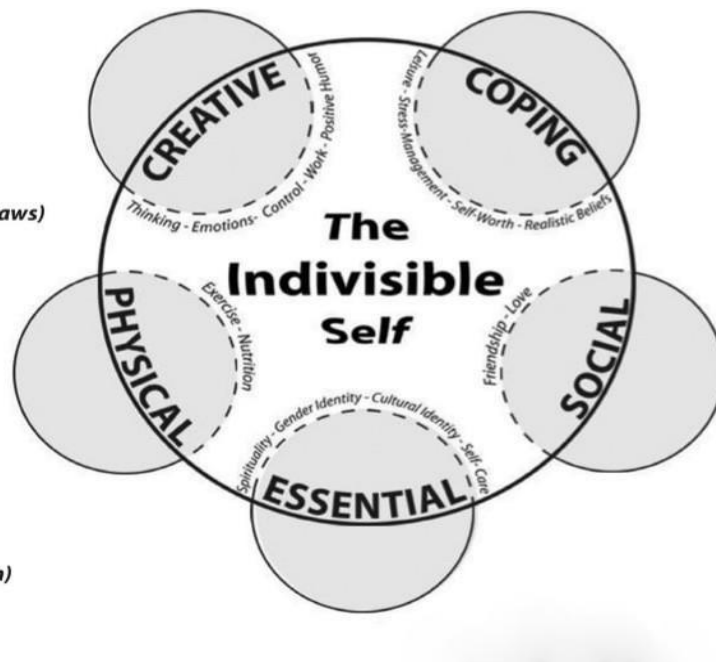


Figure 4.2. The Indivisible Self Model of Wellness. From “Wellness counseling: The evidence base for practice” by J. E. Myers and T. J. Sweeney, 2008, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 86(4), p. 484. Copyright 2003 by T. J. Sweeney and J. E. Myers. Reprinted with permission.

The five second-order factors, as described by Hattie et al. (2004), Myers et al.

(2000) and Myers and Sweeney (2004, 2005c, 2008) entail the following:

1. The *Coping Self* includes skills and resources such as *stress management*, *leisure activities*, *self-worth* and *realistic beliefs* that regulate responses to life events and offer techniques for transcending their negative events.
2. The *Social Self* features two components, namely *friendship* and *love* and are positively associated with quality of life and longevity.
3. The *Essential Self* comprises four components, namely *spirituality*, *self-care*, *gender identity* and *cultural identity* that are positively linked to longevity, meaning-making processes, hope and purpose in life.
4. The *Physical Self* includes health-promoting behaviours such as *exercise* and *nutrition* that are important to overall physical wellness.

5. The *Creative Self* includes components such as *thinking, emotions, control, positive humour* and *work*. This combination of attributes is defined as the sum of one's intrapersonal and interpersonal characteristics, which distinguishes oneself from others.

The IS-WEL is similar to the WoW model as it also acknowledges the importance of contextual variables, or systems, in relation to individual wellness (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008). Changes in any one area of wellness can cause changes to other areas, which may be positive (i.e., healthier lifestyle choices) or negative (i.e., unhealthy behaviour); this interaction of the components in the IS-WEL model (see Figure 4.2) is shown through dashed lines between the self and the second-order factors (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Shannonhouse et al., 2016). In the IS-WEL, four clearly defined contexts are described as integral to individual wellness. These include: (a) *local contexts* (family, neighbourhood, community); (b) *institutional contexts* (education, religion, government, business or industry); (c) *global contexts* (politics, culture, global events, the environment, media); and (d) *chronometrical or lifespan contexts* (factors that relate to an individual's sense of meaning and purpose over time) (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2004, 2008; Sweeney, 2009). However, these contexts remain largely theoretical because they emerged from extensive literature reviews and not from supporting empirical studies. The measurement of these characteristics was not part of the WEL (Myers & Sweeney, 2004, 2005b). Empirical research has only been conducted on the local context (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008).

The IS-WEL model and its corresponding instrument, the Five-Factor Wellness Inventory (5F-Wel), which measures the components of the IS-WEL, have been used extensively in mental health and counselling research (Myers et al., 2001; Myers & Sweeney, 2005b, 2005d; 2008). Research showing the benefits of wellness interventions on individuals across the

lifespan is important (Jarnagin & Woodside, 2012; Myers & Sweeney, 2008). The WoW model, therefore, remains a useful conceptual model (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008), particularly in qualitative research, such as the current psychobiography. In the next section, the value of the WoW model for psychobiographical research is discussed.

4.5 The Value of the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model in Psychobiography

The emergence of the Positive Psychology paradigm and the concept of wellness shifted the focus away from the traditional medical, 'illness-oriented' approach to care, towards the development of wellness models with an emphasis on optimal functioning, health and well-being (Gong et al., 2015; Hattie et al., 2004; Mayer & May, 2019; Myers et al., 2000; Shannonhouse et al., 2016; WHO, 1946; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Elms (1994) encouraged psychobiographers to broaden their theoretical choices and expand their focus to include studies on psychological health and wellness. Similarly, Coetzee and Viviers (2007) recommended that more qualitative and longitudinal studies within the field of Positive Psychology are needed, with a particular emphasis on *fortology* (i.e., the origins of health and strengths) (Strümpfer, 2006). According to Mayer (2017), theories with a positive psychology perspective are valuable in psychobiographical research as they assist with establishing new insights in and models to health and well-being in individuals across the lifespan. The focus on such new theories can result in a more balanced psychological understanding of extraordinary individuals who are generally perceived as positive role models (Mayer, 2017). Eminent individuals who have led exemplary lives are ideal psychobiographical subjects, because they provide psychobiographers with the perfect opportunity to study specific processes and behaviours, including the study of wellness and related concepts (McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2001a). One of the central concepts in the Positive Psychology movement used in psychobiography is the WoW model (Nortjé, Fouché, & Gogo, 2013; Myers & Sweeney,

2008; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The WoW model is a good example of a wellness model that focuses on characteristics of optimal human functioning. It not only offers a useful theoretical framework for structuring counselling interventions to enhance the well-being of people struggling with a variety of issues (Myers & Sweeney, 2005a, 2008; Shannonhouse et al., 2016), but it also has value for psychobiographical research as it enables psychobiographers to study individuals who display positive or healthy traits, such as creativity, charisma, morality, spirituality and wisdom (Simonton, 1999).

Psychobiographical research studies that have successfully utilised the WoW model include: *The life of Jan Christiaan Smuts: A psychobiographical study* (Fouché, 1999); *Bram Fischer: A psychobiographical study* (Swart, 2010); *Brenda Fassie: A psychobiographical study* (Gogo, 2011); *The Life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* (Burnell, 2013); *The Life of Helen Suzman: A Psychobiographical Study* (Nel, 2013); and *The Holistic Wellness of Margaret Thatcher: A Psychobiography* (Winter, 2019). These researchers asserted the model's value for psychobiographical studies, including its worth in providing a lifespan, longitudinal perspective on holistic wellness. The findings of these studies supported the theoretical and practical significance of the WoW model towards understanding the holistic wellness of individuals.

The WoW model facilitates the extraction and categorisation of data in a reliable manner, which enhances the confirmability and the dependability of a psychobiographical study. It further enhances the confirmability of a psychobiographical study through its clear conceptualisation of the factors that influence an individual's wellness (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Furthermore, the WoW model's value lies in its ability to analyse and interpret the extracted, positive dimensions of wellness, which promotes a more eugraphic approach to psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk,

2010). In the next section, the criticisms against the wellness movement and the WoW model, in particular, are discussed.

4.6. Criticisms of the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) Model

Much of the criticisms lodged against the wellness movement originated from the fields of biomedicine and medical sociology (Fouché, 1999). However, a great deal of this criticism incorrectly targets the wellness movement, which is often mistakenly considered to be the same as the biopsychosocial and the lifestyle movements (Fouché, 1999). The biopsychosocial model and the lifestyle movements, specifically, were criticised by biomedicine (Levenstein, 1994) for downplaying the physiological and pathogenic aetiology of disease, as well as assigning responsibility and blame onto patients for their health problems. Similarly, sociology criticised the biopsychosocial model's emphasis on voluntary lifestyle factors (e.g., fitness, diet and exercise) and internal causes of disease, while discounting the socio-historical, cultural and economic factors which play a role in disease aetiology and prevention (Antonovsky, 1994; Levenstein, 1994). Physical lifestyle movements were critiqued for excluding psychosocial, economic, pathogenic and genetic factors that similarly impact health and disease (Antonovsky, 1994; Levenstein, 1994).

Numerous authors have explored and described the construct of wellness in broad terms, but no agreement exists on a single integrated definition of wellness (Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Oliver et al., 2018; Roscoe, 2009). Some wellness models have also received disapproval for not acknowledging the different cultural and social contexts of individuals around the world (Fisher & Sonn, 2008). In response to criticisms against wellness models in general, Myers (1991) reassured that the models do not negate or discount pathology but instead offer alternatives to pathology, stress prevention, choice and optimal functioning. Myers (1991) further stated that the wellness paradigm is inclusive and appreciates the

influence of families, groups, society and other systems on the individual. Therefore, the abovementioned criticisms are acknowledged but “cannot be generalised to all models of wellness” (Fouché, 1999, p. 42), as holistic wellness models, such as the neo-Adlerian model, in particular, should be independently considered (Fouché, 1999).

Criticism against the WoW model has specifically targeted Dreikurs and Mosak’s neo-Adlerian inclusion of two life tasks, namely spirituality and self-regulation (Dreikurs & Mosak, 1967; Gold & Mansager, 2000; Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). The concepts themselves are not in question, but rather whether spirituality should be classified as a life task in Adlerian theory. It was reiterated that spirituality is indeed at the core of an individual’s existence and will, therefore, influences the individual’s approach to all the other life tasks (Mansager et al., 2002). For this reason, spirituality “presents itself not as one among the life tasks” (Mansager et al., 2002, p. 183), but rather as the source, the overarching, unifying principle of all the other life tasks (Mansager et al., 2002).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Fouché (1999) employed the WoW model in his own psychobiography on the life of South African statesman, Jan Christiaan Smuts. This researcher also explored a few limitations regarding the use of the WoW model as it pertained to his particular study:

1. The lack of wellness indicators or criteria for the different developmental stages across the lifespan.
2. The failure to address the issue of whether critical periods for the development of wellness exist.
3. The failure to adequately address the influence of the immediate ecological environment on the wellness of the individual.

Fouché (1999) also found that spirituality, for example, is less susceptible to behavioural change and variation than other behavioural components of lifestyle, such as physical fitness and healthy habits.

4.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the emergence of Positive Psychology and the development of the WoW model were explored. The WoW model and its use as an appropriate framework for conceptualising human wellness through its life tasks, life forces and global events, were also discussed. Furthermore, the chapter includes an overview of the empirical investigations, the value, and the criticisms pertaining to the wellness model. The framework provided by the WoW model will be used in conjunction with Erikson's theory of psychosocial development to explore Sol Plaatje's holistic wellness across his entire lifespan. The findings from the application of the WoW model to Plaatje's life are discussed in Chapter 9. In the next chapter, qualitative research and psychobiography are explored.

CHAPTER 5

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter introduces the reader to psychobiography and includes a discussion on its development and practice as a method of research. The chapter starts with an initial orientation to qualitative research, followed by a description of case study research as a specific methodological approach. Thereafter an overview of the alliance between psychology and biography is provided. Also, psychobiography and related concepts are described and a historical overview of the development of trends in psychobiography precludes a review of psychobiographical research in the South African context. Furthermore, the value and the criticisms inherent to psychobiography are discussed, including the guidelines to write a good psychobiography. A brief look into possible future professional organisations and initiatives to the field of psychobiography concludes the chapter.

5.2 Qualitative Research

5.2.1 Definitions and Descriptions of Qualitative Research

Over the last century, traditional, quantitative research methods have dominated the research paradigm at academic institutions where psychology is taught (Edwards, 1998; Flick, 2006). Most of the research conducted in psychology have been characterised by logical positivism and the use of the scientific method (Perry, 2012), which created an imbalance in the research

carried out in the field of psychology (Hale, Treharne, & Kitas, 2007; Ponterotto, 2010). Positivism is a philosophical paradigm that underlies quantitative research and advocates that reality consists only of what is available to the senses and that knowledge is typically empirical in nature (Huges, 1990; Ponterotto, 2010). Nel (2013) paraphrased the definition of post-positivism formulated by Guba and Lincoln (2008) and Ponterotto (2010):

Post-positivism entails the belief that a true reality exists, but only imperfectly and probabilistically and that the researcher should remain as dualistic and objective as possible by assuming the disinterested scientist stance.

(p. 148)

Conventionally, scientific and standardised methods of inquiry were the preferred choice of the profession because this viewed the researcher as objective and distanced from the reality and meaning of the data (Gough & Madill, 2012; Stroud, 2004). Despite psychology's attempts at following the exactness of the natural sciences model (Flick, 2006), it still remains distinctively different from the natural sciences as it requires interpretation as a method of inquiry (Martin & Sugarman, 2001). Positivist methods of research can be complemented by hermeneutically informed interpretative research methods in psychological inquiry (Martin & Sugarman, 2001). Hermeneutics allows for the subjective interpretation of a life within its cultural and social context (McAdams et al., 2004), while recognising that insights or truths that may be uncovered are not objectively 'true', but are socially, historically, politically and morally constructed and rooted (Carlson & Hajikhani, 1992; Edwards, 1998). Quantitative research methods aim to analyse variables, quantify observations and examine correlations and causal relationships between variables (Ponterotto, 2005). This positions it within the positivist or post-positivist research traditions (Ponterotto, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007). On the other hand, qualitative research methods aim to describe and interpret experiences of people in specific milieus (Silverman, 2000) by employing a wide range of empirical procedures (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2005; Schurink, 2003). Thus, qualitative research is located within the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010).

A specific and universal definition of qualitative research remains difficult to prove (Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010), but Denzin and Lincoln (2008) maintained that a “complex interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions surround the term” (p. 3). Their definition of qualitative research is as follows:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, quantitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring into them. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 3)

Qualitative research is regarded as an alternative to quantitative research that has been broadly described as an approach in which procedures are not as strictly formalised or controlled as in quantitative research (Perry, 2012). Unlike quantitative research, a qualitative research approach does not utilise statistical methods to analyse data, but instead adopts a more philosophical style of operation (De Vos, Schurink, & Strydom, 1998). Qualitative research employs a holistic approach and emphasises processes and meanings that are not experimentally investigated, measured and standardised as is the case with quantitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) observed that although both quantitative and qualitative research methods were previously influenced by the positivist and post-positivist traditions, a new generation of qualitative researchers reject these traditions by

labelling the approaches as archaic and limiting in terms of portraying narratives about the social world (Van Niekerk, 2007). Instead, these researchers favour research methods that account for personal responsibility, portray reality and include dialogues with subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative methods permit researchers to acknowledge the influence of culture and contextual factors which may be neglected by quantitative research methods (Perry, 2012; Silverman, 2000). While quantitative methods strive towards researcher objectivity, qualitative researchers willingly acknowledge their own subjectivity in the processes of data gathering and analysis (Morrow, 2005). The process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, known as *reflexivity*, is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

Qualitative researchers encourage rich and thick descriptions of the social world because these descriptions are regarded as valuable in the process of understanding the individual within his or her social context (Geertz, 1973; Schurink, 2003). In contrast, quantitative researchers believe rich descriptions hamper the process of generalising results and choose to avoid them deliberately (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Another key difference between the two research methods is that qualitative researchers mostly focus on the specifics of a particular case via an idiographic, case-based approach in an attempt to gain an in-depth understanding of the subject, although they may also work from a nomothetic approach, similar to quantitative researchers, which seek to generalise results from a large population of randomly selected cases with a narrower, less in-depth search for understanding the sample groups (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ponterotto, 2005). The various research traditions within the discipline of psychology should thus not be seen as opposing, but rather as each offering ways in which to understand and research specific questions (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Runyan, 2005).

Although qualitative research has gained momentum in terms of acceptance and popularity in psychological research during the past decade (Barbour, 2001; Ponterotto, 2005; Williams & Morrow, 2009), the influence that positivism previously held is still visible in most of the

instruments (e.g., questionnaires, surveys and statistical models) that are used in social science research (Huges, 1990). Cozby (2007) and Silverman (2000) asserted that there is value in both quantitative and qualitative research and that the choice of method depended on the goal of the research and the type of question that the researcher wants to ask (Flyvberg, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Runyan, 2005a).

Another movement within psychology, known as the ‘narrative turn’, acknowledges that an individual life story has to be the starting point for all meaningful research into personality and, therefore, steers away from the psychology of the general (nomothetic approaches) towards a psychology of the personal (idiographic approaches) (Kőváry, 2011). The narrative approach attempts to understand an individual’s behaviour and life within a narrative and not as a statistical structure (Flyvberg, 2006). It should also be noted that the narrative approach is not a replacement for other, more nomothetic forms of research in psychology, but rather exists alongside them in an uneasy alliance (Runyan, 2005a). Narrative theories of personality have a shared focus on the integrative function of personal narratives (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; McAdams, 2006) and the belief that people try to understand their lives through constructing life stories (Bauer, McAdams, & Pals, 2008; McAdams, 1988). The psychobiographical method employed in this study may thus contribute to the narrative turn within personality psychology by providing an in-depth study of Sol Plaatje’s lifespan development.

There are numerous advantages to employing qualitative research methods. Methods such as case studies, for example, are the appropriate research methods when the researcher wants to gain personal perspectives of an individual, of an event or of an experience (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Yin, 2009). They offer the possibility of studying lived human experiences (Runyan, 2005a) and allow researchers to describe and explain behaviour in ways which are not possible in quantitative research (Cozby, 2007). Qualitative methods enable researchers to make sense of a complex situation when very little information is available on a topic and when

there is an absent theory base (Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010). Psychobiography constitutes a form of case study research (Edwards, 1998; Fouché, 1999, Simonton, 2003). In order to contextualise psychobiographical research within the broader research domain, an exploration of case study methods is warranted.

5.2.2 Case Study as a Qualitative Research Approach

Case study research refers to a thorough examination of a single unit, such as an individual, a family, a group, an organisation or a community within a definite time and contextual setting (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006; Runyan, 1982). Case study research focus either on single or multiple cases (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Gilgun, 1994; Yin, 1981). Yin (2009) defined a case study as "... an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p.18). According to Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007), case study research is not seen as a method, a methodology or a research design as suggested by others. They proposed that case study research should be considered as a "...transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves the careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected ..." (p. 2). *Transparadigmatic* denotes the relevance of the study regardless of the paradigm adopted by the researcher for the study; thus it is applicable across research paradigms such as positivism, critical theory and constructivism. The term 'heuristic' refers to an approach that focuses on investigating and uncovering the essence of a case. *Transdisciplinary* indicates that case study research is not limited to a particular discipline, but may be employed in a variety of disciplines such as social sciences, applied science, business science, as well as the arts and humanities (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 2006; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007).

Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007) also summarised a number of features that were characteristic of all forms of case studies, which included: (a) an in-depth study of a specific unit of analysis, (b) providing the reader with highly detailed and contextualised descriptions of the subject, (c) smaller sample sizes than is needed for surveys or other quantitative research, (d) converging data in a triangulating fashion in order to generate accurate and convincing findings and (e) commonly occurring in natural settings where there is little control over the situations, behaviour, events or organisations studied. Case study research may be employed in either quantitative or qualitative approaches or a combination thereof (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007; Yin, 2009).

Case studies are especially useful for gaining an in-depth understanding into cases that are characterised by an intricate range of influences, as well as where there is little control over variables such as behaviour or events (McKee, 2004; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). The study of a human life is an example of this. The detailed exploration of a case makes it possible to convey holistic and meaningful characteristics of events as they transpired in real life (Perry, 2012). Many scholars in the field of life history research (e.g., Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; McLeod, 1994) have advocated the value that case studies hold for the development of testing existing theories on human development. The discussion on Freud's psychoanalytic case studies in Willig (2001), constitutes a clear example of the relationship between case study research and theory development. Case studies have been used as a key component in the process of theory development in fields such as clinical psychology, personality psychology, developmental psychology, psychotherapy and also in humanistic and transpersonal clinical methods (Edwards, 1998; Kressel, 2009). The manner in which case studies bridge qualitative evidence with deductive research might be the reason for its popularity and relevance (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Deductive case study research typically constitutes a process of scientific investigation, thus the researcher studies what others have done, reads up on

existing theories regarding the phenomenon he or she is studying and thereafter tests hypotheses that emerge from those theories (Yin, 2009, 2018).

Grounded theory suggests that theory becomes clear as the researcher collects and interprets the information regarding a phenomenon; deeming it a formalised method of inductive case research (Charmaz, 2006; Cooney, 2010; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Neuman, 2003). Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) suggested that the case study approach could be appreciated as complementary to mainstream deductive reasoning as it yields theories which are accurate, interesting and testable (Nel, 2013). When the objective of the research includes the development and/or testing of theory, inductive and/or deductive case research could be used in psychobiography (Bromley, 1986; Fouché, 1999).

Case study research, such as psychobiography, employs multiple sources of information, such as documents, archival records, artefacts, photographs and interviews (Cavaye, 1996; Struwig & Stead, 2004). Qualitative information normally used in psychobiographical research include diaries, letters, personal documents and recorded information (Alexander, 1990; Simonton, 2003). Collecting data from a wide variety of sources permits data triangulation and enables the researcher to cross-reference information (Yin, 2003). Runyan (1984) depicted psychobiography as a form of case study research that uses a qualitative research design and is morphogenic in nature. The qualitative approach studies the holistic nature of the phenomenon and therefore focuses on the holistic description and understanding of a single individual (Willig, 2008). This type of case study research permits the development of idiographic and nomothetic insight into the phenomenon under study (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006; Stake, 2005; Struwig & Stead, 2004; Yin, 2009). “Idiographic” refers to the personal traits of specific individuals while “nomothetic” points to universal characteristics (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006, p. 287). Stroud (2004) and Yin (2003) emphasised change and development as important features of case studies, which are devoted to

investigating events over a period of time. Psychobiography, as life history research, can thus be considered as a good example of specialised case study research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cozby, 2007; Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994).

Numerous researchers have emphasised the importance of studying lives. Case study research in psychology can play and has played, a major role in the development of theory and clinical insight (Perry, 2012). The rich qualitative information gained from thorough in-depth investigation of individuals can be utilised for the development, testing and reformulation of psychological theories (Edwards, 1998; McAdams, 2006; Runyan, 2005a; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Related to this, Kőváry (2011) supported modern psychobiographic approaches to be part of the theoretical and practical training of psychology students to prepare future professionals to grasp “...the meaning of individual lives supported by indispensable self-reflection” better (p 768).

5.2.3 Types of Case Study Research

Edwards (1998) emphasised that the research process comprises of three major phases, namely a descriptive phase, a theoretical-heuristic or theory development phase and a theory-testing phase, while Yin (2009) highlighted three types of research, which are exploratory, descriptive and explanatory in nature. Both authors shared the belief that case studies could be effectively utilised at every phase and throughout the entire research process.

According to Edwards (1990), four main types of case studies exist, with each type incorporating elements of the others. He regarded each type as representing points on a continuum instead of discrete categories. The first type, known as the *exploratory-descriptive case study*, focused on examining and providing a description of an individual case or phenomenon without attempting to draw out general principles, developing a new theory or testing an existing theory. The second type entails the *descriptive-dialogic case study*, where

the description and presentation of a phenomenon generated during the first type may be used as a basis for theory-building. The third type, known as the *theoretical-heuristic case study*, concerns the developing or testing of existing theory and which is employed in the process of refining a theory through disciplined investigation and critical debate. The fourth type, namely the *crucial or test case study*, allows the testing of theoretical propositions through the examination of individual cases (Edwards, 1990).

5.3 Psychology and Biography

The life stories and histories of famous and enigmatic individuals have intrigued both scholars of biography and psychology (Howe, 1997; McAdams, 1988). Researchers in these two fields have endeavoured to answer questions that include: How do certain individuals develop into exceptionally innovative, especially creative or remarkably competent, or unusually productive people? How can we attempt to understand the life course of a single life? How can we study the evolution of a person's life to gain valuable insights into that life? (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; McAdams, 1994). Until the 20th century, psychologists assumed that the study of individual lives could not contribute to the formulation of psychological theory (McAdams, 1994). Although both psychology and biography acquire biographical information for their research on life history and life stories (Roberts, 2002), psychology uses conceptual paradigms to study individual development, while biography uses intellectual tools of history, literature and the arts (Howe, 1997). According to Schultz (2005a), the task of the biographer is to tell the story of an entire life that, in most cases, is finished. A symbiotic, yet uneasy alliance between psychology and biography was forged when psychological concepts were formally applied to biographical writings in order to interpret and understand the life of an individual (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a).

Psychobiography can be defined as the research method that serves to illuminate personal, subjective experiences and the connection between life and theory (Schultz, 2005a). McAdams (2006) describes psychobiography as a combined psychological and biographical study of a person's life from birth to death. Cozby (2007) and Runyan (1984) stated that psychobiography may be seen as a special type of case study method that typically employs a single-case research design. Such research is used to describe, interpret and reveal the aspects of the subject's life (Schultz, 2001a) in order to reach an understanding of the person's life through psychological principles, methods and themes (Kramer, 2002). The focus is often on historical figures whose 'finished' lives have been regarded as exemplary and significant (Alexander, 1990; Carlson, 1988; McAdams, 2005, 2006). According to Schultz (2001a), psychobiographical research aims endeavour to do the following:

It goes beyond merely coincidental connections between life and work by illuminating gestalts, repetitions of theme or subject, persistent modes of defense, formal symmetries, preferred narrative structures or tropes, constellating metaphors. It is a meaning-making enterprise which, by subjecting a life to what is known about people generally, uncovers hidden or partially obscured psychological structures. (Schultz, 2001a, p. 3)

It is therefore acceptable to view psychobiography as not only a biographical description of who a person is and what that person has done in his or her special field (Ponterotto, 2013), but also as an insight into the inner life of that person. Ponterotto (2015a) summarised psychobiography as a specialty area that applies "... psychological theories and research tools to the intensive study of an individual person of historic significance" (p. 379).

Psychobiography's morphogenic nature allows for a holistic appreciation of the individual's uniqueness (Elms, 1994) that almost always contains qualitative analyses of single cases via an idiographic and longitudinal approach (Simonton, 1999). This distinguishes it from other

approaches in personality theory that are nomothetic, fundamentally normative and therefore comparative (Perry, 2012). Psychobiographical studies have often been criticised for not living up to scientific standards in terms of validity and worth, although valuable life history information has emerged because of the continued effort and determination of social scientists and personality psychologists (Elms, 1994; McAdams & Ochenberg, 1988). Over the years, the field of psychobiographical research has gained greater acknowledgement, respect and appraisal amongst scholars, because of the steady growth in the number of psychobiographical studies that are completed (Schultz, 2005a). Psychobiographical research continues to contribute to the confirming or refuting of psychological theories, particularly pertaining to the further development of areas such as personality and developmental psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988, 2009; Schultz, 2005b). Its growth has nonetheless been regarded as a revolt against the familiar and accepted practices of doing research and theory generation (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Clark, 2007). Ponterotto (2013, 2015a) described the locating and clarifying of psychological mysteries as ‘mesmerising’ to the psychobiographer and that the field of psychobiography continues to demand and attract the interest of scientific and lay audiences alike.

5.4 Psychobiography and Related Concepts

Psychobiography is, by its very nature, interdisciplinary and draws on the intellectual disciplines of history and psychology (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014a; Runyan, 1982). In the following section, various concepts related to psychobiography are described and explored.

5.4.1 Autobiography and Biography

An *autobiography* is the documentation of an individual’s life, or part of it, as authored from the individual’s own subjective perspective (Bromley, 1986; Fouché & Van Niekerk,

2005a; Runyan, 1982). Although the author may refer to objective records and facts (Roberts, 2002), there is always the possibility that the autobiography is a selective and biased account as the individual may have selected and presented the material in such a manner that would create a preferred picture of the self to the reader (Becker, 2009; Bromley, 1986). Nevertheless, the insider perspective created by such personal narratives provides the reader with crucial insights into the impact of particular events or situations into the individual's life (Howe, 1997), which ultimately may enrich the study (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Gough & Madill; 2012).

A *biography* is a well-organised, structured account of a written life by someone other than the person him-/herself (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Lee, 2009). A good biography utilises different sources and types of information, such as history, art and literature in order to illuminate and outline the individual's progress through life (Howe, 1997). The account of the life-history does not necessarily include the cooperation of the subject under study and may or may not be scientifically correct (Bromley, 1986; Fouché, 1999). Hamilton (2008) stated that although biographers record and interpret the lives of real people, it requires the structure present in psychobiographical research to classify it as a scientific study (Runyan, 1984).

The alliance between biography and psychology has been described as uneasy (Elms, 1994) due to the distinct differences in the methodological approaches employed (Fouché et al., 2007). Psychobiography differs from a biography as it adopts a more explicit use of psychological theory in the process of interpretation (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams, 1988) compared to the more subjective and instinctive approach employed by a biography. The psychological viewpoint of the individual, which can be found in psychobiography, is absent in a biography. Since the presence of psychology in biographical work seems to be on the increase, it has been suggested that an explicit and careful introduction of psychology into life writing might be deemed necessary to the practice of life writing (Nel, 2013). In this manner, the researcher's assumptions in terms of their efficacy or suitability may be scrutinised and

assessed, ultimately leading to the production of a richer story in which the motives behind the subject's behaviour are better highlighted (Nel, 2013; Schultz, 2001a).

5.4.2 Life Stories, Life Narratives and Life Histories

Life stories, also known as *life narratives*, are described as biographical stories limited to the material provided by the narrator (Bujold, 1990; Etherington, 2009; McAdams, 2010). It can also be described as oral or written accounts by a person of the circumstances, events and relationships in his or her life, where, according to Fouché (1999) and Cole and Knowles (2001), the essential feature is the subjectivity of the author's personal thoughts, feelings and motives. The storied narrative thus serves as a natural package with which to emphasise individual experience and meaning, rather than fact (Etherington, 2009; Howard, 1991).

The increased interest in the narrative approach during the 1980s emphasised psychobiography's valuable role in the study of individual lives (Kövényi, 2011, Runyan, 2005) since this type of research is a specific form of narrative, storytelling or representation (Cara, 2007; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Schultz, 2005b) that focuses on particular aspects in an individual's entire life (e.g., illness, bereavement and trauma) to draw certain conclusions about the individual's motivations and characteristics (Cara, 2007; McAdams, 2005).

Life history research entails biographical accounts of the life events and experiences that shaped the personality of an individual within his or her specific cultural milieu (Runyan, 1982; Sokolovsky, 1996). The individual's life history is based on both subjective information (i.e., life story evidence) and objective data (i.e., observation, independent factual records, testimony of informants), which can be obtained from numerous sources (Bromley, 1986; Bujold, 1990; McAdams, 2006; Yin, 2009). Also, the focus in life-history research is drawn more often to the uniqueness and complexities of a single life via the psychobiographical approach

(McAdams, 1988a; Rosenwald, 1988), which may afford the reader an opportunity to understand similarities and commonalities between individuals or it may recognise agreements and contradictions in cases (Brown, 2010). The latter is due to the method's ability to also accommodate a multiple case design (Fouché, 1999; Rosenwald, 1988; Yin, 1981; 2009). Nel (2013), Clark (2007) and Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) respectively alluded to three significant strengths of the life history method as originally postulated by Marshall and Rossman in 1989: (a) since it provides a detailed account of an individual's entire life, from birth until death, the reader is able to learn by vicarious experience; (b) theories are developed which may be tested by further studies; and (c) comparative biographical studies can be based on a number of life histories by exploring phenomena such as behaviour and personality characteristics.

5.4.3 *Psychohistory, Historical Psychology and Historiography*

Before the establishment of psychobiography, confusion arose concerning the definition and scope of *psychohistory* due to the tensions underlying the disciplines of history and psychology (Kövényi, 2011; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005a). *Psychohistory* entails the application of formal psychological theories and techniques to biographical and historical data in order to interpret political, social and cultural events within that specific context (Fouché, 2015; Jacobs, 2004; Ponterotto, 2014a; Runyan, 1984). Psychohistory as a historical exercise provides an important link between the individual and the cultural group to which he or she belongs (Mollinger, 1975) as it attempts to understand what motivates populations and social groups (Berg, 1995). This relates to the observation of Pozzuto (1982) who suggested that psychohistory evolved to help narrow the gap between one's knowledge of the individual and one's understanding of sociohistorical processes. More recently, some concerns have been raised regarding the discrepancy about the relation between psychohistory and

psychobiography (Kövány, 2011). According to Fouché (2015) and Ponterotto, Reynolds, Morel, and Cheung (2015), psychobiography is a part or section of a broader psychohistory. In a psychobiography, psychology is incorporated into biography or more specifically, to the lives of eminent individuals (Kövány, 2011), while in psychohistory, psychology is applied to historical events or group behaviour (Shiner, 2005). Runyan (1984) proposed the division of psychohistory into two main or distinct branches, namely individual psychohistory (e.g., psychobiography) and group psychohistory (which focus more on the characteristics or formative experiences of groups).

Psychohistory should also be differentiated from *historical psychology*, which refers to the study of the history of psychological phenomena and/or the history of thought about psychological development and important influences on the life course (Runyan, 1988b; 2003). Historical psychology thus establishes psychology as a historical science (Fouché, 1999, 2015; Runyan, 2003), a concept developed by Stephen Jay Gould (1986). Runyan (2005a) described historical science as the study of complex sequences of historically dependent events and processes that plays a significant role in revealing the objectives and methods of the study of lives and their place in scientific psychology.

Similarly, psychohistory could be distinguished from the concept of *historiography*, which aims to reconstruct the pieces of information collected from historical data into a meaningful set of historical explanations (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Simonton, 2003). The important contributions made to the field of psychobiography by the Institute of Psychohistory through the studies of prominent figures (such as Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan) should not be forgotten (Runyan, 1988a). In the 1970s, the term psychohistory was introduced by Lloyd DeMause, the director of the Institute of Psychohistory and the editor of the *Journal of Psychohistory* at the time (Campbell, 2009). DeMause developed the term psychohistory from

his original concept of psychogeneology – the science of the evolution of the psyche through generations (Campbell, 2009).

Despite the name *psychohistory* advocating a cooperative alliance between the disciplines of psychology and history, some academics have indicated that the relationship between the two disciplines has been characterised by misunderstanding, occasional hostility and suspicion, which may obscure the scope and definition of psychohistory (Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005a). Nonetheless, Erikson (1980) accentuated that psychohistory inspires a tempered balance between psychology and history that would essentially allow psychohistorians:

to affirm that rather than being in a separate field, we are really part of a great trend that strives for a wholeness of perspective in all fields concerned with human fate and therefore cultivates a complementarity of developing methods.

(p. ix)

5.5 History and Trends in the Development of Psychobiographical Research

Humankind's instinctive desire to produce narratives and document psychological insights on the lives of significant people started with the Greeks, with Xenophon, Thucydides and later, Plutarch (Schultz, 2001a). Plutarch (45–125 A.D.), for instance, concentrated on political and historical figures in an attempt to illuminate exemplary personal qualities such as honesty and courage (Kőváry, 2011; McAdams, 1994). The four Gospels too, written on the life of Jesus, as well as tales of Buddha provide further examples of “psychological portraits of a spectacularly compelling personality lovingly revealed” (Schultz, 2001a, p.1). Additional examples include hagiographies, or biographical testimonials, written by Christian scholars in medieval times about Christian saints and religious figures with a unique style, purpose and intent (Meissner, 2003). These hagiographies served as moral and spiritual lessons to educate

people on faith rather than offering deep explorations into an individual's personality (McAdams, 1994; Mitchell & Howcroft, 2015).

Although earlier psychobiographical works have been documented (Runyan, 1988b, 2003), psychobiographical research was launched with the publication of Freud's work, *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood* in 1910 (Freud, 1910; Kőváry, 2011, 2018; Mayer & Kőváry, 2019; McAdams, 2006), which heralded the first real association between literary biography and psychology (Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams, 1988a; Runyan, 2005a; Schultz, 2001a). It was considered a landmark in the development of real qualitative analysis (Simonton, 2003). Pathography, another source of psychobiography popular at the time, was a form of psychoanalytic biography that suggests an inherent connection between madness and genius (Kőváry, 2011) and intends to unmask neurotic drives concealed in the lives and works of influential people (Scalapino, 1999). With his 1910 publication, however, Freud provided a set of guidelines concerning the methodology for 'good' psychobiographical research (Elms, 1988; Schultz, 2001a). A few of the guidelines included: (a) the rejection of both pathography and idealisation of the subject, (b) the rejection of arguments built upon a single cue and (c) the rejection of conclusions drawn from inadequate data (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2001a, 2005a, 2005b). Although the guidelines were sound, Freud failed to adhere to them, which affected methodological weaknesses in his study of *Leonardo* (Elms, 1994). Despite these errors, Freud's work continues to offer valuable lessons to practising psychobiographers as it redefined the mission of conceptualising psychology and biography as applied psychoanalysis (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1988b).

Freud's pioneering work earned him the title of 'the father of psychoanalysis' (i.e., a theory that focus on the effects of childhood desires and frustrations on adult life), but also of the application of psychoanalysis to the study of historical lives (Anderson, 2003). Although there were other psychobiographical studies in the field that appeared earlier, Freud's work generally

remains exceedingly influential (Runyan, 1988a). However, mention should be made of biographer Lytton Strachey's work on eminent Victorian figures, such as Florence Nightingale and Cardinal Manning, that was first published in 1918 (McAdams, 1988). Strachey's work involved the use of biographical sketches to explore and illuminate the neurotic drives of famous and influential figures to expose the "hidden truths underneath the facades of greatness" (McAdams, 1988, p. 4). However, this attempt to move away from the 19th century trend of idealising biographical subjects came under much scrutiny and was considered extreme since his work often revealed either his intense admiration or aversion for his subjects (McAdams, 1988).

Despite the criticisms against psychobiographies conducted in the psychoanalytic tradition, its growing popularity ensured that psychobiographical studies proliferated throughout the 1910s and 1930s. Psychoanalysts began using this form of research to investigate and study the personality of artists (Kőváry, 2011). The notable writings of this era include Prince's 1915, *Psychology of the Kaiser: A study of his sentiments and his obsessions*, Hall's 1917, *Jesus, the Christ, in light of psychology*, Clark's 1923, *A psychologic study of Abraham Lincoln* and Harlow's 1923, *Samuel Adams* (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1988a). The production of psychoanalytic psychobiographies continued throughout the 1930s and included works on Caesar, Darwin, Nietzsche, Poe, Rousseau, Tolstoy and Alexander the Great (Anderson, 1978).

During the latter decade, Henry Murray, better known for his development of the Thematic Apperception Test, also encouraged psychologists to embark on studies of individuals' life cycles, which he termed *personology* (Kőváry, 2011; Polkinghorne, 1988; Schultz, 2001). He took particular interest in such studies on individuals' entire lives and not merely on bits and pieces of an individual life (Kőváry, 2011; Schultz, 2001b). Another major contributor who

advocated for the study of an entire human life and who later also introduced the idiographic perspective in 1961, was Gordon Allport (Cara, 2007, Schultz, 2001a; Simonton, 1999).

The number of published psychobiographies witnessed a significant decline during the 1940s and throughout World War II (Kövány, 2018; Runyan, 1988b; Ponterotto, 2015a). Langer produced *The mind of Adolf Hitler: The secret wartime report*, originally written in 1943, but only published in 1972 (Runyan, 1988b). Guttmacher's study on George III was the only other psychobiography that appeared in 1941 (Runyan, 1988b). The 1950s and 1960s saw a renewed production of psychobiographies (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017), during which more meticulous and methodologically-orientated studies of Jonathan Swift, Lewis Carroll, Beethoven and in particular, Woodrow Wilson and Martin Luther, emerged (Runyan, 1988b). During the 1950s more matured endeavours to explain the scientific status of psychobiography were produced via Ernst Kris' 1952, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* and David Beres' 1959, *The contribution of psychoanalysis to the biography of the artist – commentary of methodology* (Kövány, 2011, 2018). Both made strong cases to the importance of methodological clarification and the necessity of diverging from the psychopathology-centred approach (Kövány, 2011, 2018). Erikson's works of *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis* (1958) and *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence* (1969) are widely considered distinguished examples of the maturation of the psychobiographical approach (McAdams, 1988; Pietikainen & Ihanus, 2003). These works were regarded as more sound and comprehensive than his predecessors' work, because he studied the development of his subjects within their family and socio-historical context (Clark, 2007; Erikson, 1968; McAdams, 1988a). Erikson's (1969) profile of Gandhi won the 1970 Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction (Ponterotto, 2014a, 2015a).

In the early 1960s, there seemed to be a surge in studies done on the lives of public figures such as writers, artists, musicians, politicians, religious leaders and scientists (Fouché & Van

Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1988b; Van Niekerk, 2007). The increase in publications gained further momentum in the 1970s (Ponterotto, 2015a), which not only expanded the array of individuals studied, but also led to the increased utilisation of a wider range of disciplines contributing to psychobiography, such as psychiatry, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, theology, education, music, art history and academic personality psychology (Cara, 2007; Runyan, 1988a). For example, Torres (1977) recommended that psychobiography be utilised as a psycho-educational tool for parents enrolled in a social welfare programme as a way to teach psychoanalytic developmental theory through their interest in a psychobiographical subject. The discipline of neuropsychology also contributed to psychobiography by providing a more medically-orientated paradigm from which to study eminent lives (Gronn, 1993). Although authors from the different disciplines have shared the practice of psychobiography as a research method, they differ in terms of their selected research subjects (Carlson, 1988). Social scientists generally tend to choose political or historical figures as their subjects, while humanistic researchers select creative artists and psychologists focus their attention on their own disciplinary forerunners (Carlson, 1988; Ponterotto, 2015a).

During the 1980s, advocates of psychobiography, such as William McKinley Runyan, Dan McAdams, Jerome Bruner, Richard Ochberg and Alan Elms, were highly influential in resurrecting interest in psychobiographical research (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1985; Runyan, 1988a). The 1980s were characterised by a focus on methods related to personology and narrative research (Bruner, 1986; László, 2008; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013), which not only ignited psychobiography (Barenbaum & Winter, 2003; Runyan, 2005a), but also resulted in the production of numerous pioneering works from esteemed contributors to the field (Kövényi, 2011). Examples include Henry Murray's *Endeavors in Psychology*, published in 1981 and William Runyan's *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method*, published in 1982. The

Journal of Personality devoted a special issue to articles on psychobiography in 1988 (Schultz, 2001a, 2005b), which was later published in book-form titled *Psychobiography and Life Narratives* (Kövány, 2011). Furthermore, in that same year, Dan McAdams encouraged a revival of the personological tradition in his book, *Power and Intimacy: Identity and the Life Story* and also co-edited *Psychobiography and Life Narratives* with Richard Ochberg (Kövány, 2011).

The 1990s witnessed “a renaissance of psychobiography” (Kövány, 2011, p. 739). This description was aptly evidenced by the resurgence in the study of individual lives (Barenbaum & Winter, 2013; Kövány, 2011, 2018; McAdams, 2006; Schultz, 2013). The influential works produced during this decade served to guide and establish psychobiographical research as an acceptable research method and a reputable genre (Fancher, 2006; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). These works included *Personology: Method and content in personality assessment and psychobiography* (1990) by Irving Alexander, *Uncovering lives: The uneasy alliance of biography and psychology* (1994) by Alan Elms and an article by William Runyan entitled, *Studying lives: psychobiography and the structure of personality psychology*, which was later included in the American Academic Press’ *Handbook of Personality Psychology* (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kövány, 2011; Runyan, 1997). The rise in the number of psychobiographies undertaken during this period was further supported by formal training for psychobiographical research which became more common practice, particularly in the United States of America (McAdams, 2006; Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2013). A number of institutions in the mentioned country have earned impressive academic reputations in the field of psychobiographical research and publications and include The University of California, Berkeley, The University of California Davis, Duke University, Northwestern University (Foley Centre for the Study of Lives), Rutgers State University, Pacific University and the Henry A. Murray Research Centre at Harvard University (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Van

Niekerk, 2007). Although psychobiographies remain in the minimum when compared to quantitative approaches, researchers (both nationally and internationally) continuously endeavour to deliver more in the field of psychobiography (McAdams, 2006; Schultz, 2013). The interdisciplinary nature of psychobiography is evident from the wide range of disciplines that have made contributions to the field (Ponterotto, 2014b, 2015a). Some of these disciplines include psychiatry, history, political science, personality psychology, sociology, anthropology, religion, music and art history (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010, Runyan, 1988a). However, the practice of psychobiography from fields outside of psychology has evoked criticism, since non-clinical historians and writers may include psychological hypotheses in their work on historical figures, which is not always conducted under the guidance and supervision of a trained clinician (Munter, 1975). This researcher warned against possible omission of psychologically significant information by these writers and strongly advised psychologists to become more involved in the writings of psychobiography to negate such risks and ensure a more accurate psychological perspective that would distinguish psychobiography from ordinary insightful reporting (Munter, 1975; Nel, 2013).

The new millennium saw a revitalisation in the study of individual lives (Barenbaum & Winter, 2003), evidenced by the profusion of handbooks and journals published in the field of psychobiography. *Psychodynamics* published a special psychobiographical issue in 2003. William Todd Schultz collaborated with various researchers who had contributed to psychobiography over the years (e.g., Irving Alexander, James Anderson, McAdams and Allan Elms amongst others) to publish the *Handbook of Psychobiography* in 2005 (Kőváry, 2011; Mayer & Kőváry, 2019; Ponterotto, 2014a; Runyan, 2019; Schultz, 2005a, 2005b). In 2007, the *Guilford Press* published the *Handbook of research methods in personality psychology*, written by Richard W. Robins, R. Chris Fraley and Robert F. Krueger (Kőváry, 2011).

Historically, since Freud and his followers considered psychobiography a form of applied psychoanalysis (Runyan, 2003), it has long been regarded as the standard conceptual framework for psychobiographical studies (Carlson, 1988; Schultz, 2001a). According to Anderson (2003), Freud and Erikson remain the theorists best known to psychobiographers and therefore encouraged psychobiographers to benefit from drawing on the works of Post-Freudian and Post-Eriksonian theorists, such as Donald Winnicott, Otto Kernberg and Heinz Kohut.

In recent years, psychobiography has developed a more “eclectic and differentiated self-conception” (Runyan, 1988a, p. 296) and defined itself as biographical studies that make explicit use of any formal or systematic psychology (Runyan, 1988a). Today, modern psychobiography is based on the psychoanalytic tradition, the theoretical and methodological foundation of personology, as well as on the dynamic narratives derived from individual life stories (Kóváry, 2011; McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 2005). Contemporary psychobiographers are free to employ multi-theoretical models and methods in their psychobiographical studies and are encouraged by McAdams (2005) to apply more concepts of contemporary personality psychology. Although modern-day psychobiography reflects a larger biographical diversity of research subjects and employs more distinct research techniques, Ponterotto (2013) remained concerned about the limited guidelines concerning the best methodological practices in contemporary psychobiographical research. Thus, in 2008, Ponterotto started his own research programme in psychobiography, which contributed invaluable ethical guidelines (see Section 5.9) for conducting psychobiography as a research method (Ponterotto, 2014b). In addition to the recommended ethical guidelines, it has also promoted the value of psychobiography as a doctoral dissertation topic and research approach in psychology (Ponterotto, 2014b).

Qualitative research, more specifically, psychobiography, adds value not only to the study and understanding of individual processes in counselling and psychotherapy but also to the

training of psychology professionals (Köváry, 2011, 2019; Ponterotto, 2010). A study conducted by Ponterotto et al. (2015) in North America into the status of psychobiography training and dissertation research in psychology departments nationwide, identified that most of the dissertations focused on artists, pioneering psychologists and political leaders. Only a few psychobiography courses are offered in psychology departments nationwide and thus their study did not yield the anticipated high results, as both a topic and a method, which is expected in the light of influential contributions to the fields of personality, human development, psychological theory and individual differences (Ponterotto et al., 2015). It is unclear whether this revival in psychobiography interest is reflected in academic training programmes across psychology departments in North America (Ponterotto et al., 2015). The authors further suggested the importance of testing Köváry's (2011) prediction of an 'international renaissance' of psychobiography on a global scale to study how the demonstrated revival in psychobiography manifests in psychology training programmes and publications. The authors' focus is in what manner the stated prediction will unfold in North America in the coming decade (Ponterotto et al., 2015).

The list of a few renowned psychobiographies that have been conducted internationally include: *A psychobiography of Bobby Fischer: Understanding the genius, mystery and psychological decline of a world chess champion* (Ponterotto, 2012); *Lucy in the mind of Lennon* (Kasser, 2013); *George W. Bush* (McAdams, 2011); *The genius and madness of Bobby Fischer: Understanding his life from three psychobiographical lenses* (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013); and *Barack Obama in Hawaii and Indonesia: The making of a global president* (Sharma, 2011). Interest in and production of psychobiographical studies continue worldwide (Mayer & Köváry, 2019) and can be ascribed to the usefulness of studying lives since it promotes an understanding of the self and others (Köváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2015a). In 2019, a new international book titled *New Trends in Psychobiography* was published under the

editorship of Claude-Hélène Mayer and Zoltan Kóváry. The collection of chapters contributed by different authors and researchers from all over the world is evidence that the field of psychobiographical research continues to develop dynamically. South Africa has also witnessed an expansion of psychobiographical studies, which is discussed in further detail in the next section.

5.6 Psychobiographical Research in the South African Context

The first South African psychobiography was conducted in 1939 by Burgers on the life of South African author, Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Later on, in 1960, Burgers completed another psychobiography on the life of South African poet, Louis Leipoldt (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010), which was followed by Van der Merwe's psychobiography on the South African poet, Ingrid Jonker, in 1978 (Van Niekerk, 2007). After this, a period of almost 20 years elapsed before another psychobiography was written and in 1996 Manganyi's production on the life of South African artist, Gerard Sekoto, appeared (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Manganyi's publication came a year after psychobiography was officially initiated as a research project in the South African context at the Nelson Mandela University (NMU) in Port Elizabeth (former University of Port Elizabeth). The 1990s have metaphorically been linked to the birth and childhood of academic psychobiography in South Africa (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

Since then, various psychology academics in the country have been actively involved in motivating their students to pursue psychobiographical research (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Research supervisors and postgraduate students have promoted the psychobiographical endeavour with such vigour and enthusiasm that there has been a significant increase in the productivity of psychobiographical studies in several South African departments of Psychology. Fouché (2015) stated that the mid-2000s signified the adolescent or "coming of

age” (p.376) phase of psychobiography in South Africa. Numerous studies at masters and doctoral level have explored the lives of literary, political, religious and sporting figures (Perry, 2012), such as Fouché (1999), Stroud (2004) and Van Niekerk (2007). The latter three researchers completed psychobiographies on the lives of General Jan Smuts, Mother Teresa and Christiaan Barnard, respectively. Thus far, the majority of the psychobiographical work has been produced by researchers associated with academic institutions such as the above-mentioned Nelson Mandela University (NMU) in Port Elizabeth, Rhodes University (RU) in Makhanda (formerly known as Grahamstown), the University of Johannesburg (UJ) in Johannesburg, and the University of the Free State (UFS) in Bloemfontein (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007). See tables 5.1 and 5.2 below for a comprehensive list of psychobiographies conducted in South Africa at the time of completing this study.

Table 5.1

South African Psychobiographies completed: 1939 – 2012

Subject	Nationality and Occupation	Researcher	Degree and University	Year
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Burgers, M.P.O.	MA, University of the Witwatersrand (WITS)	1939
Louis Leipoldt	South African Poet	Burgers, M.P.O.	DLitt (WITS)	1960
Ingrid Jonker	South African Poet	Van der Merwe, L.M.	PhD, University of the Free State (UFS)	1978
Gerard Sekoto	South African Artist	Manganyi, C.	Published Book	1996
Jan Christiaan Smuts	South African Statesman	Fouche, J.P.	DPhil, University of Port Elizabeth (UPE)	1999
Helen Martins	South African Artist	Bareira, L.	MA (UPE)	2001
Bantu Stephen Biko	South African Anti-Apartheid Activist and Medical Student	Kotton, D.	MA (UPE)	2002
Balthazar John Vorster	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Vorster, M.S.	MA (UPE)	2003
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	MA (UPE)	2004
Mother Teresa	Roman Catholic Nun in India	Stroud, L.	DPhil (UPE)	2004
Albert Schweitzer	German Theologian and Medical Missionary	Edwards, M.J.	MA (UPE)	2004
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Jacobs, A.	MA (UPE)	2005
Karen Horney	German Psychoanalyst	Green, S.	MA, Rhodes University (RU)	2006
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	PhD (RU)	2006
Christiaan Barnard	South African Surgeon	Van Niekerk, R.	MA, University of Stellenbosch (USB)	2007
Ray Charles	American Musician and Singer	Biggs, I.	MA (RU)	2007

Hendrik Verwoerd	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Claasen, M.	MA, Nelson Mandela University (NMU)	2007
Melanie Klein	Austrian Psychoanalyst	Espinosa, M.	MA (RU)	2008
Herman Mashaba	South African Entrepreneur	McWalter, M.A.	MA, University of Johannesburg (UJ)	2008
Isie Smuts	Wife of Statesman J.C. Smuts	Smuts, C.	MA (NMU)	2009
Helen Keller	American Author and Political Activist	Van Genechten, D.	MA (NMU)	2009
Jeffrey Dahmer	American Serial Killer and Sex Offender	Chéze, E.	MA (NMU)	2009
Emily Hobhouse	British Welfare Campaigner	Welman, C.	MA (UFS)	2009
Mahatma Gandhi	Indian Political and Spiritual Leader	Pillay, K.	MA (NMU)	2009
Kurt Cobain	American Musician and Singer	Pieterse, C.	MA (NMU)	2009
Ralph John Rabie	South African Singer	Uys, H.M.G.	MA (NMU)	2010
Ernesto “Che” Guevara	Argentine Revolutionary and Physician	Kolesky, C.	MA (NMU)	2010
Frans Martin Claerhout	South African Pries and Artist	Roets, M.	MA (UFS)	2010
Alan Paton	South African Author and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Greeff, M.	MA (UFS)	2010
Paul Jackson Pollock	American Artist	Muller, T.	MA (NMU)	2010
Christiaan de Wet	Boer Force General and Rebel Leader	Henning, R.	PhD (RU)	2010
Bram Fischer	South African Lawyer and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Swart, D.K.	MA (UFS)	2010
Vincent van Gogh	Dutch Artist	Muller, H.	MA (NMU)	2010
Desmond Tutu	South African Archbishop	Eliastam, L. M.	MSocSc, University of Fort Hare (UFH)	2010
Brenda Fassie	South African Singer	Gogo, O.	MA (UFS)	2011
Olive Schreiner	South African Author and Anti-War Activist	Perry, M.J.	PhD (UFS)	2012
Winston Churchill	British Politician and Prime Minister	Moolman, B.A.	MA (NMU)	2012
Friedrich Nietzsche	German Philosopher and Philologist	Booyesen, D.B.	MA (NMU)	2012
John Wayne Gacy	American Serial Killer and Rapist	Pieterse, J.	MA (NMU)	2012
Josephine Baker	American Dancer and Jazz Singer	Eckley, S.	MA (NMU)	2012

Note. Adapted from “Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future” by J. P. Fouché and R. van Niekerk, 2010, *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp. 497-499; “The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography” by M. J. Perry, 2012, *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, p. 130 and “The life of Beyers Naude: A Psychobiographical Study” by B. Burnell, 2013, *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, p. 28, and personal research done on January 30, 2017.

A few examples of psychobiographies written on the lives of prominent figures who have made significant contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa are displayed in Table 5.1. These individuals include Steve Biko (Kotton, 2002), Alan Paton (Greeff, 2010), Bram Fischer (Swart, 2010) and Desmond Tutu (Eliastam, 2010). Similarly, psychobiographies

written on the lives of apartheid-era statesmen such as Hendrik Verwoerd (Claasen, 2007) and B. J. Vorster (Vorster, 2003) are also included. Table 5.2 below continues the growing list of more recent psychobiographies completed at academic institutions in South Africa at the time of conducting this study.

Table 5.2

South African Psychobiographies completed: 2013 – 2018

Subject	Nationality and Occupation	Researcher	Degree and University	Year
Martin Luther King	American Baptist minister and human rights activist	Twaku, U.	MA (NMU)	2013
Ellen Kuzwayo	South African women's rights activist and politician	Arosi, Z.	MA (NMU)	2013
Helen Martins	South African artist	Mitchell, D.	MA (RU)	2013
William Wilberforce	British politician and philanthropist	Daubermann, B. P.	MA (NMU)	2013
Helen Suzman	South African anti-apartheid activist and politician	Nel, C.	PhD (UFS)	2013
Beyers Naude	South African cleric, theologian and Afrikaner anti-apartheid activist	Burnell, B.	PhD (UFS)	2013
Steve Jobs	American business magnate, entrepreneur and investor	Ndoro, T.	MBA (RU)	2013
Antwone Fischer	American director, screenwriter, author, and film producer	Wannenburg, N.	MA (RU)	2013
Michael Jackson	American singer, songwriter, and dancer	Ruiters, J.	MA (RU)	2014
Richard Trenton Chase	American serial killer	Nel, H.	MA (UFS)	2014
Martin Luther King	American Baptist minister and human rights activist	Pietersen, S.	MA (NMU)	2014
Steve Jobs	American business magnate, entrepreneur and investor	Moore, N.	MA (NMU)	2014
John Henry Newman	British theologian and poet	Mitchell, G. P.	MA (NMU)	2014
Dambudzo Marechera	Zimbabwean novelist	Muchena, K. C.	MA (NMU)	2014
Christiaan Barnard	South African cardiac surgeon	Lekhelebana, V. A.	MA (NMU)	2014
Roald Dahl	British novelist	Holz, T.	PhD (UFS)	2014
Pope John Paul II	Polish-born ex-Pope of the Catholic Church and sovereign of the Vatican City State	Pillay, K.	PhD (NMU)	2014
Glenda Watson-Kahlenberg	South African minister	Connelly, R. E.	PhD (NMU)	2014
Bashar al-Assad	Syrian politician and president	Kerrin, C. K.	MA (UJ)	2015
Marie Curie	Polish physicist and chemist	Roets, E.	MA (RU)	2015
Winston Churchill	British politician, army officer, and writer.	Human, S. C.	MA (UNISA)	2015
Charlize Theron	South African-born actress and producer	Prenter, T.	MA (RU)	2015
Margaret Thatcher	British stateswoman	Marx, M.	MA (NMU)	2015

Brand Pretorius	South African specialist in the motor industry	Harwood, C. S.	MComm (NMU)	2016
Steve Jobs	American business magnate, entrepreneur and investor	Du Plessis, R.	MA (UFS)	2016
John Lennon	English singer, songwriter and peace activist	Osorio, D.	MA (UFS)	2016
Temple Grandin	American professor of animal science	Wannenburg, N.	PhD (RU)	2016
Richard Branson	English business magnate, investor, author and philanthropist	Preston, A.	DPhil (UFH)	2016
Paulo Coelho	Brazilian lyricist and novelist	Mayer, C. H.	PhD, University of Pretoria (UP)	2016
Milton Hyland Erickson	American psychiatrist	Ramasamy, K.	PhD (NMU)	2017
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Liberian politician and president	Manana, S.	MComm (NMU)	2017
Coco Chanel	French fashion designer, businesswoman, and Nazi collaborator	Verwey, L.	MA (UJ)	2017
Steve Jobs	American business magnate, entrepreneur and investor	Van Staden, D.	MA (NMU)	2017
Gary Player	South African professional golfer	Futter, T.	MA (NMU)	2017
Ted Bundy	American serial killer and necrophile	McGivern, K. B.	MA (NMU)	2017
Bob Marley	Jamaican singer and songwriter	Willis, L. S.	MA (NMU)	2017
John Wayne Gacy	American serial killer	Coetsee, E. E.	PhD (UFS)	2017

Note. Reprinted from “Doing Psychobiography: The Case of Christiaan Barnard” by R. Van Niekerk, T. Prenter, and P. Fouché, in S. Laher, A. Flynn, and S. Kramer (Eds), *Transforming Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Case Studies from South Africa* (p. 183), 2019, Johannesburg, South Africa: WITS University Press.

Additional psychobiographies that have been completed at the UFS in the past two years include:

- Clive Staples Lewis (2018), MSocSc (UFS) by G. Oosthuizen
- Joan Rivers (2018), MA (UFS) by W. Nell
- Sylvia Plath (2018), DPhil (UFS) by A. Panelatti
- Margaret Thatcher (2019), MA (UFS) by R. Winter
- Ingrid Jonker (2019), MA (UFS) by B. Rust

The growing number of psychobiographies listed above indicate that South African psychobiography has resulted in an awakening among South African academic psychobiographers (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). In addition to the increase in psychobiographical research at academic institutions, numerous articles pertaining to psychobiography have been published in the past 15 years in the *South African Journal of*

Psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Furthermore, *The Journal of Psychology in Africa* recently dedicated a special edition to psychobiography under the guest editorship of Fouché (2015), while *the Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* published a special edition on psychobiology and phenomenology in August 2018 under the guest editorship of Carol du Plessis and Graham du Plessis (Van Niekerk, Prenter, & Fouché, 2019). In 2017, The American Psychologist Association's (APA) flagship journal, the *American Psychologist*, dedicated a special section to psychobiography (Kasser, 2017; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017) that incorporated a focus on ethical and legal issues (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

Psychobiographical research has gained momentum as a popular method for conducting psychoanalyses of extraordinary individuals (Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2014a) and revealed a greater diversity regarding the gender, ethnicity and careers of subjects being studied (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Fouché (2015) and Ponterotto (2014a) stated that psychobiography is currently the largest subfield of psychohistory and represents a prominent specialisation area within the field of psychology.

Psychobiographical research holds value in a number of ways. It reports and covers sensitive information on an individual's life in a holistic manner (Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2013; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018) and it also allows for longitudinal research and theory in the fields of developmental psychology, positive psychology, health psychology, career psychology and personology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Furthermore, both Ponterotto (2015a) and Kőváry (2019) strongly recommended that psychobiography be permeated into the psychology curriculum at university level and highlighted that doing so would (a) inform students about various theories of psychology in an interesting and applied manner; (b) afford exposure to qualitative (idiographic) and quantitative (nomothetic) research methods alike; (c) instil in students an awareness of the importance of acquiring interdisciplinary knowledge, particularly in history and cultural studies; and (d) enhance students' sensitivity to ethical and

legal conundrums that accompany the analysis of life histories. Kőváry (2011) believed that psychologists with in-depth training in psychobiography would become more competent psychologists in general:

Century-long experience reveals that studying lives can be extremely useful and contribute to the development of the recognition of the self and the other, and its practical applications such as psychobiography are able to prepare future professionals to better understand the meaning of individual lives supported by indispensable self-reflection. (Kőváry, 2011, p. 767)

Fouché et al. (2014) recommended that a renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists could be of great value in the current South African context and the process of constructing a narrative of the nation's troubled past. It is these unique figures, with their unique stories, that can further facilitate respect for and comprehension of different cultural and historical backdrops and social frames of reference (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The rationale to examine the life of such a person, namely Sol Plaatje, in this particular study, is therefore justified and may add value to the existing body of research conducted on anti-apartheid activists within the psychobiographical field. The following section provides an overview of the inherent value and credibility of psychobiographical research as a qualitative case study research design.

5.7 The Value and Benefit of a Case Study with a Psychobiographical Focus

Despite some criticism and questions, psychobiographers maintain that psychobiographical research benefits the field of psychology (Elms, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014a). They believe that it is relevant to personality and developmental theory, and has the ability to provide rich understandings of individual lives (Saccaggi, 2015).

The specific benefits of using the psychobiographical approach are explored and discussed in the sections below.

5.7.1 The Uniqueness of the Individual Case within the Whole

Psychobiography's typical morphogenic approach ensures that its main concern lies with individuals and their uniqueness (Runyan, 2005a; Schultz, 2005a). It allows the researcher to conduct an in-depth and holistic description of the person's life within the subject's socio-historical context (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Kőváry, 2019; Stroud, 2004). This inhibits the artificiality of copious quantitative research and may increase external validity (Perry, 2012; Schultz, 2005a; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Many researchers maintain that an emphasis on individuality is a worthy goal in its own right (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 2005a; Schultz, 2001b).

Previously, theorist Gordon Allport advocated for an idiographic approach to the study of individuals and the dimensions of their personality. This was in sharp contrast to the quantitative or nomothetic approaches used by positivists and statisticians who aim to generalise psychological findings to a given population (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Hermans, 1988; Hevern, 1999). Such quantitative research nullifies any sense of individuality in personality research since normal people are quantitatively indistinguishable from one another on the scales of the instrument employed (e.g., the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory or the MMPI) (Perry, 2012). Elms (1994) indicated that Allport initiated the term *morphogenic*, which refers to the study of individualised patterning processes in personality, in an attempt to try and rectify the sharp contrast between the two types of approaches.

Psychobiographers continually endeavour to develop a better understanding of the personality under study. They highlight the nuances, complexities and richness of the lived life (Schultz, 2005a) at referential points in time and over the entire lifespan. This enables the researcher to draw possible links or hypotheses between an outcome and the dominant factors

that were significant in producing the outcome (Alexander, 1990; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984). Consequently, progress is made not only in the psychobiographical field but it contributes to advancements in the field of personality psychology, as well as allows for an integration of diverse psychological theories (Perry, 2012). Evidently, holistic or ‘thick’ descriptions of an individual life within its specific context facilitate the discovery of the distinct structures and patterns of a uniquely lived life (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouche & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto et al., 2015; Runyan, 1988a).

5.7.2 Incorporation of the Individual’s Sociohistorical Context

Psychobiographical research enables the researcher to uncover, and therefore, better understand the impact of contextual influences on an individual’s psychological development, such as sociohistorical and political culture, the socialisation processes, interpersonal relationships and family history (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1994; Roberts, 2002; Runyan, 1984, 1988a). By acknowledging these influences on the individual and his or her experience of the world (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Ponterotto et al., 2015), the psychobiographer ensures a more holistic description of that individual (McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1984). In Ponterotto’s (2014b) view, the psychobiographer must become a competent historian, a cultural anthropologist, a sociologist and a political scientist when writing about a historical figure who is years removed from the researcher’s own life-space and should, therefore, take meticulous care to recount the individual’s life narrative properly.

Theorists such as Alfred Adler (1870-1937), Erik Erikson (1902-1980), Henry Murray (1893-1988) and Daniel Levinson (1920-1994) favoured the use of a psychologically informed biography as they shared the belief of it being the best method to capture a life within its historical context (McAdams, 1994). In 2012, Joseph Ponterotto released a benchmark book on how to integrate the socio-cultural context into a psychobiography, called “A

psychobiography of Bobby Fischer: Understanding the genius, mystery, and psychological decline of a world chess champion". A year later, Ponterotto and Reynolds (2013) collaborated to produce a similar piece of work called "*The "genius" and "madness" of Bobby Fischer: His life from three psychobiographical lenses*".

5.7.3 Tracking Process and Pattern over Time

Longitudinal research allows the researcher to track behavioural processes and developmental patterns of the 'personality in action' (Fiske, 1988) within the context of time (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto et al., 2015; Runyan, 1984). The study of 'finished lives', through psychobiography, allows for and facilitates a comprehensive description of the individual's development over time, from birth to death (Alexander, 1990; Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010), which provides insight into the subject's personality functioning at any point in time or in any specific situation (Carlson, 1988; Fiske, 1988; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984).

5.7.4 Uncovering the Subjective Reality of the Individual

Life history research enables the researcher to understand the subjective reality of the personality under study in order to better convey the inner experiences, thoughts and feelings of the individual (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1984). Kövály (2011) stated that the researcher goes "beyond common sense" (p. 750) to try and provide more than a mere explanation of the subject's life, but provides in-depth descriptions of uncovered phenomena that allow for a unique insight into the individual's private world. This insight deepens one's knowledge of human functioning (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kövály, 2011, 2019; Nortje et al., 2013). The immersion in the life data

enables the psychobiographer to develop a sufficient degree of empathy and sympathy with the subject under study (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2003; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006), which contributes to the compilation of an emotionally compelling life story that motivates the reader to continue reading (Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009). The psychobiographical approach, therefore, favours a hermeneutic perspective whereby the researcher is continually engrossed in the data and open to extensive understanding (Kövány, 2011).

5.7.5 The Development and Testing of Theories

Psychobiography offers rich academic benefits for developing and testing theories or hypotheses (Carlson, 1988; Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams & West, 1997). Auhors such as Yin (2003, 2009, 2018), Babbie and Mouton (2001), as well as Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005) highlighted that psychological theory plays an invaluable role in case study research as (a) it contributes to the identification of the research objectives and case design during the data collection phase; (b) it helps the researcher understand and process case data within the selected theoretical constructs and categories; and (c) serves as a template against which to compare and analyse the collected data, known as analytical generalisation. Taking one individual case study at a time and seeking to understand it may be more beneficial than examining multiple “sampling units” (Yin, 2009, p. 38) to derive statistical generalisations (Howe, 1997; Stake, 2005). Dyer and Wilkins (1991) postulated that the single case study creates thick, rich descriptions and allows for an in-depth study of unique or rare phenomena of a case. Theories born out of such a case tend to be more accurate. This is especially relevant when the individual under study is a famous, talented or controversial figure as it is “because of their uniqueness that we take an interest in them” (Howe, 1997, p. 241).

Insights from psychobiographical case study research may highlight limitations of the theory which would serve to prompt prospective research and theory refinement (Babbie &

Mouton, 2001; Carlson, 1988; Schultz, 2005a; Yin, 2009). This underlines the call to fortify psychobiography as a curriculum-driven field within academic institutions (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Psychobiography, as a means of life history research, has proven valuable in testing and development of theory in the fields of career development, ageing and gerontology, personality development and the emergence of genetic predispositions in the health development of leaders (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1994).

5.7.6 An Educational Tool in Diverse Fields

Psychobiographical research has proven useful in terms of understanding the stages in processes and situations in context (Greene & David, 1984; Yin, 1989). As such, it lends itself to research and teaching in many diverse fields, including medicine, law and business (Gilgun, 1994). According to Kőváry (2011, 2018, 2019), the traditional theoretical regime that aspiring professionals in relevant courses are usually exposed to leaves little opportunity for the development of self-awareness and their empathic skills and he thus highlighted the feasibility of psychobiography for educating postgraduate students on a practical level. He believed that in order to be effective psychologists, students have to develop a deep knowledge and understanding of psychological functioning, as well as their intuition - studying individual lives and life stories through case studies may be a way to achieve this (Kőváry, 2011, 2018, 2019).

Research practice using psychobiography could thus greatly benefit psychologists in training as it may enhance their knowledge of conceptual models (Kőváry, 2011, 2018, 2019) and provide them with a natural affinity for empathetic understanding which are both valued in their roles of scientist-practitioners (Ponterotto, 2017a). Furthermore, case study research, including psychobiography, seems to be compatible with many forms of social work practice and policy research grounded by the ideals of social justice and ingrained ethical principles (Gilgun, 1994). Therefore, Gilgun (1994) advocated the valuable role that case study research

could play in the field of social work by building social work knowledge for assessment, intervention and outcome. The psychobiography of Frederick Douglass written by Torres (1977) is a good example of how information obtained from case study research may be used to educate psychoanalytic developmental theory to parents who are enrolled in social welfare programmes. Torres (1977) used the parents' interest in their child (the psychobiographical subject) to facilitate a better understanding of their child's development and behaviour in terms of the underlying psychosocial theory principles which, in turn, acknowledged the valuable contribution of psychobiographical analysis as a teaching tool.

According to Cara (2007), psychobiographical research can be effectively integrated into the field of occupational therapy and occupational science. This may be because it is considered an interdisciplinary method that is compatible with any researcher who has disciplined empathy and an interest in collecting solid data (Elms, 1994). Psychobiography's narrative-like approach towards understanding an individual's psychological background and behaviour that allows for predictions about that individual's motivations (Elms 1994; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a), resembles the discipline of occupational therapy that has defined itself as a field that uses narrative to develop theory and practice (Burke & Kern, 1996; Clark, 1993; Clark, Carlson, & Polkinghorne, 1997; Clouston, 2003; Eklund, Rottpeter, & Vikstrom, 2003; Finlay, 2004). Thus, psychobiography and occupational therapy may be a fit since both fields focus on the holistic personality and recognise the complexity of the individual, with an emphasis on health rather than pathology (Cara, 2007; Schultz, 2005b). Carlson (1988) supported the suggestion that psychobiographical research can broaden the methodological scope of the occupational therapy field and believed that it may convey valuable data from biographical studies in other disciplines to bear on occupational therapy theoretical efforts.

5.7.7 The Study of Psychological Outliers

Individuals who have “made history” (Simonton, 1999, p. 425) through some unique achievement that has influenced the course of history are considered as *outliers* on the normal distribution of human personality development (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013). Psychologists are particularly interested in the study of such individuals via psychobiographical research as this method provides a descriptively rich approach to the study of outliers through its “explicit use of formal or systematic psychology in biography” (Runyan, 1982, p. 201). The study of outliers illuminates the broader relevance of psychology by explaining noteworthy events and significant people of the real world, such as leaders, creators, champions, saints and celebrities, while also promoting the development of “positive psychology” by emphasising “optimal human functioning” (Simonton, 1999, p. 442). Similarly, Elms (1994) cautioned psychobiographers to guard against over-pathologising a research subject’s life and instead adopt a more eugraphic approach when studying extraordinary and enigmatic individuals, since this would guide positive psychologists towards determining how psychosocial factors facilitate the development of greatness (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Studies of exceptional or famous individuals who display positive traits, such as creativity, charisma, talent, morality, spirituality, or wisdom, adds great value to positive psychology and also overlaps significantly with the goals of psychobiographical research (Van Niekerk, 2007). Kőváry (2011) posited that this may be the reason why contemporary psychobiography is constantly widening its focus and has become a popular strategy for the analysis of artists, scientists, political and historical figures.

Psychobiographers’ keen interest in prominent or important individuals “who define the limits and architecture of the human mind” (Schultz, 2005b, p. 4) implies that these individuals are worth knowing on a deeper level, because they are often exactly those individuals whom

one wants to know more about and wants to know as intimately as possible, subsequently they are considered as most rewarding and meaningful (Schultz, 2005b).

5.8 Criticisms against Psychobiography

A great deal of criticism hurled at case study research stems from its association with qualitative methodology. Quantitative research methods were traditionally preferred because they ensure objectivity, rigour and accountability of results (Cozby, 2007; Edwards, 1998). With case study research of an idiographic nature, such as psychobiography, the challenges regarding external validity or generalisability have received a considerable amount of attention (Clark, 2007; Edwards, 1990, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; McAdams, 2006; Yin, 2009). In response to the need to generalise research findings, Lincoln and Guba (2000), Runyan (1983), Carlson (1988) and Gough and Madill (2012) highlighted that the aim of psychobiography is to study an individual life, but a disadvantage exists since the approach relies mostly on historical data which may contain “informational gaps or errors that can contaminate any analysis, whether qualitative or quantitative” (Simonton, 2003, p. 628). Runyan (1982, 1983, 1988b) emphasised that biographers tend to be selective in their theoretical enquiries and most often opt to study exceptional individuals who had an unusual influence on history or hold unusual interest to them. Thus, the implication that it is impractical and impossible to formulate theories for every single individual is negated. The belief is that individuals should be regarded as unique because to “generalise about personality is to lose it” (Allport, 1962, p. 405). However, some researchers and theorists argue that there is no such thing as a unique trait or characteristic (Runyan, 1983), although the core of the idiographic approach is to draw on qualitative methodologies to provide in-depth detail about how the individual interacts with others as well as the environment (Allport, 1962; Lee & Tracey, 2005; Runyan, 1983). Case study research, thus, produces “working hypotheses” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 38) that may

be applied and transferred to other individuals once it has been formulated properly (Runyan, 1983).

Concerning the criticism of case studies as offering little or no external validity, McAdams (2006) indicated that external validity represented not only the sampling of individuals but also of situations and topics. Therefore, a case study might sample only one individual, but it also sampled many topics or situations in that individual's life by default. Generalising to other situations might be possible with such research (McAdams, 2006).

Present-day psychobiographers, such as Schultz (2014), advocate for more empirically tested theories, which include the Big Five Personality Trait Model (Soldz & Vaillant, 1999), attachment style theory (Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003) and script theory (Tomkins, 1987) in order to anchor forthcoming psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2015a). This would apply the methodological restraint that is practiced in other areas of research psychology onto psychobiography as well. Many of the constructs that undergird psychoanalytic theories lack empirical validation (Ponterotto, 2015a), which is harshly criticised by psychologists and historians for weak historiographic research methods. Some psychobiographers have also been accused of over-pathologising the account given on the individual's life (McAdams, 1988; Ponterotto, 2015a), especially when a shift to a more eugraphic approach may provide balance to the life story analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013).

Some critics have even brought into question the scientific status of an idiographic approach (Nunnally, 1978), and have, in the past, labelled researchers or clinicians that dared to study life histories as “deviant psychologists” (Allport, 1962, p. 406). In response to the criticism, Runyan (1983) and Hermans (1988) recommended the complementary use of both the nomothetic and idiographic research methods in personality psychology as it allows exploration of the specific potentialities of each method. Ponterotto (2015a) has cautioned researchers that when they integrate nomothetic, quantitative research methods into the

psychobiographical endeavour, they should not downplay the significance of the discovery-oriented, interpretive role of the psychobiographer, which is predominantly reached through qualitative and historiographic research approaches.

Another criticism that has been raised against psychobiographical research is when biographers assume that psychological theories may automatically fit with certain individuals and then attempt to distort the individual's life or be selective of the data they use in order to support their claims (Clark, 2007; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1981). If this happens, the quality of the psychobiography suffers (Runyan, 1984). Instead, he recommended that biographers consider the theory in combination with the group or contextual generalisations that relate to the individual, as well as the particular, unique or idiographic studies of the individual (Runyan, 1984). According to Schultz (2005a), the correct use and application of psychological theory in the analysis of a life history can lead to a deeper, fuller and more satisfying biographical interpretation of the individual life.

Despite these criticisms, psychobiography has attracted increased attention during the last three decades, evidenced by the wealth of writings by pioneers of contemporary psychobiography, many of whom have developed techniques and processes to ensure the efficacy and credibility of psychobiographical research in the scientific field (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1988; Ponterotto, 2014b; Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005a).

5.9 Guidelines to Write a Good Psychobiography

Psychobiography has been described as a way of doing psychology (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a), therefore it is imperative to ensure that psychobiography makes the optimal contribution to the field and incurs the minimum criticism. Schultz (2005a) offered a few guidelines for the psychobiographer in this regard: (a) to avoid idealising or pathologising the subject, (c) to avoid drawing conclusions based on inadequate knowledge, (d) to not assume

meaning from isolated and/or unrepeatable events or psychological circumstance and (e) to compare the subject's behaviour with that of his/her peers in the same sociohistorical context. The author believed that if a researcher is mindful of these aspects, a good psychobiography would be credible and "clear up enigmas and feel like the solution to a riddle" (Schultz, 2001a, p. 3). The same author also summarised the characteristics of a good psychobiography as (a) logically sound and comprehensive; (b) consistent with the complete range of evidence; (c) credible and relevant to other hypotheses; (d) resistant to attempted falsifications; (e) in accordance with general psychological theory regarding the psychological/mental aspects of human life; (f) able to make the incoherent coherent; (g) explorative beyond merely coincidental connections; and (h) a meaning-making enterprise that is supposed to uncover hidden or partially obstructed psychological structures (Schultz, 2001a, 2005a).

As a more recent model, eight best practice guidelines for psychobiography recommended by Ponterotto (2014b) are highlighted in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Best Practice Guidelines for Psychobiography

Guideline	Discussion
Horizon of Understanding	The decision to focus on a specific psychobiographical subject is always subjective and based on the researcher's own interests. This needs to be openly acknowledged and explained so that the researcher's bias can be taken into account when reading the psychobiography. The researcher also needs to make an effort to 'bracket' these biases.
Accurate, realistic and balanced assessment	Psychobiographers should refrain from idealising or pathologising their subjects and instead attempt to provide balanced portrayals of their subjects.
Locating Research Paradigm and Methods Anchoring Psychobiography	The paradigms underlying the psychobiographical study should be clearly delineated.
Theoretical Anchoring and Specification	The theory (or theories) used should be carefully explored and extensively applied.
Socio-cultural-historical context	Subjects typically inhabited contexts different to those of the psychobiographer, and this aspect needs to be acknowledged when constructing the psychobiography. An investigation of the subject's context forms an integral part of a psychobiography.

Iterative Research Process and Data Triangulation	This involves the utilisation of multiple sources of data and the continuous process of re-analysis of that data in the light of subsequent analysis. Likewise, it involves the use of recognised methods for the extraction of psychologically significant data from the vast amount of data available.
Thick Description and Versimilitude	The psychobiography should be well written, and include detailed step-by-step descriptions of the research process, and of the way in which the conclusions were drawn.
Alternative Explanations and No Perfect Psychobiography	Psychobiographies are responsible to acknowledge the limits of their explanations, as well as the possibility of alternate explanations.

Note: Adapted from “Best practices in Psychobiographical Research” by J. G. Ponterotto, 2014, *Qualitative Psychology*, 1(1), 77 – 90. doi:10.1037/qup0000005

Runyan (2005) reminded that a good psychobiographer must be proficient in theories and methods of psychology, in history and biography, and in sociology, to which cultural psychology and linguistic competence may be added. A reliance on language translations rather than engaging the original language of the historical subject causes many of the methodological and interpretive errors found in, for example, Freud’s (1910, 1957) study on Leonardo da Vinci and Murray’s (1943) analysis on Hitler (Ponterotto, 2015a). The argument is that these errors occurred as a result of Freud’s lack of Italian language skills (Elms, 1994) and Murray’s unfamiliarity with the German language (Binion, 2006). In light of this, Ponterotto (2015a) recommended that psychologists should “team up with biographers, historians, and when necessary, language experts, to work in interdisciplinary teams when studying diverse historic figures” (p. 384). Strong psychobiographical studies can take multiple years to complete, therefore, researchers should remain mindful of the quality of the studies they produce (Ponterotto, 2015a). It should be remembered that despite these guidelines, the practice of psychobiography remains as much art as science (Elms, 2005; Schultz, 2005a, 2005b) and that “exemplary psychobiography is an iterative research process of discovery, analysis, writing, more discovery, more analysis, rewriting and so forth” (Ponterotto, 2015a, p. 386).

Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) proposed that although the Ethics Code of the American Psychological Association [APA] (2002, 2010, 2016) does not specifically address psychobiography, numerous of its General Principles and Ethical Standards that aspire to guide psychologists' behaviour in an ethical manner within their profession appear pertinent to best and methodological practices of the psychobiographer. These principles and standards include: (a) *Beneficence and Non-maleficence* ('do no harm'); (b) *Fidelity and Responsibility* (establish trust); (c) *Integrity* (being accurate, honest and truthful); (d) *Justice* (avoid unfairness and biases); and (e) *Respect for people's privacy and dignity* (protect privacy and confidentiality of those with whom they work) (APA, 2002; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

5.10 Professional and Organisation Initiatives

If interest in the field of psychobiographical research (as predicted by several researchers such as Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014a; Schultz, 2005a) continues to grow worldwide, it is likely to witness a variety of professional and organisational initiatives aimed at promoting and monitoring the production and quality of psychobiographical studies (Ponterotto, 2015a). A few initiatives to briefly mention in this regard include:

1. A New Professional On-line Journal called the *Journal of Psychobiography* (which would serve as an access point to peer-reviewed psychobiography topics, and promote the spread of psychobiography as a specialty area to students and scholars worldwide).
2. An International Association for Psychobiography (IAP) (which could provide training and funding opportunities via, for example, conferences)
3. An International Task Force on Ethical Principles in Psychobiography similar to the American Psychiatric Association's (1976) well-known medical task force on the 'Psychiatrist as Psychohistorian' (Ponterotto 2015a). This task force will ensure

adherence to ethical guidelines when conducting psychobiography (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019).

5.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored and discussed qualitative research, with a particular focus on psychobiography as a case study method. Related concepts were defined and a historical overview of the development and nature of psychobiography was provided. The value and criticisms inherent to psychobiographical research have also been noted. Psychobiography within the South African context was also explored. Guidelines for writing good psychobiographies and an overview of new initiatives to be expected within the field concluded the chapter. The next chapter outlines the preliminary methodological considerations and strategies that psychobiographers need to follow to ensure an ethically-sound psychobiographical study.

CHAPTER 6

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1 Chapter Preview

There has been a significant rise in the production of psychobiographical studies over the past century. However, irrespective of this fact and despite the advances made in the understanding of lives and the refining of qualitative methodologies, it remains a difficult and daunting task to produce a good psychobiography. Researchers working in this field face challenges that do not confront those employing other research methods. This chapter explores the methodological considerations and constraints inherent to psychobiographical research. These considerations and constraints might affect the quality of the research process and the trustworthiness of the findings. These issues include subjectivity or researcher bias, reductionism, socio-cultural and historical considerations, the implications of analysing an absent subject, the view of psychobiography as an elitist and easy genre, the possibility of inflated expectations by the researcher, as well as the infinite amount of biographical data that the researcher has to manage.

This chapter also includes a discussion of the strategies that were implemented in the study of Sol Plaatje in order to address the mentioned methodological concerns. Furthermore, the chapter presents a discussion about the criticisms directed at the validity and reliability of psychobiographical research, the idiographic approach to studying lives and the standards of rigour that stem from the post-positivist paradigm. This is followed by an exploration of the ethical considerations in psychobiographical research and their implications for this study.

6.2 Preliminary Methodological Considerations in Psychobiographical Research

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) commented that qualitative research, including psychobiographical research, is a field of inquiry that not only covers multiple disciplines, fields and subject matters, it also promotes a diverse range of methods and approaches such as case studies, politics and ethics, participant observation, visual methods and interpretive analysis. As a result of this diversity, qualitative research has been criticised for transgressing rigorous methodological standards of scientific inquiry (Anderson, 1981a; Runyan, 1982, 1984, 1988b; Yin, 2018) and has thus been downgraded to a lesser status in the scientific arena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Furthermore, despite the numerous advantages and the significant value of the psychobiographical method, as discussed in the previous chapter, many of the criticisms against the method have been justified (Anderson, 1981a; Fouché, 1999; Ponterotto, 2014a; 2015a). However, psychobiography has (a) developed into a vivid research area within the field of psychology (Kóváry, 2011, 2018); (b) amplified international interest (Fouché, 2015; Van Niekerk, 2007); and (c) reached beyond disciplinary borders (Mayer & Maree, 2017).

A discrepancy seems to exist between the potential of psychobiographical research and its actual execution (Anderson, 1981a; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1983, 1984; Schultz, 2014). Researchers are, therefore, advised to stay mindful of existing criticisms and potential methodological pitfalls inherent to the approach and endeavour to overcome or mitigate their effects (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a). Psychobiographical case study research requires the use of multiple sources of evidence that converge and aims for triangulation and methodological pluralism (Ponterotto, 2015a; Yin, 2009), which makes it one of the most challenging and time-consuming forms of research (McAdams, 1996). According to Ponterotto (2015b), good psychobiographies are based on rigorous methodological principles that serve to enlighten and inform readers. The most recent decade has witnessed the dedicated efforts of

notable psychobiographers to elevate the status of psychobiographical research to a legitimate science (Panelatti, 2018) based on more empirically tested theories and more positively-orientated psychology models (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013; Schultz, 2014).

Ponterotto (2014b) warned that psychobiographers have a responsibility to pay special attention to methodological pitfalls and to be “open to melding and shifting theoretical anchors as the available data are integrated and interpreted” (p. 84). Since these methodological pitfalls also apply to this particular study, emphasis is placed on the strategies employed by the researcher to deal with them, as indicated by Anderson (1981a), Runyan (1988b), Elms (1994), Fouché (1999), Schultz (2005a) and Yin (2018). These difficulties, as well as the strategies applied to lessen their influence, are discussed next.

6.2.1 Researcher bias

6.2.1.1 Researcher Bias Explained

According to Ponterotto (2014a), different types of biased psychobiographies exist. These are (a) hagiographies; (b) idealographies; (c) degradographies; and (d) pathographies. Hagiographies date back to ancient Greek times that were, simply put, idolising summaries of the life stories of saints, gurus or other holy individuals believed to possess sacred powers. Idealographies similarly idealise the character, achievement and impact of historical subjects, albeit on a lesser scale as hagiographies. Hagiographies and idealographies are thus known as *biased positive* psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2014a). However, degradographies, as defined by Manis (1994) rely on derogatory gossip or innuendos of disreputable behaviour to dishonour the life of public figures. Schultz (2005a) defined pathographies as diagnostic

psychobiographies that weaken the complexity of the personality as a whole to static psychopathological categories and/or symptoms, which obscure the psychological strengths and resources of research subjects. Degradographies and pathographies thus fall within the category of *biased negative* psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2014a).

Psychobiographers tend to employ pathology-orientated theories on research subjects, but this should be carefully navigated as the researcher might unconsciously express their dislike of the subject by placing more emphasis on the pathological components of the subject's personality (Anderson, 1981a). Elovitz (2003) also cautioned that in cases where the subject is liked or disliked too intensely, the psychobiographer may be less likely to engage in critical self-reflection and more likely to act on countertransference emotions without necessarily analysing these emotions. Anderson (1981a) advised that psychobiographers should constantly examine their feelings about their research subjects and counteract any countertransference⁴⁰ when it is recognised (Anderson, 1981a; Müller, 2010). Due to the long-term, in-depth and personal nature of psychobiographical research, the presence of subjectivity in the researcher is unavoidable (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). As a result, complete objectivity and neutral engagement in the life of the subject under study are impossible (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Schultz, 2005a). Countertransference inadvertently impacts the quality of data collection, extraction and analysis, as well as the overall outcome of the study (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b; Edwards, 1998; Simonton, 2003).

Psychobiographers are advised to declare their personal biases and expectations through a process known as 'bracketing' (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b; Morrow, 2005, Ponterotto, 2014a). Bracketing has also been described as "monitoring of self" (Peshkin, 1988, p. 20) or as being

⁴⁰ Countertransference is viewed as "the analyst's displacement of affect (i.e., transference) onto the client" (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 163), which is considered disruptive (Stroud, 2004).

“rigorously subjective” (Jackson, 1990, p. 154). Ponterotto (2014a) recommended that the psychobiographer can declare their assumptions and biases to self and others by writing about his or her emotions regarding the subject and include the information in the methodology section of the study (Ponterotto, 2014a). Erikson (1958, 1969, 1974) suggested that psychobiographers apply a level of disciplined subjectivity to recognise the subjective nature of interpretation that is inevitably linked with qualitative psychobiographical research. This requires the researcher to engage in *personal reflexivity*, which involves reflecting on how his or her own beliefs, perceptions, values, personal history and past experiences have shaped the research (Willig, 2013). The use of a self-reflective journal which continually monitors the researcher’s experiences, reactions and awareness of biases that arise during the research process, is a possible tool in this regard (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). Another way in which to monitor reflexivity is by consulting with a team of knowledgeable research colleagues who can critically evaluate and discuss the researcher’s reflections (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997; Hill et al., 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Anderson (1981a) suggested that the psychobiographer differentiates between commonly-elicited feelings (i.e., how people who interacted with the subject during his or her lifetime may have felt about him or her) and those that are idiosyncratic to the researcher. Apart from recognising counter-transference, the development of empathy (by considering aspects such as the subject’s experiences during his life, unique characteristics, defences, attitudes, values and the role of fantasies) could safeguard psychobiographers against assuming a disparaging stance towards the subject, even at an unconscious level (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003; Fouché, 1999). Traditional quantitative research strives for objectivity, although in qualitative research, the subjectivity of both researcher and subject is regarded as an integral part of the research process (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). This does not change the fact that both operating

paradigms are subject to researcher bias, but simply have their own ways of approaching subjectivity and managing the resultant bias (Erikson, 1969, 1974; Morrow, 2005).

Elms (1994) and Elms and Song (2005) stated that the best psychobiographical studies come from researchers who feel ambivalent toward the subject of their study, as well as toward the method of psychobiography itself, as ambivalence ensures trustworthiness in the examination of data. Elovitz (2003) added that the examination of personal feelings and the ability to remain ambivalent have been identified as key elements in the successful execution of psychobiographical research. Also, according to Edwards (1998), Elms and Song (2005) and Ponterotto (2017a), it is very important for the psychobiographer to take careful steps to ensure that the raw collected data is free from bias and selection effects. Thus, all the information that one can locate on a research subject should be gathered before reaching firm conclusions and without pre-screening it to support certain favoured hypotheses (Elms & Song, 2005; Ponterotto, 2017a). If researchers do not adhere to these guidelines, they may fall prey to the dishonest use of source data by not providing a holistic view of the subject's entire life (Elms, 1994), with its emotional high and low points (Cox & McAdams, 2014). These guidelines mirror Ponterotto's (2014b) observation that "perhaps the ideal psychobiography is one that is comprehensive, exhaustively researched, holistic in coverage and balanced in assessing and interpreting the subject's strengths and failings" (p. 83).

6.2.1.2 Strategies Applied against Researcher Bias

The researcher chose a subject about whom she felt considerably ambivalent. Although the researcher had limited prior knowledge about the subject as a person, the researcher was intrigued by the complexities of Plaatje's role in South African history and the impact of his work toward democracy. While researching Plaatje, the researcher found it challenging to form a concrete conclusion regarding his behaviour, but continued to try and understand Plaatje's

uniqueness. The uncertainty was helpful because it steered the researcher away from making premature assumptions and reaching hasty conclusions. The development of empathy towards Plaatje safeguarded against possible distorted interpretations and judgement (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Elovitz, 2003). The researcher maintained a sufficient degree of empathy for Plaatje by enhancing her own understanding of the literary and socio-historical forces that shaped his unique life experiences. This also served as a buffer against possible denigration of the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Fouché, 1999). The researcher continually monitored any countertransference reactions towards Plaatje through introspection and reflexive analysis (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b). Comments regarding this process of reflexivity are contained in Chapter 11.

The researcher also employed ‘bracketing’ (Morrow, 2005, Ponterotto, 2014b) in an attempt to uncover any hidden expectations or personal biases towards Plaatje. The researcher discussed her personal reactions to Plaatje with her research promoter and a fellow psychobiographer, which afforded appraisals of the researcher-subject relationship and the validity of the data that was used to reconstruct Plaatje’s life. The bracketed material also aided with triangulation in data interpretation (Morrow, 2005; Moustakas, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014b). The extensive investigation into Plaatje’s literary and socio-historical contexts ensured holistic coverage and facilitated an ongoing exploration of the researcher’s attitudes and feelings towards the subject, which, coupled with regular feedback from the research promoter, provided a balance between empathy, subjectivity and objectivity.

6.2.2 Reductionism

6.2.2.1 Reductionism Explained

Reductionism has been identified as a major criticism against the psychobiographical approach (Runyan, 1984), caused by the partial influence of psychoanalytic traditions (Anderson, 1981a; Kőváry, 2011), which often overemphasise infantile and early childhood experiences and how those factors shape personality (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1988). Schultz (2005a) supported the importance of childhood influences on personality development but stated that it is not the only considerable contributor to adult functioning. An application of reductionism was seen in Freud's pioneer psychobiography on Leonardo da Vinci, wherein he placed excessive focus on da Vinci's "vulture fantasy" – a childhood manifestation that proved to be an over-application of a minor detail in the explanation of da Vinci's adult life (Kőváry, 2011). An Eriksonian concept referred to as *originology* (Erikson, 1969) described this type of reductionism as "the habitual effort to find the 'causes' of a man's whole development in his childhood conflicts" (p.98). Later, Erikson (1993) added that this type of reductionism presupposes that the source of all human situations can be traced back exclusively to childhood influences.

Psychobiographers are also cautioned against the dangers of *eventism*, which involves attaching too much importance to a particular event in childhood and viewing it as pivotal in understanding all subsequent behaviour (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Ponterotto, 2014b; Runyan, 1988a). Similarly, Runyan (1982) warned that the *critical period fallacy*, another reductionist practice, rests on the faulty assumption that the study of adult personality and behaviour can be based on a specific critical period in the subject's childhood. Psychobiography has also been criticised for its tendency to over-emphasise pathology at the expense of normality, health and psychological well-being (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994;

Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1982; 1988c). Terms that aptly refer to such a tendency include *overpathologising* (McAdams, 2006) and *pathography* (Schultz, 2005a). The diagnostic slant of this type of reductionist error is likely to undermine the complexities and variety of the psychobiographical subject's experiences (Meissner, 2003; Schultz, 2005c) and might mislead the researcher to reduce the subject's entire life to a neurotic tendency characterised by inflexible psychopathological criteria or symptoms (Alter, 2002; Elms, 1988, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Runyan, 1988c; Scalapino, 1999; Schultz, 2005a). Schultz (2005a) tabled reductionism as one of the markers of a bad psychobiography and warned that a psychiatric diagnosis succeeds by leaving things out, when in fact, a good psychobiography should leave in "as much as possible" (p. 11).

Elms (1994) strongly believed that psychobiographers should adopt a more eugraphic approach that focuses on healthy psychological functioning (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005b). Psychobiography and positive psychology do have overlapping goals (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Another strategy that can guard against the pitfalls of reductionism in psychobiography involves conducting extensive research based on multiple sources of information (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Yin, 2009), which will ensure a holistic account of the subject's life that incorporates theoretical flexibility and eclecticism (Ponterotto, 2014b; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005a). This distances the researcher from reductionism and moves towards an understanding of the complexities of the psychobiographical subject and his or her uniqueness (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994). Reductionism is further reduced when psychobiographers limit the use of complex psychological jargon since the excessive use of such terminology misleads psychobiographers into assuming it is synonymous with sufficient psychological explanation (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003).

6.2.2.2 *Strategies Applied against Reductionism*

The researcher employed several strategies in order to minimise reductionism. The researcher aspired to provide a holistic view of Plaatje's life by conducting an extensive literature study and including multiple sources of information (see Table 7.1) (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b). The relevant sociohistorical literature related to Plaatje's life was reviewed to understand and accurately incorporate the socio-cultural and historical contexts which impacted on his life (Howe, 1997).

Both theoretical frameworks applied in this study also highlight the importance of broader social, cultural and historical factors in the development of an individual, which prevented a reductionist psychological portrayal of the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; McAdams, 1996). The researcher ensured that the pathological aspects of Plaatje's life were not overemphasised by employing a eugraphic approach to the research through the incorporation of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The WoW model's emphasis on normality and health subsequently facilitated an understanding of Plaatje's holistic wellness across his lifespan. To avoid overemphasising Plaatje's early childhood experiences and to succumb to the undesirable effects of originology, the researcher did not limit the study to any particular period of development, but rather applied a lifespan perspective to growth and development. The investigation of Plaatje's personality development across his lifespan was facilitated by applying Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development. The theory enabled the researcher to understand the subject's complexity better and it allowed for the examination of ego strengths that developed from the successful synthesis of his syntonic and dystonic dispositions.

Furthermore, the researcher was careful to avoid the reductionistic error of *eventism* or *critical period fallacy*. This was done by tracing periods and events back to a variety of biographical indicators in his life (Schultz, 2005a) rather than interpreting any single event in

his life as a 'turning point'. Lastly, the researcher refrained from using complex and excessive psychological jargon (Anderson, 1981b). Footnote explanations were provided when the use of specific terminology was unavoidable.

6.2.3 Considering Cross-Cultural Differences

6.2.3.1 Cross-Cultural Differences Explained

Psychobiographers often undertake studies of individuals who lived in a socio-historical context that differs from their own or contemporary culture (Anderson, 1981a; Fouché, 1999). This essentially renders psychobiography a form of cross-cultural research (Anderson, 1981a). Cross-cultural criticism relates to the applicability and sensitivity of contemporary psychological theories and concepts to subjects who lived in earlier historical periods and cultures (Anderson, 1981a; Fouché, 1999; Perry, 2012). However, this critique is common to all biographical and historical writing (Anderson, 1981a). Runyan (1984), nevertheless conceded that psychobiographers have been guilty of ignoring their subject's cultural and historical differences during their interpretations, which is referred to as *ethnocentrism* and *temporocentrism* that invariably lead to misinterpretations of behaviours and circumstances across cultures (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014b). Ponterotto (2014b) further stated that it becomes even more challenging to try and fully understand the life experiences and personality of a historical or public figure who lived in the past as the temporal distance between the psychobiographer's life and that of his subject increases. It is thus important for the psychobiographer to carefully consider the psychobiographical subject's socio-cultural and historical contexts in order to develop an adequate frame of reference and to ensure more accurate psychological interpretations (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984). This relates to Anderson's (1981b) and Neuman's (2014) recommendation that psychobiographers,

in an attempt to limit the effect of cross-cultural incompatibility, employ a culturally empathic understanding of the individual under study via an extensive historical investigation. Accordingly, literature reviews must include information about the cultural and historical context of the subject.

Historically, it appears that some psychological generalisations are applicable to all historical periods, while others are applicable to limited historical periods and others are only applicable to specific historical circumstances (Panelatti, 2018). This conclusion was drawn from Kluckhohn and Murray's (1953) observation that "every individual is in certain respects: (a) like all other individuals; (b) like some other individuals; and (c) like no other individuals" (p. 53). It is thus irrelevant for the psychobiographer to be "race-correct" and "gender-correct" (Elms, 1994, pp. 249-250), even if it may be easier to establish and maintain empathy with a subject if the psychobiographer is from a similar cultural background or have experienced similar life stories. Ultimately, the "key to strong theoretical anchoring in psychobiography is in-depth and comprehensive theoretical coverage of the historic subject" (Ponterotto, 2014b, p. 84).

Ponterotto (2014b) further suggested that if psychobiographers want to write about historical figures several years removed from their own life-space, they should become competent historians, cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists of the era in question. In order to assist them in this process, Ponterotto (2013, 2014b) recommended that psychobiographers employ Hiller's (2011) Multi-Layered Chronological Chart (MLCC) approach to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of their subject within a socio-cultural-historical context. Hiller's (2011) MLCC holds value because it graphically portrays the life-space of the subject across a chronological horizontal axis and a domain-specific vertical axis, taking into account crucial personal and family events, social and political conditions, as well as significant historical events.

6.2.3.2 Strategies Applied against Cross-Cultural Differences

The researcher and the research subject share very few similarities, other than a Christian upbringing, a South African nationality, and a love for reading. Several differences, however, include home language, schooling, cultural background and ethnicity, political affiliation and gender. Plaatje lived in a significantly different historical period compared to that of the researcher. An extensive and in-depth literature study into Plaatje's historical, cultural and political contexts was conducted (see Table 7. 1) in an attempt to reduce cultural bias and bridge the cross-cultural, cross-gender and cross-historical differences, as well as develop true empathy with him. The researcher also visited relevant towns, museums, memorials, buildings and attended lectures to further enhance her understanding of the era within which Plaatje lived.

The theoretical frameworks applied to Plaatje's life reiterate the importance of social, cultural and historical influences in the development of an individual. Although Erikson's (1963a, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial development has been criticised for being biased in terms of culture and gender, Erikson was a leading figure in laying the foundation for the integration of socio-cultural and historical contexts in psychobiography (Coetzee, 2017). Since Erikson's theory considers the importance of Plaatje's culture and the influence of society during his life (Newman & Newman, 2012), it strengthened the researcher's motivation to choose his theory of psychosocial development as one of the theoretical lenses on the life of Plaatje. The cross-cultural sensitivity of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) that was used in this study enabled the researcher to acquire a better understanding of the historical period in which Plaatje lived. Consequently, it provided the researcher with an improved frame of reference for interpreting Plaatje's idiographic behaviour (Ponterotto, 2014b; Runyan, 1982). The WoW model is considered a neo-Adlerian approach to lifestyle and holistic wellness, concepts that were not widely recognised during Plaatje's life.

6.2.4 Analysing an Absent Subject

6.2.4.1 *Inadequate evidence and the Absent Subject*

A major challenge of analysing an absent subject involves interpretations that are based on sparse, inadequate or unreliable evidence (Anderson, 1978; Gatzke, 1973; Runyan, 1982, 1988a). Some researchers believe that conducting a study on the life of a deceased individual puts psychobiographers at a disadvantage because the required information cannot be obtained through direct questioning of the subject and thus less information is available (Anderson, 1981a; Chéze, 2009; Pillay, 2009; Runyan, 1988a).

In contrast, analysing the life of an absent subject is also associated with several advantages (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b; Elms & Song, 2005; Meissner, 2003; Schultz, 2005a), when comparing a psychobiography to psychotherapy. Although the psychobiographer may not have access to material and reactions typically gained in a therapeutic setting (Elms & Song, 2005; Runyan, 1988b), the psychobiographer has the advantage of having information about the subject as a well-rounded individual from an objective position (Anderson, 1981a). The psychobiographer can investigate and describe the subject's patterns of behaviour in a balanced manner, because, in most cases, multiple sources of information are available that cover the subject's entire life span (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994).

Another advantage is that the psychobiographer has access to informants other than the subject, such as family members, friends, colleagues and even other biographers who have documented the subject's life (Fouché, 1999; Izenberg, 2003; Runyan, 1982, 1988b). Furthermore, the psychobiographer can explore the creative works produced by the subject, which would include a wealth of creative materials when studying literary or creative persons (Runyan, 1988a). Such creative works may include diaries, speeches, poems, written books, drawings and even caricatures (Anderson, 1981a; Davis, 1975). The content of these creative

works benefits the psychobiographer because it could represent the expression of inner psychological states and conflicts, which could provide an opportunity to interpret the subject's personality, albeit with caution (Runyan, 1982). Another advantageous consideration is that the extensive available data used in psychobiography can be critically examined to test relevant theoretical concepts (Anderson, 1981a; Munter, 1975; Runyan, 1982).

Other advantages to analysing an absent subject are that the psychobiographer is less restricted by therapeutic considerations, such as informed consent (Carlson, 1988) or confidentiality (Elms & Song, 2005), as the purpose of psychobiographical case studies is to shed light on the psychological understanding of a historical or public figure (Elms, 1994). This may redirect the focus from only maladaptive behaviour to a more balanced description of the subject (Anderson, 1981a).

6.2.4.2 Strategies Applied against Issues of Analysing an Absent Subject

In order to address the criticism surrounding analysing an absent subject, the researcher conducted an extensive and comprehensive literature study on Plaatje's life. The researcher extracted information from multiple sources, which included an array of primary and secondary data sources (see Table 7.1, as well as the reference list). Primary data sources (i.e., works produced by the subject under study) (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, & Delport, 2005), were consulted and reviewed. Among these primary data sources gathered were a wide range of works written and published by Plaatje himself, such as *Native Life in South Africa* (1916b), *The Boer War diary of Sol T. Plaatje: An African at Mafeking* (1973); *Mhudi* (1930a) and *Comedy of Errors* (1930b) (see Table 7.1, as well as the reference list). Secondary data sources (i.e., works produced about the subject by others) included all the full-length biographies written on Plaatje (e.g., De Villiers, 2000; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018), as well as academic theses, literary essays, audio-visual documentaries and articles on his life and

work, including speeches by family members, friends and colleagues (see Table 7.1, as well as the reference list). The comprehensive literature review allowed the researcher to present comprehensive information that strove to provide a balanced description (Anderson, 1981a) of Plaatje across his lifespan. Alexander's (1988, 1990) famed indicators of salience aided the process of extracting, prioritising and organising salient biographical data (see Section 7.5.1.1).

6.2.5 Elitism and Easy Genre

6.2.5.1 Elitism and Easy Genre Explained

Critics of psychobiographical research have argued that psychobiography is too easy a form of research because it follows a predictable path that traces the birth, development and death of a subject's life (Runyan, 1988a). Runyan (1988a), Elms (1994) and Schultz (2005a) responded to this criticism by acknowledging that a superficial biography, written quickly, simplistically and easily could indeed be classified as easy, but it is not true for comprehensive, well-written psychobiographies. Good, persuasive psychobiographies require significant effort and commitment from the researcher, who is required to (a) conduct thorough research by consulting with a multitude of sources that provide insight into the subject's social, cultural and historical contexts and arena of professional activity; (b) demonstrate good literary skills; and (c) have extensive knowledge and insight in his or her descriptions and interpretations of the subject's life (Anderson, 1981a; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a).

The elitist quality assigned to psychobiography refers to the perceived notion that it concentrates only on eminent, influential or privileged individuals, such as royalty, leaders and famous politicians (Müller, 2010; Simonton, 2003) and ignores the masses (i.e., the lives of ordinary men and women) (Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005a). In response to this criticism, one

should remember that the adaptable nature of psychobiographical research is suited to studying individual lives from any social background as the research focus is on *human* personality development and subjects should be selected according to personal characteristics, rather than social class (Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1988b). Furthermore, it is not only the choice of subject that determines whether or not a psychobiographical study is elitist; elitism may also manifest in the interpretations offered by the psychobiographer and how the individual is related to his or her social, political and historical context (Runyan, 1988b). The psychobiographer can counteract this form of elitism by minimising interpretations that may unduly elevate the subject (Runyan, 1988a). It should be remembered that prominent or well-known individuals are often the preferred choice of subject for psychobiographical research (Simonton, 1999), because of their intriguing lives and the evidence they have left behind (such as diaries, autobiographies, memoirs and creative works) that present an opportunity to review unusual and extraordinary phenomena (McAdams, 2005, 2006).

6.2.5.2 Strategies Applied against Elitism and Easy Genre

Plaatje was selected as the subject for this psychobiographical study based on his fascinating personality and behaviour, as well as the fact that, at the time of choosing a subject, the researcher found no other psychobiography had previously been done on him. An elitist quality cannot be attached to this psychobiography since Plaatje's background was very modest (see Chapter 2). Therefore, his social status or class was irrelevant when he was chosen for this study, but rather the challenge of uncovering the uniqueness of a long and extremely productive life that seemed worthy of exploration. The researcher believes that an examination of Plaatje's life bears significant contemporary relevance in the South African context and can contribute to a deeper understanding of the psychological and personality development of an individual from one of South Africa's minority groups. As a Black, African man during an unpredictable

pre-apartheid era, Plaatje's political activities made him a representative and spokesman of many in the country who were not part of the privileged elite. Plaatje typically approached challenges with conviction and demonstrated qualities of strength and resilience throughout his life, although he received more attention posthumously as when he was alive (Willan, 2018) (see Appendix D for a comprehensive list of Plaatje's posthumous accolades and awards). Given this, a renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists may be particularly valuable in the current South African context and the process of constructing an accurate description of the nation's troubled past (Nel, 2013). Also, a research project that falls within highly relevant areas of research, namely wellness and psychofortology (i.e., positive psychology) (Nel, 2013), could benefit the broad South African community and this study would contribute to the existing body of knowledge on wellness, while simultaneously serving as a unique acknowledgement of Plaatje's significant contributions to social change in the country.

Although critics may view psychobiography as an easy genre, the researcher argues that conducting a holistic study on Plaatje's life and personality proved to be a complex and time-consuming task. The extensive literature review process, which involved collecting and analysing a vast amount of biographical data related to Plaatje and his socio-cultural and historical context, added to the complexity of the study. Furthermore, the use of two psychological theories (the life-span theory of psychosocial development and holistic wellness) demanded broader data collection and analyses that necessitated the integration of two sets of findings.

6.2.6 Inflated Expectations

6.2.6.1 Identifying Inflated Expectations

According to Anderson (1981a), the concerns pertaining to inflated claims within psychobiography merely seem to be a fear voiced by critics rather than an actual concern within the psychobiographical paradigm and, therefore, do not pose a widespread problem. Nonetheless, in order to avert claims of inflated expectations, Anderson (1981a) cautioned the psychobiographer to be careful to not only focus on psychological factors when conducting a psychobiographical study but to be mindful of the effects of historical, economic and political forces. Furthermore, the psychobiographer is advised to stay vigilant of two particular limitations in psychobiography. Firstly, psychological explanations of an individual life should be seen as adding to the richness of existing explanations on the individual, rather than trying to replace them (Anderson, 1981a; Stroud, 2004; Vorster, 2003). Secondly, it is useful to remember that no psychological explanation is ever undeniably true or factual, therefore, the psychological explanations offered by psychobiography should be acknowledged as speculations “with a high degree of plausibility” (Panelatti, 2018, p. 265) and not as final conclusions (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003; Meissner, 2003; Saccaggi, 2015).

6.2.6.2 Strategies Applied Against Inflated Expectations

The researcher acknowledges that the case study on Plaatje was explored primarily from a psychological perspective. Despite the complex, multifaceted nature of Plaatje, this study aimed to explore and describe Plaatje’s personality development according to Erikson’s (1950, 1963a, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial developmental theory (as discussed in Chapter 3) and his experience of holistic wellness, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) (as discussed in Chapter 4). The study,

therefore, recognised the various social, political, cultural and historical factors that had a significant influence on Plaatje's development over his lifespan. The WoW model, in particular, appreciated the various contextual influences that shaped Plaatje throughout his lifespan (see Section 4.3).

The researcher agrees that no psychological theory can be regarded as definitive and that this study aimed to outline a credible psychological profile of Plaatje in a manner that has internal consistency, rather than proposing any absolute conclusions about his life. The researcher, therefore, suggests that the psychobiographical explanations presented in this study be recognised as supplementary to existing views about Plaatje's life. The researcher also regards the expectations of this study to be realistic, since the study does not attempt to analyse aspects of Plaatje's life which fall outside of the framework of the selected psychological theories. Although various social, political, cultural and historical factors were appreciated and acknowledged as exerting significant influence on Plaatje's development over his lifespan, the study cannot, and likewise, the researcher does not claim to have uncovered the complete complexity of Plaatje's life.

6.2.7 Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

6.2.7.1 Infinite Amount of Biographical Data Explained

Psychobiographers are often confronted with an overwhelming amount of biographical information from which only relevant data should be extracted (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). While the avid psychobiographer might regard the phrase "too much data" (Elms, 1994, p. 22) as an oxymoron, the competent management of such data is an important methodological concern because it exposes psychobiography to the criticism that it

lacks scientific rigour (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a; Simonton, 2003; Yin, 2009, 2018). An extensive amount of biographical data may prove particularly challenging to the novice psychobiographer who may not know what to do with all the information (Elms, 1994; Yin, 2009). Since the inclusion or exclusion of information ultimately affects the nature of the interpretations (Sacaggi, 2015), the competent handling of biographical material in psychobiography is crucial (Anderson, 1981b; Baker, 2011; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1994; Schultz, 2005a; Simonton, 2003).

One way of organising large volumes of biographical data is to use a split-half approach, separating information into two parts (Anderson, 1981b). One part concentrates on investigating theoretical constructs and propositions that were identified in published material, while the second part concentrates on investigating unpublished material in order to compare and test information against the theoretical propositions detected in the published material (Anderson, 1981b; Fouché, 1999). This type of approach enables the psychobiographer to go to and fro between hypotheses and data, and assist in providing a comprehensive description of the psychobiographical subject (Anderson, 1981a).

Alexander (1988, 1990) proposed that large volumes of biographical data be reduced to manageable quantities according to nine areas of salience, namely primacy, frequency, uniqueness, negation, emphasis, omissions, error or distortions, isolation and completion. These nine areas or “principal identifiers of salience” (Alexander, 1988, p. 13) thus provide helpful guidelines to identify salient material in need of further scrutiny (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Simonton, 1999). These identifiers of salience are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, Section 7.5.1.1. Alexander (1988, 1990) further proposed that the psychobiographer questions the data in order to organise the information based on answers to specific questions, which, in turn, guarantees that the research stays focused on relevant and salient material

(Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999). A more detailed discussion of questioning the data appears in Chapter 7, Section 7.5.1.2.

6.2.7.2 Strategies Applied to Manage the Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

The researcher was confronted with an extensive amount of biographical information in the study of Plaatje. The researcher consulted multiple sources of publically available documents, which ensured that information could be cross-referenced and checked throughout the course of the study. The need for consultation of archival material was limited, as much of Plaatje's private correspondence and documents had been incorporated in the published biographies written on his life. Throughout the study, the researcher consulted these published biographies, which also contained interviews with family members and close acquaintances of Plaatje. One of the most recent biographies was written by Willan (2018), who had access to previously unpublished material, photographs and letters. Therefore, to ensure the validity of the data, archived documents housed at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and the Sol Plaatje Museum and Library in Kimberley, both located in South Africa, were consulted, as a form of data triangulation (Du Plessis, 2017).

The researcher applied and adapted Alexander's (1988, 1990) proposed model of salience to manage and analyse the vast amount of biographical information on Plaatje. Firstly, all the available data were sorted according to the nine indicators of salience in order to identify information believed to be worthy of further scrutiny. Secondly, the data were organised according to their ability to answer specific research questions related to the psychological theories applied in this study. Chapter 7 provides a more detailed discussion of the strategies applied in this study for the reduction and organisation of the infinite amount of biographical data.

6.2.8 Criticisms Relating to Validity and Reliability

6.2.8.1 *Explanation of criticisms relating to validity and reliability*

Psychobiographical research has been the subject of considerable criticism regarding its validity and reliability (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1983, 1984; Yin, 1994, 2009, 2018). In qualitative research, of which psychobiography forms part, validity refers to the trustworthiness of the study, while reliability represents the concept of consistency (Creswell, 2013; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Specific concerns about the scientific value and trustworthiness of psychobiographical studies include: (a) subjectivity and the potential for inaccuracies and biases in retrospective and introspective data; (b) the method's ability to test the hypotheses it has generated; (c) the low internal validity of the approach since alternative explanations about the subject often already exist; and (d) the low external validity of the approach as findings from individual cases cannot easily be generalised to the population at large (Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005a). It is imperative to address concerns related to validity and reliability in explanatory or causal case studies such as this one because failing to do so can affect the objectivity and credibility of the research (Peräkylä, 2004).

Yin (2009, 2018) proposed that the quality of any empirical research, including case study research, can be measured according to four tests related to trustworthiness, namely: (a) internal validity (credibility); (b) external validity (transferability); (c) construct validity (confirmability); and (d) reliability (dependability). The bracketed definitions are the equivalent terms used to refer to criteria of rigour in quantitative research and are intended to achieve the same purposes as their qualitative counterparts (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). It is simply because they emerge from outside the qualitative genre that they are seen as extrinsic criteria (Lincoln, 1995; Shenton, 2004). The four tests are conventional standards of enquiry or “traditional scientific research criteria” (Patton, 2002, p. 544) most typically adopted in post-

positivistic qualitative studies (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Patton (2002) indicated that these criteria include:

objectivity of the inquirer (attempts to minimise bias), validity of the data, systematic rigour of fieldwork procedures, triangulation (consistency of findings across methods and data sources), reliability of coding and pattern analyses, correspondence of findings to reality, generalisability (external validity), strength of evidence supporting causal hypotheses, [and] contributions to theory. (p. 544)

The four tests, as well as their applicability and importance to psychobiography, are discussed in the following subsections.

6.2.8.1.1 Internal Validity (Credibility) Explained

Internal validity (credibility) relates to establishing causal relationships between conditions and is considered better suited to explanatory or causal studies than exploratory or descriptive studies (Neuman, 2014; Yin, 2018). In case study research, credibility concerns “extend to the broader problem of making inferences” (Yin, 2009, p. 43). These concerns are rooted in the accuracy of the data gathered, which means that the psychobiographer should be mindful of all other existing and alternative explanations and steer away from inferring conclusions from insufficient information (Yin, 2009, 2018). Solid inferences cannot be based on insufficient information (Elms, 1988). Yin (2009, 2018) proposed that the researcher would have to ask questions about the level of accuracy surrounding research inferences. In order to do this, the researcher may question whether all possibilities and alternative explanations have been explored and whether the available evidence is sound and convergent.

Rudestam and Newton (2001) suggested that in order to overcome factors that threaten the credibility of qualitative research, the researcher should immerse him- or herself in the data

and spend enough time doing in-depth research to identify any distortions and recurrent themes that need to be investigated and validated further. This strategy is known as structural corroboration (Rudestam & Newton, 2001; Yin, 2009). Other potential threats to the credibility of the qualitative study are the various forms of researcher bias and subjectivity (Fouché, 1999; Krefting, 1991). Bias may result from countertransference reactions towards the subject which develop during the course of a study (Elms, 1988) or bias may result from the researcher's enthusiasm for a particular theoretical orientation or interpretation (Edwards, 1998). There is a real danger in such cases of trying to force-fit fact to theory (Perry, 2012). This threat, as discussed in Section 6.2.1, can be mediated through the process of reflexivity (Krefting, 1991).

Another strategy to enhance credibility is to consult multiple sources of data, which ensures that the goal of adequate variety is achieved (Panelatti, 2018) while also enabling the researcher to reach interpretive conclusions with added confidence (Creswell, 2013; Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2009). This process is referred to as triangulation (Willig, 2013), but according to Morrow (2005), the term may cause confusion, as it habitually brings to mind the number 'three', which is not a relevant consideration in terms of variety of data. In case study research, the merging of various perspectives of the multiple data sources obtained ensures that the shared findings are more accurate and convincing (Yin, 2003, 2009) to clarify themes or theory (Flick, 2006). Cross-checking data through the process of triangulation reduces the possible distortion that comes from single-source investigations and minimises the risk of researcher bias, making it an ideal strategy to securing credibility when conducting psychobiography (Flick, 2006; Patton, 2002; Willig, 2001).

In order to maximise credibility, Patton (2014) proposed four types of triangulation in case study research: (a) data triangulation (i.e., asking the same questions of different data sources); (b) researcher triangulation (i.e., involving different evaluators, thus providing various perspectives); (c) method triangulation (i.e., using multiple methods of enquiry); and (d) theory

triangulation (i.e., using different theories to interpret the same set of data). Triangulation not only enhances a study's trustworthiness, but it also impacts positively on its construct validity (confirmability) and reliability (dependability) (Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2018).

Credibility in case study research can also be achieved in the following ways: the use of peer researchers or colleagues, participant checks, prolonged engagement with participants, researcher reflexivity, validation or quality checks of data and the provision of 'thick descriptions' (Morrow, 2005). Ponterotto (2014b) clarified that 'thick descriptions' are demonstrated by the psychobiographer's attention to detail, context and triangulated evidence, and are noticeable in the presentation of vivid quotes and scenes when describing the subject. Morrow (2005) related 'thick descriptions' to the multiple layers of culture and context in which experiences are embedded. It is regarded as a hallmark of strong qualitative research (Ponterotto, 2014b).

6.2.8.1.2 Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje

Issues about internal validity are of less concern to exploratory and descriptive studies (Yin, 2009). However, in the current study, the researcher was mindful of maintaining a high level of credibility when making inferences (Yin, 2009, 2018). Credibility was maintained through extensive and prolonged engagement with the biographical data gathered on Plaatje's life, which involved an in-depth exploration and analysis of each document. The researcher also applied data triangulation (Yin, 2018) and consulted a multitude of sources which were examined and cross-referenced to make sure that interpretations of the literature on Plaatje were not distorted. Researcher triangulation was applied through consultation with the study promoter, who provided on-going comments and feedback regarding data collection methods and procedures to analyse data. Furthermore, the researcher engaged in a process of reflexivity (Flick, 2006) throughout the study, which minimised researcher bias. The researcher also

utilised two theoretical perspectives in the study, which both consider an individual's optimal development within his or her environment, thus ensuring theory triangulation.

6.2.8.1.3 External Validity (Transferability) Explained

External validity refers to the applicability of the research findings to different contexts or settings and the generalisability of conclusions beyond the immediate case study (De Vos, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2018). Qualitative researchers prefer the terms *transferability* or *fittingness* to specify the extent to which findings can be applied to other contexts or settings (Chéze, 2009; De Vos, 2005; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000). Lincoln and Guba (1985) provided the following explanation for these terms:

The degree of *transferability* is a direct function of the *similarity* between the two contexts, what we shall call "*fittingness*". Fittingness is defined as the degree of congruence between sending and receiving contexts. If context A and context B are "sufficiently" congruent, then working hypotheses from the sending originating context may be applicable in the receiving context. (p. 124)

The extent to which findings are transferable to other contexts and settings holds value for theory development in qualitative research (Hammersley, 1992). It is accomplished when the researcher offers adequate information about him or herself, in addition to the research context, process, participants and researcher-participant relationships in order to decide how findings may possibly transfer (Morrow, 2005). Both Runyan (1988b) and Yin (2009) cautioned psychobiographers not to generalise their research findings beyond their study, as the primary goal of psychobiographical research is to offer an explanation of the life under study and not to generalise from that life to other cases or the larger population. For this reason, the transferability of findings becomes a less significant goal in psychobiographies, where the

findings have inherent descriptive worth (Krefting, 1991; Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). However, a few points about generalisability are worth mentioning.

According to Gomm, Hammersley and Foster (2000), it can happen that information obtained about an individual's life cannot provide the basis for generalisations across cases, as such generalisations need not be dependent on the use of statistical techniques (Perry, 2012). Such attempts to generalise would, however, need to take into account the relevant heterogeneity of the population under study (Gomm et al., 2000). Statistical generalisations (as with quantitative survey research) strive to generalise sample findings to the larger population (Yin, 2018). However, analytical generalisations (as with qualitative case study research) offer the researcher the opportunity to generalise a particular set of results to a broader theory (Gasson, 2004; Shadish, 1995, Yin, 2009, 2018) by using a previously developed theory as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study (Yin, 2009). The empirical results are deemed powerful if two or heterogeneous more cases endorse the same theory, even more so if they disprove an equally plausible opposing theory (Yin, 2003, 2009, 2018).

6.2.8.1.4 Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje

The aim of this research study was not to generalise its findings to other cases or a larger population but rather focused on generalising them to the two broader theoretical frameworks, as discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Therefore, issues relating to external validity (transferability) was not a significant concern in this study. The researcher documented Plaatje's experience of wellness and development thoroughly and compared the two sets of results to Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development, as well as the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This was done through the process of analytical generalisation (Yin, 2003, 2009, 2018).

6.2.8.1.5 Construct Validity (Confirmability) Explained

The test for construct validity (confirmability) entails establishing appropriate operational measures of the concepts under study, as well as objective findings based on literary and theoretical frameworks and not on the researcher's subjective preferences and characteristics (De Vos, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2018). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, 2000), the term *confirmability* is similar to objectivity or neutrality in a study, which is achieved when interpretations are free from researcher bias and confirmable (i.e., that it measures what it intends to). This means that confirmability would, therefore, relate to rigour, as well as a sincerity that facilitates the process (Tracy, 2010).

Confirmability is most important during the data collection and composition phases of research (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). The use of multiple sources of data (i.e., data triangulation) should occur in a manner that encourages convergent lines of inquiry (Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2009). Data triangulation is deemed an indispensable part of qualitative research, since it addresses potential threats to confirmability and adds extra layers of perspective, depth and empathy to the study (Ponterotto, 2012, 2014b; Yin, 2003, 2009, 2018). The incorporation of a data analysis matrix could ensure a transparent presentation of the study's variables and operational definitions, enhancing the links between the data and the theoretical frameworks that are applied (Fouché, 1999; Perry, 2012; Yin, 2009). Furthermore, an independent audit trail, facilitated by the data analysis matrix, may be a useful chain of evidence that (a) observes the progression of the study; (b) enables an appreciation of the decision-making process and the nature of the interpretations; while (c) evaluating whether other researchers would draw similar conclusions if presented with the same data (Creswell, 2013; Flick, 2006; Krefting, 1991; Yin, 1994, 2009, 2014, 2018).

The final strategy occurs in the composition phase of research. It involves making the draft case study report available for review by key participants and informants in the case, such as

those close to the subject (Yin, 2009). In the same way, the researcher could present the draft case study to a knowledgeable research team or peer researchers, who could assist with constructive feedback on the research process (Morrow, 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This strategy would enhance the accuracy of the case study and improve its confirmability (Krefting, 1991; Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2009).

6.2.8.1.6 Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje

In order to ensure construct validity, the researcher conceptualised clearly identified concepts and procedures used in the study of Plaatje. This conceptualisation was informed by the existing literature on the two theoretical frameworks applied in the study, namely Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development (see Chapter 3) and holistic wellness using the WoW model (see Chapter 4). The researcher also acknowledged the confirmability of the study through the data analysis matrices for these two theoretical frameworks. These data analysis matrices are presented in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The confirmability of the study was preserved through the use of data triangulation, reflexive analysis, as well as an audit trail (Krefting, 1991). The audit trail enabled the researcher to keep a careful record of the study's raw data and the procedures of data reduction analysis, reconstruction and synthesis. The audit trail also allowed the research promoter to consistently follow the study's progression in order to ensure confirmability of the research. The consultations enabled the researcher to evaluate the strength of the study's methods and procedures, thus also reflecting on possible affective states in an attempt to guard against researcher bias (Krefting, 1991; Taylor, 1999; Yin, 2009).

6.2.8.1.7 Reliability (Dependability) Explained

Similar to reliability, the goal of dependability can be established by minimising errors and biases (Yin, 2018) in the study, ensuring that the findings, recommendations and conclusions are consistent with the presented data and the epistemological framework employed (Chéze, 2009; Krefting, 1991). Therefore, if another researcher followed the same procedures and replicated the case study, that investigator should arrive at similar findings and conclusions (Yin, 2009, 2018). In this regard, Yin (2009) proposed that in order to uphold the dependability of a study, a case study protocol should be used and a case study database should be developed. He recommended that the case study protocol should include an overview of the case study project, field procedures, case study questions and a guide for the case study report (Yin, 2009). The creation of a formal, presentable case study database is to allow other research investigators to review the evidence directly and not be limited to the written case study reports, thus addressing the problem of reliability (Yin, 2009). In a psychobiography, however, it may be a challenging to near impossible task to create such a database, as most of the data may consist of documentation that will take the form of biographies that contain interpretations of data (Perry, 2012).

It should be noted that several of the procedures applicable to ensure confirmability are equally applicable to dependability in qualitative research and that these also include the management of subjectivity and accountability via an audit trail (Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). Methods of data collection that are based on discipline training and rigorous preparation facilitate accurate observation, consistent encoding, well-structured categorisation and comprehensive documentation, which are all significantly instrumental in enhancing the authenticity and dependability of case study research (Nel, 2013; Panelatti, 2018; Patton, 2002; Rudestam & Newton, 2001; Stake, 2005).

6.2.8.1.8 Strategies Applied to the study of Plaatje

In this study, reliability (dependability) of data gathering and analysis was ensured through the use of Alexander's (1988, 1990) primary indicators of psychological saliency, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 7. A further attempt to enhance the reliability of the study involved the use of a coding scheme that comprised two conceptual matrices, which enabled the researcher to categorise the data on Plaatje according to the constructs of the psychosocial development theory and the WoW model. The coding scheme (discussed in Chapter 7), ensures the auditability and replication of the current study. The dependability and auditability of the study were also endorsed through triangulation.

In the aforementioned sections, the various methodological considerations inherent to psychobiographical research were discussed. The psychobiographer, in addition to these methodological considerations, must also address certain ethical considerations that are vital to the psychobiographical endeavour (Fouché, 1999; Nel, 2013; Stroud, 2004). The following section elaborates on these ethical considerations and provides a discussion of the strategies employed by the researcher to ensure that the study was conducted ethically.

6.3 Ethical Considerations in Psychobiographical Research

6.3.1 Overview of ethical considerations

Within qualitative research, psychobiographical studies are confronted with various unique ethical challenges “given the researcher's often intense, personal and prolonged interaction with participants in their own community environments” (Ponterotto, 2010, p. 587).

Ponterotto (2014a) specified that the challenge for psychobiographical research lies in its pursuit of best practice principles and that psychobiographers are bound by the ethical rules,

standards and guidelines that apply to other research genres (Van Niekerk et al. 2019, p. 172). However, explicit guidelines for psychobiography were not clearly demarcated until 1976 when the American Psychiatric Association (APA) assembled a task force that was mandated to formulate guidelines for psychobiography (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2013, 2017a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1983, 1984, 1988b). This task force established two ethical guidelines that stated: (a) psychobiographies may only be conducted on deceased subjects without surviving relatives who are likely to be embarrassed by unpleasant revelations; and (b) living subject participants may only be studied if they gave informed consent (Elms, 1994).

Despite limited guidance and training on how to conduct ethical research on deceased subjects (Ponterotto, 2015a; Ponterotto et al., 2015), psychobiographers were still expected to remain ethically accountable (Elms, 1994). Since it was mainly psychologists taking on the role of psychobiographers (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Howe, 1997; Kóváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014b; Schultz, 2005a, 2014), especially over the past two decades (Schultz, 2005a), the need for clarification of ethical considerations in psychobiographical research has intensified (Ponterotto, 2013, 2014b, 2015a, 2017b). Ponterotto (2013) also agreed that psychology professionals have a responsibility to treat all intimate knowledge with respect and empathy and present their studies' major findings with diplomacy. Earlier, Elms (1994) had argued that psychobiographical research should not just blatantly avoid unethical practice, but instead keep the following question in mind during the research process:

Are we just having voyeuristic fun here, rummaging through the intriguing intimacies of someone's life and spreading them out for public consumption or are we contributing meaningfully to a clearer picture of this person's life and beyond that, adding another strand to...psychological understanding. (p. 155)

More recent developments in relation to ethical guidelines in psychobiography included a review of the ethics code of the APA (2002) to discern if and how any of the existing ethical principles are applicable to the work of the psychobiographer (Mayer, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015a). Ponterotto's (2013, 2014b, 2015a, 2017b) ground-breaking work in addressing ethical issues about the conduct and reporting of psychobiographical research, also led to the development of a six-step ethical decision-making model to guide psychobiographers through ethical dilemmas (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017), which is summarised below:

1. The researcher's engagement in professional reflexivity may lead to increased awareness of ethical concerns that need to be addressed accordingly.
2. The researcher needs to investigate any emerging ethical concerns in light of existing ethical guidelines and principles, including best practice methodological guidelines (e.g., Elms, 2007; Ponterotto, 2014b; Schultz, 2005a).
3. The researcher has to decide on the best available way forward and consult, if necessary, with an interdisciplinary network of scholars.
4. After a final decision has been taken regarding the ethical concern, the researcher should implement the necessary steps while taking responsibility for the consequences of the steps that were taken.
5. The impact and consequences of the implemented action must be closely monitored by the researcher, along with follow-up investigations to safeguard the welfare of any affected individuals and places.
6. Lastly, the researcher is required to conduct a debriefing process regarding the ethical decision-making process with the resolve to assist in the education and continuing professional development of other professionals and students.

The personal nature of psychobiographical research frequently leads to the following ethical concerns (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 2015; Haverkamp, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010, 2013, 2014b, 2015a; Runyan, 1988b):

1. *Informed Consent*. The American Psychological Association (2002, 2010, 2016) exempts psychobiographical researchers from obtaining informed consent if the research subject is unlikely to suffer distress, harm or legal or financial risk. Psychiatrists are also exempted from this ethical principle when they have to prepare official psychobiographical profiles of significant figures or offenders in order to obtain an understanding of their lives in favour of national security. If research subjects are recently deceased and not long-departed, the task force suggested that psychobiographers should obtain informed consent from the subject's next of kin (American Psychiatric Association, 1976). It is, therefore, recommended that psychobiographers should, preferably, conduct their research on long-deceased subjects where there are no surviving family members close enough to be embarrassed by distasteful revelations (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

2. *Confidentiality*. The identities of psychobiographical subjects are not anonymous since one of the aims of such research is to acquire an in-depth understanding of the psychology of significant subjects (Elms, 1994). The issue of anonymity is indirectly linked to that of confidentiality (Ponterotto, 2013, 2015a), given that "unlike other forms of psychological research, the subjects of psychobiographies, as well as their relatives, friends and colleagues, are named in the studies" (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). Thus, it is imperative that the researcher safeguards the subject and their relatives against an invasion of privacy and insensitive research practices (Christians, 2008; Flick, 2006; Fouché, 2015; Runyan, 1984).

3. *Beneficence*. The governing body of the medical and allied health professions in South Africa, known as the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA), has also included this ethical principle as one to be upheld at all times (Schurink, 1988). In psychobiography, the

researcher can maintain this principle by ensuring a balance between objective research and respect for the subject; inviting the living subject or surviving relatives to read and comment on the case study; reporting previously undisclosed and sensitive information on the subject; consider the value of interdisciplinary consultation; and lastly, refraining from including psychological diagnoses in the psychological profile of the subject (Health Professions Council of South Africa [HPCSA], 2008; Ponterotto, 2013). The principle of beneficence (and non-maleficence) also applies to the publication of the case study results, therefore, the researcher should ensure that all information is accurate and free of fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions and contrivances (Christians, 2008).

4. *Appropriate data.* This links to the aforementioned consideration that categories of data acceptable for use in the study. In psychobiographical research, biographical data in the public domain afford the researcher a degree of objectivity towards the subject, but if biographical information that is not publically available will be used, the researcher should handle the said archival data in a manner that ensures a balanced portrayal of the subject (Ponterotto, 2013). In order to avoid any related concerns regarding the publication of privileged information in the study, researchers should opt for the use of only publically available data (Van Niekerk, Vos, & Fouché, 2015).

5. *Institutional Review Board.* The inductive and discovery-orientated approach of psychobiographical research implies that, at the start of the research process, the researcher is usually oblivious to the possible outcomes of the study. Thus, the researcher should submit a research proposal to an institutional review board (IRB) so that the proposed study may be reviewed and any potential ethical considerations that might arise during the course of the study, may be addressed (Elms & Song, 2005; Ponterotto, 2013; Schultz, 2005b).

6.3.2 Strategies Applied to the Study of Plaatje

This study posed limited ethical dilemmas as the researcher chose to study a long deceased individual (Plaatje passed away in 1932). The researcher submitted a proposal to the Research Committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Free State and the Committee for Title Registrations of the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa, who both acted as an Institutional Review Board (IRB) and issued approval for this psychobiographical study on the life of Sol Plaatje to be conducted. The researcher also obtained relevant written permission from the Plaatje family members and the director of the family trust to conduct this study (see Appendix B). The researcher followed a contextualised approach to ethical decision-making informed by trustworthiness and reflexivity (Willig, 2013).

Furthermore, the researcher adhered to the general ethical principles of any psychologist conducting research, as per Ponterotto's (2017b) ethical guidelines and handled archival information with respect and empathy throughout the research process to comply with the ethical and research guidelines of the HPCSA.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the most significant methodological considerations in psychobiographical research, as well as the strategies utilised by the researcher to address and overcome or diminish the impact of these considerations. The chapter included discussions on criticisms relating to reliability and validity, ethical considerations inherent to psychobiographical studies, as well as the relevance thereof to this particular study. In the next chapter, the research design and methodology of the study is presented.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

7.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter offers an account of the study's research aim, design and methodology, including information regarding the selection of the psychobiographical subject. The procedures related to data collection, extraction and analysis are also delineated and described. The chapter concludes with remarks about the ethical considerations that were addressed in this study, as well as the criteria for trustworthiness, rigour and reflexivity.

7.2 The Research Aim, Design and Method

Case study research, such as the psychobiographical approach, allows for both inductive and deductive approaches, thus reflecting both the underlying exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic nature of the study (Edwards, 1998; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009, 2018). The primary aim of this psychobiography was to explore and describe Sol Plaatje's life, including his holistic wellness in terms of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1968) and the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The primary aim places the study within the inductive tradition (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011) and reflects the exploratory-descriptive approach to the research, which involved an in-depth exploration and 'thick description' of triangulated evidence of the subject's life experiences and interpersonal relationships within his socio-historical context (Geertz, 1973; Ponterotto, 2006; Yin, 2009, 2018). The descriptive-dialogic quality of case study research within the deductive approach also allowed the researcher to test and clarify the

content and propositions of the two psychological frameworks applied to the study of Plaatje (Edwards, 1998; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Stroud, 2004). This application of the descriptive-dialogic approach involved creating a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive research findings and the existing theoretical concepts and propositions of the applied frameworks for analytical generalisation (Chéze, 2009; Edwards, 1998; Fouché, 1999; Panelatti, 2018).

Psychobiography within life history research has been identified as a noteworthy method to informally test and develop theories (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Runyan, 1984). This psychobiographical study may be described as qualitative, longitudinal life history research (Cara, 2007; Kóváry, 2011; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009) with a single-case, holistic design (Elms, 2007; Flick, 2006; Runyan, 1984) that attempted to understand, explain and reconstruct Plaatje's life in all its uniqueness and idiosyncrasies. Minnameier (2010) stated that the core rationale for conducting psychobiographical research should be to give prominence to the individuality of the subject through the utilisation of psychological theories to interpret biographical and historical data. The research attains this goal through a process called *abduction*, which can be defined as the interpretation or explanation of events, data or facts through the application of theory, and the clarification of facts as a manifestation of some aspect of the theory in question (Robinson & McAdams, 2015). Psychobiographical research has been described as qualitative-morphogenic, which is an approach that conceptualises individuality within the nomothetic (i.e., the universal) and idiographic (i.e., the unique) paradigms (Elms, 1994; Robinson, 2011; Runyan, 1983; Van Wysberghe & Khan, 2007). Psychobiography strives for a balance of both the 'nomothetic' and 'idiographic' in order to enhance the richness and understanding of the individual within his or her context (Kóváry, 2019; Ponterotto et al., 2015). The qualitative-morphogenic approach facilitated the formulation of holistic, rich descriptions of the longitudinal study of Plaatje within his socio-historical context. However,

the latter approach poses a unique set of challenges to the research process that should be addressed from the start. These challenges or preliminary methodological considerations were outlined in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) and included strategies taken by the researcher to minimise or overcome errors, such as bias and reductionism that may have negatively influenced this study of Plaatje's life. The next section provides more detail regarding the researcher's choice of the psychobiographical subject, namely Plaatje.

7.3 The Selection of the Psychobiographical Research Subject

Psychobiographical research starts with the selection of the psychobiographical subject (Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994; Kőváry, 2011). Psychobiography is typically conducted on historically influential and enigmatic individuals (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2009, 2018) whose interesting lives have made a significant contribution in some field (Howe, 1997; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). In this manner, the person is considered a public figure and becomes "the focus of attention" (Perry, 2012, p. 134). South African born anti-apartheid activist and novelist, Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (1876 - 1932), was selected as the subject for this psychobiography through a non-probability sampling procedure called purposive sampling (Flick, 2006; Kőváry, 2011; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Morrow, 2005; Van Niekerk, 2007). Purposive sampling depends on the judgment of the researcher in choosing a case study, which best meets the purposes of their study (Swartz et al., 2008). A purposive sampling approach is particularly effective in conjunction with case study research if (a) the case is especially unique; (b) the subject forms part of a difficult-to-reach or specialised population; or (c) when the purpose of the study is to acquire a deep understanding of a specific and extraordinary individual (Neuman, 2003; Yin, 2009, 2018).

Many accomplished psychobiographers, such as Elms (1994), Alexander (1990), Runyan (2019), Ponterotto (2019) and Du Plessis (2017), have developed best practice guidelines that

could be helpful when choosing a psychobiographical research subject. These include: (a) the potential subject's historical significance; (b) ethical considerations related to the choice of subject; (c) the educational value of the study for fellow psychobiographers, educators, policymakers, administrators and mental health professionals working with individuals who share similarities with the subject; and (d) the researcher's personal motivations and feelings towards the potential subject (Alexander, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014b, 2017b). Another important consideration is whether there is a sufficient amount of high quality information available on the subject (Du Plessis, 2017). Several researchers have warned specifically against possible researcher bias during subject selection (Burnell et al., 2019) and have highlighted two guidelines that may guard against excessive subjectivity and that can contribute to the study's rigour and quality. Firstly, *personal reflexivity* involves clarifying one's personal motivations for choosing a certain figure as a potential subject and ensuring that one's personal reaction to and evaluation of the chosen subject does not cloud the research study (Du Plessis, 2017; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014b, 2017b). This may include, for example, the *bracketing* or reflection of subjective experiences and biases as the researcher compiles notes on how he or she is affected and even changed by the research study (Ponterotto, 2014b). Secondly, during the selection of a subject, the researcher should strive for *ambivalence* (Elms, 1994) as it would help to maintain the necessary professional distance and approach the subject objectively (Ponterotto, 2017b).

Although the selection of a subject relatively unknown to the researcher would enhance objectivity, rigour, quality and clarity in the research study, it presents the psychobiographer with additional challenges that include, for instance, gathering a subject pool from which to select a suitable subject (Burnell et al., 2019). In order to address such associated subject selection challenges, a *suitability indicator approach* has recently been proposed. This approach entails the identification of contextual and individual indicators of eugraphic

suitability, which serve as a crude method for ‘sifting’ autobiographical and biographical material during the process of subject selection that enables the researcher to distinguish exemplary lives from a pool of eminent figures (Burnell et al., 2019). These authors further recommended that researchers compile brief lists of condensed and illustrative examples from archival material relevant to the suitability indicators, as it will simplify the process and provide a “structured framework for identifying markers of optimal human functioning” (Burnell et al., 2019, p. 182).

The biographical and socio-historical data applicable to the life of Plaatje, the chosen subject for this psychobiographical study, was presented in Chapter 2. The decision to explore Plaatje’s life was based on several reasons listed below, apart from the researcher’s personal interest in his unique and controversial personality:

1. Plaatje’s significant contributions to literature and politics, particularly within the South African context, sparked the researcher’s interest. His enduring commitment to the establishment of democracy in South Africa could almost be described as acts of ‘lifelong heroism’, which is a concept that is seen as the pinnacle of an exemplary life (Franco, Blau, & Zimbardo, 2011; Keczer, File, Orosz, & Zimbardo, 2016). A renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists could be of great value in the current South African context and the process of constructing a narrative of the nation’s troubled past (Fouché et al., 2014). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) further suggested that remarkable individuals (such as Sol Plaatje) listed in South Africa’s hall of fame, would make “ideal case studies” (p. 495). Other exceptional figures in South African history who also feature in this hall of fame include Nelson Mandela, Jan Smuts, Chris Barnard, Steve Biko, Desmond Tutu, Albert Luthuli, Emily Hobhouse and Olive Schreiner (South African History Online [SAHO], 2019).

2. A preliminary review of the literature - conducted prior to the formal registration of the research proposal - that included a database search on NEXUS, PsycLIT and EBSCOHost, as well as the library catalogue of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa, revealed that a significant amount of information concerning Plaatje's life is available, which allowed for an in-depth and comprehensive exploration of various facets of his life. The literature review also revealed that none of the existing biographies that have been written on him follow a psychological theme. Therefore, a psychobiographical study would not be a replication of the existing body of literature available on Plaatje and could add to the growing field of psychobiography within the South African context.
3. The literature review further indicated that Plaatje's life and personality development appeared applicable to the two psychological frameworks which were to be used in this study. Firstly, Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) lifespan theory of psychosocial development allowed for a more longitudinal investigation of Plaatje's life. Plaatje died at the age of 56, which terminated any further progression through the stages of psychosocial development. However, the researcher felt that the first six stages of Erikson's theory, including a part of the seventh stage, could provide adequate information about Plaatje's development, specifically concerning the consequences that may result from successful or unsuccessful resolution of the psychosocial crises of each stage. Erikson's theory was further considered applicable since it enabled the researcher to consider the influence of socio-historical events, such as the Anglo-Boer War and World War I. Secondly, holistic wellness or the WoW model (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991;

Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) appeared to be relevant to a study of Plaatje's life as the model addresses the very concepts – productivity, resilience and coping - that Plaatje seemed to have personified (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje's personal commitment and contribution to the establishment of democracy in South Africa could almost be described as acts of 'lifelong heroism', which is a concept that is seen as the pinnacle of an exemplary life (Franco et al., 2011; Keczer et al., 2016).

7.4 Data Collection

Anderson and Dunlop (2019) explained that a successful psychobiography rests on resourceful research. Through a process called data triangulation, the use of multiple sources of quality data increases the accuracy of the study, decreases the possibility of author bias and other misconceptions and maximises the internal validity and objectivity of the study (Willig, 2001; Yin, 2009, 2018). The most valuable data in psychobiographical research, namely the personal documents, brings the researcher closest to the subject and is vital to generate a biographical outline of the subject within his or her psychological and socio-historical context (McLeod, 1994; Runyan, 1982, 1988b). The researcher obtained a variety of materials on Plaatje's life, which included biographies, diaries, letters, speeches and other public or archival sources (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1982). The search for relevant data was conducted via the World Wide Web and the information system services at the SASOL Library of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa, to retrieve numerous published documents from various other South African universities via inter-library loans. Data was also obtained from local and international journals and media publications. Furthermore, the researcher utilised the online shopping service of national and international commercial publishers to purchase

biographical material on Plaatje, which included the most recent biography written by Willan (2018). The published material provided a stable resource in the verification and corroboration of information, which could be viewed repeatedly (Du Plessis, 2017; Miles & Huberman, 1994a; Yin, 2003, 2009, 2018). Ideally, the information drawn from the different source materials should be of such a nature that it offers insight into the different psychological components of a subject's functioning (Du Plessis, 2017; Yin, 2003, 2018). Schultz (2005a) suggested that apart from gathering as many sources as possible, the psychobiographer should endeavour to identify themes that run across the data since this increases the consistency of the study.

Generally, there are two sources of information consulted in the data collection process (Simonton, 2003; Van Wyk, 2012), namely documents produced by the subject (primary sources) and documents produced by others that focused on the subject (secondary sources). Both primary and secondary sources of information were consulted in the data collection of this study. Primary sources should include "adequate samples of the written or recorded oral productions of the subject" (Alexander, 1990, p. 12) since these cover a major constituent of source material (Alexander, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Saccaggi, 2015). Thus, it comprises "any original document or first-hand report such as a diary, paper or tape recording that provides data for analysis" (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 697). Primary sources of information relevant to this study included Plaatje's *Anglo-Boer War diary*, the politically-based book, *Native Life in South Africa*, his romance novel, *Mhudi*, public speeches and newspaper articles. Personal letters to family, friends and acquaintances written by Plaatje himself were accessed mainly from Dr. Brian Willan's (2018) reworked 1984 biography of *Sol Plaatje: A life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje, 1876–1932*, which also included interviews the author had posthumously with significant individuals in Plaatje's life. Additional archived information, such as notes written by Plaatje himself was accessed at the Sol Plaatje Museum and Library in Kimberley,

South Africa, with the permission of two of its executors, Mr. Richard Plaatje and Mr. Daniel Plaatje. Permission in this regard was also obtained from the director of the Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, Mr. Johan Cronje (see Appendix B).

Secondary sources include written or recorded verbal accounts produced by others about the subject, such as biographies, textbooks and articles documents, media and internet sources (Elms, 2007; Simonton, 2003; Strydom & Delpont, 2005; Van Niekerk et al., 2019; Woolums, 2011). The aforementioned biography of Willan (2018) qualified as a secondary source of information as well, along with other published biographies on Plaatje's life by Molema (2012), Rall (2003) and De Villiers (2000), including books, unpublished theses and a variety of newspaper articles and essays produced by others. Speeches or articles written by family, friends and colleagues were also consulted. Furthermore, the *Free State Arts Festival* in Bloemfontein, South Africa, hosts an annual commemorative Sol Plaatje lecture, presented by different acclaimed literary figures each year to pay tribute to the contribution Plaatje has made to South African literature. These public lectures have been attended by the researcher since the commencement of this psychobiographical study on Plaatje's life in March 2016 and also formed part of the secondary sources of information. All the collected materials yielded significant and important information regarding experiences, views and opinions of Plaatje. The primary and secondary sources that were consulted were tabulated for easy reference (see Table 7.1). A complete list of all the data sources used in this study can also be found in the reference list, which helped to enhance the study's trustworthiness and provides other researchers with an accessible database for later perusal (Krefting, 1991; Yin, 1994, 2009, 2018).

Table 7.1

Primary and Secondary Sources Utilised in the Study of Sol Plaatje

Title	Author	Publication Date	Publisher	Source Type
<i>Sechuana Proverbs with literal translations and their European equivalents</i>	S. T. Plaatje	1916	Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co	Primary
<i>Native life in South Africa: Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion.</i>	S. T. Plaatje	1916	P. S. King & Sons Ltd	Primary
<i>Mhudi: An Epic of South African life a Hundred Years Ago</i>	S. T. Plaatje	1930	Lovedale Press	Primary
<i>Diphosho-phosho/Comedy of Errors</i>	S. T. Plaatje	1930	Morija Press	Primary
<i>Dintshontsho Tsa Bo-Julius Kesara/Julius Caesar</i>	S. T. Plaatje	1937	Wits University Bantu Treasury Series	Primary
<i>A South African's Homage</i>	S. T. Plaatje In J. Gollanz (Ed.)	1937	Journal of English in Africa	Primary
<i>The Personal Papers of Silas Thelesho Molema and Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje</i>	M. Jacobson	1980	Journal of Research in African Literatures	Secondary
<i>An African in Kimberley: Sol T. Plaatje, 1894- 1898</i>	B. Willan In S. Marks & R. Rathbone (Eds.)	1982	Longman	Secondary
<i>Sol Plaatje: South African nationalist, 1876 – 1932</i>	B. Willan	1984	University of California Press	Secondary
<i>Sol Plaatje, Orality and the Politics of Culture</i>	P. Mpe	1996	Unpublished master's thesis, Wits University	Secondary
<i>Sol Plaatje: An Introduction</i>	P. Midgeley	1997	SA English Literature Museum	Secondary
<i>Plaatje's African Romance: the Translation of Tragedy in Mhudi and Other Writings</i>	B. E. Walter	2000	Unpublished doctoral	Secondary

			dissertation, Rhodes University	
<i>Servant of Africa: The life and times of Sol T. Plaatje</i>	G. E. De Villiers	2000	Stimela	Secondary
<i>Solomon Plaatje: A Man for Our Time</i>	T. Couzens	2001	Thorolds Africana Books	Secondary
<i>The 'Other' Sol Plaatje: Rethinking Sol Plaatje's Attitudes to Empire, Labour and Gender</i>	P. Limb	2003	Journal of African Studies	Secondary
<i>Peacable warrior: The life and times of Sol T. Plaatje</i>	M. Rall	2003	Sol Plaatje Educational Trust	Secondary
<i>The History of the Barolong in the district of Mafikeng: A study of the intra-Batswana ethnicity and political culture from 1852 to 1950</i>	M. D. Ramoroka	2009	Unpublished doctoral Dissertation, University of Zululand	Secondary
<i>Sol T. Plaatje and Setswana: Contributions towards Language Development</i>	P. D. K. Makhudu	2012	Unpublished doctoral Dissertation, University of Limpopo	Secondary
<i>The Family of Sol Plaatje</i>	S. Mokae	2012	The Sol Plaatje Educational Trust	Secondary
<i>Lover of his people: A biography of Sol Plaatje</i>	S. M. Molema	2012	Wits University Press	Secondary
<i>Solomon Plaatje's Decade of Creative Mobility, 1912-1922: The Politics of Travel and Writing in and beyond South Africa</i>	J. Remington	2013	Journal of Southern African Studies	Secondary
<i>Bringing Plaatje back Home</i>	D. S. Matjila & K. Haire	2014	Africa World Press Inc.	Secondary
<i>Sol Plaatje: Memory and History in South Africa (1932-2013): From Oblivion to National Recognition</i>	G. Leflaive	2014	Published master's thesis, University of Paris, France	Secondary
<i>*Sol Plaatje: Commemorative Public lecture</i>	Z. Mda (South African writer & playwright)	2016	Free State Arts Festival, Bloemfontein	Secondary
<i>*Sol Plaatje: Commemorative Public lecture</i>	A. Krog (South African writer & poet)	2017	Free State Arts Festival, Bloemfontein	Secondary

<i>*Sol Plaatje: Commemorative Public lecture</i>	F. Peterson (Vice-Chancellor: University of the Free State)	2018	Free State Arts Festival, Bloemfontein	Secondary
<i>Sol Plaatje: A life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje, 1876 – 1932</i>	B. Willan	2018	Jacana	Primary/ Secondary
<i>*Sol Plaatje: Commemorative Public lecture</i>	D. Ferrus (South African writer & poet)	2019	Free State Arts Festival, Bloemfontein	Secondary
<i>The Psychosocial-Historical Turning Points in the Life of Sol Plaatje: Co-founder of the African National Congress</i>	C. Welman, J. P Fouché & R. Van Niekerk In Mayer & Kőváry (Eds.).	2019	Springer	Secondary

Notwithstanding the advantages of collecting and analysing published materials, Yin (2018) cautioned that published materials concerning the subject's life remain susceptible to author bias, which may compromise the credibility of the research study. In other words, the psychobiographer utilising published material such as biographies does not have access to raw data, but merely to interpretations of data. Consequently, the researcher had to try and overcome author bias and improve the credibility of this study. This was done through a process known as data triangulation (Fouché, 1999; Willig, 2008; Yin, 2003, 2009, 2018) in which multiple sources of data were collected and corroborated (Neuman, 2003; Willig, 2008; Yin, 2009, 2018). Furthermore, the researcher attempted to prevent and overcome distorted interpretations of the collected data and applied the following: (a) investigator triangulation (Yin, 2009, 2018), which was a continuous process of consultation and feedback between the researcher and her research promoter regarding the procedures followed in the collection and interpretation of the data; and (b) reflexivity, which forced the researcher to stay mindful of possible countertransference towards the subject (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019) and be cognisant of any ethically-related moments that may have had an impact on the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in this study (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

After the data had been gathered, the researcher confronted one of the most daunting tasks in the process of writing a psychobiography, namely the examination, extraction, categorisation and analysis of the collected material (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). Data extraction and analysis procedures utilised in this study are discussed next.

7.5 Data Extraction and Analysis Procedures

Psychobiography tends to generate an exorbitant amount of information (Panelatti, 2018) and may become overwhelming to the researcher as he or she has to distinguish between content, which is irrelevant and that which is psychologically significant (Schultz, 2005a). An effective psychobiography depends on the researcher's ability to extract salient constructs or themes that emerge from the textual narrative on the subject's life in order to reconstruct the extracted information in a manner that best reveals its significance and meaning (Alexander, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Creswell, 2013, 2014; Neuman, 2003; Schultz, 2005a). Therefore, to assist the researcher in extracting salient information and apply the most appropriate psychological theory in the interpretation of the subject's life, the data must be organised in a captivating narrative (Alexander, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1994). In order to fulfil this goal, Yin (2003, 2009, 2018) suggested a systematic data analysis procedure using two distinct strategies:

1. Firstly, a reliance on the study's theoretical propositions and research aims to identify psychologically salient data from the collected material. This strategy includes asking the data questions that assist in providing insight into the objectives of the study and the content available regarding the theoretical approach(es) (Yin, 1994; 2003, 2009, 2018).

2. Secondly, the development of a case description. This strategy involves the development of a descriptive framework via a conceptual matrix to systematically extract and categorise information relevant to the case (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 1994, 2003, 2009, 2018).

The two suggested strategies by Yin (1994, 2003, 2009, 2018) are, in many ways, similar to the two analytical strategies proposed by Alexander (1988, 1990) to extract, prioritise and categorise psychobiographical data. It should be noted that Anderson and Dunlop (2019) referred to the latter model as the *Alexander-Demorest Identifiers of Saliency* because Irving Alexander originally developed it, which was then refined and employed by his fellow graduate, Amy Demorest (2005). However, for this study, the model will be referred to by its original name, namely *Alexander's model of salience*, which is discussed next in more detail.

7.5.1 Identifying and Extracting Salient Information

7.5.1.1 Alexander's Model of Salience

Alexander (1988, 1990) proposed two strategies for extracting salient information. The first strategy entails a filtering process by which data can be reduced and sorted according to its significance. Furthermore, “letting the data speak” (Alexander, 1990, p. 13) or reveal itself, is a method where personal material produced by the subject is analysed to uncover possible underlying conscious and unconscious motives or intent. Alexander (1988, 1990) postulated nine psychological indicators of salience to serve as guidelines to extract, prioritise and organise salient biographical data. These indicators were based on strategies used in psychotherapy and psychoanalytic approaches to extract core identifying units from the collected materials that warrant closer scrutiny (Alexander 1988, 1990). Alexander (1988,

1990) described these indicators of salience in terms of means-end structures or schemas, which, upon analysis, help to reveal insights into psychologically relevant aspects such as relationships, conflicts and schemas in the subject's personal world.

The researcher's application of Alexander's (1988, 1990) model of salience enhanced the trustworthiness of the study by creating a dialogue between the extracted data and facets or aspects of the theory for analytical generalisation (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Miles & Huberman, 1994a; Yin, 1994, 2018). In the subsections below, these nine indicators of salience are described individually. Following these descriptions, an example taken from the data of how these indicators presented in Plaatje's writings is provided.

1. *Primacy*: The principle marker of primacy denotes that information presented first in a text could be of psychological significance and, therefore, deserves closer inspection, because it may contain key pieces of data that provide the foundation for further or subsequent meaning (Alexander, 1990; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). In the process of data extraction, early memories, first experiences and introductory comments are particularly valuable to the psychobiographer, even though they may present in disguised form (Elms, 1994). Even in the context of psychotherapy, therapists often consider the first minutes of communication as key to what will follow (Alexander, 1990). Primacy discovers meaning in data in "the association of first with importance" (Alexander, 1990, p. 13).
2. *Frequency*: The principle of frequency includes the recurrence of information related to communications, themes, events, patterns, obsessions, conflicts, sequences or symbols (Schultz, 2005b). Frequency and repetition may increase conviction of certainty that something is important (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a), although it has an implied

paradoxical dilemma that increasing frequency and repetition of important details may reduce and decrease one's awareness of its importance (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). However, the significance of this 'monotonous' information remains valuable and should still be investigated (Elms, 1994). Key repetitions or scripts may be an expression of "powerful conscious value schemas" (Alexander, 1990, p.15), thus Schultz (2005b) advised psychobiographers to be alert for material that may come across as their subject's obsessions, as they reveal much about its host, including the hidden narrative that the researcher hopes to illuminate.

3. *Uniqueness*: This principle describes informational variations in the collected material that warrant closer examination because of their unprecedented or singular peculiarity (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). Variations may include unique memories, unusual events or additional sources of information that the subject marked as singular or 'odd' (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994). When the researcher notes discrepancies in the subject's usual behaviour and language or emotional expression, it may be powerful signs of salience that require further exploration (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Furthermore, uniqueness as an indicator of salience manifests in the unexpected or unexplained outcomes in a sequence of events, which, according to Alexander (1990), also merits further examination.
4. *Negation*: This Freudian principle of saliency refers to repressed information that comes into consciousness that the subject emphatically discounts in importance (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005b). It manifests in statements that "protest too much" (Schultz, 2005b, p. 47) against factual information. Statements of negation is flagged as having special consequence as they often

represent unconscious ‘truths’ about the subject that he or she wants others to believe or want to believe about him- or herself (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b). The subject’s repudiation could likely be a confirmation of the opposite of what he or she is saying and should be earmarked for further inquiry (Chezé, 2009; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a, 2005b) before immediately “assuming the exact nature of its importance” (Alexander, 1990, p. 17). Therefore, Elms (1994) noted that psychobiographers should take note of what their subjects claim themselves to be, adding that “when the subject tells you who she or he *isn’t*, you should pay at least as much attention and sometimes even more” (p. 246).

5. *Emphasis*: This principle calls the psychobiographer’s attention to information that the subject has highlighted, stressed or underemphasised (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). Alexander (1988) and Elms (1994) cautioned that when data is *overemphasised*, it likely receives disproportionate attention and the reader may question its importance, but the subject may merely want others to pay attention to what he or she is saying without the information necessarily being psychologically significant. In contrast, something of clear value or significance may be *underemphasised* or glossed over with little comment (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b), while irrelevant information might be stressed too greatly (i.e., *misplaced emphasis*) because the outcome is not credibly linked to the stated or implied means (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). In each instance – regardless of its intention – Alexander (1990) posited that the purpose of emphasis is to accent some form of communication.

6. *Omission:* With the principle of omission, one is given notice of the absence of missing content in the data, especially content that one would expect (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Schultz, 2005a). Also known as the “Sherlock Holmes rule” (Elms, 1994, p. 246), psychobiographers are urged to question that which is missing as it could provide vital clues in uncovering the mystery of the subject’s entire life. The nature of the omission must be closely examined for its repetitive properties (Alexander, 1990). Alexander (1988, 1990) further stated that a lack of information regarding the subject’s affect is usually the most significant type of omission in biographical data because too much attention is given to sequences of actions and events and the emotional value is not addressed. Thus, the reader should investigate the specific circumstances which govern relevant affective experiences and their consequences (Alexander, 1988, 1990).
7. *Error or distortion:* Omissions or mistakes may reveal errors or distortions made by the subject in a variety of forms, be it related to time, place or person (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005a). These errors and distortions not only make the reader question authenticity, but they may also be salient indicators of a subject’s hidden motives (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994). However, mistakes often easily go unnoticed or appear as misrepresentations or Freudian slips that could prove meaningful if they were investigated further (Freud, 1938; Elms, 1994). Schultz (2005b) advised provisional acceptance of slips, errors and distortions as meaningful psychological pointers that are not to be simply disregarded.
8. *Isolation:* This principle of salience refers to a fragment of information that stands out or does not seem to fit in with the rest of the material presented

(Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Schultz, 2005b). Schultz (2005b, p. 46) termed this the “sore thumb” criterion, while Elms (1994, p. 247) referred to it as the “come again?” criterion, because the isolated material contrasts so harshly with its surroundings and leads the researcher to question how the information logically makes sense within the presented context (Elms, 1994). Such instances could signify important markers that can help uncover a deeper meaning behind the isolated part of the unconscious (Schultz, 2005b). In psychoanalysis, isolation is a defence mechanism that is noted when the subject becomes anxious about a negative outcome and then prepares to avoid that negative outcome. The subject isolates an idea and aims to sever its association with repressed or unconscious material so that it does not prompt memories of that which would preferably be forgotten (Schultz, 2005b). However, subtler expressions of isolation may be overlooked when the listener or reader provides the connections required to make sense of a subject’s incongruent sequence in communication (Alexander, 1988). If isolation is going to serve as an effective marker in uncovering deeper, hidden meaning, the psychobiographer should restore the connection between isolated ideas and “the web of unconscious ideas for which it stands” (Schultz, 2005b, p.44).

9. *Incompletion*: The principle of incompletion refers to something that has not yet been finished (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994) and is characterised by the subject’s failure to sufficiently conclude a topic or a story that had been introduced (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005a). Incompletion identifies the lack of an explanatory means-end relationship and can be seen as omitting vital aspects that are required to fully understand the subject (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Schultz, 2005b). Incompletion may also

manifest as a form of avoidance of certain thoughts or actions which may have resulted in associated negative emotional consequences or pain (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Schultz, 2005a). At times, incompleteness is coupled with a break in narrative flow through distraction and the subject fails to return to the original line of the story (Alexander, 1988, 1990).

The application of Alexander's (1988, 1990) salience indicators outlined above was used to identify and focus on specific sections of data sets produced by Plaatje. Applying these strategies in the extraction of salient data facilitated a consistent analytic approach to maximise the study's trustworthiness and reliability (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Miles & Huberman, 1994a; Yin, 1994, 2018). The data sets that assisted with the aim of this research study, namely to explore and describe Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development and his holistic wellness throughout his lifespan, were included and discussed in detail in Chapters 8 and 9. The excerpt below is an example of a salient data set taken from Plaatje's diary during the Anglo-Boer war in 1899:

Wednesday, 20th December 1899

Monday was the hottest day we have had since the siege, but yesterday was worse (*primacy*). The heat was intense (*emphasis*). Mrs. Molema had to clear to the hut for the night with the children, as the house was becoming an oven (*emphasis*). I tried to stay and fight it out but was compelled to leave the house to sleep outside at about 11pm. I went to sleep in the lee of the house, which I found as convenient as in a garden of an afternoon (*uniqueness*). I felt quite seedy (*frequency*) the moment I packed up to turn in again. I knew that it had done me a lot of harm for I had a daze light head at the time (*frequency*) – I

never felt any pain (*negation*) since the beginning of the siege. In the morning I was not able to get up (*frequency*) and I was in bed all day (*omission of affect; isolation*). (Plaatje, 1999, p. 71)

7.5.1.2 Questioning the Data

The second strategy proposed by Alexander (1988, 1990) entails asking the data pertinent questions that will assist the researcher to effectively manage extensive amounts of data through identifying specific questions that are relevant to the research objectives of the study (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Nel, 2013). The researcher should pose questions that relate to specific aspects of the subject's life and remember that the study's chosen theoretical framework or paradigm may also have specific aspects related to it that can influence the data questioning process (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994 2005). Nonetheless, Alexander (1988, 1990) advised that a less restrictive, more flexible theoretical framework helps to unravel intricacies of the dynamic nature of the subject's personality that would not otherwise be revealed. For this study, the researcher approached the collected material on Plaatje's life with the following general questions in mind:

- Question 1: "Which areas of the collected material would enable and facilitate a comprehensive exploration and description of Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness across his lifespan?"

In an attempt to answer the above question, the researcher conceptualised Plaatje's life history according to Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development (discussed in Chapter 3) and also in terms of the holistic wellness or WoW model as developed by neo-Adlerian researchers Sweeney, Witmer and Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) (discussed in Chapter 4). Only historical information applicable to the propositions and conceptualisations of the two

selected theoretical frameworks was selected for extraction, thus asserting the study's exploratory-descriptive nature. The research findings of both theoretical frameworks as applied to Plaatje's life, are discussed in detail in Chapters 8 and 9, respectively.

- Question 2: "How will the researcher establish a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive material on Plaatje and the content of the theory of psychosocial development and holistic wellness or the WoW model utilised in this study?"

In order to answer the above question, the researcher executed analytic generalisation by critically comparing the extracted life information on Plaatje with aspects of the theoretical propositions and the conceptualisations of both theoretical frameworks. This demonstrated the study's descriptive-dialogic nature and the researcher was able to informally test the content (i.e., propositions and conceptualisations) of Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development, as well as holistic wellness or the WoW model of Sweeney, Witmer and Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

The application of Alexander's model of salience, as well as asking the above questions, facilitated interaction between the collected data of the study and the selected psychological frameworks, which thus provided insight into the propositions and conceptualisations of the two theoretical approaches that were utilised in the study (Fouché, 1999; Nel, 2013; Panelatti, 2018; Saccaggi, 2015; Yin, 2003, 2018). The application of these strategies for extracting salient information also facilitated a consistent analytic approach that maximised the study's trustworthiness and reliability (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Edwards, 1990; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a, 2005b; Yin, 1994, 2018).

Alexander's (1988, 1990) model concurred with Yin's (2009) proposed strategies for case study analysis and case description. Both strategies were utilised by the researcher in this manner to examine, extract, categorise and recombine evidence and integrate case information.

In the first strategy, the researcher was required to raise specific questions that would offer insights into the objectives of the study and the content of the theoretical approaches that were utilised (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). The use of Alexander's model, as discussed earlier in this section, was employed in this regard. The second strategy involved the formulation of a case description by developing a descriptive framework that would facilitate the organisation and integration of information relevant to Plaatje's life. For this purpose, the researcher developed conceptual psycho-historical matrices that facilitated data extraction (Fouché, 1999). These conceptual psycho-historical matrices are discussed in more detail in the following section.

7.5.2 Conceptual Framework and Psycho-historical Matrices

Effective data management is a continuous, interactive process of data collection, storage and retrieval (Miles & Huberman, 1994b). An analytical framework allows the researcher to (a) rearrange and structure the extensive amount of collected biographical material; and (b) sort the data chronologically so that psychologically salient information can reveal itself, which will further assist the researcher to systematically and meaningfully interpret the data (Du Plessis, 2017; Miles & Huberman, 1994a; Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2018). Yin's (2003, 2009) proposition of establishing a data analysis matrix to facilitate data management in psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999) was applied in this study. This included the creation of two conceptual psycho-historical matrices for the categorisation and organisation of data in chronological order, which served as 'screening-grids' during the data analysis procedures. Each matrix was developed in accordance with the stages or constructs of the psychological frameworks used in this study. The first matrix categorised the major periods of Plaatje's lifespan according to the framework informed by Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development (see Table 7.2). The second matrix categorised Plaatje's

life history data in terms of the holistic wellness constructs informed by the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) (see Table 7.3).

In Table 7.2, the stages of Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development (as shown in the seven vertical columns at the top right-hand-side of the table) are schematically arranged in accordance with the five significant historical periods over the lifespan of Plaatje (as shown in the horizontal rows at the left-hand-side of the table). These historical periods were discussed at length in Chapter 2. During data collection, extraction and analysis, the researcher focused on salient biographical material related to Plaatje's psychosocial development. Plaatje's death at the age of 56 negated the inclusion of the eighth stage of psychosocial development. This means that only seven of the eight stages (discussed in Chapter 3) were conceptualised in this study and represented in Table 7.2. The findings related to Plaatje's psychosocial development are discussed in Chapter 8.

In Table 7.3, the life tasks of the WoW model (as shown in the five vertical columns at the top right-hand-side of the table) are schematically arranged in accordance with the five significant historical periods over the lifespan of Plaatje (as shown in the horizontal rows at the left-hand-side of the table). During data collection, extraction and analysis, the researcher focused on salient biographical material related to the various dimensions of holistic wellness, as expressed through the life tasks comprised in the WoW model. The conceptual matrix also considered the impact of global events and life forces on the expression of holistic wellness through the life tasks. The findings related to Plaatje's experience of holistic wellness across his lifespan are discussed in Chapter 9.

The two conceptual psycho-historical matrices used in this study, as schematically represented in Table 7.2 and Table 7.3 below, ensured the systematic and consistent extraction and analysis of the salient biographical material collected on Plaatje's life. This allowed the researcher to construct a longitudinal portrait of the psychosocial stages of Plaatje's

development and his holistic wellness, respectively. The methodical use of conceptual matrices also enhances the trustworthiness of the study (Morrow, 2005; Yin, 1994, 2009, 2018).

Table 7.2

Matrix of Psychosocial Development across the Historical Lifespan of Sol Plaatje

HISTORICAL PERIODS OVER THE LIFESPAN OF PLAATJE	STAGES OF PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT						
	1. Trust versus Mistrust (0 – 18 months)	2. Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt (18 months – 3 years)	3. Initiative versus Guilt (3 – 6 years)	4. Industry versus Inferiority (6 – 12 years)	5. Identity versus Role Confusion (12 – 20 years)	6. Intimacy versus Isolation (20 – 35 years)	7. Generativity versus Stagnation (35 – 65 years)
1. The Formative Years: Doornfontein & Pniel 1876 – 1894 (0 – 18 years)							
2. Plaatje at Kimberley 1894 – 1898 (18 – 22 years)							
3. Plaatje at Mafeking 1898 – 1910 (22 – 34 years)							
4. Tales of Travels 1910 – 1923 (34 – 47 years)							
5. The Autumn Years 1923 – 1932 (47 – 56 years)							

Table 7.3

Matrix of Holistic Wellness across the Historical Lifespan of Sol Plaatje

HISTORICAL PERIODS OVER THE LIFESPAN OF PLAATJE	DIMENSIONS OF HOLISTIC WELLNESS EXPRESSED THROUGH THE LIFE TASKS				
	Global Events				
	Life Forces (business/industry, media, government, community, family, religion, education)				
	1. Spirituality	2. Self-Direction	3. Work	4. Friendship	5. Love
1. The Formative Years: Doornfontein & Pniel 1876 – 1894 (0 – 18 years)					
2. Plaatje at Kimberley 1894 – 1898 (18 – 22 years)					
3. Plaatje at Mafeking 1898 – 1910 (22 – 34 years)					
4. Tales of Travels 1910 – 1923 (34 – 47 years)					
5. The Autumn Years 1923 – 1932 (47 – 56 years)					

The ethical considerations inherent to this psychobiographical study are discussed in the next section.

7.6 Ethical Considerations in Psychobiography

Psychobiographies present unique ethical considerations that mandate researchers to stay ethically vigilant throughout the research process (Du Plessis, 2017; Haverkamp, 2005; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2013, 2014b, 2015a, 2017b; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019). Adhering to this mandate, the researcher committed to addressing all ethical concerns before conducting the study on Plaatje. This involved submitting a research proposal to the Departmental Research Committee of the Department of Psychology, as well as the Committee for Title Registrations within the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Both committees acted as an Institutional Review Board (IRB) to reflect on possible ethical concerns that may arise during the research study. After that, permission was granted for the undertaking of this psychobiographical study on the life of Sol Plaatje.

Best ethical practice dictates that psychologists conducting psychobiographical research take cognisance of legal issues such as privacy and post-mortem privacy rights, access to and the use of confidential health records and numerous other complex ethical considerations (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019). The majority of the sourced data already existed in the public domain and although unpublished archival documents were consulted with the relevant consent, no controversial information was included in this study that could cause harm or embarrassment to Plaatje's surviving family members, friends or colleagues. The inclusion of any speculative information would have jeopardised the validity of the research findings and would have constituted unethical research practices.

The psychobiographer's ethical duties are further complicated by the American Psychological Association's (APA) Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (APA, 2017) that fails to offer direct guidance for psychologists engaged in psychobiographical research (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). However, the General Principles and Ethical Standards outlined by the American Psychological Association (APA, 2002, 2010, 2016, 2017)

may be used as a guide toward the highest ethical ideals of the profession (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). The researcher adhered to these principles and standards, which also formed part of the ethical guidelines prescribed by Ponterotto (2013, 2014b, 2015a, 2017b), as well as Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017, 2019).

7.7 Ensuring Trustworthiness and Rigour

Criticisms pertaining to validity and reliability of the psychobiographical research design and methodology are common, even though qualitative research has a history of borrowing conventional scientific criteria from quantitative methods of rigour (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1983; Yin, 2009). Concerns about the criticisms, limitations and integrity of psychobiographical research were discussed in Chapter 6. These preliminary methodological considerations provided an overview of the strategies applied by the researcher to enhance this study's *credibility, transferability, dependability* and *confirmability* (Shenton, 2004). These are four critical components that a qualitative study must have, as identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and later echoed by Yin (2009). The following discussion summarises the strategies that were implemented by the researcher to enhance the study's trustworthiness and rigour:

1. Triangulation of data sources, researcher triangulation and theoretical triangulation by implementing more than one theoretical approach (Flick, 2006; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009).
2. Biographical information associated with Plaatje was studied at length over a prolonged period of time. Consideration was given to the socio-historical events through an intensive literature review of South African history and politics at the time (see Chapter 2 for a comprehensive account of the relevant political events that impacted Plaatje within each of the historical periods of his life).

3. Plaatje's unique socio-historical and cultural contexts were investigated to facilitate a contextually accurate interpretation of his life.
4. The study on Plaatje's life incorporated both a longitudinal and eugraphic perspective through the application of the two theoretical frameworks focusing on desired psychosocial development and holistic wellness, respectively.
5. Plaatje's life was investigated using a lifespan approach that included all the historical periods spanning from birth until death.
6. The researcher strove to enhance the study's procedural rigour through the application of clear operational measures, coding schemes, as well as conceptual matrices to extract, categorise and analyse the salient themes of collected data.
7. The researcher employed analytical generalisation (Yin, 2018) and not statistical generalisation.
8. The researcher acknowledges that findings generated in this study are speculative and not factual or conclusive and recommends that they should be seen as adding to the existing body of explanations pertaining to Plaatje's life.
9. The researcher strove to uphold the trustworthiness of the study by engaging in a process of reflexive analysis in order to monitor and manage subjectivity and minimise the negative effects of bias.
10. Rigour was a salient consideration throughout this research process. In addition to concerns regarding the validity (confirmability, credibility, transferability) and reliability (dependability) of the study, the researcher took particular cognisance of the comments by Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017, 2019) regarding ethical considerations in psychobiography, and more specifically, the ethical considerations of this psychobiography.

7.8 Reflexivity

Kőváry (2019) observed that writing psychobiographies support the emerging self-awareness of the author. The co-constructive approach to a life story account requires close proximity to the subject, thus the reflexivity construct appreciates the collaborative role of both the researcher and the research subject in the acquisition and construction of knowledge and the description of meaning (Ashworth, 2003; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Taylor, 1999; Tindall, 1999; Willig, 2008). Reflexive analysis compels researchers to reflect critically on the impact which their personal beliefs, assumptions, values, interests, goals, background, political viewpoints and previous life experiences may have on the research process, to manage bias and subjectivity (Cresswell & Miller, 2000; Morrow, 2005; Stroud, 2004; Willig, 2008). A reflective journal may provide two-fold assistance in this regard: firstly, to document and monitor pre-existing notions of the subject and acknowledge personal issues and secondly, to act as a credibility check to raise awareness to any biases encountered throughout the study (Frydman, Cheung, & Ponterotto, 2019). Willig (2008) termed this *personal* reflexivity, which, fittingly, invites researchers to be self-conscious participants in the research process (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019; Roberts, 2002). Personal reflexivity and transparency indicate authenticity and are viewed as hallmarks of excellence (Tracy, 2010). The concept of *professional* reflexivity, as suggested by Haverkamp (2005), expects psychologists in diverse psychological sub-disciplines to have the necessary training, knowledge and competence required for professional ethical practice in idiographic and qualitative research (Anderson, 2003; Elms, 1994; Haverkamp, 2005, Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019).

A valuable reflexive strategy employed by the researcher in this study was to consult with her research promoter to reflect on her choice of a research subject, as well as on her personal expectations, experiences, emotions and decisions pertaining to the research process. Also, the

researcher consulted with a knowledgeable colleague who is also currently conducting psychobiographical research on a different research subject, which turned into a mutually-beneficial experience for both researchers in terms of reflexive analysis. Reflexive statements were included in the study's introductory chapter, Chapter 1 ("The Researcher's Personal Journey"), as well as in the concluding chapter, Chapter 11 ("Final Reflections on the Researcher's Personal Journey"). These reflections were deemed appropriate as they provided the opportunity to re-analyse the material and allowed for the development of alternative explanations and interpretations, as proposed by Tindall (1999).

7.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research aim, design and methodology employed in this study. The chapter also included discussions on the selection of the psychobiographical subject, the psychological frameworks that were chosen, as well as the procedures used for the collection, extraction and analysis of data. Furthermore, special attention was given to the identification and extraction of salient information, as facilitated through the application of Alexander's (1988, 1990) indicators of saliency. This was followed by the conceptual frameworks and psycho-historical matrices that were developed for the categorisation of extracted, salient data. Finally, reflections on the ethical considerations, as well as a summary of the strategies used to ensure trustworthiness, rigour and ethical research practices was provided. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the importance of reflexivity in qualitative research.

The subsequent chapters present the findings and discussions pertaining to Plaatje's life. Chapter 8 is dedicated to a discussion of the findings about the psychosocial development of Sol Plaatje, while Chapter 9 presents the findings related to his holistic wellness. In Chapter

10, the two sets of findings are integrated and presented as a comprehensive, comparative discussion of Sol Plaatje's psychological development over his lifespan.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

8.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter includes a presentation and discussion about Plaatje's psychosocial development. It starts off with a brief conceptual outline that guides the presentation and discussion of the study's findings. The biographical findings are conveyed in accordance with the concepts and propositions of the selected theory of psychosocial development (as discussed in Chapter 3). The findings are contextualised across seven of the eight stages as proposed by Erikson (1950, 1963a). Plaatje's death at the age of 56 negated the inclusion of the eighth stage of psychosocial development. A short reflection on the key findings concludes the chapter.

8.2 Conceptual Outline of the Presentation and Discussion of the Findings

Erikson's (1950, 1963a) psychosocial theory of development provided a theory for the collection, extraction, analysis and presentation of salient biographical data. The core data on Plaatje's life was categorised and interpreted within five main socio-historical periods in relation to the Eriksonian concepts, as outlined in Chapter 3. These concepts include developmental crises, maladaptive and malignant tendencies and proposed synthesised ego strengths. The five socio-historical periods are: (a) The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894); (b) Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898); (c) Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910); (d) Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923); and (e) The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932). The researcher utilised a psycho-historical conceptual matrix (see Chapter 7, Table 7.2), which comprised of Erikson's (1950, 1963a) psychosocial stages and Plaatje's socio-historical life

periods to integrate, categorise and interpret the core findings. However, Plaatje's lifespan development was not rigidly imposed to fit flawlessly into Erikson's distinct psychosocial stages due to the confluence/overlap between the five socio-historical periods of Plaatje's life. Therefore, certain sections of Plaatje's socio-historical periods that are relevant to and correspond with multiple psychosocial stadia were applied accordingly.

It should be noted that much of the information included in this chapter was gleaned from the researcher's chapter contribution in the recent publication, *New Trends in Psychobiography* (2019), mentioned in Chapter 2. In this specific book chapter, the researcher had also applied Erikson's theory to identify psychosocial-historical turning points in Plaatje's life.

8.3 Plaatje's Psychosocial Development across his Lifespan

In this section, the findings that emerged over the five socio-historical periods of Plaatje's life are interpreted through the lens of Erikson's theory. For each developmental stage, a summary of the theoretical propositions specific to that stage is followed by a discussion of the relevant socio-historical period. Only the time span within the socio-historical periods relevant to specific developmental stages are described under those particular stages. A brief chronological timeline that highlights Plaatje's significant experiences within each period is also included and presented (see Table 8.1 - Table 8.6). Furthermore, Plaatje's development is discussed in terms of resolving the relevant dominant psychosocial crisis as per Erikson's stage model, including the emergence of the ego strength or virtue relevant to each particular stage. Examples from the biographical data are provided to support the discussion.

Table 8.1

Timeline for the First Historical Period:

The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Year	Significant Experiences (1876 – 1894)
1876	Born on 9 October 1876 in Doornfontein
1876/1877	Parents relocated to Pniel mission station near Kimberley
1877	At four months old, baptised in Christian church at Bethanie mission station
1881	Elder brother Joshua drowns in Vaal River at the age of six years
	Learns to read and spell Setswana
	Father Johannes ordained as a deacon of the Setswana community at Pniel; eldest brother Simon elected as a church elder later in the same year
1882	Starts working as a herdbooy
1883	Starts telling stories to his peers about events that he had witnessed, heard or read about
1883/1884	Starts attending school
	Parents and five of his siblings move to Majeakgoro and leave Plaatje in the care of his eldest brother Simon who remains at Pniel
1889	Completes Standard 3 (the highest level offered by the Pniel mission school)
	Receives further private tuition from Reverend Ernst Westphal and his wife Marie
1890	Appointed as student teacher at Pniel mission school for two years
1892	Official confirmation ceremony into the Lutheran Faith
1894	Moves to Kimberley to start work at the town's Post Office

8.3.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust – Hope (birth – 18 months)

The first core crisis, namely the antithesis of basic trust and basic mistrust, occurs in the first 18 months of the infant's life (Erikson, 1950, 1963a; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010). The infant's ability to resolve the crisis successfully and acquire the ego-strength or virtue of hope relies on the quality of the relationship between the mother or primary caregivers and the infant (Erikson, 1963a, 1968, 1997; Newman & Newman, 2012). Hope is valuable as it forms the basis for several of the other stages and it will obtain renewed expression later in the life cycle (Erikson 1997; Newman & Newman, 2012; Watts et al., 2009). This developmental stage corresponds with the first historical period of Plaatje's life.

8.3.1.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Sol Plaatje was born on 9 October 1876 on a farm at Doornfontein in the Boshoff district, Free State, South Africa (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). His parents, Johannes and Martha, both committed Lutheran Christians, were Plaatje's primary caregivers during infancy. He was the seventh of their eight children (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Although the literature available on Plaatje offered little information about his infancy, no evidence indicates parental neglect or a lack of attachment that could have resulted in Plaatje developing mistrust. It is thus important to note that the inferences drawn by the researcher during the first two psychosocial stages are speculative.

Based on the findings collected on Plaatje's life, the researcher inferred that Plaatje's relationships with his caregivers were such that it enabled him to develop trust and the self-confidence to explore his environment. Erikson (1963a, 1968) maintained that hope relates to faith in both the social environment and the developing self (i.e., the infant's development of trust is supported by the faith of his or her parents, whose faith is also inspired by the hope of their infants). In Erikson's view, religion is the social context in which an individual's trust becomes a common faith (Capps, 2004; Erikson et al., 1986). For Plaatje's father, Johannes, religious worship and involvement formed the foundation of his family's household. Plaatje's mother, Martha, was a keen reader of the Bible and her decision to name Plaatje after Solomon, the wise Biblical king, must have been prophetic, as one day her son too would become a symbol of hope and wisdom for his people (Molema, 2012). Plaatje preserved a strong attachment to his mother, referring to her as his lifelong moral compass (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018) that kept him grounded, particularly during later stages of his life. Furthermore, Plaatje's adventurous behaviour (e.g., moving to Kimberley on his own at the age of 17, travelling abroad to different countries numerous times) in later stages suggests that he viewed the external world as a relatively safe place to explore (Erikson, 1995). Evidence in the

literature further indicates that Plaatje's mother appeared to have been a reliable caregiver who also taught him a great deal about his African heritage. She, along with two of his aunts and his paternal grandmother, conveyed Setswana stories in the form of parables and proverbs that eventually contributed to Plaatje's lifelong preoccupation with the linguistic preservation of the Setswana language (Mizoguchi, 2009; Swart, 2014). Thus, the quality of the relationship with his primary caregivers, particularly with his mother, enabled Plaatje to balance the opposing forces of basic trust and basic mistrust.

The successful negotiation of this developmental stage encourages infants to have trust and hope in themselves, others and the world (Erikson, 1950, 1963a; McAdams, 2009; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009) and readies the infant to develop a measure of autonomy (Erikson, 1959). From the historical data on Plaatje's infancy, as well as the manner in which he navigated the subsequent developmental stages, there is no indication that warrants further consideration of this stage's malignant tendency, namely *withdrawal* or its associated maladaptive tendency, namely *sensory distortion* (Capps, 2004), as discussed in Chapter 3. The lack of evidence of these malignant and maladaptive tendencies are indicative of an overall resolution of this developmental crisis. The researcher inferred that Plaatje must have developed and maintained the ego quality specific to this stage, namely *hope*. Erikson (1963a, 1997) warned that the ego strength of *hope* is crucial for the development of all subsequent ego strengths, namely *will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love* and *care* due to its innate orientation towards the future. Plaatje's work as a leader of non-violent protest action against the racial segregation of his time testified to the attainment of the virtue of hope and faith in his early developmental stages. At times, he mistrusted the regime of his time but maintained his trust in the potential of individuals to behave righteously. Plaatje continuously expressed confidence in himself and hope for a better future for his people, despite the challenges and limitations placed upon him in later years. Examples include his role in the establishment of a new political

party, his persistent need to educate and empower both himself and his people and his continued opposition to segregation legislation (Rall, 2003; Swart, 2014; Willan, 2008). The findings of Erikson's second stage of psychosocial development are discussed next.

8.3.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Will (18 months – 3 years)

In this stage, toddlers have to resolve the crisis of autonomy versus shame and doubt. They are tasked with developing a sense of themselves as independent persons who can exercise self-control and make their own decisions (Erikson, 1963a; Newman & Newman, 2012), which, if carried out successfully, will lead to the development of the virtue of willpower. Willpower leaves a residue on identity formation via the child's courage to be independent and to choose and guide his/her future (Chéze, 2009; Meyer et al., 2003). Caregivers and the social environment should encourage children to exercise autonomy and help them to deal with failures within safe boundaries without being shamed, punished or constantly criticised (Erikson, 1963a, 1997; Newman & Newman, 2012). This developmental stage also corresponds with the first historical period of Sol Plaatje's life.

8.3.2.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Shortly after Plaatje's birth, his parents moved to the mission station at Pniel, near Kimberley in the Northern Cape Province (Midgeley, 1997) to work for the German missionaries in charge of the Berlin Mission Society based there. Limited historical data on Plaatje's early years made the analysis of this psychosocial stage a challenging task, but the available findings suggest that no major changes took place during this time that might have negatively impacted Plaatje. During this stage, socialisation occurs as children learn the behaviour and attitude of their families and cultures (Hoare, 2002). Throughout this

developmental stage, parents should strike a balance between being restrictive and being permissive (Newman & Newman, 2012) and in modifying socially unacceptable behaviour (Erikson, 1995; Hook, 2002). Pniel was a large fertile stretch of land where education, hard work and Christian traditions were fundamental (Willan, 2018). Residents at Pniel were considered hardworking, studious and knowledgeable persons who were able to think independently and formulate their own conclusions (Molema, 2012). From the available data, the researcher inferred that during this time, both Plaatje's parents appeared to play a role in his upbringing, although Plaatje himself left few documented memories of his parents. Thus, limited information regarding their types of parenting styles is known. However, the self-confidence Plaatje exuded throughout his life may lay rooted in the encouragement and support received from his parents during these early years (Holz, 2014). Furthermore, since no contradicting historical evidence exists, it can be assumed that Plaatje was able to successfully attain the virtue of willpower, which enabled him to navigate the challenges of the next developmental phase, namely *initiative versus guilt*. It appears that Plaatje was able to explore his immediate environment autonomously and independently, while simultaneously being sheltered by the protected and secure nature within his family context at Pniel. The conditions could, therefore, have been favourable for the development of autonomy, as young Plaatje's environment was neither too restrictive nor too permissive. This is supported by the absence of evidence suggesting a tendency towards self-consciousness or a reluctance to explore, stemming from a fear of the unknown. In addition, Plaatje chose to be a highly visible figure since childhood (by entertaining his peers with stories), which is in contrast to the self-consciousness that is characteristic of a sense of shame (Erikson, 1963a). Although some shame and doubt are inevitable (Boeree, 2006), the researcher noted that Plaatje did not seem to develop impulsive maladaptive behaviour (Capps, 2004). Thus, the researcher deduced that

shame or guilt experienced in this stage were not excessive. At the same time, the malignant tendency of *compulsion* requires further discussion.

While there were no obvious signs of compulsion during Plaatje's early childhood, he had been described as an incessant perfectionist during adolescence and adulthood, with his biggest frustrations being about money and status (Willan, 2018). An example of Plaatje's urge to complete tasks perfectly in an attempt to avoid making mistakes was reflected in his commitment to the South African Improvement Society shortly after he first arrived in Kimberley. Plaatje believed that without good English, employment, 'improvement' and 'progress' would remain impossible (Swart, 2014). He pushed himself until he became fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa, German and Sesotho, and he managed to secure a position as a court interpreter in Mafikeng (Mizoguchi, 2009). Later on, Plaatje's own piece of writing, the *Essential Interpreter* (Willan, 1996) portrays an image of a confident and conscientious young man who took his job as translator seriously:

I always made my translations with a perfect security, believing that he could rectify my errors, if any. I cannot express the satisfaction this gave me – always – not only because of the correctness of my renditions but on account of the knowledge that the chances of a miscarriage of justice were non-est. (Willan, 1996, p. 56)

The researcher is uncertain whether the developmental crisis in this stage might have been resolved with an element of compulsion, but speculates that the maladaptive tendency illustrated above could be viewed as a useful personality trait that provided the impetus for the development of self-discipline, which in turn, underpinned Plaatje's success as an activist and novelist. During the other stages that follow in this historical period, Plaatje's autonomous ability to exercise willpower is further reflected in his eagerness to progress academically, socially and culturally (Willan, 2018). After he completed the highest formal standard of

schooling at Pniel, he revelled in private tuition lessons provided by the German missionary and Reverend Ernst Westphal and his wife Marie, who taught him how to speak English as well as how to play the piano and the violin. She also trained his singing voice and sparked his lifelong interest in the work of the playwright, William Shakespeare (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). In addition, Plaatje's career and his persistent opposition to the segregation laws could be seen as a lifelong demonstration of the ego quality of will. The findings of Erikson's third stage of psychosocial development, *initiative versus guilt*, are discussed next.

8.3.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose (3 – 6 years)

Children explore the world more vigorously through their own initiative but may experience guilt if they violate the social rules and overstep the boundaries introduced by caregivers (Erikson, 1963a). Parents and caregivers remain crucial since they guide and discipline their children while encouraging curiosity and imagination (Hook, 2002). Excessively punishing children for taking initiative may result in them developing fear and a sense of guilt (Newman & Newman, 2012). Furthermore, children may identify with or idealise a certain parent, yet simultaneously fear that particular parent's power (Erikson, 1963a; Newman & Newman, 2012). If children can balance taking initiative while respecting boundaries, it will foster the virtue of purpose, thus influencing whether they will pursue meaningful endeavours later on or become inhibited instead (Thimm, 2010). A sense of purpose contributes to the development of an ethical sense later in life and remains a driving force throughout the lifespan (Erikson, 1997). This developmental stage also corresponds with the first historical period of Plaatje's life.

8.3.3.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Plaatje's childhood seemed to have been a happy one, as most of his significant memories come from this period. His family lived in a large house at the foot of a ridge on the estate that became known as Plaatje's Heights and prospered from the sale of their livestock and vegetables (Couzens, 2001; Molema, 2012). Plaatje could read and write Setswana by the age of five and mastered storytelling by the age of seven. When he was six years old, Plaatje started herding goats and cattle, a customary tradition amongst children of Batswanas (Molema, 2012) in the formation of their African identity, which he later referred to as "the occupation most honoured among the Bechuana" (Batswanas) (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 7). Plaatje took initiative and found paid employment as a herdboyc for a Dutch farmer, learning about responsibility and the importance of recording events in detail (Midgeley, 1997) - an insight that proved invaluable in the future. Religious worship and involvement guided the Plaatje family household. Plaatje's father was a deacon and his eldest brother, Simon, a church elder. Their leading roles as intermediaries between the missionaries and the residents of the mission must have affected Plaatje's consciousness as he grew up (Swart, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Shortly after Plaatje started school, his father volunteered to manage a newly established mission station of the Berlin Mission Society, known as Majeakgoro, approximately 100 kilometres away from Pniel (Mokae, 2010). The family split when Simon chose to take Plaatje under his care and remain at Pniel, resulting in the two brothers only seeing their parents and other siblings – who had relocated to Majeakgoro – at intervals of several months (Molema, 2012). Plaatje had to adjust to the absence of both primary caregivers, especially his mother with whom he had identified more, as well as to newly enforced 'parental' rules and boundaries set by Simon and his wife. For a while, the split in the family opened up a rift within the family. Martha blamed her husband for preventing her other children from going to school, and when she fell ill at one point, again blamed him for her misfortunes. Johannes, for his part, continued

his duties as deacon of the community at Majeakgoro and visited Pniel on occasion to attend meetings of the church council (Molema, 2012). The researcher inferred that it was this period of Plaatje's development that contributed to his sense of independence as he appeared to demonstrate a fair amount of initiative. For example, at such a young age, walking on his own to and from the mission school every day, a distance of about 6.5 kilometres from his brother Simon's house (Molema, 2012). Plaatje's attendance at this school led to a close relationship with the man who became, outside his immediate family, the single most important person in this period of his life: his teacher who became a father-like figure as well, namely Ernst Westphal (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Although he was a strict man, Westphal's teaching style demonstrated discipline and fairness and the mission school thrived under his guidance along with the watchful eye of the Cape Education Department (Willan, 2018). According to Erikson (1963a, 1980), a child's sense of initiative enables him or her to forget failures quickly and to approach goals with an improved effort. Furthermore, the guilt that a child experiences over their own goals and actions during this stage may be crippling if parents or significant adults fail to model appropriate conscience and responsibility. For example, Ernst Westphal's encouragement of Plaatje's natural talent for languages and appetite for reading, in conjunction with the extra guidance he received from Marie Westphal, could have protected him from any feelings of guilt over his goals. In addition, in the context of Plaatje's secure relationship with his eldest brother and the close-knit nature of their small community at Pniel, it can be inferred that the adults in his life would have been able to provide the young Plaatje with the appropriate modelling of adult roles and responsibility. The literature does not indicate that Plaatje expressed excessive guilt during this stage. Guilt is identified through the display of the malignant tendency of inhibition (Capps, 2004; Newman & Newman, 2012). Inhibition is used to avoid tasks, thus avoiding guilt. Evidence shows that Plaatje was engaged in numerous activities at school, which indicates that there was no inhibition and consequently no guilt

either. Plaatje has also not overtly demonstrated the use of initiative to achieve his goals at the expense of others (Boeree, 2006; Capps, 2004). Thus, it can be deduced that Plaatje successfully resolved the crisis of this developmental stage and acquired the virtues of purpose and courage (Erikson, 1978, 1995; Newman & Newman, 2012) that aided him in overcoming future struggles. Much of his life was driven by the need to empower and liberate African people, which, given the oppressive nature of a White-dominated society at the time, was a courageous task to tackle. Plaatje's strong ethical sense, more evident later in his lifespan (Limb, 2003; Molema, 2012), serve as possible examples of the ego quality of purpose throughout his lifespan. The fourth developmental stage that corresponds with the first historical period of Plaatje's life is discussed next.

8.3.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence (6 - 12 years)

The school-age is characterised by a continuous desire to develop competencies for independent living, avoiding feelings of inferiority and inadequacy (Erikson, 1997). Children interact with the broader environment as teachers and peers now play a significant role in their development (Erikson, 1963a; Newman & Newman, 2012; Ponterotto, 2017a). Children may develop a sense of inferiority and lack the motivation to achieve in adulthood, if they do not experience recognition for their efforts or if ridiculed for poor performance at school (Erikson, 1963a; Newman & Newman, 2012, Thimm, 2010). A healthy resolution to this crisis requires a positive balance of mostly industry with a hint of inferiority in order to ensure sensible humility and is reached through the virtue of competence, which is necessary for future collaboration in productive work and family life (Erikson, 1968, 1997; Newman & Newman, 2012). The findings pertaining to this developmental stage are presented next.

8.3.4.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

As mentioned previously, the Berlin mission school at Pniel offered Plaatje no more than an elementary education (Couzens & Willan, 1979; Willan, 1984; Midgeley, 1997). Academically, he was regarded by his teachers as a remarkable learner and he possessed an astounding ability to remember nearly every word he heard or read (Molema, 2012; Swart, 2014). It was said that he inherited his exceptional memory from his mother Martha, as she was known to memorise chapters of the Bible and recite them by heart in such an eloquent manner that the events seemed to come to life (Molema, 2012). His ambition and talent for learning earned him an additional tuition from the Westphals at their private home. The Westphals' daughter, Erna Westphal, recalled years later that:

I believe Solomon himself came to mother one day. He found her in the kitchen. There was an English lady with her. Solomon stood just outside the door listening. Mother looked up and saw him. She asked him in Dutch...what he wanted and he said: "I want to be able to talk English and Dutch and German as you do". Mother then recognised him and told him to come to her the next day. That is how his lessons began. (Willan, 1984, p. 21)

At times he stayed with them and they treated him as one of their own children (Molema, 2012). To Plaatje, Ernst Westphal was indeed a strict disciplinarian and teacher at school, but also a father-like figure (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Before long, Marie took over most of the lessons herself when her husband's duties in the running of the mission increased. Plaatje had a natural gift for languages and a keen appetite for reading (Molema, 2012). Marie Westphal introduced him to the works of Shakespeare, taught him to read and write English and German, as well as how to play the piano and violin and trained his singing voice, a vice proving very useful as a source of income in later years while travelling abroad (Midgeley,

1997). The violin held a certain status in the European musical culture in those years and could be indicative of Plaatje's wider potential (Willan, 2018). Based on the importance the Westphals attached to education and the adoration they had for Plaatje's curiosity, the researcher speculates that the couple played an important role in recognising and reinforcing Plaatje's intellectual efforts both at home and at school. Thus, even though his parents were not around to encourage and help Plaatje develop a sense of industry and success which, according to Sadock and Sadock (2003) is valuable to a child's development, the support he received from the Westphals (as well as from his brother Simon) may have buffered him from feelings of inferiority.

The Christian traditions that were fundamental to the Pniel mission station (Willan, 2018), along with the residents' work ethic, diligence, conscientious and impeccable behaviour, including their dress code made them stand out from the neighbouring villages (Molema, 2012). These qualities also caused Plaatje to stand out from his peers in later years. When Plaatje was about 14 or 15 years old, he was appointed as a student-teacher (Leflaive, 2014; Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003; Swart, 2014), which meant that he was responsible for assisting the younger children with their schoolwork. For Plaatje, the advantages that came with being a student-teacher (Willan, 2018) allowed him to continue with his thirst for education as well as earn him a small salary. He was popular with the younger children he helped to teach and captivated them with the stories he told (Molema, 2012). Furthermore, he also seemed to possess a natural gift for teaching them how to sing. Most of these children were of Batswana or Koranna⁴¹ origin, but at times, several of the missionaries' children (the only White pupils at the school) also sat in (Willan, 1984, 2018). Interestingly, it was also Plaatje who taught the Westphals' eldest son, Gotthardt, the alphabet (Willan, 2018).

⁴¹ The Griqua people are sometimes incorrectly referred to as *Koranna*. They are a subgroup of South African, Afrikaans-speaking heterogeneous and multiracial Coloured people, who have a unique origin in the early history of the Cape Colony (SAHO, n.d.).

Based on the aforementioned regarding Plaatje's sense of initiative and the manner in which it was supported by his environment, he was probably able to navigate this stage successfully. There is sparse evidence that Plaatje struggled from feelings of inadequacy as he seemed to have developed industriously and strove to uphold the gained virtue of industry and competency throughout his life. An example of Plaatje's experience of a sense of competence during the last stage of this historical period can be found in his completion of the highest standard of formal education that the mission school had to offer and later in his desire to learn more from the Westphals.

One area of Plaatje's development that may have fostered feelings of inadequacy within a different child his age was physical activities. The German missionaries, including Westphal, did not believe in competitive team games and considered it an entirely inappropriate form of acculturation (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Consequently, Plaatje did not participate in any sporting activities. However, it did not seem to negatively impact his development as he was able, in later years, to become involved in sporting activities, albeit in an administrative manner (e.g., as secretary to the Eccentrics Cricket Club) (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). Plaatje's dedicated and conscientious efforts during his political career could serve as another example of the expression of the consistent ego quality of competence. However, Plaatje's sense of industry became so overdeveloped that it essentially turned him into a workaholic in later years. Although he developed an unhealthy investment in his work and career, often to the detriment of other aspects of his general life (e.g., his family and marriage), this maladaptive tendency, termed *narrow virtuosity*, went unnoticed until he got married and had children (Boeree, 2006). He also disregarded his health, a tendency that typified his entire life (Matjila & Haire, 2014; Mizoguchi, 2009). At some point, his wife Elizabeth commented that it was indeed only when Plaatje was ill that she got to spend time with him (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). During this stage, there is no indication that Plaatje was an apathetic child who was inclined towards

displaying feelings of inferiority (Erikson et al., 1989), nor were there signs of such feelings in adulthood. He embraced any form of social interaction with others (Boeree, 2006) and seemed to find fulfilment in his work. The biographical data in this first historical period highlight aspects of Plaatje’s expression of hope. He was likely to have been a confident and optimistic child who achieved academically, an industrious young herdboyc and also considered a charming storyteller by his peers (Midgeley, 1997).

In the next section, Erikson’s fifth developmental stage spans over the first historical period as well as the first few years of the second historical period of Plaatje’s life. Plaatje enters the second historical period in his late teens and is therefore still tasked with balancing the conflict between *identity* and *role confusion*.

Table 8.2

Timeline for the Second Historical Period:

Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

Year	Significant Experiences (1894 – 1898)
1894	Starts his first job as a messenger at the Post Office in Kimberley
	Meets Isaiah Bud-M’Belle and stays with him at the Malay Camp in Kimberley
1895	Joins the South African Improvement Society
	Meets the African American music group, the Virginia Jubilee Singers for the first time
1896	Elected joint secretary to the Eccentrics Cricket Club
	First public speech
	Elected secretary of the Young Men’s Christian’s Association (YMCA)
	Sings a solo during a concert at the town hall in Kimberley
	Performs on the harmonium during a fundraising concert for the church
	Plaatje’s father, Johannes dies
1897	Joins the Philharmonic Society
	Sees a performance of <i>Hamlet</i> in the Kimberley Theatre for the first time
	Meets his future wife, Elizabeth
1898	Votes for the first time in the general elections
	Secures a job as clerk and court interpreter in Mafeking magistrate court

8.3.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity (12 - 20 years)

The adolescent's search for a stable sense of self is the focus of this stage (Erikson, 1968), usually seen as a socially sanctioned period of experimentation to facilitate the process of forming an identity (Fromme, 2010). Role confusion can occur if adolescents do not experience a psychosocial moratorium and fail to experiment with new social roles (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Erikson, 1968, 1977). A successful resolution to the identity crisis leads to the emergence of fidelity, a virtue characterised by a clear sense of individual identity and a positive self-description (Erikson, 1968, 1978; Newman & Newman, 2012). Only the first few years of the next and second historical period is considered here in order to explore Plaatje's experience of the conflict between *identity* and *role confusion*.

8.3.5.1 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

As discussed in the preceding psychosocial stages, Plaatje seems to have acquired all the ego strengths necessary to have laid the foundation for the establishment of identity that is the main focus during adolescence (Erikson, 1963a, 1968). Plaatje had come to enjoy the financial independence of being a student-teacher (Leflaive, 2014), although ironically, financial independence eluded him throughout his adult life. Realising that there were no further opportunities for academic advancement, he decided to move to Kimberley in 1894 where, at the age of 17, he worked as a messenger in the town's Post Office that was well known for employing mission educated Africans (Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003). Though his decision was met with mixed emotions, it can be assumed that Plaatje became more aware of the adult tasks that awaited him (such as finding occupational direction) and he moved nonetheless (Freiberg, 1987). This decision may reflect the notion of the adolescent's search for a stable sense of self within his or her society by challenging authority, breaking dependency and testing different

roles and ideologies (Allen, 2006; Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1974, Miller, 2010; Ponterotto, 2017a; Sollod et al., 2009).

At the Post Office, Plaatje was soon promoted to special letter carrier, with a higher salary and more responsibility (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Before long, he earned a reputation as a “speedy, industrious and energetic messenger, knowledgeable about his work and impeccably well-mannered” (Molema, 2012, p. 22). This may confirm Erikson’s (1963a) proposition that development during this stage also involves the adolescent’s search for a *social* identity as they slowly become more aware of how others view them compared to their own sense of self. Plaatje demonstrated tenacity in the months following his move to Kimberley. He studied hard during his private time as he was determined to “overcome the difficulties he experienced with the English language” (Willan, 2018, p. 53) and to bring his education up to the level of those around him. When he first arrived in Kimberley, Plaatje had quickly formed a close bond with Isaiah Bud-M’Belle, an African court interpreter, who was seven years his senior (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). It seems he must have been inspired by the example of his close friend, Isaiah, whose career and achievements were evidence of what was possible for Africans to achieve (Mizoguchi, 2009). As the first African ever to pass the Cape Civil Service examinations successfully in 1892 (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018), Isaiah was appointed Interpreter in Native languages to the Griqualand West High Court and clerk to the Resident Magistrate in 1893, for which he was paid a substantial salary each year (Willan, 1984). Hook (2002) proposed that the adolescent’s identity and social roles may be stabilised by key relationships with significant adults. His friendship with Isaiah may have provided adequate stability for Plaatje’s continued identity development during this period. His aim was to become proficient not just in English but in the other languages used in court interpreting; thus enhancing his job prospects. From a young age, he had been interested in the law and used to follow the progress of court cases in the law reports in the newspapers (Molema, 2012).

Evidently, he was able to turn to Isaiah for an insider's view of the challenges involved. Soon Plaatje became fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa, German and Sesotho, along with his native tongue, Setswana. Outside working hours, the two friends formed part of a group of elite and well-established mission-educated Africans in town (Willan, 2018) who were bound together by a body of shared beliefs, values and assumptions. The groups' members were committed Christians and regular churchgoers who firmly believed in the ideals of progress, "improvement" and individual advancement through education and hard work (Comaroff et al., 1999, p. 10). As its youngest member, Plaatje became involved in the network of social and cultural activities (e.g., the South African Improvement Society, the Eccentrics Cricket Club and musical concerts), which offered him further opportunity to construct a social identity. Forming part of the elite group of Africans during this time also allowed Plaatje to defend against role confusion as the group shielded him from a sense of identity loss (Erikson, 1950) and provided him with a sense of belonging. He was guided towards and became committed to the ethical standards of a productive adult life. Erikson (1963a) recognised the importance of the socio-cultural impact on identity development. The individual's socio-cultural identity in adolescence is firstly constructed on the socialised value orientation of the dominant culture of which he forms part (Erikson, 1968; Morris & Maisto, 2002; Newman & Newman, 2012). This cultural identity starts through interactions with caregivers and continues throughout life.

At Pniel, Plaatje was raised in a collectivist culture, based predominantly on valuing the needs of the group or the community over the individual (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's behaviour became more collectivist during adulthood as he mostly emphasised the needs and goals of the marginalised groups over his individual needs and desires. However, the extent of Plaatje's collectivism often led to him overlooking or neglecting his own family's needs, as can be seen in the discussions of future stages. Even though Plaatje remained loyal to his ideologies, the

pre-Apartheid government's institutionalised and racially discriminative laws would have impacted his identity in many ways. As a child, Plaatje's exposure to racial segregation was limited, but during late adolescence, he became more aware of the realities of the Afrikaner government. As a young adult, Plaatje further observed major institutional changes in the country, particularly with the culmination of the Anglo-Boer war in 1899 (Odendaal, 2012; Midgeley, 1997; Swart, 2014).

Despite Plaatje's upbringing on a mission station, and having grown up within a Christian household, the only evidence in the literature that reflects Plaatje's involvement in the church beyond his years at Pniel, is in the form of fundraising initiatives (e.g., playing in concerts, writing letters requesting financial assistance and eventually, forming an interracial branch of the Brotherhood Movement in Kimberley). Willan (1984, 2018) stated that Plaatje took particular interest in the activities of the Brotherhood Movement that he first met in England, as it shared the basic tenets of Christianity which Plaatje tried to apply in the political and social affairs of his own country. Little else is known about his actual attendance of church or deeper relationship with God. Similarly, no information was found about Plaatje's experience regarding his sexual and gender identity during adolescence. Erikson (1968) noted that the establishment and acceptance of sexual and gender identity is a critical task of adolescence. Though Plaatje formed part of a male-dominated household, he seemed to have formed a closer bond with the women in his family (i.e., his mother, aunts and grandmother), as well as to Marie Westphal, who was outside the family. His father was mostly physically and presumably also emotionally absent, though his elder brother Simon and Reverend Ernst Westphal appeared to have been consistent male role models during his childhood and early adolescence (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). It is likely that the relationship between Plaatje's parents may have impacted his generalised view of family and beliefs about relationships, as he, too, was often physically and emotionally absent from his wife and children. Aside from his marriage

to Elizabeth (to be discussed in the next section), there is no evidence that indicates any overt confusion or curiosity about his sexuality, nor any general interest in women prior to meeting Elizabeth.

According to Kotton (2002), part of identity development is influenced by the individual's name. The name Solomon reflected his Christian faith and Tshekisho (which means 'judgement' in Setswana) reflected the importance of the family's Barolong ancestry (Midgeley, 1997; Swart, 2014). The name Tshekisho also may have symbolised mother Martha's acceptance of God's will and judgement in letting her have another boy rather than the girl she wished for. Today, Plaatje's name still translates into an identity of justice and equality due to his lifelong commitment towards the empowerment and liberation of African people during the pre-apartheid era (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014).

Erikson (1959, 1963a) stated that adolescence is a time of psychosocial moratorium, as adolescents contest authority, break dependency and experiment with different roles and ideologies to formulate a lasting sense of identity in society. Plaatje might not have experienced a period of psychosocial moratorium before he entered the world of work and essentially the next developmental phase, namely *intimacy versus isolation*, but it appears that he was able to avoid the complications of role confusion Erikson warned would typically occur if adolescents do not experience a period of moratorium (Carr & McNulty, 2006). No evidence in the literature present Plaatje as insecure about his identity or his role within society – he always acted according to his own beliefs and values. Even in the absence of literature regarding his experience about his religious and sexual identity, Plaatje's behaviour during his formative years does not reflect that he had any doubts or confusion about either of his two identities. Role confusion manifests as indecisiveness and anxiety about one's sense of self in terms of gender identity, social roles and occupational future (Boeree, 2006).

Based on Plaatje's navigation in this psychosocial stage, the researcher inferred that Plaatje exhibited a sense of fidelity, as proposed by Erikson (1963a), which is the emerging ego strength or virtue unique to this developmental stage. This ego strength is characterised by a clear sense of personal identity and the ability for loyalty towards one's social roles (Meyer et al., 2008; Newman & Newman, 2012). Hamachek (1990) further stated that individuals who can integrate their identities, experience fidelity and are able to commit to their decisions. The researcher argues that Plaatje's interest in the law as a future career path, as well as his drive to continuously educate himself (Midgeley, 1997; Woeber, 1998) could be seen as demonstrations of a sense of fidelity to the values instilled in him. Plaatje's identity later also became established in his sense of loyalty and responsibility towards addressing the oppression that African people faced, which was what he was and is still known for. Plaatje developed an almost fanatic need to ensure equality across races (Willan, 2018), a social role that may be viewed as the maladaptive tendency of *fanaticism*, as he became so over-involved in it that it turned him into a workaholic and eventually dominated his family life (Boeree, 2006). However, there are no signs of *repudiation*, the associated malignant tendency where the adolescent rejects membership in the adult world (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (1963a) observed that a repudiated self cannot offer loyalty and fears the fusion of love or sexual encounters, which was untrue of Plaatje as evidenced by his attainment of the virtue of love in the next developmental stage. The findings pertaining to the sixth stage of psychosocial development are discussed next, which spans over the historical periods of Plaatje's life at Kimberley (Section 8.3.6.1), Plaatje at Mafeking (Section 8.3.6.2), as well as the first few years of Tales of Travels (Section 8.3.6.3).

8.3.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love (20 – 35 years)

Productive affiliation with others in work, friendships and love, is characteristic of this stage (Fromme, 2010; Newman & Newman, 2012, 2017). If psychosocial development has been relatively smooth, young adults are more likely to form and sustain meaningful, long-term and intimate relationships with others (Batra, 2013; Erikson, 1968). The individual who is insecure in his or her own identity may fear to become lost or become diffused in the other person's identity (Erikson, 1968). Thus, the individual may avoid such experiences completely, which in turn may cause feelings of isolation and loneliness. The attainment of love is the synthesis between the opposing forces of intimacy and isolation, which will enable the individual to endure times of isolation (Erikson, 1963a; Gross, 1987; Newman & Newman, 2012, 2017). Plaatje's experience of trying to balance the conflict between intimacy and isolation is discussed in the following section.

8.3.6.1 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

Rituals that promote caring and adult relationships such as marriage is generally the most intimate relationship between people, but intimate friendships or commitment to a chosen career are also essential developmental negotiations of this stage (Greene et al., 2010; Hamachek, 1990). At the age of 20, Plaatje was an integral part of an African mission-educated community in Kimberley. Late in 1896, he was elected secretary to another initiative of the Kimberley African community, namely the Young Men's Christians Association (Mokae, 2010). Plaatje wrote a short cover letter to the owners of the local mine, De Beers, requesting financial assistance towards the construction of a meeting hall that was to be erected in the Malay camp, and attached ten signatures of a group of people that illustrated the ethnic diversity within their community – something that they hoped would persuade De Beers to make a contribution (Lunderstedt, 2014). This is his earliest letter to have survived and is written in a

clear, bold hand and signed ‘Your humble servant, Sol T. Plaatje’, as he was now known to his friends (Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s passion for music also blossomed during this time. He had started to sing at concerts more often, learned how to play the harmonium and earned enough money to buy himself both a trumpet and a violin (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). It is thus not surprising that he soon joined the musical society, the Philharmonic Society that made its debut – offering a range of traditional and modern songs, as well as selected solos – in March 1897 (“The debut of the Philharmonic Society”, 1897). His involvement in these activities portrays him as a productive member of society (Willan, 1984) that endorsed kinship and like-mindedness. The researcher thus infers that Plaatje was able to develop and maintain healthy friendships, evidently achieving intimacy.

In September 1896, the same year the destructive Rinderpest epidemic (also called the cattle plague) swept across South Africa, Plaatje’s father, Johannes, died. Plaatje and his brother, Simon hurried to Mafeking but arrived too late for their father’s funeral (Molema, 2012). According to Louw and Louw (2009), the death of a parent is commonly regarded as a potentially transformative event associated with some negative effects, yet, no evidence in the literature indicates how Plaatje’s well-being was impacted by his father’s death. Plaatje, however, assumed responsibility for finalising his father’s estate and used the proceeds to send two of his younger brothers to school (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018), a leading role usually expected from an eldest child in the family (Marks, Jun, & Song, 2007). This behaviour may also be a reflection of Plaatje’s autonomous ability to exercise the virtue of will, which was attained in the second developmental stage.

Erikson (1950, 1963a, 1968) emphasised the development of the ego strength of love within a balanced identity and the individual’s focus on a career. In other words, the individual is committed to a view of self in the world and a work ideal, but not at the expense of the ability to love. Plaatje had likely matured to the point of capability for intimacy, so when he met

Elizabeth M'Belle, his friend Isaiah's youngest sister, in the winter of 1897, he was able to fuse his identity with hers without the fear of losing himself (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963a; Marcia, 2002). Elizabeth was a teacher at a school in a nearby town and spoke five different languages – English, Dutch, Xhosa, Sesotho and Setswana after having attended a mission school in the Eastern Cape Province a few years earlier (Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1916b). Soon they were writing letters to each other in English; their relationship blossomed. However, due to the tribal differences between them (he a Batswana, she a Mfengu), Elizabeth's family was strongly opposed to her relationship with Plaatje, and forbade her to visit Kimberley and subsequently destroyed the letters she wrote to him (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's family, on the other hand, resented the idea of him marrying a girl who spoke a language that had 'clicks' in it (Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1999; Ward, 1902). Inter-tribal relationships and marriages may have been acceptable in the cosmopolitan African community in Kimberley, but to Elizabeth and Plaatje's families, they were not. Apart from Isaiah, who had married a woman of Batswana origin, the year before, it was unlikely that their respective families would accept their relationship (Mokae, 2010; Willan, 1984). During their initial separation, Plaatje experienced the psychosocial crisis of personal intimacy versus isolation evidenced by the frequent letters he wrote to Elizabeth; a time he referred to in later years as "the long and awful nights in 1897 when my path to union...was so rocky" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). However, he remained hopeful that their love for each other would overcome anything, which suggests that Plaatje was able to cope during these times of isolation from Elizabeth. Their families eventually conceded and Plaatje married Elizabeth early the following year (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). The debates surrounding their mixed marriage left such a transformative impact on Plaatje that he, in later years evoked it in his historical novel *Mhudi* (Swart, 2014; Woeber, 1998). Plaatje's commitment to Elizabeth portrays him as an intimate individual regarded not only as a productive member of society but as a sexual and loving being as well (Boeree, 2006; Morris

& Maisto, 2002). This suggests that Plaatje was able to successfully synthesise the opposing forces of intimacy and isolation that ultimately afforded him the ego strength of *love* (Erikson, 1950, 1963a; Miller, 2010; Sollod et al., 2009). Plaatje's success at this stage is directly linked to the success of his identity formation in the previous stage of development (Meyer et al., 2008; Watts et al., 2009). Erikson et al. (1989) asserted that for individuals from diverse backgrounds (as was the case with Plaatje and Elizabeth), striking a balance between the capacity for intimacy and some isolation allows them to love and be loved, while they cultivate their own milieu in which each one's individual identity is preserved. Evidence in the literature emphasise that throughout their marriage, Plaatje and Elizabeth were often faced with long periods of separation and isolation which made it extremely challenging to find such a balance.

In addition to his work at the Post Office and involvement in extra-curricular activities, Plaatje developed quite an enthusiasm for drama and in particular, for Shakespeare, which became a lifelong interest and an important legacy of the years he spent in Kimberley. He first encountered Shakespeare in December 1897, when he saw a performance of *Hamlet* in the Kimberley new Theatre Royal, which was widely considered to be the best playhouse in the country (Lunderstedt, 2014). *Merchant of Venice* was the first of Shakespeare's plays he had read prior to this (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Struck by the playwright's ability to transcend different contexts (Willan, 2018), he, in later years, possibly attempted to emulate this via his Setswana translations of Shakespeare's plays:

The performance made me curious to know more about Shakespeare and his works. Intelligence in Africa is still carried from mouth to mouth by means of conversation after working hours, and, reading a number of Shakespeare's works, I always had a fresh story to tell. (Willan, 1996, p. 210)

It was the first of a number of plays that were showcased in Kimberley in 1896 (*Othello* and *Merchant of Venice*) and again in 1897 (*Hamlet*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Merchant of Venice*). In Kimberley, as with other forms of entertainment, Africans also formed part of the audiences (Foulkes, 2002). Plaatje saw no reason why Shakespeare should not be as accessible to him as to his White fellow citizens and he was curious to know more about England's 'greatest playwright' (Willan, 2018). He was thankful for continuously improving his knowledge of the English language, because it helped him understand 'the great English literature' and also made it possible to appreciate Shakespeare performed on stage (Willan, 1984, 2018). There is no indication from the available findings that Plaatje approached activities with a fear of loss of identity, nor are there instances in the literature that indicate that Plaatje's psychosocial development favoured isolation during this period. The number of interpersonal commitments and relationships seemed to have increased throughout this developmental stage.

By mid-1898, political opinion within the Cape Colony had become increasingly polarised on either side of the White racial divide (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). The two opposing parties, the British Progressive Party and the White-dominated Afrikaner Bond, competed openly for African support (Trapido, 1980). Despite all the liberties and freedom that Plaatje and his friends enjoyed, they were also subject to many restrictions and constraints and had to learn to cope with a racially tense and often hostile environment (Matjila & Haire, 2014). Plaatje qualified to vote in the general elections (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984), which reinforced his belief in the value of the non-racial Cape franchise and the importance of participating in the political life of the Colony (Leflaive, 2014). He supported the Afrikaner Nationalists because Henry Burton (a White South African-born lawyer that often assisted the African community with legal cases) campaigned as the main candidate against the British Imperialists (Willan, 1984, 2018). Even when the British emerged victoriously, Plaatje chose

to believe the non-racial Cape franchise would continue its existence in the colony (Molema, 2012). Ernst Westphal, Plaatje's mentor and teacher at Pniel, had since become a British citizen and saw Plaatje's alliance with the Afrikaners as treasonous (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Despite his unwavering respect for Westphal, Plaatje's clear sense of individual and social identity allowed him to stand firm in his decisions (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's conviction to stick to his own beliefs in this instance can possibly be seen as a significant example of his developing ethical sense; Erikson (1963a) deems this as characteristic of adulthood.

By this time, Plaatje's career started to become a more persistent concern. More than ever, he desired to become a court interpreter (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Woeber, 1998). Having worked hard to improve his knowledge of several languages that he might need to do the job, he was on the look-out for a suitable position for a while (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). His long-standing interest in the potential of the law and possibly bearing witness on a daily basis to the salary and status that being a court interpreter brought to his friend and now brother-in-law, Isaiah, must have encouraged him more. After all this time, Plaatje's family and friends back in Pniel could also discard their fears of him succumbing to the temptations of city life; they were regularly reassured as he used to spend many of his off days, prior to marrying Elizabeth, visiting them (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). Though the details of these visits remain unknown, it does suggest that Plaatje's relationship with his family of origin remained close during this and subsequent historical periods (Willan, 2018).

When a vacancy for a clerk and interpreter at the Mafeking's magistrate's court became available in August 1898, Plaatje secured the job and moved there a few months later after he recovered from an unexpected illness (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). It was the first documented incident of ill-health of many that would affect him throughout his adult life (Willan, 2018). At the time of Plaatje's move to Mafeking, Elizabeth was nearly nine months pregnant with their first baby and unable to travel, which meant that it was the married

couple's first encounter of separation of many such encounters still to come. Fortunately, due to the development of hope that resulted from the successful resolution of the first psychosocial stage, the ego strength of *love* that developed during this stage enabled Plaatje to endure these times of *isolation* (Gross, 1987). Plaatje moved to Mafeking on his own while Elizabeth stayed at Pniel with Plaatje's eldest brother Simon and his family, in line with their Batswana custom (Molema, 2012). The findings for the third historical period of Plaatje's life are discussed next.

Table 8.3

Timeline for the Third Historical Period:

Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)

Year	Significant Experiences (1898 – 1910)
1898	Starts job as clerk and court interpreter in Magistrate Court at Mafeking
	First child born at Pniel: son called Frederick York St Leger
1899	Anglo-Boer War broke out on 11 October; Siege of Mafeking
1899/1900	Wrote <i>The Boer War Diary of Sol T. Plaatje: An African at Mafeking</i>
1900	Achieves top marks in the Cape Civil Service Examination
1901	Starts journalistic career part-time at <i>Koranta ea Becoana</i>
	Second son, Richard is born
1902	Becomes full-time editor of <i>Koranta ea Becoana</i>
1903	Joins delegation of Barolong chiefs to Cape Town
	First daughter, Olive is born
1906	<i>Koranta ea Becoana</i> shuts down
1907	Second daughter, Violet is born
1909	Forced to work as a labour recruiter for the mine (financial struggles)
1910	Birth of the new Union of South Africa
	Relocates with family to Kimberley
	Third son, Halley is born
	Becomes editor of a new newspaper, <i>Tsala ea Becoana</i> (The Bechuana's friend)

8.3.6.2 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)

8.3.6.2.1 Before the Siege

Biographical data detailing this specific time in Plaatje's life was presented in Section 2.3.3. In view of Elizabeth's condition, Plaatje's new job, which commenced at the office of the Mafeking magistrate and civil commissioner in October 1898, was probably not the only thing on his mind (Willan, 2018). On 23 November (five weeks later), Elizabeth gave birth to a baby boy and Plaatje rushed back to Pniel to see his young son, Frederick York St Leger, Sainty, for short (Molema, 2012). Elizabeth and Sainty joined Plaatje, now aged 22 years, in Mafeking and stayed with him until just before Christmas that year. The birth of his son must have added a new dimension to Plaatje's love, as Boeree (2006) stated, the intimacy which relates to the giving and receiving of physical, but also emotional connections.

Plaatje's new job proved to be more demanding than anything he had been accustomed to in the Post Office in Kimberley (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). Although he worked in cramped and badly ventilated offices, he remained industrious and continued to apply himself diligently to his work throughout 1899 (Lunderstedt, 2014). One of Plaatje's biggest frustrations centered around money and status; it infuriated him if he felt his skills and status went unrecognised (Willan, 1984, 2018), which may well have been the prevailing reason that he constantly protested against unjust treatment, especially when he was personally affected. The two court cases that he was involved in during this time (see Section 2.3.3) further illustrate his sensitivity to anything he perceived as unfair treatment. Although Plaatje was far away from his family during this time, it seemed to work out in his favour as he was fully occupied: between his normal duties at work and involvement in the local community, Plaatje was also busy with preparations for the Cape Civil Service examinations, hoping for a higher salary and promotion (Midgeley, 1997, Molema, 2012). Unfortunately, the Anglo-Boer war broke out on

11 October 1899 (Manson & Mbenga, 2014), derailing Plaatje's plans to write these examinations. The town's geographical location, as well as the large quantities of stores and railway equipment that was accumulated there, made it an attractive target to attack and thus, Mafeking was besieged by Boer forces for eight months (De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009).

8.3.6.2.2 During the Siege

Throughout the siege, Plaatje continued to work as a court interpreter and supplemented his income by doing administrative tasks for war correspondents, writing articles for the local newspaper and typing out the handwritten diaries of others (Midgeley, 1997). His linguistic skills earned him the job as liaison between the White British administration and the Black Barolong chiefs; it elevated him to a position of privilege among the African people and left him unaffected when the food rationing system was implemented (Leflaive, 2014). Throughout the war, Plaatje kept his own diary that was serendipitously discovered by an anthropologist in 1969. It was originally published in 1973 under the title, *The Boer War Diary of Sol T. Plaatje: An African at Mafeking*, and re-edited and published in 1989 as *Mafeking Diary: A Black Man's View of a White Man's War*. For Plaatje, keeping a diary was a means of articulating thoughts about his own behaviour and conduct, as well as an opportunity to develop his literary skills by experimenting with vocabulary and narrative form (Mizoguchi, 2009; Willan, 2018). Writing the diary also allowed Plaatje to express his multiple identities: the family man, the vulnerable individual (in the middle of a war) and the privileged, conscientious servant of a colonial government, who ensured he remained well aware of the vast differences between white and black (Mizoguchi, 2009). Implicit in his entries was the hope of a better and equal future for all. These daily entries were interrupted only when he was ill and confined to bed, which always seemed to flare up feelings of loneliness within him. As usual, he disregarded

his frail health (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The Christmas of 1899 was a time of significant isolation for Plaatje as he was not only sick and in bed with influenza, but the celebrations enjoyed by others served only to emphasise the pain of being without his family that he described as: “Surely, providence has seldom been so hard on me” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). According to Gross (1987), the ego strength of love enables a person to endure times of isolation. This period in Plaatje’s life serves as evidence for his capacity for love and his ability to endure isolation, which led to the researcher’s inference that he gained this ego strength and managed to successfully navigate the conflict of intimacy versus isolation as previously described.

8.3.6.2.3 After the Siege

Post-war, Plaatje again demonstrated willpower: he re-registered for and wrote the Cape Civil Service examinations as he had previously planned (Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010). Plaatje was proud to discover that he achieved top marks and that he headed the list of candidates, only to be disappointed a few months later when he was not acknowledged accordingly in the published government gazette (Midgeley, 1997). Not receiving public recognition for his achievement, especially after enquiring the discrepancy, fuelled his resentment and reminded him of the injustices that existed in an administration he had always been loyal to (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje had always perceived himself as an industrious and hardworking person, but in this instance, not being recognised by the government might have left him with feelings of inferiority and a loss of faith in his own abilities to be self-sufficient (Morris & Maisto, 2002). The uncertainty of advancement in his chosen career path further hindered his intellectual development and left him feeling in-between (Arnett, 2004), and possibly, with a hint of inferiority too. Although Plaatje’s experience was a negative one, he applied the previously attained virtues of willpower, purpose and competence to navigate this

challenge successfully. His ethical sense could also have developed further during this historical period as he became more and more aware of the human rights infringements that took place during that era (Couzens, 2001; Midgeley, 1997). The researcher inferred from this example that Plaatje's psychological focus and attention was starting to shift outward (to the world of politics), in part linked to the ethical sense of adulthood, which according to Erikson (1963a), develops when the conflict of this stage is being effectively navigated.

By this time, Elizabeth had moved to Mafeking permanently, which meant that outside working hours Plaatje at least had his family to go home to (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Together, the couple became very much involved in the social life of the Barolong as they shared their language, knew their customs and understood their concerns. Despite Plaatje's young age, level of education, his work in the government service and his easy familiarity with the ways of the White man (Swart, 2014; Willan, 2018), people relied on him for advice and guidance as he was well-placed at the chief's court. By occasionally acting on behalf of the chiefs and headmen, Plaatje was carrying on a well-established tradition (Molema, 2012). Back at work, tensions were felt by the continued and unwelcome presence of British troops in the district. Many of Plaatje's colleagues moved away from Mafeking, including his boss Charles Bell, but Plaatje remained and applied himself with his customary diligence, although after Bell's departure, office routine never really regained its equilibrium (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

The world of journalism soon beckoned. Plaatje's long-standing fascination with the world of newspapers was spurred into action when he started writing articles on a part-time basis for Silas Molema's weekly Setswana-English publication, *Koranta ea Bechoana* (The Bechuana Gazette (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984). The newspaper first appeared around the same time that Plaatje's second son, Richard, was born; not the ideal time to relinquish his paid employment as a civil servant (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). For two more years, family

and financial pressures forced him to continue working as a civil servant, before seeking more autonomy by purposefully deciding to turn to journalism full-time in 1902 (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). At the age of 26 years, Plaatje became editor of *Koranta ea Becaana* and joined a select band of Black pressmen in South Africa (Midgeley, 1997; Swart, 2014). As editor of a newspaper, it offered him greater scope to express his talents and ultimately, fulfill a growing sense of responsibility for the leadership of a wider community (the Barolong and other African people) that now looked to him to represent its interests and to be their voice (Willan, 2018). After eight years of service to the government of the Cape Colony, Plaatje retained his faith in its judicial system and was hopeful for the future. This change in career, however, was not the first instance of generative concern for Plaatje as he was already a father and, as mentioned, had been working for several years. The change was nonetheless representative of a distinct new era in his psychosocial development. Generativity refers to participating in the next generation's development by making the world a better place for those who will follow (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Erikson, 1995; Newman & Newman, 2012; Watts et al., 2009). Through his articles, Plaatje became known as a leading spokesperson for African opinion (Mokae, 2010; Molema, 2012). Before long, he was exchanging articles with overseas newspapers, especially African-American publications, in an attempt to boost readership and subsequent income (Willan, 1984, 2018). The newspaper, burdened with financial difficulties from the start, kept Plaatje working long hours and incurring personal debt to ensure its survival (Midgeley, 1997). This did not bother Plaatje, as the newspaper's political creed was central to his own long-standing belief system of equality before the law for everyone, and pride in his African heritage (Limb, 2003; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje's political career started in 1903 when he joined a delegation of Barolong chiefs to the British government in Cape Town to claim compensation for the losses suffered by the African people during the war (Willan, 1984). Over the next few years, he became more critical

of the British administration of the two previous Boer Republics and the pass laws that were introduced specifically to control the movements of Black people (Cousins & Walker, 2015). He travelled around the country, observed unfair or wrongful situations and reported them in his newspaper. By 1906, his newspaper was shut down and Plaatje, covered in debt, was left without an income (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Over time, his financial dilemma worsened until he found work as a labour recruiter for the mines for a few months in 1909. By April 1910, Plaatje's inability to settle his debts forced the bailiff to seize a few of the assets in his house (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). During the period 1901 and 1910, Plaatje fathered another son, Hally and two daughters, Olive and Violet, but his work commitments often caused him to be away from home which essentially, left Elizabeth on her own as the children's primary caregiver (Molema, 2012). Plaatje missed his wife and found it difficult to miss so much of the children growing up, but Plaatje and Elizabeth had to endure the time apart as they were both committed to the cause. As always, there was a stark contrast between Plaatje's stature as a leader of the African people and his personal circumstances (Willan, 2018). In terms of Erikson's (1963a, 1968) theory, Plaatje's acts of love, at the age of 34, extended more towards society at large, than to his own family. Plaatje may have prematurely entered the developmental stage of generativity versus stagnation and, therefore, struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society. His limited involvement with and care for his family suggested the virtue of care may have been overemphasised to society at great personal cost. The virtue of fidelity that he had obtained in the previous stage most likely enabled him to uphold the commitment that he made to those outside of his family (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). As a productive member of society, Plaatje did not appear to have developed the maladaptation of promiscuity, which refers to becoming intimate too freely with lovers or friends (Boeree, 2006). He also did not display obvious signs of the malignancy of exclusion, which is characterised by spiteful behaviour and

the tendency to isolate oneself socially (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1989). This premature display of generative behaviour is consistent with findings from a study conducted by Peterson and Swart (1993) that found some individuals to develop generativity well before middle age (Prenter, 2015).

The next section continues to present findings relevant to Erikson’s sixth stage of development since it still partly corresponds with the first few years of the third historical period. Plaatje enters the seventh developmental stage early on in the fourth historical period, *Tales of Travels* (Section 8.3.6.3). Erikson’s seventh stage of psychosocial development is the final stage applicable to Plaatje’s life, which draws to an end in the fifth historical period, *The Autumn Years* (Section 8.3.7.2).

Table 8.4

Timeline for the Fourth Historical Period:

Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)

Year	Significant Experiences (1910 – 1923)
1910	Birth of the new Union of South Africa
	Relocates with family to Kimberley
	Third son, Halley is born
	Becomes editor of a new newspaper, <i>Tsala ea Bechoana</i> (The Bechuana’s friend)
1912	Youngest son, Johannes is born
	South African Native Congress (SANNC) is formed; elected secretary-general (unpaid position)
	March, April, May – travels around the country under auspices of SANNC
	Newspaper forced to shut down; revived under a new name three months later
	General Hertzog replaces Henry Burton as Minister of Native Affairs
1913	Natives’ Land Act implemented
	Travels around the country towards empowerment and liberation of African people
1914	Travels to England as head of SANNC delegation
	Youngest son, Johannes dies
	Starts writing a book: <i>Native Life in South Africa</i>
	World War II starts in August

1915	Travels to Wales, Scotland
	Plaatje's revived newspaper, <i>Tsala ea Batho</i> goes bankrupt
1916	Publishes <i>Native Life in South Africa</i>
1917	Returns to South Africa; travels around the country advocating against the proposed Native Administration Bill
1918	Entire Plaatje household falls ill; Plaatje forced to stay home and take care of them
1919	Travels to England as part of SANNC delegation
1921	Eldest daughter, Olive dies
1922	Does first-ever recorded version of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" in London, England
1923	SANNC changes its name to African National Congress (ANC)

8.3.6.3 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)

In May 1910, with the birth of the Union of South Africa (Odendaal, 2012), Plaatje and his family moved to Kimberley, where he became editor of a new newspaper, *Tsala ea Becoana* (*The Bechuana's Friend*) (Swart, 2014). The launch of a new era in the history of South Africa corresponded almost precisely with a new chapter in his own life. Kimberley's political and social surroundings promised to be a suitable base from which to run a newspaper; its educational facilities were an important consideration too, now that he had four children of school age (Roberts, 1976; Willan, 2018). In addition, many of Plaatje's friends had remained in Kimberley in the thirteen years since he left the town, including Isaiah and his family. The move back, therefore, brought both him and Elizabeth closer to their families (Molema, 2012). Plaatje's private life and close bonds with family and friends thus continued to reflect his experience of intimacy at home.

In order to generate additional income, he wrote regular articles for the local *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, including the *Pretoria News* and the *Cape Argus*. Plaatje also managed to preserve good relationships with the authorities, especially with some government members and heads of departments that accepted interviews at the newspaper. For instance, he was elated at the news that Henry Burton, his long-time friend and lawyer, had recently been elected Minister of Native Affairs, as well as at the appointment of W.P. Schreiner, a former prime minister of

the Colony, as one of the four ‘Native Senators’ whose duty, in terms of the new constitution, was to look after ‘native interests’ (Leflaive 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Plaatje was familiar with both men and he looked forward not only to the development of favourable ‘native policies’ but to a sympathetic ear for the particular grievances of his own people, the Barolong (Willan, 2018).

The next year Plaatje was inundated with issues within the new administration, which included disputes relating to Barolong land, as well as the apparent attack by the new government to replace African civil servants with whites - on the railways, in the Post office and in the courts of law (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). It appeared that this was the political dividend that White voters, especially Afrikaners, now expected (Moguerane, 2016). Furthermore, the attack on the employment of Black court interpreters, in particular, upset Plaatje immensely because it spelled worrying consequences for the proper functioning of the judicial system he believed in (Woeber, 1998). Therefore, for the greatest part of 1911, Plaatje travelled across the country in an attempt to gather evidence about the breakdowns in justice that resulted from the use of unqualified or inexperienced White interpreters (Midgeley, 1997). His role as spokesperson for the African people and his ability to form relationships with larger communities may illustrate his experience of intimacy in the social world as well. Meanwhile, the financial situation at *Tsala ea Becoana*, including Plaatje’s own personal finances remained precarious, which forced him to apply for a loan to keep the newspaper afloat (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Isaiah Bud-M’Belle stepped in and settled a few of Plaatje’s debts, but many other debts remained unpaid (Jacobson, 1980; Lunderstedt, 2014).

8.3.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care (35 - 65 years)

In this stage, the individual must find synthesis between generativity and self-obsession or stagnation (Erikson, 1997). Generative personalities find fulfilment by participating in the next

generation's development through guidance, productive work, procreation or childcare (Louw & Louw, 2009; Newman & Newman, 2012). They also have a stronger sense of coherence than adults who do not expand their ego-interests and stagnate by withdrawing or rejecting others during this time (Erikson, 1968; Newman & Newman, 2012). A successful synthesis leads to the virtue of care, which implies a capacity to give without expectations of any return (Stevens, 2008). The attainment of the previous virtues (i.e., *hope, will, purpose, fidelity* and *love*) is essential to guide and promote these same virtues in the next generation (Erikson, 1997). This crisis was the dominant psychosocial crisis for most, if not all, of the historical periods across Plaatje's entire lifespan.

8.3.7.1 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923) - continued

Plaatje's travels during this historical period expanded further abroad and kept him away from home for much longer periods on end. In January 1912, the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC) was founded in Bloemfontein in the Free State, South Africa, to defend the rights of the country's Black population and to promote cooperation with the Afrikaner government, who were discussing the implementation of rigorous segregation pass laws (Willan, 1984, 2018; Woeber, 1998). Plaatje was elected the SANNC's first secretary-general (Midgeley, 1997) which, under its auspices, sparked a series of travels throughout the country (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984), advocating against the newly proposed legislations and sourcing support from, among others, the predominantly Coloured African Political Organisation (APO) (Woeber, 1998). By June 1912, Plaatje's long absences from home, compounded by financial difficulties forced his second newspaper to shut down. Three months later, he managed to revive it under a new name, *Tsala ea Batho (The Friend of the People)*, that reflected the unity advocated by the SANNC (Midgeley, 1997). However, exactly how he was able to secure the necessary backing to relaunch the newspaper remains a mystery.

The Native Land Act, implemented in 1913, deprived Africans the right to acquire land outside ‘Scheduled Native Areas’ (Odendaal, 2012), thus effectively segregating them from the Whites who were prohibited from acquiring land within these areas. This legislation became a central event in Plaatje’s life that left him “not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 15). It struck at the heart of his belief in a common society and must have developed within him a sense of mistrust and feelings of despair in the government he had always been loyal to. Nonetheless, he again travelled around the country (on a bicycle), gathering evidence about the adverse consequences of the Land Act and reported it in his newspaper (Rall, 2003; Woeber, 1998). What Plaatje saw of the effects of the Natives’ Land Act generated a deeper sense of anger and betrayal than anything up till then, along with a feeling of disbelief that fellow human beings could be so insensitive about the consequences of their actions:

I shall never forget the scenes I have witnessed in the Hoopstad district during the cold snap of July, of families living on the roads, the numbers of their attenuated flocks emaciated by lack of fodder on the trek, many of them dying while the wandering owners ran risks of prosecution for travelling with unhealthy stock. I saw the little children shivering, and contrasted their condition with the better circumstances of my own children in their Kimberley home; and when the mothers told me of the homes they had left behind and the privations they have endured since eviction I could scarcely suppress a tear.

(Willan, 2018, p. 250)

The researcher, therefore, infers from Plaatje’s response to the Natives’ Land Act that it was a deeply personal and emotional time of his psychosocial development that could have resulted in his withdrawal from participating in the development of society (Erikson, 1963a, 1963b). Fortunately, Plaatje’s acquisition of the previous ego strengths (i.e., *hope, will, purpose, fidelity*

and *love*) enabled him to avoid a pervasive sense of stagnation, which includes regression to past conflicts (Erikson, 1997). Furthermore, Plaatje continued to demonstrate signs of generativity throughout this historical period by continuing to raise awareness of the inequalities that existed between Black and White at the time (Freiberg, 1987; Swart, 2014).

Although Elizabeth was mainly responsible for the care of the children and the running of the household, it seemed that she was happy to allow her husband to devote his energies to a cause to which they were both committed. For the children, however, their father's long absences must have been more difficult to understand. When Plaatje was at home, Olive, his favourite child, was determined to claim as much of his attention as she could by, for instance, making him tea and taking it to his study although he was busy with work (Willan, 2018). She would insist on sharing it with him before he could continue (Willan, 1996). The special fondness he had for Olive is evident from the fact that he wrote numerous anecdotes about her; more than about all his other children put together (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1996), and it is perhaps an illustration of Plaatje's continued experience of intimacy at home, despite the incessant demands of others on his time (Lunderstedt, 2014; Swart, 2014).

In 1914, Plaatje led a SANNC delegation to the British government in order to request repeal of the Act, but to no avail. He started writing *Native Life in South Africa* as part of the proposed campaign, and remained in England for three years to complete and publish it (Midgeley, 1997; Swart, 2014). During this time, he also worked on other writing projects. In the meantime, he travelled to Wales and Scotland and also managed to establish a variety of contacts within London's African and African-American community while promoting the SANNC's cause via a programme of public lectures and meetings (Willan, 2018).

Back at home, Plaatje's lastborn, Johannes, had become severely ill over Christmas time in 1913, but never fully recovered from whatever illness it was and eventually died at the age of two, shortly after Plaatje left for England in 1914; due to financial constraints he was unable to

return for the funeral in time (Lunderstedt, 2014). The family tragedy affected Plaatje deeply and left, as he later wrote, “an indelible gap . . . in our domestic circle” (Willan, 2018, p. 257). Plaatje’s newspaper also ceased publication in July 1915 due to financial struggles. A few months later, Elizabeth’s mother died and on Christmas Eve, Isaiah suddenly found himself unemployed when his position as interpreter was stopped with immediate effect (Willan, 2018). More positive news came a few weeks later when the South African Native College (today known as the University of Fort Hare) was launched as the first post-secondary educational institution in South Africa to be open to Black South Africans (Matthews, 1981). This surely was encouraging news for Plaatje amidst all the challenges. During his two and a half years in England, he had convened more than 300 meetings, including 150 at Brotherhood meetings (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984). Shortly before his return to South Africa, Plaatje managed to publish his book, *Native Life in South Africa Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion* in May 1916 (Plaatje, 1916b), including a collection of 732 proverbs, entitled *Sechuana Proverbs with Literal Translation and their European Equivalents, A Sechuana Reader in International Phonetic Orthography (with English translations)*, that was jointly authored with Daniel Jones, Reader in Phonetics at University College in London (Jones & Plaatje, 1916). ‘A South African’s Homage’, a short tribute, in both English and Setswana, which he wrote for *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, was published to commemorate the tercentenary anniversary of Shakespeare’s death (Gollancz, 1916). It seems that during this period, Plaatje demonstrated a distinct expansion of ego interests and continued to be a productive member of society (Erikson, 1963a, 1997), although his work often resulted in him being absent from his own family life for long periods.

Upon his return to South Africa in 1917, the SANNC was in turmoil, and its president was obliged to resign. Despite being offered the presidency, Plaatje declined it and instead spent the rest of 1917 travelling around the country advocating against the horrors of the proposed

Native Administration Bill as an extension of the injustices of the 1913 Native Land Act (Leflaive, 2014; Woeber, 1998). Over the ensuing months, his reputation and influence as a national political figure earned him praise from many people, either in person or via the numerous letters that appeared in the African press. Plaatje was a ‘pioneer’ who had risked himself by producing *Native Life in South Africa*, and had succeeded in exposing injustice (Rule, 2016). The feedback he received reflects his contribution to a cause he still strongly believed in.

During October 1918, Plaatje’s entire household fell ill with influenza, forcing him to take care of them (Molema, 2012). The other family members recovered well, but Plaatje’s eldest daughter, Olive, contracted rheumatic fever and eventually passed away three years later (Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2012). Plaatje also fell ill and developed a heart condition that worsened over time, especially when he (often) overworked himself (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Olive’s death probably left a lasting impact on Plaatje, particularly because at the time of her funeral, in 1921, he was abroad again – as he had been with the death of his son, Johannes – and unable to return home in time due to financial reasons. While it appeared that Plaatje was able to recover from his grief and find meaning in life mainly through work, it could be that Plaatje’s emotional ties to Olive were never fully severed, especially since he later dedicated his novel *Mhudi* to “the memory of our beloved Olive” (Willan, 2018, p. 424). The researcher infers that Plaatje’s experience of generativity could, therefore, have also been facilitated in part by his role as a father. Although he was often away from home for long periods, Plaatje still seemed to have had a close bond with his wife and children.

In the spring of 1919, Plaatje led another SANNC deputation to England to remind the British government and its public of their continued mistreatment by the Union authorities, but without success (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). For the next few years, he travelled extensively towards this cause, touring England, Scotland, Canada and America while lecturing

at public meetings, writing articles for newspapers and producing pamphlets on South African affairs. It was during this time that he wrote the epic novel *Mhudi*, which was eventually published in 1930 (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984). Despite his declining health, Plaatje lived a busy and productive life. Before returning to South Africa in 1923, he recorded several Setswana and Xhosa hymns at a recording studio in London and sang the first-ever recorded version of “Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika” – today South Africa’s national anthem (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997, Willan, 2018). Erikson’s seventh developmental stage of psychosocial development overlaps into the fifth and final socio-historical period in Plaatje’s life. The relevant findings are highlighted in the table below and discussed in the section that follows.

Table 8.6

Timeline for the Fifth Historical Period:

The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)

Year	Significant Experiences (1923 - 1932)
1926	Colour Bar Act is passed in South Africa
1927	Native Administration Bill is passed in South Africa
	Elected as vice-president of Cape Native Voters Association
1927/1928	Elected special deputy to International Order of True Templars (IOTT)
1929	Awarded a house in Kimberley as a gift for work done for African people
1930	Translation of Shakespeare’s <i>Comedy of Errors</i> is published
1931	Becomes editor of the newspaper, <i>The Heritage</i> , for five months
	Travels to Belgian Congo and Zimbabwe
1932	Final trips to Cape Town and Johannesburg for the last time

8.3.7.2 The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)

Back in Kimberley, Plaatje found his wife and children staying at her brother, Isaiah’s house since their family home had to be sold for Elizabeth to make ends meet (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). The SANNC, since renamed the African National Congress, (ANC) was a

shadow of its former self, its position challenged by the mass African trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa, who believed in more direct methods such as strikes (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Despite his public critique of the British administration, Plaatje never associated himself with activities that advocated armed conflict and he gradually withdrew from the ANC (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). According to Erikson et al. (1989), generativity involves the responsibility of the individual to maintain and develop the societal institutions necessary for the survival and development of future generations. Plaatje's dedication to the development and improvement of African people via the institution of the ANC was based on his fierce opposition to the practices of racial segregation and economic inequality that existed at the time. This could be seen as an expression of his generative concern. Thus, the researcher infers that Plaatje's decision to distance himself from the ANC may well have been supported by the fact that he considered the institution's policies and practices to be in opposition to his ethical sense – a characteristic development of the previous psychosocial stage, in line with Erikson's (1963a) psychosocial theory of development. The ANC's prestige had, as Plaatje's position as an independent African spokesman, lost its major effect. Furthermore, Plaatje was struck by the virtual demise of the African press and again travelled around the country to act as a voice for the African people by writing hundreds of articles in various English-language newspapers of the day, often under the heading 'Through Native Eyes' (Leflaive, 2014). The passing of the Colour Bar Act in 1926 (De Villiers, 2000; Odendaal, 2012) and the proposed abolishment of the Cape non-racial that loomed, threatened Plaatje's most cherished principle: equality before the law. Throughout 1927 and 1928 he again travelled throughout the country, after being appointed special deputy in the Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT), an inter-racial organisation that advocated sobriety (Rall, 2003). A committed teetotaler, Plaatje had often singled out alcoholism in many of his articles as one of the primary contributors to the deterioration of the

lives of his people (Lunderstedt, 2014). His purpose was to establish new branches of the organisation in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Eastern Cape (Willan, 1984, 2018). The IOTT offered paid employment and allowed him to travel under its auspices around the countryside (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). With the passing of the Native Administration Bill in September 1927 (Odendaal, 2012) Plaatje was, more than ever, driven to defend the Cape franchise, because its existence allowed African spokesmen like himself some degree of leverage in the House of Assembly as well as some influence in the deliberations of the South African Party (Willan, 2018). To this end, he became involved in the Cape Native Voters Association, after being elected its vice-president in 1927 (De Villiers, 2000; Rall, 2003). For the next two years, as the next general elections approached in 1929, Plaatje actively rallied supporters against the abolishment of the Cape franchise, in five separate constituencies extending from Hopetown, south of the Orange River, to Mafeking (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018), albeit without success. Plaatje's opposition to the segregation laws may reflect a desire to contribute towards the development of future generations through the safeguarding of human rights and the creation of governmental structures that promote justice, equality and liberty. His sense of responsibility had extended to all South Africans, in particular Black South Africans, who did not have parliamentary representation (Couzens, 2001; Midgeley, 1997). The Kimberley community rewarded him that same year when he received the house he and his family were renting, as a gift for his ceaseless work on behalf of his people (Couzens, 2001). The gesture of acknowledgement during this historical period might have restored some of his hope for the future and had a positive, or protective, influence on his sense of generativity (Willan, 2018).

From 1930 onwards, Plaatje's political life began to diminish and he decided to devote himself to the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The researcher speculates that towards the end of this

historical period, this shift in attention may be a reflection of some degree of stagnation due to the limited progress Plaatje felt he was making in the struggle against apartheid (see Section 2.2), and that maybe he felt increasingly disillusioned about his ability to effect change within the governmental system. The researcher further argues that although Plaatje's sense of generativity was challenged, a sense of stagnation did not become the dominant experience for Plaatje. Instead, his ego interests remained expanded to the African community at large, as indicated by his intention to revitalise the African people's language as a way of restoring a sense of pride in their customs and traditions (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1916a). It was also a response to his increasingly pessimistic observations of the effects of social and economic change upon the lives of his people – alcoholism, lawlessness, breakdown of parental control, disrespect for authority (Willan, 2018). His Setswana translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was published at the end of 1930, but *Julius Caesar* was only published in 1937, after pending disagreements between government and native experts on Setswana orthography (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003). Meanwhile, Plaatje also worked on a new edition of his original collection of Setswana proverbs, which included an additional 400 proverbs and sayings to the 732 that appeared in the original edition (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). In 1931, Plaatje briefly edited a newspaper, the *Heritage*, published under the auspices of the IOTT, but it ceased publication after just five issues. Plaatje also travelled to the Belgian Congo and Zimbabwe in 1931 in his capacity as a journalist (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's generative behaviour during his last years, put strain on his already weak heart. He had always experienced many health issues and because he refused to slow down and to let go of some of the many activities he had, he aged prematurely. Not even the doctors' advice to avoid putting unnecessary strain upon his weak heart, stopped him from continuing his customary public engagements (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014).

Despite his ailing health, he travelled again at the start of 1932; first to Cape Town and then to Johannesburg on working visits (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He also attended social engagements and wrote obituaries of several ‘friends of the natives’ who had died during the first week of June and attended their funerals (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). While in Johannesburg in June 1932, Plaatje fell ill with influenza but continued to work on his manuscripts while he recovered with family staying in town (Willan, 1984, 2018). On 17 June, he braved the cold weather and attended to prior arranged appointments but collapsed on a train platform on the way back home. Plaatje died of ‘heart failure due to double lobar pneumonia’ two days later, on 19 June 1932 with his wife Elizabeth and other family members at his bedside (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). His grave and house in Kimberley have since been declared national monuments as tributes to his tireless efforts to educate and connect people across races (SAHO, 2018; Willan, 2018). The researcher infers that throughout this last historical period in his life, right up until his death, Plaatje remained productive and industriousness. Plaatje’s major activities could be described as legacy activities. In his career, he never self-stagnated but seemingly surmounted many challenges by following his own moral voice, guided by willpower, purpose, love and care.

8.4 Summary of Plaatje’s Psychosocial Development

Basic trust versus mistrust (age 0 – 18 months). Based on the data collected on Plaatje’s life, the researcher infers that Plaatje’s close relationships with his caregivers, particularly with his mother, enabled him to develop trust and sufficient self-confidence to explore his environment. It appears that Plaatje was able to balance the opposing forces of basic trust and basic mistrust and that he acquired the ego strength or virtue of *hope*.

Autonomy versus shame and doubt (age 18 months – 3 years). It appears that Plaatje was able to explore his immediate environment autonomously and independently and that his self-confidence was not compromised by overwhelming shame and doubt during this developmental period. Thus, the researcher speculates that Plaatje has acquired the ego strength of *willpower* despite the possibility that this psychosocial crisis may have been resolved with an element of *compulsion*.

Initiative versus guilt (3 years – 6 years). Plaatje confirmed that he was able to formulate goals, develop plans and act on his initiative without experiencing excessive guilt like a young child. It seems that Plaatje successfully resolved the crisis of this developmental stage and acquired the virtues of *purpose* and courage that aided him in overcoming challenges.

Industry versus inferiority (6 years – 12 years). It appears that Plaatje was able to successfully navigate this developmental stage through his participation in school and extracurricular activities. The researcher, therefore, posits that Plaatje had resolved the developmental crisis and strove to uphold the gained virtue of industry and *competency* throughout his life. The researcher noted, however, that Plaatje's sense of industry may have become so overdeveloped during later years, that it turned him into a workaholic who demonstrated the maladaptive tendency of *narrow virtuosity*.

Identity versus role confusion (12 years – 20 years). Plaatje seems to have emerged from this developmental period with a stable and integrated sense of identity, as he always acted according to his own beliefs and values. Although Plaatje did not experience a period of *psychosocial moratorium* that is unique to this developmental stage, it appears that he was able to avoid the complications of *role confusion* and managed to resolve the adolescent identity crisis satisfactorily to acquire the ego strength of *fidelity*.

Intimacy versus isolation (20 years – 35 years). This period in Plaatje's life serves as evidence for his capacity for *intimacy* and *love* and ability to endure *isolation*, which led to the

researcher's inference that he managed to successfully resolve the crisis of this developmental stage and gained the ego strength of love. His marriage to Elizabeth, as well as the number of friendships and other interpersonal commitments that seemed to have increased over the course of this developmental stage, demonstrate his successful navigation of this stage. The virtue of *fidelity* that he had obtained in the previous stage most likely enabled him to uphold the commitment that he made to those outside of his family.

Generativity versus stagnation (35 years – 65 years). The researcher speculates that although Plaatje exhibited generative behaviour throughout this historical period, he seemed to have prematurely entered this developmental stage and, therefore, struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society. His limited involvement and time spent with his family might indicate that the virtue of *care* may have been overemphasised to society at great personal cost.

8.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings and discussion of Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development in terms of five socio-historical periods that covered his lifespan, by following Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968, 1995) theory of psychosocial development. In the following chapter, the findings related to his holistic wellness are presented.

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: HOLISTIC WELLNESS

9.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter entails a discussion on the research findings regarding Sol Plaatje's holistic wellness across his entire lifespan. It includes a description of the conceptual outline, followed by a presentation of the biographical findings, which are discussed according to the five life tasks of the holistic wellness model (see Chapter 4). The life forces and global events which may have influenced Plaatje's life tasks and holistic wellness are also considered. The chapter concludes with summative tables in which Plaatje's wellness is analysed and described separately within each of the life tasks.

9.2 Conceptual Outline of the Presentation and Discussion of the Findings

Similar to Chapter 8, the researcher adopted an exploratory-descriptive approach to the research findings in this chapter. Thus, the collection, extraction, analysis, and presentation of salient biographical data regarding the research subject are conducted within the context of a psychological approach. Biographical data were thus analysed in relation to the holistic wellness model of Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This model was utilised to explore Plaatje's holistic wellness.

In the next section, the findings associated with Plaatje's holistic wellness across his entire lifespan, are presented and discussed in relation to the five life tasks proposed by the WoW model (see Section 4.3.1). This is done by presenting examples from the biographical accounts

on Plaatje's life, which relate to his wellness within a particular life task during a particular historical period across his lifespan.

9.3 Holistic Wellness throughout Plaatje's Lifespan

9.3.1 Life task 1: Spirituality

Myers et al. (2000) proposed that, as a life task, spirituality is a central life task that ascribes to one's life-enhancing beliefs about promoting and preserving human dignity, human rights and reverence for life. Therefore, in their description of the holistic wellness model, spirituality is seen as the core trait for the maintenance of health, wellness and well-being as it impacts positively on the other life tasks of the holistic wellness model (Witmer & Sweeney, 1991). In the next section, the findings of the life task of spirituality are discussed during the five main historical periods of Plaatje's life. The first historical period encompasses his first 18 years (i.e., birth, childhood, including the majority of Plaatje's adolescent life). Plaatje's parents moved from Doornfontein to the Pniel mission station shortly after his birth and thus all of the data available on Plaatje's childhood and adolescent years centers on the years he lived at Pniel. The findings are discussed according to the seven aspects of the life task which include (a) belief in a higher power, (b) some form of worship, prayer, meditation, and self-reflection, (c) transcendence, (d) meaning and purpose in life, (e) hope and optimism about the future, (f) moral and ethical values to guide daily living and (g) love, compassion and service to others (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The life forces and global events that may have impacted on the life task of spirituality are also emphasised, where applicable.

9.3.1.1 *The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)*⁴²

From the findings of the study, it can be concluded that Plaatje inherited a strong connection to religion from his family of origin (Willan, 2018). As the son of devout Lutheran Christians, religious worship and regular church attendance formed a significant part of Plaatje's upbringing (Mokae, 2010; Willan, 1984, 2018). Christian values and traditions were fundamental at the German mission station, where the Plaatje family lived and guided their household (Midgeley, 1997). Based on the information gathered, it appeared that Plaatje was exposed to and experienced the spiritual wellness related to the *religious belief system* of his parents and the community. His father and brother's respective involvement in the church as deacon and elder elevated them to act as intermediaries between the German missionaries and the Black residents of the Pniel mission station, which probably affected Plaatje's consciousness as he grew up (Willan, 2018). An important aspect of religious worship at Pniel was the singing of hymns, which became a more individual experience for Plaatje later in his life based on his efforts to devote himself to the translation thereof (Mokae, 2010; Willan, 1984, 2018). Later in this historical period, around the age of 16 years, spirituality also became a more personal experience for Plaatje when he was formally accepted into the Lutheran faith during a confirmation ceremony performed by his teacher/mentor and father-like figure, German missionary Reverend Westphal (Fromme, 2010; Midgeley, 1997).

Plaatje's cultural upbringing (a mixture between Western and Batswana traditions) and the religion of his nuclear family seemed influential in the development of his moral and ethical values too. The development of a set of *moral and ethical values* is an important dimension of the life task of spirituality (Myers et al., 2000). The Plaatje family had strong ties to each other and continued their religious practices (e.g., bible study, singing of hymns and praying) within

⁴² During this historical period, evidence regarding one dimension of this life task, namely *service to others*, was too limited to support any inferences or descriptions.

the family unit, which attests to Plaatje's influence and exposure to the concept of a 'higher power' early on. The Pniel residents' work ethic, diligence, impeccable behaviour and dress code highlighted the values of the Christian faith and philosophy and may have heightened Plaatje's awareness to adhere to this 'higher power' and certain moral and ethical obligations to his fellow man (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). It was his strong moral and ethical sense that probably enabled him to withstand the city-life temptations in the next historical period (Midgeley, 1997).

Transcendence, another dimension of the spirituality life task, denotes a sense of oneness or connectedness with nature, the universe and the Infinite (Myers et al., 2000). Data suggests that Plaatje derived pleasure from his natural environment that remained an important aspect of spirituality throughout his lifespan. His experiences in nature at Pniel possibly laid the foundations for his sense of connectedness with the natural environment, as its large, "fertile stretches of land and abundance of flowers" (Willan, 2018, p. 11) also allowed him to experience the customary Batswana tradition of herding goats and cattle for his family from the age of six – something he later referred to as "the occupation most honoured among the Bechuana" (Batswanas) (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 7). Furthermore, the daily walk to school, approximately 6.5 kilometres from his house (Molema, 2012), could also have made Plaatje more aware of life's aesthetic dimensions and the striking environment he lived in, because later, in his book, *Native Life in South Africa*, Plaatje not only longingly reflected on the time he spent in nature at Pniel: "how the subsequent happy days...so long past came crowding upon our memory..." (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 54), he also habitually cited the impact that nature had on his mood: "I cannot describe the sensations caused by the dismal gloom of the sunless days – a most depressing life" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 265).

At school, Plaatje formed a close relationship with the man who was to be outside his immediate family, the single most important person in this period of his life: his mentor and

teacher, Reverend Westphal (Molema, 2012, Willan, 2018). Although Reverend Westphal was a strict man, his teaching style demonstrated discipline and fairness and instilled within his learners several values such as dedication, punctuality and conscientiousness (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Also, Plaatje's exposure to cultures other than that of his family of origin (e.g., the Herero and Koranna) (see Section 2.3.1) could have contributed to the development of values such as respect for *diversity and human dignity*, which are, according to Myers et al. (2000), both important aspects of spirituality. Plaatje's excellent performance at school earned him the position of student-teacher, which he fulfilled with diligence (Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003). He was popular with the diverse group of children he taught and regularly captivated them with the telling of fascinating stories (Molema, 2012), which in turn provided him with an experience of wellness in the life task of spirituality, namely *meaning and purpose*.

Another dimension of the spirituality life task, *hope and optimism* (Myers et al., 2000) is seen as an expression of confident and hopeful expectation that the best possible outcome may occur (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). It was Plaatje's ambition and appetite for learning that, upon completion of the highest grade at the mission school, earned him additional private tuition from Reverence Westphal and his wife, Marie, at their home (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Plaatje had approached Mrs. Westphal himself and stated that: "I want to be able to talk English and Dutch and German as you do" (Willan, 1984, p. 21) and he was positive that he would eventually be able to do so (Willan, 2018).

In addition to his well-mannered demeanour, Plaatje's optimistic, respectful and confident interpersonal attitude could further be regarded as the foundation for his future sense of *compassion* and dedication to being of *service to others*. Life at a mission station proved to be a good protection against the worst excesses of the colonial administration and his family's position at a mission station where modern civilised traditions were followed, placed Plaatje at an advantage over most of the Batswana who grew up in the neighbouring villages (Leflaive,

2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Thus, during this historical period, Plaatje's experience of a multicultural milieu was limited to his Christian/Batswana home and Western-dominated school environment. It would not be until he reached adolescence and moved away from Pniel to Kimberley that Plaatje was confronted with the impact his environment had had on his internalisation of equality and respect for all, especially across racial lines (Willan, 2018). In the next section, Plaatje's spiritual wellness during the second historical period is discussed.

9.3.1.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)⁴³

Biographical data presented in Chapter 2 suggested that Plaatje's decision to move to Kimberley might have given him a sense of *meaning and purpose*, as he was excited about obtaining a job at the local Post Office and becoming financially independent (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The ambitious Plaatje had faith in the possibilities of being a civil servant as government employment was a highly regarded avenue of advancement and official recognition due to its place in colonial society (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Plaatje's *hopeful and optimistic* attitude soon earned him a reputation as a "speedy, industrious and energetic messenger, knowledgeable about his work and impeccably well-mannered" (Molema, 2012, p. 22). Furthermore, he quickly learned to do his job as a messenger so competently that he soon was promoted to the level of special letter carrier, which was a better paid position and held a greater degree of responsibility (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Shortly after his arrival in Kimberley, Plaatje met a young man called Isaiah Bud-M'belle, who would later also become his brother-in-law (Rall, 2003). This friendship integrated Plaatje with the African mission-educated community in town that comprised of committed Christians

⁴³ During this historical period, biographical data on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task, namely: (a) *belief in a power beyond oneself*, (b) *spiritual practices*, (c) *moral and ethical values*, (d) *love and compassion*, (e) *meaning and purpose*, and (f) *hope and optimism*.

and churchgoers from diverse backgrounds (Leflaive, 2014); they all impacted Plaatje's experience of spiritual wellness during this period. Plaatje became involved in a variety of activities, such as singing in the Philharmonic Society's choir, acting as secretary to the Kimberley Eccentrics cricket club and joining the South African Improvement Society to help cultivate fellow Africans' comprehension of the English language, as well as improve his own literary skills (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje shared the society's vision: without good English, employment, 'improvement' and 'progress' would remain impossible (Willan, 2018). The blend of humour and self-confidence often displayed at the society's meetings reflected the members' underlying optimism and were qualities Plaatje later also made his own (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje also became involved in church fundraising campaigns and was elected secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1896 (Midgeley, 1997). His involvement in such activities implies that Plaatje continued to experience a dimension of the life task of spirituality, namely a *belief in a power* beyond himself (Myers et al., 2000). Plaatje's earliest written letter to have survived is written under the auspices of the YMCA and is signed 'Your humble servant, Sol T. Plaatje' (Willan, 2018). Findings suggest that spirituality always featured very prominently in Plaatje's life through all the historical periods. As his awareness grew, his spirituality developed beyond the religious traditions of the church *per se* to include, for decades to follow, inter-racial *love, compassion and service to others*. Plaatje's Christianity has never been questioned, despite his exact involvement in church activities towards the latter part of this historical period, not being clearly described in the literature (Willan, 2018). Nevertheless, as an active, integral member of the cosmopolitan community of Kimberley, it can be inferred that Plaatje derived a significant sense of *meaning and purpose* by serving his community and by gaining exposure to cultures and belief systems different to those of his

family of origin (Leflaive, 2014). This involvement surely contributed to the development of other values such as equality, *respect for human diversity and human dignity*.

While his faith remained unchanged, the exposure to the multi-cultural community at the Malay Camp triggered questions within Plaatje regarding certain government policies of segregation, especially within his work environment (Willan, 1984, 2018). By the mid-1890s, unemployment had risen, racial tensions remained inescapable within their society and Plaatje and his friends had to learn to cope with an often hostile environment (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). Despite these challenges, Plaatje was a staunch supporter of the institutions of the Cape Colony, particularly the non-racial franchise and its equal judicial system (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018), which fostered a fervent loyalty to the British imperial government since both constitutional facts signified an entitlement to the privileges of ‘civilised life’ and the means of making a place for themselves in a society which otherwise put so many obstacles in their way (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). The very existence of such institutionalised rights gave substance to a vision of a common society of equal treatment and inclusion and encouraged a *hopeful* and confident expectation that the best possible outcome may occur in their situation (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

In September 1896, the same year the destructive Rinderpest epidemic (also called the cattle plague) swept across South Africa, Plaatje’s father, Johannes, died (Molema, 2012). According to Louw and Louw (2009), the death of a parent is commonly regarded as a potentially transformative event associated with some negative effects, although no evidence in the literature indicates that Plaatje’s well-being was negatively impacted by his father’s death. Years later, he recalled, “needle-like pangs” when he heard the news and that “grief was easily thrown off in tears” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 63).

Plaatje was confronted with familial ‘segregation’ issues that affected his everyday functioning and the quality of his personal life (see Section 2.3.2) (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991).

In 1897 he met his future wife, Elizabeth (his friend, Isaiah's sister), but their respective families disapproved of their relationship and forbade any contact between them, as it was uncommon to marry someone from a different tribe (Leflaive, 2014). Although Plaatje and Elizabeth came from different African tribes and cultural heritages, they shared the same faith and religious heritage grounded in Christianity (Willan, 2018). Elizabeth, a qualified teacher, shared Plaatje's love for reading and spoke five different languages (Molema, 2012; Plaatje, 1916b). During their initial separation, Plaatje remained *hopeful* that their *love* for each other would overcome anything, and referred to that period as the "long and awful nights in 1897 when my path to the union . . . was so rocky" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). Their families eventually accepted their relationship, but the debates surrounding their mixed marriage left such a transformative impact on Plaatje: "the idea of the daughter of a [Barolong] marrying a man whose language was full of clicks as that of the [wild Masarwa] was too hard..." (Willan, 2018, p. 70). The inter-tribal union between Plaatje and Elizabeth gave a romantic expression to the spiritual dimension of *love* (Willan, 1984, 2018).

During this historical period, *transcendence* as a dimension of spirituality may have been reflected in Plaatje's life through his participation in horse-riding which involved spending time outdoors and with animals, although both activities were not quite suited to Kimberley or understood by his peers (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). There is, however, no specific evidence nor salient biographical accounts identified in the literature on which to base descriptions of Plaatje's wellness in this regard.

A life force that greatly influenced Plaatje was the upcoming elections to the Cape House of Assembly in the middle of 1898 – the first election he qualified to vote in (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984). Even when the British emerged victorious (Trapido, 1980), Plaatje, who supported the Afrikaner Nationalists, continued to believe in the value of the non-racial Cape franchise and that it would remain in existence in the colony (Willan, 1984, 2018). His political

involvement seemed to offer him an opportunity to express his sense of *meaning and purpose*, particularly related to his concerns over equality amongst all races (Willan, 2018). The holistic wellness model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) highlights the fact that *compassion for others, reverence for human dignity and human rights*, as well as high *moral and ethical values* are important dimensions of the life task of spirituality. In this historical period, findings suggest that Plaatje began to question the segregation policies of the time and that a form of political dissent began to develop, particularly towards the latter part of this historical period in Plaatje's life (Willan, 2018).

After four years of working at the Post Office, Plaatje's career became a more persistent concern for him as his current job no longer seemed meaningful and offered no further prospects of advancement; he was contemplating a more rewarding and challenging occupation (Leflaive, 2014). More than ever, he hoped to work as a court interpreter, which must have been inspired by the example of his close friend, Isaiah, whose career and achievements were evidence of what was possible for Africans to achieve (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Plaatje was fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa, German and Sesotho, along with his native tongue, Setswana – a vice highly useful to any court interpreter (Willan, 2018). The opportunity he had been waiting for arose around early August in 1898 when he was able to secure a job as a clerk and court interpreter at the Mafeking's magistrate's court in the North-West Province of South Africa (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012).

Plaatje's *optimism* of moving to Mafeking in October 1898 was thwarted by an unexpected event: an unknown illness (suspected to have been malaria), which was his first documented incident of ill-health of many over the following years (Willan, 2018). Challenges with his health ultimately affected Plaatje throughout his adult life (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018), particularly since he usually ignored the symptoms. The delay to move to Mafeking did, however, enable Plaatje to spend his 22nd birthday at home with his pregnant

wife, Elizabeth, who was only able to join her husband after their baby was born a few months later (Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). Plaatje was excited about becoming a father, but his *sense of purpose* and strong work *ethic* motivated him as well and he left for Mafeking as soon as he was physically able to (Willan, 1984, 2018). In the next section, Plaatje's spiritual wellness during the third historical period is discussed.

9.3.1.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)⁴⁴

9.3.1.3.1 Before the Siege

African court interpreters were highly regarded due to the unmatched familiarity with their dialect during trials where Africans were involved, which essentially meant that they provided access to the judicial system that could realise the dream of equal treatment to all (Willan, 1984, 2018). When Plaatje first arrived in the town of Mafeking, his new cultural milieu had notable differences from what he was used to. For example, the institution of chiefly rule continued to be the prevailing factor in the daily lives of the Barolong and the chief's court remained the focal point both geographically and symbolically (Willan, 2018). The people were used to and continued to bring their problems to the chief and his council; a truth that was captured in a proverb: "Kgosi ke kgosi ka morafe" ('A chief is a chief by the people') (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 6). Though he found it peculiar at first, Plaatje successfully adjusted to the beliefs and principles of this largely self-governing community as it was quite distinct from anything he had known in Pniel or Kimberley (Willan, 1984, 2018).

⁴⁴ During this historical period, biographical data on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task, namely: (a) *belief in a power beyond oneself*, (b) *spiritual practices*, (c) *moral and ethical values*, (d) *love, compassion and service to others*, (e) *meaning and purpose*, (f) *hope and optimism* and (g) *transcendence*.

The Barolong township he had chosen to settle in after his initial stay with Silas Molema, possessed a similar cosmopolitan atmosphere as Kimberley, albeit on a smaller scale, with two other communities living close by (see Section 2.3.3.1) (Molema, 1920, 2012). Rooted within the Mfengu community were two of Plaatje's soon to be closest friends: Patrick Sidzumo and David Phooko (Willan, 1984, 2018). Through his exposure to the Mfengu community, Plaatje's religious milieu remained mostly unchanged as they shared his *faith* in the Christian church and were guided by similar *moral and ethical values* as his own, which included hard work and education (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984).

Five weeks after Plaatje started his new job in Mafeking, his son was born back home in Pniel (Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012). This event launched Plaatje into fatherhood and he immediately rushed back home to see his son, Sainty, and brought both him and Elizabeth to visit in Mafeking until just before Christmas that year (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Beyond this, no additional evidence regarding Sainty's birth was found in the literature.

Plaatje's new job at the Mafeking magistrate's office proved to be more demanding than anything he had been accustomed to in the Post Office in Kimberley, keeping him fully occupied (Willan, 1984, 2018). His duties mostly included routine clerical work, but often he would need to translate incoming letters written in Dutch and Setswana into English as he was the only one of the three clerks there who understood all three languages (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). At times he also acted as interpreter in court when it was in session, which was the more challenging part of his job that he enjoyed doing most (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). The long hours in the office took its toll on the clerks and sometimes also affected their health (Willan, 1984, 2018). In addition, the courthouse was cramped and badly ventilated, which made it stifling hot in the summer months (Willan, 2018). In the wake of the global Rinderpest epidemic (cattle plague) that continued into 1898 and part of 1899 (SAHO, 2017), Plaatje witnessed the plight of many poor African people on whom the epidemic had a

devastating economic effect; it made a big impression on Plaatje's spirituality and invoked him with strong feelings of *compassion* for and a sense of moral obligation and *service* to his fellow people (Willan, 1984, 2018). If Plaatje's sense of *hope and optimism* was challenged by the sometimes obvious injustices of his environment, he did not show it; instead, he let the law take its course (Willan, 1996) and he did not allow the inequalities to affect him and chose to "turn what the witnesses said into the formal written testimony that due process required" (Willan, 2018, p. 115). He continued to demonstrate a high level of competence and performed his duties as interpreter conscientiously and efficiently (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Later he reflected on his time as a court interpreter in Mafeking in a document called the *Essential Interpreter*:

I always made my translations with a perfect security...I cannot express the satisfaction this gave me – always – not only because of the correctness of my renditions but on account of the knowledge that the chances of a miscarriage of justice were non-est. (Willan, 1996, p. 56)

According to Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Myers et al. (2000), the combination of optimism, inner harmony and values may also result in the promotion of the common good and social interest in the form of *compassion and service to others*, which are important dimensions of the life task of spirituality. Plaatje's work as court interpreter could, therefore, most likely be seen as an expression of this spiritual dimension.

In his private time, Plaatje was also studying for the Cape Civil Service examinations, which, to him, signified a higher salary and opportunities for promotion (Midgeley, 1997). Open to Black and White alike, these were the proficiency examinations for people already employed in government service, not the entry examinations for the civil service that Plaatje's friend, Isaiah Bud-M'belle became famous for (Willan, 2018). Evidence suggests that Plaatje attached a significant sense of *meaning and purpose* to obtaining this qualification, which may

have been a big motivating factor to continue with his work in the magistrate's office (Willan, 1984, 2018). However, when the Anglo-Boer war broke out on 11 October 1899, Plaatje's plans to write the Cape Civil service examinations were derailed (Lunderstedt, 2014) and the town of Mafeking was besieged for eight months (De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977). The Mafeking siege became one of the most celebrated episodes in the history of the British Empire (Beinart, 1985; Couzens, 2001; De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018) and possibly one of the most significant catalysts for change in Plaatje's life too.

9.3.1.3.2 During the Siege

Despite the obvious tensions and conflict that existed in his (new) environment, Plaatje continued to maintain an *optimistic* attitude (see Section 2.3.3.2), which constitutes an important dimension of the holistic wellness model's spirituality life task (Myers et al., 2000). Plaatje made a few decisions during this time. Firstly, he, along with his close friend, David Phooko, decided to move back into Silas Molema's family home for two reasons: more protection and more company (Willan, 1984, 2018). Secondly, he continued his work as court interpreter for the duration of the siege, which reflects his commitment and dedication towards *servicing* his people (Willan, 2018). He also supplemented his income and performed administrative tasks for war correspondents, writing articles for the local newspaper and typing out the handwritten diaries of others (Midgeley, 1997, Rall, 2003). Thirdly, his linguistic skills earned him the job as liaison between the White British administration and the Black Barolong chiefs (Leflaive, 2014), which may have further enhanced his experience of *meaning and purpose* and facilitated an opportunity wherein he could express his *compassion* to others.

Outside working hours, Plaatje kept a diary of his own – mainly to practise what he had learnt without the restrictions of form and function that governed his work in the office and in court (Plaatje, 1999). The daily entries were interrupted only during times when he was ill and confined to bed; times that always seemed to flare up feelings of loneliness within him (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). He disregarded his frail health, a tendency typifying the rest of his life (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). When he was too ill to write himself, he would dictate to his friend, David, to write things down – a companionable activity that not only allowed David the opportunity to practice his written English, but created an experience of *meaning and purpose* for both while they reminisced about shared memories (Jacobson, 1980; Plaatje, 1999; Willan, 2018). Biblical and musical metaphors were two of Plaatje’s favourite ways of making connections between his past and present experiences (Willan 1984, 1996) and reflected his continued *belief in a power beyond himself* despite the challenges present in his environment. Furthermore, Plaatje’s inscriptions on Sundays, which he referred to as “the Lord’s day” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 50), he saw as “different and blessed than the other days of the week” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 42), thus indicating his continued participation in regular *worship* at church: “we spent this day in church” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 38). He remained a devout Christian whose faith was strengthened and sustained by the challenges in his environment (Willan, 2018).

Evidence suggests that during the siege, Plaatje’s experience of *transcendence* again found expression in his sense of connectedness with his environment as his diary entries often referred to the impact of weather conditions on his mood. For example, on the mornings after it rained the previous night, Plaatje would often spend the day in the garden or on the veranda and described how he “drank deeply of the soft balmy air and enjoyed the atmosphere with the sentiments of one watching a classical show of myth and melody” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 74). On the quieter days, his entries also mention rare occasions where he would take a pony and go for

a ride around outside – this is one of the few times Plaatje makes direct reference to his love for horse-riding. He also disliked the intense heat, as it made him feel “quite seedy” and “uncomfortable” and on one occasion even rendered him weak and “in bed all day” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 71).

The writings in his diary seemed to offer Plaatje a renewed sense of *meaning and purpose* even after a shell struck the courthouse, making a “terrible mess of everything inside” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 136) and ruined Charles Bell’s private office (Willan, 2018). Fortunately, there was nobody inside the building at the time, but the force of the shell burst against an outer wall, killing and wounding several Africans who had been waiting outside for payment of their wages (Comaroff et al., 1999). The experience that probably affected Plaatje the most during the siege was having to act as interpreter at the trials of several Africans who received guilty verdicts, as well as at their places of execution (Willan, 1984, 2018). It was a harrowing experience to translate the blindfolded prisoners’ final words or requests and convey it back to the senior officer present (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Events such as these were too difficult for Plaatje to write about candidly in his diary and thus he either refrained from doing so completely, or recorded it very discreetly (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). For Plaatje, his active involvement in these events must have placed significant emphasis on the moral dimension of spirituality regarding *human rights, equality and respect for human dignity*, values that he applied rigorously in his political and journalistic career later on (Willan, 1984, 2018). It remains unclear whether Plaatje intended for the contents of his diary to be made public, but it was serendipitously discovered by an anthropologist, John Comaroff, in 1969. It was originally published in 1973 under the title, *The Boer War Diary of Sol T. Plaatje: An African at Mafeking* and re-edited and published in 1989 as *Mafeking Diary: A Black Man’s View of a White Man’s War* (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). It was the first of its kind to be produced in English by a Black South African (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). As

a consequence of the siege, Plaatje spent Christmas of 1899 not only separated from his wife and son, but confined to bed with influenza and his dysphoric mood made it a struggle to feel *optimistic* about the future: “It is becoming too big a burden for my shoulders and I wish I could drive the thought from my mind” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 73) followed by “surely, providence has seldom been so hard on me” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). Finally, on 17 May 1900, after 217 days, the siege of Mafeking came to an end with a victory by the British over the Boers (Ramoroka, 2009; Willan, 2018).

9.3.1.3.3 After the Siege

The Anglo-Boer war represented a turning point in the history of Southern Africa; the British withdrew from the affairs of the Barolong and subsequently left them without compensation or funds for the reconstruction of their township, despite earlier promises to do so (Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009). However, Plaatje, along with Silas Molema and many others elsewhere, remained *hopeful* of some wider recognition in the new political order that now looked imminent (Willan, 2018). Post-war, all of Plaatje’s colleagues, including his friend, David Phooko, and his boss, Charles Bell, had resigned and left town (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). Bell’s resignation, in particular, impacted Plaatje’s typical sense of *optimism*, but he continued to perform his duties at work with his customary diligence and soon received an increase in salary (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Findings indicate that since his wife and son were now living with him permanently, it offered Plaatje an opportunity to express his *love and compassion*, and experience a renewed sense of *meaning and purpose* within his environment. Plaatje and Elizabeth became very involved in the communal life of the Barolong (see Section 2.3.3.3). For example, Elizabeth catered for events, the couple jointly established the Mafeking Philharmonic Society and regularly entertained visitors at

their house (De Villiers, 2000; Rall, 2003). Furthermore, Plaatje was a trusted and familiar figure at the chief's court and people knew they could depend on him for advice and guidance (Willan, 1984, 2018). These actions could be seen as a reflection of Sweeney and Witmer's (1992) dimension of spirituality, termed *love, compassion and service to others*. Plaatje's dedication to serving his people remained a pervasive theme throughout his life.

The birth of his second son, Richard, in September 1901 (see Section 2.3.3.3) further renewed Plaatje's well-being and sense of *hope and optimism* in the aftermath of a war that continued to dominate the lives of those who lived in Mafeking (Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Unfortunately, Richard's health quickly deteriorated because of the hot, dry climate and he was sent to live with relatives in Bethanie, close to Pniel (Mokae, 2010; Willan, 2018). No evidence in the literature exists to support any inferences or descriptions of Plaatje's wellness in this regard. Though a career in journalism was a future ambition of his, Plaatje was fully aware that it was not the ideal time to relinquish his paid employment (Couzens, 2001; Leflaive, 2014; Mokae, 2010). The biographical findings indicated that during this time, Plaatje was faced with significant challenges regarding *moral and ethical values*. For example, several of the cases that came before the Special Treason Court in town in November 1901 held special interest to Plaatje and the trials left a lasting impact on him (Willan, 2018). In one case, Plaatje was called as a witness for the defence by their lawyer and his long-time friend, Henry Burton (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984). Plaatje's testimony completely collapsed the prosecution's case (Willan, 2018) and although many people, especially Africans, were upset with the outcome, Plaatje remained steadfast in his unwillingness to compromise his sense of ethics and demonstrated his beliefs courageously (Willan, 1984, 2018). Thus, the researcher infers that Plaatje's experience of *meaning and purpose* was most likely linked to his sense of *moral and ethical values*. Evidence further suggests that Plaatje experienced a renewed *sense of purpose* following these Special Treason Court trials: he re-registered for and finally wrote the

Cape Civil service examinations as he had intended before the war (Midgeley, 1997; Mokaë, 2010); he was confident and enthusiastic that his hard work would finally pay off. This behaviour could also reflect a dimension of spirituality, namely a renewed sense of *hope and optimism* (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). However, the events that occurred after Plaatje obtained his examination results also represent a time in his life when he began to question the dimension of spirituality related to the preservation of *human rights and dignity*, as well as *moral ethical values* (Willan, 1984, 2018). Despite his achievement as top candidate in the examinations, Plaatje did not, even after he enquired about it, receive the public recognition he deserved (Midgeley, 1997). To him, the injustice and dejection of his hard work fuelled his resentment towards the policies of division of a government he had always been loyal to (Willan, 1984, 2018) and impinged on his sense of well-being (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991).

Since childhood, it seemed that Plaatje had always derived much *meaning and purpose* from improving himself, particularly on an educational level and linked his achievements to a sense of inner harmony, peace and spiritual growth (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Also, the uncertainty of advancement in his chosen career path hindered his intellectual development and left him feeling in-between (Arnett, 2004). He had been in the Cape Civil Service longer than most of the inexperienced young White men who were appointed to jobs that he was far better qualified to do and he felt that the salary that came with being a court interpreter was now “a waste of time” (Willan, 1996, p. 60). It seemed that Plaatje’s belief in equality and *sense of optimism* was proving difficult to sustain as for two more years, family and financial pressures forced him to continue working as a civil servant, before he was finally able to turn to journalism full-time (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003).

In 1902, Plaatje became editor of the first Setswana-English weekly newspaper, *Koranta ea Bechoana* (*The Bechuana Gazette*) and joined a select band of Black pressmen in South Africa

(Midgeley, 1997; Mokaë, 2010; Willan, 2018). He was proud of this achievement: "...in no way is the saying that 'the pen is mightier than the sword' more exemplified than in the publication of a newspaper" (Molema, 2012, p. 40). It boosted his sense of *hope and optimism* and he was confident that he would make a success of the newspaper whose political creed was central to his long-standing belief system of equality before the law for everyone and pride in his African heritage (Willan, 2018). The newspaper, including its editor, were clear about its purpose and dedication to 'the enrichment of the Native' (Couzens, 1990; Willan, 1984, 2018), which could be conceptualised as a dimension of spirituality (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991) and that was reflected in Plaatje's sense of *compassion* and *service* towards the promotion of his people.

High *moral and ethical values* and the preservation of *human rights and dignity* are important aspects of spirituality (Myers et al., 2000). It appears that Plaatje experienced significant spiritual growth in this historical period concerning, specifically, morality and ethics and the focus on the preservation of human dignity and human rights. He was a staunch supporter of gender equality and did not view it as a legitimate barrier to equal treatment: "Just as strongly as we object to the line of demarcation being drawn on the basis of a person's colour, so we abhor disqualification founded on a person's sex" (Molema, 2012, p. 92). Plaatje also relentlessly encouraged the education and progress of his (African) people but was not afraid to criticise them when he considered they fell short – whether it was to refrain from alcohol, to treat women and men equally or to abandon traditional customs such as circumcision which were not compatible with Christian practice (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Through his articles, Plaatje quickly became known as a leading spokesperson for African people by giving expression to their opinion and by conveying their aspirations and grievances to the authorities (Couzens, 1990; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018).

Soon he was exchanging articles with overseas newspapers, especially African-American publications, in an attempt to boost readership and subsequent income (Willan 2018). The newspaper had been burdened with financial difficulties from the start, but Plaatje demonstrated his work ethic by working long hours and incurring personal debt to ensure its survival (Midgeley, 1997). This suggests that Plaatje's sense of *hope and optimism* strengthened during this time, perhaps related to the positive public response to his work. This also had a positive impact on his experience of *meaning and purpose*, which was most likely linked to his sense of *moral and ethical values*. By August 1903, Plaatje's sense of *purpose* seemed to extend beyond his daily duties as a journalist when he decided to join a delegation of Barolong chiefs and travelled to the British government in Cape Town to claim compensations for the losses suffered by the African people during the war (Willan, 1984). Although the discussions were unsuccessful, it was the first of a long series of discussions to follow. For Plaatje, the trip to Cape Town provided invaluable experience and refined his skills as a political lobbyist and negotiator at the highest levels of government (Willan, 1984, 2018). Over the next few years, Plaatje's sense of *meaning and purpose* intensified as he became more critical of the British administration of the two previous Boer Republics and the divisive pass laws that had since been introduced specifically to control the movements of Black people (Cousins & Walker, 2015). Plaatje further extended his role as spokesman for and defender of the broader African community of South Africa when he started travelling around the country on a bicycle and observed unfair or wrongful situations and subsequently reported them in his newspaper (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003, Willan, 2018). *Koranta ea Becoana* used English as a means to reach beyond Tswana-speakers and it was usually Plaatje's medium of choice when taking up the grievances of Africans living in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony (known today as the Free State Province in South Africa):" ...all we claim is our just dues; we ask for political recognition as loyal British subjects..." (Molema, 2012, p. 46). Such examples from

the biographical data also support Plaatje's wellness in the dimension of *love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000) as it demonstrates his concern for and service to the entire African population of the country.

Despite the continued challenges with the oppressive and intensifying apartheid legislation, evidence suggests that Plaatje's sense of *hope and optimism* was maintained during this difficult time and could be linked to his set of *moral and ethical values*, especially regarding his duties to defend his people. For example, late in 1903, Plaatje proposed to create a Native Press Association in an attempt to unite *Koranta ea Becoana* with the other two Black newspapers that comprised the elite African press nationally, as all of them were facing similar challenges in their respective areas (Willan, 1984, 2018). It was eventually called the South African Native Press Association; its motto was '*Defence, not Defiance*', and their overall purpose was to improve the press of the natives in general (Willan, 1996). Unfortunately, it was a short-lived venture and ceased functioning around the end of 1904 due to financial pressure and insurmountable practical obstacles (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Conversely, the birth of Plaatje's first daughter, Olive, in December 1903 (Leflaive, 2014; Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003), seemed to refuel his experience of *meaning and purpose*, which most likely enabled him to cope more positively with the disappointing outcome of the abovementioned endeavour.

Olive became a special favourite of Plaatje and he often told many amusing anecdotes about her (Willan, 1996). For example, on one occasion, when Olive (named after South African novelist Olive Schreiner) went to visit a Sunday school in Beaconsfield, the teacher asked her for her name and she replied: 'Olive Schreiner', which prompted great amusement from the rest of the children in class (Willan, 1996, 2018). Years later, Plaatje wrote a poem entitled 'Olive and I', which was a touching record of a day they spent together in the countryside outside Mafikeng (Willan, 2018), and he also dedicated his historical novel, *Mhudi*, to her,

which added to Plaatje's wellness in the dimension of *love* that persisted throughout his lifespan.

In April 1904, an unpleasant incident at a police station in the town of Lichtenburg, magnified Plaatje's concern regarding local political issues and the impact of the growing racially discriminatory laws of government (see Section 2.3.3.3) (Willan, 1996, 2018). This negative encounter significantly challenged Plaatje's high *moral and ethical values* and his reverence for *human dignity* and equality for all (Willan, 1996). Written words were always Plaatje's preferred mode of communication, especially when something, as the mentioned encounter seriously challenged his sense of *hopefulness*, he resorted to reasoned discussion and argument that was generally based on irrefutable evidence instead of associating himself with activities that advocated armed conflict (Willan, 2018). As a newsman, he used every opportunity to raise awareness regarding unjust and inhumane practices that included the growing discord in the country (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Another important issue that further preoccupied Plaatje during this historical period concerned the state of Tswana orthography (see Section 2.3.3.3) (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He also devoted the last years of his life (see Section 2.3.5) specifically to the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), which was a contributing factor to his wellness in the spiritual life task of *meaning and purpose* during the final historical period.

When *Koranta ea Becoana* was forced to shut down in May 1906, it left Plaatje covered in debt and without an income (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). It was a disappointing outcome to the pursuit of his dream and challenged Plaatje's *sense of purpose* to such an extent that he left Mafeking and stayed in the Kalahari for over three months where he tried to earn money from buying and selling animal skins (Willan, 2018). Little evidence exists regarding those three

months, therefore, no inferences or descriptions regarding Plaatje's wellness during that period can be made.

Plaatje returned home but his financial dilemma deteriorated until he found work on the mines for a few months in 1909 (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Elizabeth had long since given up teaching to focus on raising their three children (another daughter, Violet, was born in January 1907), since Plaatje's work occupied much of his time (Molema, 2012). The sense of *meaning and purpose* that Plaatje had always derived from his work as a journalist continued to decline while he worked as a labour recruiter for the mines, although he remained *hopeful* that he would be able to establish a new newspaper despite the tumultuous political developments that dominated his environment (Odendaal, 2012; Willan, 2018). A new 'White-ruled' Union of South Africa was looming, which threatened the preservation of the Cape's non-racial franchise (Odendaal, 2012; Thompson, 1960; Willan, 2018) and essentially, the preservation of the human rights and dignity of all Africans as well. Plaatje's participation in the subsequent political protest meetings that were held in different parts of the country (see Section 2.3.3.3) reflects his set of *ethical values* and a surge in a sense of *meaning and purpose*. The movement of protest culminated in the 'South African Native National Convention' (Willan, 1984, 2018), which was attended by 60 delegates (including Plaatje) that rendered it the most representative meeting ever convened by Black South Africans (Odendaal, 2012; Walshe, 1970). The grave danger that the threat of Union posed to their future political status activated an extraordinary sense of unity and *purpose* among them (Odendaal, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's belief in equality for all was reflected in his duties and *service* as Assistant Secretary to the organisation (Willan, 1984, 2018). During this historical period his continued opposition to the future governance of the country's African population was also published in the form of an essay in the *Transvaal Chronicle* (a daily newspaper based in Johannesburg) and further highlighted his concern for the well-being of others, as well as his integrity, courage

and empathy (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). This supports the researcher's inference that it also reflects Plaatje's wellness in a related dimension, namely *love* and *compassion* to others. In the next section, Plaatje's spiritual wellness during the fourth historical period is discussed.

9.3.1.4 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)⁴⁵

The new Union of South Africa was indeed born in May 1910 (Odendaal, 2012), which saw Plaatje and his family relocate from Mafikeng to Kimberley, where he became editor of a new Black-owned newspaper, *Tsala ea Bechoana (The Bechuana's Friend)* (Midgeley, 1997; Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 1984, 2018). Although the end of the previous historical period was riddled with disappointment (see Section 2.3.3.3), the prospect of continuing his dream as a journalist was a significant contributing factor to his wellness in the spiritual life task during this period (Willan, 2018). Plaatje experienced a renewed sense of *hope and optimism* once he was back in Kimberley and implemented plans to generate additional income by writing regular articles for the local *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, including other newspapers such as the *Pretoria News* and the *Cape Argus* (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

Over the next few years, he also continued to assist and *serve* the Barolong people, mainly with administrative issues they still encountered with their land (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's belief in and reverence for *human rights and dignity* remained unchanged and he, therefore, took on a hands-on approach to fight against the steps that were being taken by the government to replace African civil servants by White workers – on the railways, in the post office and in the courts of law (Moguerane, 2016). The attack on the employment of Black court interpreters

⁴⁵ During this historical period, biographical data on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task, namely: (a) *belief in a power beyond oneself*, (b) *spiritual practices*, (c) *moral and ethical values*, (d) *love, compassion and service to others* (e) *meaning and purpose*, (f) *hope and optimism* and (g) *transcendence*.

upset Plaatje immensely because it had worrying consequences for the proper functioning of the judicial system and by implication, his sense of *ethical values* (Willan, 2018). As a result, Plaatje travelled across the country and presented General Hertzog, the Minister of Justice at the time, with the evidence he had gathered about the breakdowns in justice (see Section 2.3.4). The reversal of a few wrongful sentences imposed on Africans must have restored some sense of *hope and optimism* within Plaatje regarding the future laws of the country.

Plaatje's persistent participation in politics during this historical period reflects the unwavering sense of *meaning and purpose* he derived from his work, even during times when he became gravely ill. For example, when the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC), known today as the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 (Midgeley, 1997; SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 2018), Plaatje's experience as a newspaper editor and political spokesman contributed to his election of the SANNC's first Secretary General - a nomination he accepted because he acknowledged the importance of achieving unity amongst his people (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018) and thus his sense of *meaning and purpose* and *service to others* continued to broaden to include the larger context of South Africa.

The mental and physical demands of travelling around the country, unpaid, for the SANNC were exacerbated by the financial demands his long absences from the newspaper placed on it, as well as on his family (Willan, 2018). Plaatje was burdened with debts he could not settle (Jacobson, 1980), which forced the newspaper into bankruptcy mid-1912 (Willan, 1984, 2018). When he managed to revive the newspaper under a new name, *Tsala ea Batho (The Friend of the People)* three months later, it reflected the unity advocated by the SANNC (Midgeley, 1997), but *how* exactly he was able to secure the necessary backing to relaunch the newspaper remains a mystery. Plaatje's youngest son, Johannes, was also born in the same month; two significant events that revived Plaatje's *sense of hope, meaning and purpose* in

both *work* and *love*. However, a disappointing and significant life force – the implementation of the Native Land Act in 1913 (Odendaal, 2012) – greatly challenged Plaatje’s sense of *hope* and *optimism*. This legislation became a central event in Plaatje’s life and its removal became his priority (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje again travelled around the country, on a bicycle, and gathered evidence about the adverse consequences of the Land Act and regular coverage of the workings surrounding the Land Act dominated the columns of his newspaper from mid-1913 onwards (Rall, 2003). By 1914, circulation had increased to 4000 copies, which indicated a positive reaction of much of the African community to his work and could have encouraged Plaatje’s sense of *purpose* especially since he had once more succeeded in establishing an important and influential newspaper (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). Such examples from the biographical data also support Plaatje’s wellness in the dimension of *love, compassion* and *service to others* as it illustrates his service to the broader South African community, beyond his duties as a local newsman. In May 1914, Plaatje led a SANNC delegation to the British government to request repeal of the Act, but to no avail (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He started writing *Native Life in South Africa* as part of the proposed campaign: “...the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 15); a decision that could be linked to his set of *moral and ethical values*, especially regarding his duty to serve his people.

Shortly after Plaatje left for England in 1914, his two-year-old son, Johannes died (Willan, 1984, 2018). It was an emotionally challenging time, even more so since he was unable to return for the funeral in time due to financial constraints (Willan, 2018). The family tragedy affected Plaatje deeply and left “an indelible gap . . . in our domestic circle” (Willan, 2018, p. 257). Although he made an effort to appear as *optimistic* and confident as ever in public, Johannes’ death triggered his *belief in a higher power* along with a period of self-reflection, as

shown in *Native Life in South Africa*: “this was a most painful experience...the doctrine of ‘Thy will be done’ was found to be a great deal more than a mere profession of faith” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 94) and is an indication that his son’s death negatively affected Plaatje’s wellness in this regard.

A global event, the start of World War I in August 1914, brought a swift end to the SANNC’s mission to England, as well as to Plaatje’s planned visit to Berlin in September after he had received an invitation from the Berlin Missionary Society (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). Evidence suggests that Plaatje still managed to derive a significant sense of *meaning and purpose* during his time in England as he divided his time between working on his book and promoting his cause with a programme of hundreds of public lectures and meetings (Willan, 2018). He also jointly authored two books dedicated to the preservation of Setswana proverbs (Jones & Plaatje, 1916), and contributed to another book commemorating Shakespeare’s 300th anniversary, which was published in 1916 (Gollancz, 1916; Remington, 2013). Furthermore, he had established a variety of contacts within London’s African and African-American community (Willan, 1984, 2018). Sweeney and Witmer (1991) stated that the combination of optimism, inner harmony and values may also result in the promotion of the common good and social interest, which Myers et al. (2000) defined as the dimension of *love, compassion and service to others*. Plaatje’s vast involvement in activities (see Section 2.3.4) during his first three years in England could most likely be seen as an expression of this spiritual dimension.

Upon his return to South Africa in 1917, Plaatje’s newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho*, many challenges awaited him (see Section 2.3.4). Positive news was that his eldest son, Sainy, had been accepted at the Lovedale Institute and that the South African Native College (today known as the University of Fort Hare) was launched as the first post-secondary educational institution in South Africa to be open to Black South Africans (Matthews, 1981; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Plaatje had always argued that education is a prerequisite for progression, thus the researcher

infers that the latter news might have restored some of Plaatje's *hope and optimism* in his battle against apartheid laws. His reputation and influence as a national political figure earned him praise from many people, either in person or via the numerous letters that appeared in the African press, which could have supported his sense of *purpose* as well. Plaatje was labelled a hero who had risked himself by producing *Native Life in South Africa* and had succeeded in exposing injustice (Rule, 2016).

Internal conflicts within the leadership of the SANNC had weakened the party to such an extent that its president was obliged to resign (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Despite being offered the presidency, Plaatje declined it and instead spent the rest of 1917 advocating against the horrors of the proposed Native Administration Bill as an extension of the injustices of the 1913 Native Land Act (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Plaatje's concern for the people far outside the constituency he represented, highlighted wellness in a dimension of spirituality, namely *love, compassion and service to others*.

During this historical period, *transcendence as a dimension of spirituality* was again best reflected in Plaatje's life by his sense of connection with nature and the impact of the weather on his mood. For example, one particular trip he remembered as "a hideous night under a bitterly cold sky..." (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 60) and another as "...after the glorious showers of the early summer...the grass looked invitingly green..." (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 117). Evidence suggests that Plaatje found expression and enjoyment in his natural environment and preferred spending time outdoors during summertime.

In October 1918, Plaatje's entire household fell ill with Spanish influenza that reminded of the Great Plague of London⁴⁶ (see Section 2.3.4) (Philips, 1990; Willan, 2018). The

⁴⁶During the Great Plague of London (1665-1666), the disease called the bubonic plague killed about 200,000 people in London, England. In seven months, almost one quarter of London's population (one out of every four Londoners) died from the plague. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/great-plague/>

consequences of the epidemic would be the most serious for Plaatje and Olive (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Willan, 2018). It left Plaatje with a heart condition that was aggravated whenever he overworked himself and while the other family members recovered well, Olive contracted rheumatic fever and could no longer attend school (Willan, 1984, 2018). Following the family doctor's advice, Plaatje took Olive to the hot springs in Aliwal North in an attempt to alleviate her suffering, but upon arrival, he was informed that the hot springs were for Whites only (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Willan, 2018). This incident infuriated Plaatje in terms of the dimensions of spirituality related to *compassion* for others, a reverence for *human dignity and human rights* as well as *moral and ethical values* (Willan, 1984, 2018). His anger and sadness intensified when Olive (having never fully recovered) passed away in 1921 (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Olive's death left a lasting impact on Plaatje, particularly because at the time of her funeral, he was stuck abroad again – as he was with the death of his son, Johannes – unable to return home due to financial constraints (Willan, 1984, 2018). Although it appeared that Plaatje made an effort to appear as *optimistic* and confident as ever in public, he seemed to pursue meaning in life mainly through work. Evidence suggests that Plaatje's emotional connection to Olive was never completely severed, especially since he later dedicated *Mhudi* to “the memory of our beloved Olive” (Willan, 2018, p. 424).

Plaatje's extensive travels during this historical period could be reflected as a significant experience of *meaning and purpose*, a dimension of spirituality, particularly since it was linked to his sense of responsibility towards the preservation of *human rights and dignity, morality and ethics* (Myers et al., 2000). As ever, he made a deep impression on his audiences:

To hear Mr Plaatje on that subject – the subject of his great work – is to be convinced that the man is not out on his own but called by a higher power as well as by the votes of his people to be the Frederick Douglass of the oppressed South African slaves of today. (Holder, *Negro World*, February 1921)

Plaatje's sense of *meaning, hope and optimism* was sparked through his experiences with the UNIA and he anticipated some form of support and sympathy towards his cause, as well as to raise money for his Brotherhood work in South Africa in the process (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje had made quite an impact on Black opinion (Leflaive, 2014); the newspaper, the *Negro World* carried several reports of the meetings he addressed during his stay in New York, which could have further facilitated his *sense of purpose*, especially since two such gatherings, where he spoke about the 'Black Man's Burden in South Africa', and the 'Black Women's Burden in South Africa', were held at the same venue where Garvey's inspired address had initially propelled the UNIA into action (Willan, 1984, 2018).

While he was abroad, Plaatje often struggled with his health (see Section 2.3.4), but as always, Plaatje ignored his physical symptoms, although it usually flared up feelings of loneliness within him and challenged his otherwise ever-present *sense of purpose*. Before he returned home in November 1923, Plaatje became involved in a number of activities whilst in London that included assisting in the production of a wildlife film, '*The Cradle of the World*', singing two songs in a private concert (Willan, 2018) and performing the first-ever recorded version of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" – today South Africa's national anthem (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). His involvement in these activities suggests that his *sense of purpose* seemed to extend to broader tasks than his primary politically-driven work, which could be regarded as an expression of wellness in the dimension of *service to others*. In the next section, Plaatje's spiritual wellness during the fifth historical period is discussed.

9.3.1.5 *The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)*⁴⁷

Back in Kimberley, the *sense of optimism* so strongly evident earlier on, and especially in the Mafeking siege, gave way to a grim pessimism about the future (Willan, 2018). Despite Plaatje's public critique of the British administration, he never associated himself with activities that advocated armed conflict, and, after years of advocating the ANC's anti-apartheid mission and vision across nations, he gradually withdrew from the party (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). It was clear that the ANC's prestige had, as Plaatje's position as an independent African spokesman, lost its major effect (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), especially in the bigger cities, because "he was never fully able to come to terms with the massive transition brought about by rapid industrialisation in South Africa" (Plaatje, 1973, p. 11). Furthermore, Plaatje was struck by the virtual demise of the African press but continued to make his convictions known in spite of it and travelled around the country in service to others by addressing communities, showcasing educational films on his projector at a small fee, which earned the label 'Plaatje's bioscope' (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018) and by writing hundreds of articles in various English-language newspapers of the day, such as the *Johannesburg Star*, the *Pretoria News*, the *Cape Times*, the *East London Daily Dispatch* and the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, often under the heading 'Through Native Eyes' (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). These actions related to the spiritual aspects of reverence for *human life, dignity, as well as love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000) reflect Plaatje's relentless attempts to promote reconciliation between races by serving both the disenfranchised African population as well as by educating and enlightening the White (specifically Afrikaner) population (Willan, 1984, 2018).

⁴⁷ During this historical period, biographical data on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task, namely: (a) *belief in a power beyond oneself*, (b) *spiritual practices*, (c) *moral and ethical values*, (d) *love, compassion and service to others* (e) *meaning and purpose*, and (f) *hope and optimism*.

On one of his trips around the country, Plaatje was able to enjoy a rare few days' relaxation with Elizabeth, who had accompanied him on a short holiday to Cape Town (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). It was an opportunity for the couple to reconnect after almost five years apart and since they spent most of their days outdoors, near the sea, it might have also allowed Plaatje to experience wellness in the dimension of *transcendence* through the connection with his natural environment. Spending time alone with his wife after being separated for such a long time served to rekindle the *love* they held for each other. Interestingly, no evidence in the literature exists on how the couple managed to finance this trip, especially since they were heavily indebted at the time.

The passing of the Colour Bar Act in 1926 (which essentially meant that Africans were prohibited to enter certain skilled occupations, such as engine-driving) and the proposed abolishment of the Cape non-racial emerging, threatened Plaatje's most cherished principle: equality before the law (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018). This was a significant event and period during Plaatje's life that deeply challenged his beliefs regarding the country's growing apartheid system (Lunderstedt, 2014). These beliefs were linked to a set of *moral and ethical values* and other spiritual aspects, such as a reverence for *human dignity and human rights* (Myers et al., 2000). Despite his dismay, Plaatje continued to report on the evictions that were still happening under the terms of the Natives' Land Act of 1913 and was thus able to translate his ethical beliefs and moral convictions into practice (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018) while he served his people within different communities.

During this time, he also started writing obituaries in the European press, mostly about the great figures of Cape liberalism, such as Chief Silas Molema, who for Plaatje, personified the independent, progressive, revolutionary Barolong society that had once held so many of his hopes and aspirations (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's customary reference to his faith and *belief in a power beyond himself* was again reflected in this context when he noted: "blessed are the dead

who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours” in a letter addressed to Silas Molema’s son, Modiri Molema, (Willan, 2018. p. 462) affirming that Plaatje was indeed “a man of prayer... with a faith that could not be shaken” (Molema, 2012, p. 10), a vice that sustained him on his travels and elsewhere throughout his life.

Plaatje’s dogged dedication to the advancement of human rights, morality and civil liberties (see Section 2.3.5) reflect that his *ethical and moral values* remained a prominent dimension of his spiritual life task for the remainder of his life (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). In 1929, as South Africa’s next general elections approached, Plaatje, as vice-president of the Cape Native Voters Association, actively lobbied against the abolishment of the Cape franchise (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Having kept his distance from the ANC thus far, he decided to attend the party’s 17th annual conference in Bloemfontein in support of their liberation struggle on the eve of the upcoming election (Willan, 2018). A disappointing outcome saw the Nationalist Party gain overall control in the new parliament (SAHO, n.d.; Willan, 1984) and Plaatje felt dejected – his sense of *optimism* was challenged by his environment, possibly to a greater degree than during the previous historical periods. A gesture that occurred around the same time, restored some of his *hope* for the future when the Kimberley community had rewarded him with the house he and his family were renting, as a gift for his ceaseless work on behalf of his people (Couzens, 2001; Willan, 2018).

From 1930 onwards, Plaatje’s political life began to diminish and he devoted himself to the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). It was an important theme throughout the last years of his life, one that strengthened and sustained his sense of *meaning, purpose* and *service to others*. To him, revitalising the African people’s language would restore a sense of pride in their customs and traditions (Midgeley, 1997). It was also a response to his increasingly pessimistic observations of the effects of social and economic change upon the lives of his people – alcoholism,

lawlessness, breakdown of parental control, disrespect for authority (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's decision to leave politics could also have been an unspoken admission that his battle against apartheid had not generated the changes he had hoped for (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje felt honoured to see his Setswana translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* and his novel, *Mhudi*, finally published in 1930 after long delays (Leflaive, 2014; Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Willan, 2018). This achievement would have undoubtedly fostered a sense of *meaning and purpose* regarding his work (Willan, 2018). Meanwhile, Plaatje had also worked on a new edition of his original collection of Setswana proverbs that he believed added an important social function through educating young people the etiquette of appropriate behaviour (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 1984, 2018). This emphasises *moral and ethical values* as a consistent and prominent dimension of Plaatje's wellness in the spiritual life task.

Plaatje's final international trips included one to the Belgian Congo and another to Zimbabwe in the winter of 1931 (see Section 2.3.5). It was one of his final attempts to serve his African people as well as educate and enlighten the White Rhodesian population on South African race relations (Willan, 1984, 2018). His actions on these trips linked to the spiritual aspects of reverence for *human life, dignity*, as well as *love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000). Plaatje's ubiquitous health issues and stubborn refusal to reduce his heavy workload, led to premature ageing as not even the doctors' scolding could prevent him from fulfilling his engagements (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). During the final years of this historical period, it seemed his spirit and passion were as undaunted as ever (Molema, 2012), which suggests that Plaatje still experienced a sense *hope and optimism* as a dimension of the spirituality life task (Myers et al., 2000).

When he returned home to Kimberley in May 1932, he was overjoyed with *optimism*, as he had finally managed to raise the funds needed to pay for the printing of one of his Setswana translations (see Section 2.3.5). On 24 May 1932, he addressed a public meeting in Kimberley

to share the outcome of his trip to Cape Town with anyone interested, a gesture that was met with appreciation from the community (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). In June 1932, Plaatje went on his final trip to Johannesburg to arrange the publishing of his works (Lunderstedt, 2014). The researcher argues that Plaatje's tenacity and dedication to work commitments despite struggling with health issues at the same time (see Section 2.3.5), possibly reflect the unwavering sense of *meaning and purpose* he derived from his work. This possibility is highlighted once more when Plaatje braved the cold weather and attended to prior arranged appointments but collapsed on a train platform on his way back home (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984). Plaatje died later that afternoon at the age of 56 years, surrounded by his wife, his brother-in-law and other family members (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

After his death, Plaatje received various accolades and honorary awards (see Appendix D), which would undoubtedly have deepened his sense of *meaning and purpose* regarding the value of his life's work. Many of the comments made by friends and colleagues highlighted the *ethical sense* and *set of values* he lived by, such as integrity, courage, empathy and concern with the well-being of the disenfranchised (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014; Leflaive, 2014; Limb, 2003; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). The following section focuses on the discussion of Plaatje's wellness in the life task of self-direction throughout his lifespan.

9.3.2 *Life task II: Self-direction*

According to the holistic wellness model, the life task of self-direction enables individuals to direct, control and manage their behaviour in a goal-directed manner (Myers et al., 2000). Self-direction is expressed in the following personal characteristics or competencies, namely: (a) sense of worth, (b) sense of control, (c) realistic beliefs, (d) emotional awareness and

coping, (e) problem-solving and creativity, (f) sense of humour, (g) nutrition, (h) exercise, (i) self-care, (j) stress management, (k) gender identity and (l) cultural identity. The life forces and global events that may have impacted on the life task of self-direction are emphasised, where applicable.

9.3.2.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)⁴⁸

The available data suggests that the young Plaatje could have possibly developed a *sense of worth* and healthy self-esteem based on his secure attachment with his mother and the care he received from his family, more specifically his mother, eldest brother and Reverend Westphal and his wife, Marie (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje seemed to have preserved a particularly strong attachment to his mother and always referred fondly to her as his ‘moral compass’ (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

The young Plaatje’s curiosity, keen appetite for reading and “astounding memory” (Molema, 2012, p. 20), which he inherited from his mother, piqued the Westphal couples’ interest (Willan, 1984, 2018). Most likely it was the strong bond between Plaatje and father-like figure, Reverend Westphal that eventually resulted in the offer of additional private tuition at the Westphals’ private home after he completed the highest grade of formal schooling offered by the Berlin mission school at Pniel (Couzens & Willan, 1979; Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Plaatje continued attending school when his parents moved away from Pniel, developed a close relationship with his eldest brother Simon and adjusted well to the newly enforced ‘parental’ rules and boundaries while he excelled at school (Willan, 2018). From this, the researcher postulates that from a young age Plaatje may have already possessed

⁴⁸ During this historical period, evidence regarding some dimensions of this life task was too limited to support any inferences or descriptions, including (a) *sense of humour*, and (b) *emotional awareness and coping*.

an inherent ability to address *stress management* as an aspect of self-direction. Listening to music, specifically the hymns at church, is something that Plaatje found enjoyable and relaxing and further relates to the subtask of *stress management* during this historical period (Myers et al., 2000). It was during these years that he also formed a deep affection to the books used for religious worship, in particular, the Setswana prayer-book and Bible that most likely laid the foundation for the efforts he devoted towards the translation of hymns in later years (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Growing up on a large fertile stretch of land where education, hard work and Christian traditions were fundamental, offered numerous opportunities for an *active lifestyle*, which in turn facilitated the development of another subtask of self-direction, namely *cultural identity* (see Section 2.3.1). Findings indicate that cultural identity seemed to be deeply and powerfully established in this historical phase of Plaatje's life.

When he was six years old, Plaatje started herding goats and cattle, an expected tradition amongst children of Batswanas in the formation of their African identity (Molema, 2012). Plaatje later referred to this chore as “the occupation most honoured among the Bechuana” (Batswanas) (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 7). This activity also reinforced Plaatje's *gender identity* concerning expected gender roles and associated duties, as it was regarded a “customary task for small boys” (Willan, 2018, p. 14). His family's cultural heritage contrasted by his attendance of a German mission school could have influenced Plaatje's sense of *cultural identity*, however a tradition of Christianity in the family that dated back to the 1830s, coupled with his father and brother's leading roles as intermediaries between the missionaries and the African residents of the mission, probably negated this notion. The researcher further infers that Plaatje's full names, ‘Solomon’ and ‘Tshekisho’, aptly reflect the lifelong synthesis of his Christian faith and Setswana traditions regarding this aspect of self-direction.

The Pniel residents were strictly prohibited to use alcohol or carry out cultural practices such as initiation (Molema, 2012). Also, their work ethic, diligence, impeccable behaviour and dress code made them stand out from the neighbouring villages (Molema, 2012). These are qualities that also caused Plaatje to stand out from his peers in later years and relate to the subtask of *self-care*. Plaatje walked to and from the mission school every day, a distance of about 6.5 kilometres from Simon's house (Molema, 2012) and he enjoyed exploring life on the Pniel estate (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). This relates to *exercise* as a subtask of self-direction. The German missionaries, including Reverend Westphal, did not believe in sport and particularly disliked football and cricket (Willan, 1984, 2018), thus, aside from the fact that they did not want to make fools of themselves, they considered playing sport an entirely inappropriate form of acculturation (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018).

Evidence suggests that Pniel was ideally located along the nearby Vaal (river)banks and that Plaatje's family made a good living from the sale of their livestock and vegetables (Couzens, 2001; Willan, 1984, 2018). At one stage, the river flooded the surrounding areas and the Plaatje family shared in the benefits of a temporary but very lucrative milk-delivery business to owners of wagons stuck in the nearby valleys (Duminy & Sabatini, 2011; Plaatje, 1916b). Plaatje's natural environment created opportunities for a supply of healthy foods that were "at hand in plenty" (Willan, 2018, p. 14), indicating that he experienced wellness regarding adequate *nutrition*, as an aspect of self-direction.

Further evidence from Plaatje's school years suggests that he most likely experienced a *sense of control*, which may have been linked to his noteworthy academic achievements (see Section 2.3.1). From early childhood, the Westphals nurtured the young Plaatje's curiosity, keen appetite for reading and "astounding" memory (Molema, 2012, p. 20) and firmly believed in the importance of providing him with a good education (Willan, 1984, 2018). The additional

private tuition he received from them at their home, possibly contributed to the level of confidence in his academic abilities (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

A creative pursuit Plaatje engaged in was when he became a student-teacher at the age of fourteen for about two years (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokae, 2010; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). This, coupled with his work as a “groom and herdsboy” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 7) at the Bend Hotel nearby (Pniel), speak to aspects of the subtask of *problem-solving and creativity* (Myers et al., 2000). Another example further highlights Plaatje’s capacity to solve problems: around the age of nine, Plaatje worked as a herdsboy for a shrewd Dutch farmer who habitually slaughtered his livestock but would accuse his staff of theft and deduct the value of the ‘stolen’ livestock from their salaries (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Plaatje, however, diligently kept record of all the livestock that was taken by carving a nick into his herder’s stick, an action that protected him from retribution and secured his wages (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje seemed to enjoy earning his own money from an early age and the financial independence it brought (Leflaive, 2014). When he worked as a student-teacher towards the end of this historical period, the job had an added bonus: it allowed him to continue with his thirst for education (Willan, 2018). Both of these aspects could have contributed to his *sense of worth* and *sense of control* as important subtasks of the life task of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000). While not directly related to this historical period, evidence indicated that throughout his life Plaatje was seen to have a good *sense of humour* (Clark & Tyson, 2003; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). His open and curious mind reflects his capacity for *realistic beliefs* and when Marie Westphal introduced him to the works of Shakespeare (who eventually became his all-time favourite author), he started reading even more extensively in English (Seddon, 2004; Willan, 2018). In addition, Marie Westphal nurtured Plaatje’s natural music talent and taught him to play the piano, violin and trained his singing voice (Midgeley, 1997) – useful

'leisure' activities during this historical period that proved very useful sources of income in later historical periods, particularly on his travels abroad (Midgeley, 1997). The Westphals' ultimate goal was for Plaatje to further his studies, but he decided to find work and move to Kimberley instead (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). His father's refusal to pay for his studies might have brought on challenges during this time regarding two subtasks of self-direction, namely *sense of optimism* and a *sense of control* (Myers et al., 2000). From this, the researcher postulates that the decision to leave his home at the age of 17 (Couzens, 2000; Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984), also reflects Plaatje's abilities regarding *stress management* at the time. The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of self-direction during the second historical period.

9.3.2.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)⁴⁹

According to Witmer and Sweeney (1992), a sense of control involves an attitude of persistence and a proactive effort. The researcher proposes that Plaatje's decision to move to Kimberley might indicate an effort at regaining a *sense of control*. His relocation could also be interpreted as an example of other competencies central to the life task of self-direction, such as *realistic beliefs* and *problem-solving and creativity*.

Plaatje's professional success during this historical period (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018) reflects the subtask of sense of control relating to feelings of mastery, competence and confidence (Myers et al., 2000) and the utilisation of opportunities that further enabled a sense of worth. For example, he received recognition for his work at the Post office months after he started working there and was promoted to a higher-paid position with more responsibilities

⁴⁹ During this historical period, evidence regarding some dimensions of this life task was too limited to support any inferences or descriptions, including (a) *nutrition*, and (b) *exercise*.

(Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). In his community, he was elected secretary to both the Kimberley Eccentrics cricket club and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). The new work environment also created opportunities for intellectual stimulation, leading to greater wellness regarding *problem-solving and creativity*. For example, his involvement in the activities of the South African Improvement Society (see Section 2.3.2) also allowed him to improve his literary skills (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). He became fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa, German and Sesotho, along with his native tongue, Setswana (Molema, 2012). The blend of humour and self-confidence often displayed by members at the society's meetings was a positive experience that assisted him in the life task of self-direction. Their cheerful spirit enhanced his inherent *sense of humour*, a characteristic that he later became renowned for (Willan, 2018).

During this historical period, Plaatje was an integrated member of the African mission-educated community (see Section 2.3.2) (Leflaive, 2014). A sense of worth, mirrored as positive self-esteem, has been found to correlate with more effective coping with stress (Witmer et al., 1983). The utilisation of social support via his affiliation with like-minded individuals with similar Christian values and beliefs (Molema, 2012) may be regarded as a form of *stress management*, which possibly enhanced his *sense of worth* as well. Plaatje's sociable manner made him very popular and his participation in leisure activities, which included becoming a choir member of the Philharmonic Society, allowed him to engage with members of both genders (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). This relates to the subtask of *gender identity* (Myers et al., 2000). He enjoyed singing in the choir and also performed in other musical concerts in town, which offered a form of *stress management* (Myers et al., 2000). It was also during this historical period that Plaatje saw his first Shakespearian play, *Hamlet*, performed on stage at the local theatre (Willan, 2018). This

highlighted another creative pursuit that made him “curious to know more about Shakespeare and his works” (Willan, 1996, p. 210).

Through his friendship with Isaiah Bud-M’belle, Plaatje met and established a romantic relationship with Isaiah’s sister, Elizabeth, whom he married a few years later (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). His marriage and eagerly awaiting the arrival of his first son (Willan, 1984, 2018) might indicate a degree of satisfaction with his gender. Another aspect of the life task of self-direction, namely *emotional awareness and coping*, featured more prominently. For example, Plaatje recognised and expressed his negative emotions in frequent letters to Elizabeth during their initial separation and often complained of “the long and awful nights in 1897 when my path to union...was so rocky” (Plaatje, 1973, p. 76). Another example is Plaatje’s behaviour during the time of his father’s death (see Section 2.3.2) that highlights concepts of the subtask of *sense of control*, but it also demonstrates *emotional awareness* and an *ability to cope* with any associated emotions during difficult times (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Evidence suggests that throughout his life, Plaatje abstained from using or abusing harmful substances such as alcohol (Willan, 1984, 2018). This relates to the subtask of *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). In this historical period, Plaatje’s leisure activities did not include physical *exercise*. His involvement with sport was limited to his administrative role as secretary of the Eccentrics Cricket club (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Findings indicate that during this historical period, Plaatje’s sense of control could have been challenged by the country’s political climate (see Section 2.3.2) and he began to question the mounting segregation policies of the time (Willan, 1984, 2018). This can be considered a reflection of Plaatje’s capacity for *realistic beliefs*. He was also realistic about the limited prospects available at the Post office and applied himself assiduously in pursuit of a career in law (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Thus, by the time he found a job as court interpreter

towards the end of this historical period, he was proficient in a plethora of languages used in court interpreting (Willan, 1984, 2018); a skill which undoubtedly contributed to his *sense of control*. The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of self-direction during the third historical period.

9.3.2.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)⁵⁰

9.3.2.3.1 Before the Siege

Challenges with his health delayed Plaatje's departure to Mafeking, which marked the start of a series of health challenges that ultimately plagued him throughout his adult life (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Initially, he might have encountered certain challenges to sustaining a *sense of control*, but a positive consequence of the delay was that he was able to spend his 22nd birthday with his heavily pregnant wife (Willan, 1984), which as a result, most likely allowed him to manage his *stress* adequately. Research findings indicate that during this historical period, Plaatje was able to meet the demands and challenges inherent to his work (see Section 2.3.3), leading to greater wellness regarding *problem-solving and creativity*. Although Plaatje worked in cramped and badly ventilated offices that sometimes also affected his health, it provided an environment with regular opportunities for intellectual stimulation and he was able to find meaningful ways in which to manage his *stress*. For example, he developed and cultivated good social support with everyone, including leading White residents in the district (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). His job and his ties to the prominent Barolong landowner, Silas Molema, afforded Plaatje the respect of the community (Midgeley, 1997;

⁵⁰ During this historical period, biographical evidence on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task: (a) *self-care*, (b) *problem-solving and creativity*, (c) *gender identity*, and (d) *sense of worth*.

Willan, 2018). Plaatje's *cultural identity* remained as strong as ever, as indicated by his decision to settle in the multi-cultural Barolong township where he pursued relationships with individuals of other cultures but with similar religious backgrounds (Molema, 2012). Plaatje also formed a close relationship with his boss, Magistrate Charles Bell, who regularly entrusted Plaatje with more responsibilities than the other two clerks in his office (Van Wyk, 2003). Bell's show of confidence in his abilities might have had a positive impact on Plaatje's self-esteem and *sense of worth*, which has been found to correlate with more effective coping with stress (Witmer et al., 1983). In later recollections, Plaatje considered himself fortunate to have "served my apprenticeship under such a man" (Jacobson, 1980, p. 7). Plaatje also displayed *emotional awareness and an ability to cope* with his emotions during court proceedings (see Section 2.3.3.1) that he reflected on years later, in a personal document, called the *Essential Interpreter* (Woeber, 1998). The close relationships he formed with Molema, Bell and other male individuals might reflect a degree of satisfaction and identification with his gender. The birth of his first son (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012) possibly added to a positive experience of *gender identity*.

Data from this historical period revealed that despite Plaatje's capacity for self-direction, he also experienced frustrations relating to his work environment. For example, he began considering his role within the magistrate's office a necessary one, possibly reflecting an increased *sense of worth* at the time (see Section 2.3.3.1). Another example of Plaatje's frustrations that influenced his *sense of control* centred around the challenges of accurately translating and explaining legal terminology (in English) to witnesses in a manner that they would understand: "I found out that this was too difficult a phrase to render into intelligible Dutch, or any of the native languages, in half a dozen words" (Willan, 1996, p. 58). Although he was confident in his capabilities as court interpreter, he remained conscious of the heavy burden of responsibility as the slightest mistranslation could all too easily affect the judicial

process (Willan, 1996, 2018). On occasion, he used his *sense of humour* to assist him in the life task of self-direction. An example of this is the humorous anecdote Plaatje recounted regarding an incident that occurred in court (see Section 2.3.3.1).

The research findings also highlight Plaatje's capacity for *realistic beliefs* and *problem-solving* skills regarding the abovementioned frustrations. More specifically, he felt unappreciated in his current position at work, thus he started qualifying himself for a higher salary and promotion by preparing to write the Cape Civil service examinations (Willan, 1984, 2018). Unfortunately, the Anglo-Boer war broke out in October 1899 and derailed his plans when Mafeking was besieged for eight months (Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Ramoroka, 2009). This event might have challenged Plaatje's experience of wellness regarding *sense of control* as a subtask of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000).

9.3.2.3.2 During the Siege

Throughout the Mafeking siege, evidence suggests that, despite the turmoiled political climate, Plaatje was able to direct his behaviour in a goal-directed manner (see Section 2.3.3.2). This may be a reflection of a well-developed capacity for self-direction. He derived a *sense of worth* by continuing to work as court interpreter, performing administrative tasks for war correspondents, writing articles for the local newspaper and typing out the handwritten diaries of others (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). His involvement in the different areas could have affirmed his self-confidence and feelings of competence, which may well have revived his experience of wellness relating to the subtask of *sense of control* (Myers et al., 2000). Furthermore, the decision to move back into the Molema family with his close friend, David Phooko suggests Plaatje's utilisation of social support as a *stress management* strategy.

Plaatje's daily entries into a personal diary that he had started during the siege, suggests possible wellness in the subtask of *exercise* through occasional engagement in horse-riding:

“There being no danger I took the pony and went out for a ride round” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 61). These diary entries also reflect two additional aspects of the life task of self-direction, namely *emotional awareness and coping*, and *stress management* (see Section 2.3.3.2). For example, Plaatje was able to recognise and manage his emotions related to the war conditions around him: “It is really evil to disturb a beautiful morning like this with the rattling of Mausers and whizzes and explosions of shells” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 40) so when there was “a calm and unusually lovely day” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 118) he would spend it relaxing in the gardens, an activity that could be regarded as a possible coping and stress management strategy. Other entries also included detailed descriptions of the weather conditions, because it had a direct impact on his emotions. For example, on one particular morning after it rained the entire night before, he wrote: “Today was quite extraordinary...the weather would keep the Boers quiet...fine soaking rains were the order of the day...it was quite a holiday and many of us during our movements quite forgot the big gun’s presence” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 120). On Sundays, various activities were organised in which soldiers and civilians, including Plaatje, participated enthusiastically (see Section 2.3.3.2). The enjoyment of these activities, coupled with the enjoyment of the musical concerts that were presented on Sunday evenings could be another reflection of Plaatje’s ability to manage and cope with his stressful environment (Myers et al., 2000). Plaatje’s diary entries throughout the siege reveal ‘an intriguing *sense of humour*’ (Willan, 1996), that describe not only the hardships of life under siege but also its moments of humour (Clarke & Tyson, 2003). An example of this includes the joking description of ‘Au Sanna’, the 94-pounder siege-gun that shelled them regularly (Comaroff et al., 1999; Willan, 1996).

As the siege continued, his diary entries also reflect his growing awareness of the inequality and injustice of and towards Black people living in South Africa (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje was starting to adjust his thinking concerning issues related to the race-policy of the time (see

Section 2.3.3.2), which relates to an aspect within the subtask of self-direction, namely *realistic beliefs* (Myers et al., 2000). Although Plaatje was initially unaffected when the food rationing system was implemented among the African people (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014), he later also encountered challenges regarding *nutrition* when he was also put on rations: “I have a very strong appetite just now when food is scarce...food becomes one of the greatest desires of a man’s dreams...” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 118). Findings indicate that he experienced negative emotions when he was unable to enjoy regular meals: “If we had as much food as rain, then things would be all right” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 143).

The number of blank sheets that remained in the book in which the diary was written, suggests that Plaatje’s diary was never completed; highlighting the presence of one of Alexander’s (1988, 1990) indications of saliency, namely *incompletion*. The general sense of pessimism that prevailed in Mafeking in the last two months of the siege may have prompted the abrupt ending of diary entries (see Section 2.3.3.2).

9.3.2.3.3 After the Siege

After the war ended, Plaatje’s decision to rewrite the Cape Civil service examinations (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997) might have given him a brief *sense of control*, but instead it left him with a lasting feeling of disappointment when he did not receive the deserved recognition for his performance as top candidate (Willan, 1984, 2018). Other events related to this incident (see Section 2.3.3.3) caused Plaatje to readjust his thinking towards pursuing a career in journalism and the process involved regulating and directing daily activities in order to reach this goal. Despite Plaatje’s new love affair with newspapers and printer’s ink (Lunderstedt, 2014), he realised that resigning from his governmental job would not occur without difficulty and severe personal cost, both to him and his family (Couzens, 2001; Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). From this, the researcher postulates that the decision to divert

his career path could have been an attempt to maintain a *sense of control* during a difficult period, although Plaatje was able to *realistically* conclude his formal employment duties before he turned to journalism full-time (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003).

For the remainder of this historical period, Plaatje's experience of wellness in the aspects of the self-direction life task is related to his career (see Section 2.3.3.3). His success as a public figure during this time relates to feelings of mastery, competence and self-confidence (Myers et al., 2000) that were amplified when he assumed editorship of the first Setswana-English weekly newspaper, *Koranta ea Bechoana (The Bechuana Gazette)* (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). This pushed him onto a new pathway of writing that also contributed to his *sense of worth*. Plaatje emerged as a leading spokesman for African opinion where he also became more involved in politics in an attempt to further the cause of the oppressed majority, the African people (Lunderstedt, 2014). Although Plaatje was often resented for his blunt criticisms, his ability to express strong negative emotions relates to the subtask of *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers et al., 2000). He had an equally practical approach and engaged in proactive efforts at acquiring *a sense of control* by, for example, joining a deputation of Barolong chiefs in Cape Town in a lobbying campaign regarding compensations for the losses suffered by the African population during the Anglo-Boer war (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). How he performed his duties landed him a commendation in the *Cape Argus* (newspaper) at the time (Willan, 2018), which could have promoted additional *feelings of self-worth*. Another example that also relates to concepts of *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers et al., 2000) highlights Plaatje's travels around the country on a bicycle to observe consequent injustices of the segregative pass laws enforced onto Black people (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Shillington, 1985). The researcher postulates that witnessing the suffering of his people in this manner had forced Plaatje to cope with many negative emotions.

Plaatje's extensive travels were financially and physically taxing and he was faced with rising challenges and frustrations on the work-front (see Section 2.3.3.3). In 1909 he was compelled to work as a labour recruiter for the mines (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018), and as a result, struggled with associated feelings of inadequacy and incompetence (Willan, 2018), which further reflect the challenges he faced with regard to *emotional awareness and coping* during that period. The majority of his debts were connected to the newspaper and his inability to settle them all caused him to become embroiled in legal matters (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), which undoubtedly had an emotional impact on Plaatje (Willan, 2018).

Evidence suggests that Plaatje's wellness regarding *cultural and gender identity* remained stable during this and subsequent historical periods (see Section 2.3.3.3). He had fathered two more sons (Richard and Hally) and two daughters (Olive and Violet), and although his long absences away from home essentially left Elisabeth on her own as the children's primary caregiver (Willan, 2018), Plaatje valued the time he was able to spend with his family, especially with his eldest daughter Olive, as evidenced by the numerous amusing anecdotes he wrote about her (Willan, 1996, 2018). These anecdotes reflect Plaatje's ability to effectively use his *sense of humour* to maintain a good relationship with his daughter (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje's decision to leave Mafeking and settle in Kimberley in May 1910 coincided with a major event in South Africa, namely the birth of a newly-formed, White-dominated government (Odendaal, 2012). This decision is also indicative of Plaatje's wellness concerning *realistic beliefs*. He had, by the end of this historical period, realised that journalism was to be his only stable source of income and found backers for a new newspaper, *Tsala ea Becoana (The Bechuana's Friend)* (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of self-direction during the fourth historical period.

9.3.2.4 *Tales of Travels (1910 - 1923)*⁵¹

Realistic beliefs, a subtask of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000), features prominently in this historical period as Plaatje began to recognise and challenge issues related to the race-policy of the time (see Section 2.3.4). To this end, he started travelling around the country again, representing African interests and influencing opinion which could be an example of a self-enhancing, assertive action believing that a desired outcome is possible, with specific reference to the subtasks of *sense of control* and *problem-solving and creativity* (Myers et al., 2000).

The birth of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, later renamed as the African National Congress (ANC) (Midgeley, 1997; SAHO, n.d.), heralded a new era for the oppressed and gave a united voice to the African people (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's suggestion for the organisation to be known by a distinctive and preferentially native name was accepted by fellow committee members and reflect another example of *creativity* and *sense of control*. Plaatje saw the formation of the organisation as a turning point in African politics because the SANNC conference "was one of the most important events that have ever happened in South Africa" (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 32). Furthermore, his election as the first general secretary of the SANNC could have contributed to a *sense of worth*. However, his (unpaid) duties within the SANNC resulted in the demise of his newspaper, which more than likely took a toll on Plaatje's wellness concerning *stress management*. Evidence suggests that Plaatje seemed to manage his stress well by relying on his faith and spirituality (Willan, 1984, 2018) and by discussing work difficulties and frustrations with like-minded colleagues and friends, such as Vere Stent and Henry Burton (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). His utilisation of social support as a stress management strategy also allowed him to cope with

⁵¹ During this historical period, biographical evidence on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task: (a) *self-care*, (b) *gender identity*, (c) *cultural identity*, (d) *exercise*, and (e) *sense of humour*.

his *emotions* (Myers et al., 2000). Plaatje's ability to revive his newspaper under a new name, *Tsala ea Batho (The Friend of the People)* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018), reflects a proactive effort at regaining a *sense of control*. Another practical tactic at gaining a sense of control is demonstrated in his decision to approach the predominantly Coloured African Political Organisation (APO), to collaborate against newly proposed legislations (see Section 2.3.4).

Ultimately, this historical period brought significant emotional upheaval for Plaatje (see Section 2.3.4). He called the 1913 Native Land Act a 'draconian law' that saw the "South African native...not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 17). Although its implementation indicated a major step towards the dispossession of African rights, Plaatje remained rooted in his *cultural identity* during this time and continued to collect evidence of the Act's effects (Lunderstedt, 2014). He started writing *Native Life in South Africa* as part of the proposed campaign and remained in England for three years to complete and publish it (Midgeley, 1997). The publication of the book and the abundant public speeches abroad consolidated his image as the leading spokesman for his Black compatriots (Willan, 2018), which could have contributed to a sense of *self-worth*. During a time of significant political tension and the assumption of widespread powers by the ruling party in South Africa, Plaatje's strategies could, therefore, be regarded as attempts to maintain a *sense of control* in his opposition of an apartheid government, as well as an indication of his abilities at *problem-solving and creativity*. Although the death of his youngest son, Johannes, triggered an emotionally challenging time (see Section 2.3.4), it seemed that Plaatje managed to successfully cope with his *emotions*, possibly due to the growing support of a wide circle of friends and 'sympathisers' to his cause, among London's African and African-American community (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). While abroad, Plaatje had seized opportunities to pursue his literary ambitions, which refer to concepts of the subtask of *sense of control*,

relating to feelings of mastery, competence and self-confidence (Myers et al., 2000). Examples include the two books dedicated to the preservation of Setswana proverbs (Jones & Plaatje, 1916) and the contribution in a book commemorating Shakespeare's 300th anniversary (Remington, 2013). The publications of these achievements may well have contributed to an additional *sense of worth*.

Upon his return to South Africa in 1917, the news of a proposed Native Administration Bill as an extension of the injustices of the 1913 Native Land Act (Lacey, 1981; Leflaive, 2014), delayed his return to Kimberley and his family for almost two weeks, as he rallied support in Cape Town in opposition to the Bill (Lunderstedt, 2014). His decision to stay with the president of the APO, Dr Abdul Abdurahman, indicates a *stress management* strategy via the utilisation of social support. Meanwhile, his newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho*, had ceased publication and the SANNC was in turmoil (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's decision to decline the presidency of the SANNC came after he realistically evaluated the offer and highlights his wellness concerning *realistic beliefs*. The failure of the SANNC to uphold their promise of financial support to Plaatje's family before his departure overseas possibly influenced his decision in this regard (Willan, 2018). Nonetheless, Plaatje continued to work hard to garnish support for and reach the SANNC's goals (see Section 2.3.4). Plaatje's faith in and commitment to the SANNC's ethos and mission reflect the subtask of *sense of worth*, in addition to *sense of control* and *realistic beliefs*.

The unremitting nature of his work took its toll on Plaatje (Willan, 2018) and when the devastating Spanish influenza epidemic swept the world in October and November 1918 (Philips, 1990), it left him with a heart condition that worsened every time he overworked himself (see Section 2.3.4). As usual, he ignored his decline in physical wellness but was emotionally devastated when Olive died three years later while he was away on yet another unsuccessful SANNC delegation trip to England (Willan, 1984, 2018). The financial

constraints of his environment and overburdened schedule made it impossible to attend her funeral and thus the dedication of his historical novel, *Mhudi* (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018), published in 1930, is possibly a form of coping with and managing negative emotions such as anger and sadness during and after Olive's death. *Mhudi*, as *Native Life in South Africa*, has since become known as one of the first documents produced in English by a Black South African (Willan, 1984, 2018); achievements that would have had a positive impact, a *sense of worth* and a *sense of control*, in Plaatje. Both of these concepts have been identified as important aspects of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000).

Throughout the 1920s, Plaatje had travelled extensively (see Section 2.3.4). Although initial meddling by the South African government resulted in Plaatje being refused an American visa, he attempted to regain a *sense of control* in this regard and displayed *problem-solving and creativity* by gaining access to America via Canada with the help of friends (Willan, 2018). In terms of *gender identity*, Plaatje exchanged experiences and ideas with well-known male individuals (see Section 2.3.4), including Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and Robert Moton (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 1984). Unfortunately, these connections had no lasting impact beyond temporary goodwill (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

During this difficult and stressful period, Plaatje had to employ significant *stress management strategies*, especially since his physical health continued to decline (Willan, 1984, 2018). Evidence suggests that Plaatje relied heavily on the support of his British friends before he returned to South Africa in 1923 (see Section 2.3.4). Examples of this include their offer to pay for his return ticket home to his family and the arrangement of a farewell musical evening in his honour (Willan, 1984, 2018). For Plaatje, music was a form of *stress management* during this period, something he had always found calming and relaxing (Willan, 1984, 2018). Therefore, his participation in the singing of hymns at a recording studio in London, as well as his rendition of the first-ever recorded version of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" – today South

Africa's national anthem (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), further demonstrated the subtask of *stress management* (Myers et al., 2000). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of self-direction during the fifth historical period.

9.3.2.5 The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)⁵²

The first aspect of the life-task of self-direction investigated for this historical period is *realistic beliefs*. On Plaatje's return to South Africa in 1923, after nearly five years away from his family and home, he found the political situation radically changed (Midgeley, 1997). The SANNC (since renamed the ANC) was a shadow of its former self and most Africans had begun to seek strength in collective action (Willan, 2018). He began to realise that he could no longer align himself with the organisation's stance on armed conflict and gradually withdrew from the ANC (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). This decision was coupled with the need for *emotional awareness and coping* even though he believed that the path he had chosen was the morally and ethically right one (Willan, 2018), because he "was never fully able to come to terms with the massive transition brought about by rapid industrialisation in South Africa" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 15).

Evidence suggests that his *stress management* strategies during the early years of this period likely involved social support from old friends, as he "was received with cheers" (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 65) and his brother-in-law, Isaiah Bud M'belle, who was also paying for the house Plaatje's family were living in (Willan, 1984, 2018). Given their history, it is very likely that Plaatje discussed the difficulties and frustrations with his brother-in-law as a means to cope with and manage his emotions. Another personal strategy involved assertive behaviour, which

⁵² During this historical period, biographical evidence on the following dimensions did not indicate any changes to Plaatje's degree of wellness in this life task: (a) *self-care*, (b), (c) *gender identity*, (d) *cultural identity*, (e) *exercise*, and (f) *sense of humour*.

is also a specific feature of the subtask of *self-control*. Examples of Plaatje's assertive behaviour include his continued campaigning for the cause of rural Africans by travelling throughout the country as a 'bioscope impresario' showing educational and uplifting films on the projector he received while he was abroad (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). At the same time, he displayed *realistic beliefs* in his role as acute observer of rural conditions about the brutality of the apartheid system and the bitterness it had engendered and later reported "it is, indeed, hard to be a native of South Africa" (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 66). The donation of a portable generator and the acquisition of a car with the assistance from (the mine) De Beers, towards the end of 1925 (Saks, 2004; Willan, 2018), highlight the experience of a possible *sense of self-worth* and feelings related to a *sense of control*, both important subtasks of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000).

The Colour Bar Act that was passed in 1926 (SAHO, 2017) triggered a diminished *sense of control* in Plaatje and he had to cope with an array of negative emotions in this regard (see Section 2.3.5). Despite his dismay, Plaatje could regulate his daily activities to pursue the long term goals related to equality and justice in South Africa, which reflects a capacity for *self-direction* (Myers et al., 2000). In 1927 he also became an advocate for sobriety for the International Order of True Templars (IOTT) (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Plaatje shared the IOTT's beliefs regarding individual upliftment and moral regeneration of the African people (Plaatje, 1973) and always supported the total prohibition of alcohol, especially to his own people (Willan, 2018) which could be seen as indicative of his maintained propensity for *self-care*, another dimension needed for wellness in the life task of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000). Contradictorily though, he was nevertheless hooked on cigarettes (Lunderstedt, 2014).

In 1928 Plaatje was rewarded for his services to the African-, Coloured-, and Indian people over the past decade (Lunderstedt, 2014). The Kimberley community had donated the house he and his family were renting, as a replacement for the one he had lost while he was abroad

on 'native deputations' (Couzens, 2001). The gesture would have strengthened Plaatje's *sense of worth* in the recognition of positive qualities by others, as well as his *sense of control* concerning the belief that certain desired outcomes are possible. This event may have fortified his willingness to accept the position of vice-president of the Cape Native Voters Association. He even attended the ANC's annual conference in Bloemfontein in support of their struggle against the abolishment of the Cape franchise (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Before the general elections of 1930, Plaatje was actively involved in lobbying campaigns, which refers to the subtask of *problem-solving and creativity*, with specific emphasis on effective conflict resolution (Myers et al., 2000). The eventual abolishment of the Cape non-racial was the final proverbial nail in Plaatje's political coffin and forced him to cope with the emotional impact of an unsatisfying outcome, stating that "the blow has fallen...a knockout blow for prejudice and repression...the Pact is to rule over us for another five years..." (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 74). This event seemed to greatly diminish his wellness, particularly in relation to a *sense of control*. Plaatje's frustration with politics grew towards the end of this historical period and his chronic susceptibility to ill health had weakened him (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

The final years of Plaatje's life are best recalled for his literary endeavours (Comaroff et al., 1999), more specifically to the preservation of Setswana literature (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). His involvement in revitalising the African people's language facilitated a sense of *self-worth* and can be seen as an attempt at regaining a *sense of control* related to feelings of mastery and competence (Myers et al., 2000). The last two years of his life certainly reflect an almost urgent preoccupation of collecting new words and meanings for his Setswana-English dictionary, while working on a new edition of his original collection of Setswana proverbs and arguing his case over Setswana orthography (Willan, 1984, 1996, 2018). Plaatje's literary life was clearly filled with frustrations, particularly the financial kind as he was trying

to raise the funds to print and publish all his work (Willan, 2018), and in an attempt to resolve this problem he continued to publish articles in various newspapers around the country as they provided a steady source of income (Lunderstedt, 2014). This practical approach towards addressing his financial limitations could be seen as a capacity for *realistic beliefs*, another important dimension needed for wellness.

Plaatje's awareness of the limitations to what he was able to achieve, led to challenges in his experience of wellness relating to his *sense of worth*. For example, in a letter he wrote to Robert Moton in 1931, the depth of his frustrations regarding lack of money and the racial situation in South Africa is evident:

There is much data that wants writing in the line of old Native research, but valuable data lies unprinted, of immense historic and anthropological value; I have no financial aid to visit such localities and the old people are fast dying out and being buried with the information which is thus being lost to posterity.
(Willan, 2018, p. 552)

What frustrated him even more was because "Whites found no difficulty in securing the funds 'for half-cooked second-hand information (often distorted) about Natives'" (Willan, 2018, p. 552), which highlights an awareness of the reality of economic inequality and injustice between the rich and poor (Willan, 2018). Thus, the researcher hypothesised that Plaatje may have experienced significant difficulties concerning *problem-solving and creativity*, as well as *sense of control and sense of worth*. It seemed that during this historical period Plaatje found it more difficult than usual to manage negative emotions. In terms of *stress management*, he often reflected with fond nostalgia on his childhood, for instance, during a conference of the IOTT when he commented that "the principal industrial centres should have a reserve where an overworked Native or miners' victim could mind his own goat and spend the evening of his life under his own vine and fig tree" (Willan, 2018, p. 462). The struggles regarding his dire

financial situation illuminate Plaatje's challenges regarding *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers et al., 2000), which were further compounded by his frail health. Silas Molema's death a few years earlier also deeply affected Plaatje as expressed in a letter to Molema's son, Modiri: "You will not believe what a shock we got from your telegram conveying the news of Father's passing...I was lying ill at the time and was simply beside myself" (Willan, 2018, p. 462). Because of their shared past, Molema had become a father-like figure over the years (Willan, 2018).

The eventual publication of his novel, *Mhudi*, and one of his translations of Shakespeare plays, namely *Comedy of Errors* in 1930 (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003), were two of Plaatje's greatest accomplishments that restored his *sense of worth* and belief in the possibility of desirable outcomes. His translation of *Julius Caesar* was published posthumously (Willan, 2018), but this achievement would have undoubtedly fostered a similar positive emotional experience. The biographical data suggests that during the latter part of this historical period, Plaatje also developed a much more personal note of frustration in his newspaper articles, above all, on the subject of leadership. Despite his *sense of worth*, Plaatje was aware that his contributions to the fight against inequality were not always appreciated (see Section 2.3.5). Much of his dissatisfaction lay with the African people's 'lethargy', 'fickleness' and 'wanton indifference' regarding their political and social lives (Willan, 2018), if the rising occurrence of alcoholism and growing spirit of jealousy that he started to detect among his people was anything to go by (Lunderstedt, 2014). On a personal front, he also struggled to cope with his sons' (Sainty and Hally's) frequent alcohol use (Willan, 2018). Their behaviour was in stark contrast to his own beliefs and moral convictions (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's discontent regarding the 'sorry state' of the Africans' lives (Willan, 2018) could be seen as an indication of an instance during this historical period where he experienced a diminished *sense of control*. However, this, coupled with his increasingly frail health, did not

prevent him from retaining a hands-on approach. For example, in 1931 he embarked on what would be his final international trip to the Belgian Congo and Zimbabwe in his capacity as journalist and he also attended a conference in Johannesburg under the auspices of the International Order of True Templars (IOTT) (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). At times, family and close friends observed that he seemed intensely frustrated by his failing health and decreased mobility (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Evidence suggests that Plaatje continued to use social support as strategies for *stress management*. For example, when he travelled to Johannesburg in 1932 (Lunderstedt, 2014), he stayed with family and also attended a few social engagements with friends in town (Willan, 2018). Although he fell seriously ill during this visit, evidence suggests that he continued to engage in intellectually stimulating activities (see Section 2.3.5). In addition to facilitating a *sense of worth and control*, these activities could have maintained his wellness regarding *problem-solving and creativity*. The following section focuses on the discussion of Plaatje's wellness in the life task of work and leisure throughout his lifespan.

9.3.3 *Life task III: Work and Leisure*

In the WoW model, the definition of work includes activities outside formal employment, such as childrearing, volunteer work and educational activities that provide psychological and social benefits to the well-being of the self and others (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Leisure is also an important component of wellness (Sweeney, 2009), which includes childhood play and adult leisure activities (see Section 4.3.1.3) that provide opportunities for intrinsic satisfaction (Myers et al., 2000). Findings on the life task of work and leisure were analysed and discussed according to the areas of (a) formal employment, (b) unpaid work, (c) educational activities, and (d) leisure activities. The life forces and global events that may have impacted on the life task of work and leisure are emphasised, where applicable.

9.3.3.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

During this historical period, evidence suggests that Plaatje's wellness in the life task of work mostly involved *educational activities* at school. His curiosity and enthusiasm to learn were evident from the early age of five when he mastered reading and writing in Setswana (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Not long after he started attending formal school, his teachers labelled him a well above average learner with an "astounding memory" (Molema, 2012, p. 20). His academic talent piqued the Westphal couple's interest and they offered him extra tuition, free of charge in their private home (Midgeley, 1997). Reverend Westphal, who referred to him as "kleine Salomo Plaatje" (Willan, 2018, p. 3) played an influential role in Plaatje's life during this historical period and is credited for instilling in him certain values related to work, discipline and conscientiousness (Willan, 2018).

Evidence suggests that Plaatje was assigned chores in the family that served a social purpose in contributing to family life (see Section 2.3.1). Plaatje found his first *formal employment* as a herdsboy for a shrewd Dutch farmer at the age of nine (Molema, 2012), thereafter worked as a groom and herdsboy at the Bend Hotel nearby Pniel (Lunderstedt, 2014) and eventually became a student-teacher at the Berlin Mission school at the age of fourteen (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Mokaie, 2010; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). His job as a student teacher allowed him to engage in continuous educational activities at work as well as at home with the Westphals (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018) whose son, Gotthardt, recalled, years later, that it was Plaatje the 'monitor' who had first taught him the alphabet in the classroom at Pniel (Willan, 2018). Mrs Westphal introduced Plaatje to English literature, more specifically, Shakespeare, and taught him how to speak and write English, Dutch and German (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Seddon, 2004). He mastered other South African languages such as Sesotho, isiZulu and Koranna as he encountered them (Lunderstedt, 2014).

At the Westphals' home, Plaatje engaged in cultural activities such as playing the piano and the violin and reading (Willan, 2018). As a teenager, Plaatje would also read the missionary newspaper (Lunderstedt, 2014) to a small audience of elderly men at Pniel which, in hindsight, might have been a microcosmic representation of the far wider role he assumed in his future journalistic career: "How little did the writer dream...that journalism will afterwards mean his bread and cheese" (Plaatje, 1916a, p. 5). Other leisure activities included listening to music and the singing of hymns at church while receiving additional voice training for singing from Mrs Westphal (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Outdoor physical activities were limited to exploring life on the estate (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). The findings indicate that Plaatje experienced a satisfactory degree of wellness in the life task of work and leisure during this historical period, despite the financial challenges that curtailed any further pursuit of educational activities (see Section 2.3.1). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of work and leisure during the second historical period.

9.3.3.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

This historical period begins with Plaatje's *formal employment* as a messenger (courier) at the Post office in Kimberley (Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003). He proved to be a very hardworking, popular employee who was well-liked by colleagues and friends alike (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje found his work enjoyable because of the knowledge he acquired – he described the Post office as his 'educational institution' where 'no-one was too humble or too young to teach him something' (Molema, 2012). Apart from formal employment, the findings indicate that Plaatje also became involved in social and intellectual activities that allowed him to further expand his mind (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). For example, he engaged in *volunteer work* at the South African's Improvement Society (SAIS), by helping fellow Africans cultivate a love for and master the English language (Willan

2018). His affiliation with the SAIS allowed him to also educate himself privately and since he already possessed a natural talent for languages, he was soon fluent in English, Dutch, isiXhosa, German and Sesotho (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje attended many of the social gatherings held by the SAIS and other organisations in town that comprised of debates play readings, talks and musical evenings (Lunderstedt, 2014).

His interest in Shakespeare continued and in 1896 saw his first stage-performance of *Hamlet* that left him “curious to know more about Shakespeare and his works” (Willan, 1996, p. 210). Other *leisure* activities he was involved in included acting as secretary to both the Kimberley Eccentrics cricket club and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). His participation in additional *social* activities included church fundraising campaigns and becoming a member of the Philharmonic Society (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). This was also the time when he encountered individuals such as John Tengo Jabavu and Henry Burton, who fuelled the fire of questioning certain political and legal issues regarding injustices (Comaroff et al., 1999; Ngcongco, 1979; Willan, 2018).

During this historical period, Plaatje met his wife Elizabeth (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). For most of their marriage, Plaatje’s commitment to his work would essentially force Elizabeth into the role of unpaid primary caregiver responsible for childrearing and homemaking (Willan, 2018). After four years of *formal employment* at the Post Office, Plaatje found the work of messenger monotonous and actively pursued a career in law (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014), a long-standing interest that must have been further encouraged by witnessing the benefits of being a court interpreter brought on by his brother-in-law, Isaiah (Willan, 2018). Determined to make his way, Plaatje had enriched his limited formal education and improved his job prospects by ensuring proficiency in seven languages – a skill that contributed to securing *formal employment* as clerk and court interpreter in the magistrate’s office in Mafeking (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012).

The findings suggest that Plaatje was able to maintain an appropriate balance between work and leisure during this historical period as he engaged fully in the social and intellectual life happening around him (Willan, 2018). He reflected on his time in Kimberley as “a happy South Africa that was full of pleasant anticipations” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 63). The next section focuses on Plaatje’s wellness in the life task of work and leisure during the third historical period.

9.3.3.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)

9.3.3.3.1 Before the siege

During this historical period, Plaatje’s work placed significant demands on his family life, as he had to spend the majority of his time away from them (see Section 2.3.3). Thus, the most evident aspect of the life task of work and leisure during this historical period involved Plaatje’s *formal employment*, as his career underwent an important transition (see Section 2.3.3). Before the siege of Mafeking in October 1899, Plaatje worked in cramped and badly ventilated offices that sometimes also affected his health, although it provided an environment with regular opportunities for intellectual stimulation (see Section 2.3.3.1) He found his work enjoyable, but remained cognizant of the heavy burden of responsibility attached to it (Willan, 1996). Evidence suggests that Plaatje’s duties were not only numerous but diverse. For example, some days he performed routine clerical work while other days was mostly occupied with translations (Willan, 2018). The days he spent working as interpreter in court was the more challenging part of his job that he enjoyed most (Willan, 1996, 2018). Years later Plaatje reflected on these intricate experiences as court interpreter in an unpublished document called the *Essential Interpreter* (Willan, 2018; Woeber, 1998). Throughout this historical period, Plaatje achieved much success professionally and was well-liked and respected in the community (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). His relationships with Silas Molema and Charles

Bell contributed to the respect he received from both the Black and White communities (Midgeley, 1997).

The mental and physical demands of Plaatje's work environment caused him to experience moments of exhaustion and fatigue due to the long hours spent in the office (Willan, 2018). Despite his pervasive frustrations around money and status, themes relating to a sense of purpose and occupational satisfaction feature in the biographical data (see Section 2.3.3.1). Specific examples that illustrated Plaatje's work ethic was also discussed in Section 2.3.3.1. Furthermore, his occupational role model was his boss, the experienced magistrate Charles Bell, and he considered himself fortunate "to have served my apprenticeship under such a man" (Willan, 2018, p. 90). Findings suggest that a protective factor for the maintenance of wellness in the life task of work, may have been the support, however limited, Plaatje received in the execution of his duties. Charles Bell provided Plaatje with the guidance and support he needed to do his job (Willan, 2018). In turn, Bell described Plaatje as "a steady, diligent person...to be trusted in every respect" (Willan, 2018, p. 91). Plaatje became increasingly unhappy with his 'unrecognised' position at work, therefore, to better his job opportunities, he focused on preparations to write the Cape Civil service examinations (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). However, wider political developments derailed his plans when the Anglo-Boer war broke out on 11 October 1899 and Mafeking was besieged for eight months (De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977).

9.3.3.3.2 During the siege

During the siege, Plaatje's duties increased significantly as he took on several extra duties (see Section 2.3.3.2). When his two co-workers resigned, Plaatje was the only clerk left in the magistrate's office, which meant that his office duties multiplied even further (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Despite his workload, Plaatje also kept his detailed diary about the daily

ongoings of the war (Lunderstedt, 2014). Its obvious tone of privacy suggests that keeping the diary was mainly a *leisure activity*, emphasised by the likelihood that work demands kept him from keeping his entries up to date (Steinitz, 2011; Willan, 2018). The fact that he never made any effort to publish it in the year's post-war seems to confirm this notion. Plaatje's diary also seemed to serve as an *educational opportunity* to experiment with vocabulary and narrative form (Willan, 2018). Quite possibly, it was his love of words and writing, coupled with his close relationship with several newspaper correspondents that served as catalysts for a career in journalism later on (Lunderstedt, 2014).

Plaatje's involvement in work activities may have impacted on his holistic wellness (see Section 2.3.3.2). Although it can be deduced that Plaatje's leisure time diminished during this time, he made an effort to engage in outdoor activities such as horse-riding and spending time relaxing in the gardens as a way of coping with the hostile conditions around him (Comaroff et al., 1999). On Sundays, he also participated enthusiastically in the gymkhanas and polo matches and enjoyed the singing of hymns at church, as well as the musical concerts that were presented in the evenings (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

9.3.3.3.3 *After the siege*

Plaatje wasted no time in getting his education back on track and wrote the Cape Civil service examinations (Mokae, 2010; Rall, 2003). He was, however, disappointed when his achievements went unrecognised (Midgeley, 1997), especially after the unsuccessful complaint he lodged in this regard (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984). This unsatisfactory outcome, combined with the uncertainty of advancement in his current *formal employment* hindered Plaatje's intellectual development (Arnett, 2004), which, in turn, significantly challenged his wellness in terms of the life task of work. It is possible that this

incident represented an awakening in Plaatje regarding the realities of the injustices that existed within the British administration (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

After the war ended, Elizabeth and Sainty had moved to Mafeking and the Plaatje family became more involved in activities that served a social purpose within the community (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997). The couples' shared love of music resulted in the creation of the Mafeking Philharmonic Society – apparently modelled on the Philharmonic Society in Kimberley to which Plaatje and his brother-in-law Isaiah had belonged (Willan, 2018). Plaatje and Elizabeth were popular among their peers and neighbours and they regularly entertained visitors at their home (De Villiers, 2000; Molema, 2012). In addition, they frequently attended “entertainment functions in the town hall” (Willan, 2018, p. 206). Furthermore, they became increasingly active in the communal life of the Barolong tribe (see Section 2.3.3.3). His literary skills and education made him the ideal candidate to carry on the well-established tradition to help out at the *kgotla*'s (chief) court and to represent the Barolong interests when the need arose (Molema, 1966; Willan, 1984, 2018). An added bonus was that he was financially well compensated by the chief for his services (Comaroff et al., 1999; Molema, 1966).

During Plaatje's last few months of *formal employment* in the magistrate's office, he made sure that the office would function in his absence (see Section 2.3.3.3). His decision to resign from his government job was delayed for two years due to family and financial pressures before he was finally able to formally enter into a career in journalism full-time (Couzens, 2001; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Five days after Plaatje's resignation, the Treaty of Vereeniging concluded the peace negotiations between the British and the Boer republics and the political climate in the country stabilised (Nasson, 2004), although the ‘Native question’ was put on hold (Lunderstedt, 2014). Regarding this, Plaatje remarked that “...no peace terms could be considered which did not extend to the native races the same privileges – the rights of the

franchise...” (Oakes, 1992, p. 266). This comment qualifies as an example of the unabashed manner in which he tried to address injustices throughout the rest of his life.

As editor of *Koranta ea Bechoana* (The Bechuana Gazette) (Midgeley, 1997), Plaatje demonstrated significant productivity (see Section 2.3.3.3). He also became more involved in unpaid activities that served a social purpose. For example, he joined a delegation of Barolong chiefs to the British government in Cape Town to claim compensations for the losses suffered by the African people during the war (Willan, 1984). Furthermore, he developed a more critical conviction of the British administration and its “oppressive pass laws” (Willan, 2018, p. 182). He supported gender equality and did not agree that it was a legitimate barrier to equal treatment: “...Just as strongly as we object to the line of demarcation being drawn on the basis of a person’s colour, so we abhor disqualification founded on a person’s sex” (Molema, 2012, p. 92). Furthermore, Plaatje publically criticised his people when they failed to support progressive causes, abused alcohol or engaged in customs (such as circumcision), which did not align with Christian practice (Willan, 2018). It can, therefore, be assumed that Plaatje emerged as a leading spokesman for African opinion (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Meanwhile, he also *volunteered* his services to victims of oppressions (see Section 2.3.3.3) and participated in various other politically-driven activities such as protest meetings that eventually culminated in the formation of the South African Native Convention (Odendaal, 2012; Walshe, 1970). It was clear that Plaatje worked hard to consistently encourage education and the progress of his people by advocating for “equality of all civilised men before the law” (Leflaive, 2014, p. 48).

With the demise of his newspaper in 1906, Plaatje was unemployed for almost three years and saddled with a mountain of debts, until he managed to find work as a labour recruiter for the mines in 1909 (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). By April 1910, Plaatje’s inability to settle his debts forced the bailiff to seize a few of the assets in his house (Midgeley,

1997; Willan, 2018). This could have negatively impacted his wellness in the life task of work. By this time, Plaatje's family had grown to include three sons, Sainty, Richard and Hally, and two daughters, Olive and Violet, but his long absences away from home essentially left Elizabeth on her own as their primary caregiver (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Though he struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society, he loved spending time with them when he was home (Willan, 2018). Findings indicate that Plaatje's work commitments had limited his time to engage in *leisure activities* and also placed significant demands on his family life (see Section 2.3.3.3).

In May 1910, Plaatje and his family relocated to Kimberley where he entered into *formal employment* as editor for a new newspaper *Tsala ea Bechoana (The Bechuana's Friend)* (Midgeley, 1997). The rich Black landowners that funded the newspaper trusted the reputation he had earned as spokesman for the Barolong people (Plaatje, 1916b) and believed that a newspaper remained one of the most effective means to have their voices heard. Plaatje, in turn, desperately needed a new source of income (see Section 2.3.3.3). Plaatje's arrival in Kimberley coincided with several major events both nationally and globally over the following decade (see Section 2.3.4). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of work and leisure during the fourth historical period.

9.3.3.4 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)

Evidence suggests that during this historical period, Plaatje was extensively engaged in the life task of work, which also included a deeper involvement in politics (see Section 2.3.4). Although the diamond town was still recovering from a recession, it still had a sense of economic well-being and was better placed (socially and politically) than Mafeking from which to run a newspaper (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Now that he had four children of school age, its educational facilities were an important consideration as well (Willan, 2018). Plaatje

had an extensive travelling itinerary (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997) and he became a “watchdog” (Willan, 2018, p. 225) of the new government.

In order to generate additional income to settle his debts, he wrote regular articles for the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, acted as a correspondent for the London-based newspaper, the *African World* (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018) and under the editorship of his long-time friend, Vere Stent, wrote numerous articles for the *Pretoria News*, which were frequently reproduced in the *Cape Argus* (Leflaive, 2014). Plaatje welcomed the opportunity to convey his views to a larger audience, but regarded the income generated by the articles equally important: “I work day and night just to have something at the end of every month to pay up these things” (Willan, 2018, p. 227). Constant pursuit by creditors from Mafeking added to his financial pressures, however, he also found additional part-time work selling policies as an insurance agent (Willan, 2018). Friends and family members, such as brother-in-law Isaiah, would often come to Plaatje’s rescue and settle some of his debts (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). The findings indicate that persistent financial challenges could have had a significant impact on the maintenance of wellness in the life task of work.

Plaatje also continued to defend the rights of the Barolong people and the African people at large, in response to the different challenges posed by the new Union government (see section 2.3.4). The Afrikaner nationalist supporters’ rising demand for harsher ‘native policies’ to reflect the reality of the new political balance of power (Willan, 2018), led to the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the African National Congress), to give a stronger and united voice to the African people (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; SAHO, 2019; Willan, 2018). Plaatje was elected its first general secretary (SAHO, 2019; Willan, 2018). Initially, Plaatje was reluctant to accept the position, reflected in an editorial comment in *Tsala ea Becoana* that “its editor...has been saddled with nearly all of

the secretarial work...” (Willan, 2018, p. 233). However, it was a recognition for the work he was doing for his people, which he felt he could not refuse (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje took his duties at the SANNC seriously and travelled regularly to Cape Town, Johannesburg and elsewhere, to attend to his commitments (see Section 2.3.4). The long absences from his newspaper led to its bankruptcy, but three months later he managed to briefly revive it under a new name, *Tsala ea Batho (The Friend of the People)* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). When he was in Kimberley he mostly worked in the newspaper office or his library at home or attending meetings in town (involving, for example, the local branches of the SANNC and APO, local liquor licensing meetings and the Lutheran Church), but the heavy workload ultimately strained his health and family life:

Working from 8am to midnight and often till later than 3am the next day (with only short intervals or meals) and five or six hours sleep in 24 hours, we cannot have the same time we formerly devoted to the children. (Peterson et al., 2016, p. 158)

The removal of the “Native Land Plague” (Woeber, 1998, p. 7), as Plaatje called it, became an almost obsessive task throughout his life: he toured South Africa to investigate and gather evidence about the effects of its implementation, he led three SANNC delegations, first to Cape Town in 1913 and twice to the British government in England in 1914 and 1919 respectively, to appeal against it (Willan, 1984, 2018). While he was in England, he wrote the classic *Native Life in South Africa* in reaction to it (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Pampalis, 1992; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). In later years, Plaatje was labelled a ‘hero’ who had risked himself by producing *Native Life in South Africa*, and had succeeded in exposing injustice (Rule, 2016).

The period he spent in England between 1914 and 1917, turned into a significant *educational* opportunity for Plaatje, as he was asked to jointly author two additional books, both dedicated to the preservation of Setswana proverbs (Jones & Plaatje, 1916). This

contribution to the development of written Tswana literature opened up an academic and literary world that would pay dividends in the years to come (Willan, 2018). Further pursuit of *educational activities* allowed him to earn extra income through a chapter contribution in a book commemorating Shakespeare's 300th anniversary, which was published in 1916 (Remington, 2013). The recognition he received for his literary works and the commendation by co-author David Jones on Plaatje's "unusual linguistic ability" (Willan, 2018, p. 294) could have impacted positively on Plaatje's work satisfaction.

The period he spent in South Africa between 1917 and 1919 was a busy and productive one in the life task of work. Internal conflicts within the SANNC had left it in turmoil and despite being offered the presidency, Plaatje declined it and instead continued his work advocating against injustices as a result of the 1913 Native Land Act (Leflaive, 2014). He also established a Kimberley branch of the International Brotherhood movement and called it '*The Diamond Fields Men's Own Brotherhood*' (Willan, 2018). His attempts to resuscitate *Tsala ea Batho*, the successor of his previous newspaper never materialised amidst political unrests and the series of miner strike actions that were taking place (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). The Spanish influenza epidemic swept the world in October and November 1918 (Philips, 1990) and left many people, including Plaatje, incapable of work for several days (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje himself would suffer from a chronic heart condition that worsened whenever he overworked himself (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012).

In June 1919, Plaatje led another SANNC deputation to England, but the trip proved equally fruitless to the first (Willan, 1984). For the next few years, he travelled extensively, attended conferences on every possible occasion and used every opportunity to rally public opinion for the cause of African rights in South Africa (Lunderstedt, 2014). He also wrote the historical novel *Mhudi*, during this period (Willan, 2018). Furthermore, Plaatje interacted and worked closely with other Black activists such as Marcus Garvey and W. E. du Bois (Comaroff et al.,

1973; Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916b). Plaatje's unremitting lecturing programme left little time for relaxation and *leisure activities* and his gruelling work schedule was taking its toll (Molema, 2012). It is thus hardly surprising that he started to complain of "being frightfully overworked" (Willan, 2018, p. 358) during the last few years of this historical period. Evidence suggests that a protective factor for the maintenance of wellness in the life task of work could have been the sustained support he received from a wider network of friendships that he had cultivated during his time abroad (Lunderstedt, 2014). The few days spent with the Colenso family in England at the end of 1919, for instance, allowed him to enjoy a brief but much needed rest, 'exquisite' music and proper food (Willan, 2018).

Most of Plaatje's lobbying activities either received limited remuneration or simply went *unpaid* (Lunderstedt, 2014). Before he was able to return home in 1923, he had to engage in a diverse number of activities to pay for his ticket (see Section 2.3.4). In addition, he tried to raise funds for the publication of his African-language translations of the Brotherhood hymnbooks, despite growing increasingly despondent at the task:

Of all the things I have ever undertaken nothing has worried me so much as the task of finding the money to print the Native Hymn Book...The task of translating the metres into African was child's play compared with the job of finding the money. (Willan, 2018, p. 422)

His other priority was to get his novel, *Mhudi*, published, but by the end of May 1923 he was experiencing frequent problems with his health that "do not advance my work at all" (Willan, 2018, p. 423) and he also intended to keep his promise to his family that he "would be home by July" (Willan, 2018, p. 423). His final participation in (paid) activities that served a social purpose was with the production of the wildlife film '*The Cradle of the World*' (see Section 2.3.4). Despite having "learnt a lot during the month" (Willan, 2018, p. 428), he could still not afford his return journey home and with financial assistance from his British friends,

he finally arrived home in November 1923 (Willan, 2018). Plaatje had used the travelling time as another educational opportunity to translate Shakespeare's *Othello* into Setswana (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of work and leisure during the fifth historical period.

9.3.3.5 The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)

In comparison to the previous historical periods, Plaatje's work environment during this historical period was relatively quiet (see Section 2.3.5). When he returned to South Africa, he found the country's political climate less volatile, although the Union government was experiencing internal conflict and the Natives' Land Act of 1913 continued to be enforced to the detriment of the African people (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje's own family life had suffered as a result of his work commitments and long periods away from home (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). During his absence, his family had suffered financially, despite promises made by the ANC (since renamed from SANNC) to support them (Willan, 2018). Elizabeth had been forced to sell the family home in the Malay Camp in order to survive (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). This left Plaatje extremely bitter towards the ANC, especially since he had been overseas campaigning under the auspices of the very same organisation that left his family virtually destitute (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). He had no money to relaunch his newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho* and his *Brotherhood movement* was equally riddled with debt (Lunderstedt, 2014). Thus, he engaged in activities that related to the subtask of *work*: he resumed his journalism and travelled the country showing educational and uplifting films on "Plaatje's Bioscope" (Leflaive, 2014, p. 57). In addition, he wrote hundreds of articles in various English-language newspapers of the day and became doubly active in the temperance movement after accepting *formal employment* with the IOTT (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje struggled to adjust to the radical transformation changes that were happening in the country

and within the ANC, but he continued to demonstrate significant productivity in the execution of the party's duties (see Section 2.3.5). Several segregative pass laws, clearly biased towards White workers, had already been implemented since the Labour-Nationalist Pact won the general elections in 1924 (see Section 2.3.5) (SAHO, 2017), which made Plaatje more determined than ever to defend the abolishment of the Cape franchise and with it, equality before the law (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Plaatje had little time for *recreational activities*, which indicate that at times he struggled to maintain an appropriate balance between work and leisure (see Section 2.3.5). He remained passionate about promoting the rights of the African people, which highlight themes relating to a sense of purpose and enjoyment of the work he was doing, albeit at the expense of spending time with his own family. His involvement in leisure activities could also have been disrupted due to the extensive periods away from home (see Section 2.3.5).

In 1928 Plaatje was rewarded for his work on behalf of his people (Lunderstedt, 2014). The Kimberley community donated the house he and his family were renting as a replacement for the one he had lost while he was abroad on 'native deputations' (Couzens, 2001). Plaatje's sense of optimism regarding the country's political future, especially in the previous two historical periods, soon gave way to a grim pessimism (Comaroff et al., 1999) when the disappointing 1929 election results cemented General Hertzog's segregationist policy: "the blow has fallen...the Pact is to rule over us for another five years..." (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 74). This event steered Plaatje's attention away from politics to literary endeavours instead (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018).

The publication of his articles in other newspapers continued and it provided him with a platform and a steady source of income since he had failed to resuscitate his newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho* (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The majority of his articles concerned the well-being and the lives of Africans, the consequences of the Natives' Land Act of 1913, and other

subsequent gazetted Native Bills and discriminatory measures (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). His extensive involvement in a variety of other activities further indicates Plaatje's role as an active public figure during this historical period (see Section 2.3.5). However, despite all his efforts, Plaatje was far less of an influence in South African public affairs than before (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018).

During the latter part of this historical period, Plaatje had fastidiously devoted himself to the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (see Section 2.3.5). His Setswana translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* as well as his novel *Mhudi* were published at the end of 1930 (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; De Villiers, 2000). Unfortunately, only a single handwritten page remained of each of his other translated manuscripts, namely *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* (Midgeley, 1997; Comaroff et al., 1973; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's translation of *Julius Caesar* published posthumously after delays regarding Setswana orthography (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003) This, together with his translation of *Comedy of Errors*, experienced significant afterlives (see Section 2.3.5) (Willan, 2018). Plaatje also worked on a new edition of his original collection of Setswana proverbs, which served a social purpose as it aimed to educate young people on appropriate behaviour (Willan, 2018).

In June 1932, he travelled to Johannesburg to arrange the publishing of his manuscripts and he managed to engage in a few *leisurely social engagements* with some of his friends in town (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). There is little other evidence for leisure activities specific to this historical period, although his regular engagement in and enjoyment of reading and creative writing could be construed as hobbies that may well have provided an opportunity for intrinsic satisfaction. It can also be deduced that Plaatje had made little effort for recreational activities due to the limited leisure time at his disposal. While in Johannesburg, he fell seriously ill but as usual, disregarded his symptoms and attended to prior scheduled work appointments

(Willan, 2018). Findings thus indicate that even when his health had deteriorated to a critical stage, his career remained an important focus of his inner life (see Section 2.3.5). The following section focuses on the discussion of Plaatje's wellness in the life task of friendship throughout his lifespan.

9.3.4 Life task IV: Friendship

This life task involves all social relationships with individuals or a community that excludes marital, sexual or familial relationships (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). According to the holistic wellness model, the life task of friendship relates to the individual's sense of social interest or connectedness, as well as the availability of social support (see Section 4.2.1.4) (Myers et al., 2000). The available data were, therefore, analysed in terms of Plaatje's social interest and the social support he received to formulate a description of his wellness concerning the life task of friendship during each of the five historical periods of his life. The life forces and global events that may have impacted on the life task of friendship are mentioned where applicable.

9.3.4.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

During this historical period, Plaatje's social contact was mostly limited to the community at Pniel (Molema, 2012), although the fact that the mission station accommodated a diverse number of cultures meant that Plaatje enjoyed ample opportunities for social interaction and the establishment of friendships (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). From a young age, he had learned to converse in the mother-tongues of his friends from Herero or Koranna origin (Rall, 2003). At school, evidence suggests that Plaatje was popular with his peers (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). At home, his brothers had moved away with their parents and only

Lydia, his eldest brother, Simon's daughter, who was a year younger than Plaatje, could provide him with companionship (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje's attendance at the small missionary school led to close relationships with his teacher, Reverend Westphal and his wife, Marie, from whom Plaatje later received additional private tuition (Couzens & Willan, 1979; Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The available data on Plaatje's childhood is marked by self-reliance and independent play, but it also reflects positively on his ability to relate to his peers. For example, one of Plaatje's fellow student teachers, Johannes Baumbach, remembered the "days when Plaatje and I as small boys went to school together on my father's Mission on the banks of the Vaal River" (Willan, 2018, p. 26). Furthermore, the available data during this historical period suggests that Plaatje's sense of social interest and connectedness broadened to include a gradual and ultimately lifelong relationship with literary endeavours that involved, more specifically, the works of the English playwright, Shakespeare, as well as activities that concerned Setswana linguistics (see Section 2.3.1). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of friendship during the second historical period.

9.3.4.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

Findings suggest that Plaatje continued to establish friendships with his peers at work and socially engaged with individuals as well as groups outside of work (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018). His sense of social interest was reflected in his attitude towards others (see Section 2.3.2). Plaatje formed a close friendship with Isaiah Bud M'Belle (seven years his senior), who would later also become his brother-in-law (Leflaive, 2014). The biographical data demonstrated that Plaatje was a popular, well-known and well-respected individual within his community, despite being a few years younger than most of his peers (Willan, 2018). His affiliation with the SAIS could be seen as indicative of his sense of social

interest as he was able to help fellow Africans cultivate a love for and master the English language (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Through the SAIS, he struck up a friendship with Patrick Lenkoane, whom Plaatje later referred to as the ‘humorous Black Irishman’ with jokes and stories that were labelled ‘Lenkoanics’ among the members of the SAIS (Willan, 2018, p. 52). His election as secretary to both the Kimberley Eccentrics Cricket club and the YMCA suggests that Plaatje was an integral part of a social network and possessed the required social skills to interact with both small groups as well as individuals (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997).

The African mission-educated community of the Malay Camp played an important role in the life task of friendship during this historical period since it was the primary environment of social contact and involvement (see Section 2.3.2) (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). His friendships provided him with the opportunity to engage with like-minded individuals and thus also offered him emotional support (Willan, 2018). Also, his involvement with church campaigns and activities would have enabled him to provide social support to others as needed and share a sense of connectedness to something beyond the self while interacting with others (Myers et al., 2000). A passion for music, also shared with friends, features prominently in the life task of friendship during this historical period as they often performed in and attended musical concerts together (Willan, 1984, 2018). Few of them, though, shared his fascination with drama nor his enthusiasm for Shakespeare that could well be described as Plaatje’s lifelong companion, especially during the times of travels in later years (Willan, 2018).

Neither the death of his father nor the destructive Rinderpest epidemic (also called the cattle plague) that swept across South Africa in 1896, revealed any negative impact on the life task of friendship (see Section 2.3.2). An event that did, however, greatly influence and forge closer bonds between Plaatje and his friends was the disappointing general elections of 1898 since it

challenged the political climate they worked in and threatened their beliefs in the Cape non-racial franchise and its equal judicial system (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). This indicates that Plaatje's friends shared his moral and ethical values about race relations and with whom he could feel a sense of connectedness in this regard.

Plaatje's sense of social interest can be inferred from his involvement in political activities aimed at opposing oppressive governmental policies (see Section 2.3.2). He built collegial friendships with lawyer Henry Burton and politician Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner; both formed part of a group of men on whom the local African community regularly relied for assistance (Ngcongco, 1979; Willan, 2018). His friendship with Burton, in particular, significantly influenced Plaatje's decisions during this historical period. One example from the data was when he had voted for the Afrikaner's party in the general elections, simply because Burton was their main candidate that stood against Cecil Rhodes for the British (Rotberg, 1988; Trapido, 1980; Willan, 2018).

The most significant social relationship during this historical period, aside from his new wife, Elizabeth, seemed to be with his friend and brother-in-law, Isaiah Bud M'Belle, whose career and achievements undoubtedly inspired Plaatje's decision to pursue a career as a court interpreter (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). The findings indicate that Plaatje's experience of his time in Kimberley as positive seemed to be significantly influenced by his sense of friendship within the urban, multi-ethnic community he was part of (Mizoguchi, 2009). They shared a strong sense of belonging to the British Empire that had provided them with opportunities in a country that Plaatje later described as "full of pleasant anticipations" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 63). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of friendship during the third historical period.

9.3.4.3 *Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)*

9.3.4.3.1 *Before the siege*

Evidence suggests that during the first few months of his new and very demanding work environment, he could have experienced challenges in terms of emotional support to and from his family (see Section 2.3.3.1). Throughout this historical period, Plaatje's sense of social interest is reflected in him focusing on his career where he could, daily, actively contributing to what he firmly believed in: equality for all before the law (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Shortly after his arrival in Mafeking, he settled in the Barolong township (or the *stadt*) (see Section 2.3.3.1) and cultivated cross-cultural relationships with like-minded individuals who also helped him feel more supported in his work environment (Comaroff et al., 1999; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). The township possessed a similar cosmopolitan atmosphere as Kimberley, albeit on a smaller scale, which could have influenced his decision to seek out a community that shared his religious background and values and with whom he could feel a sense of connectedness (Willan, 2018). It was within this community that Plaatje established close friendships with Patrick Sidzumo and David Phooko, whom he later discovered were both distant relatives of his wife Elizabeth (Willan, 2018). Plaatje called Sidzumo '*Sibale*' (or brother-in-law) (Willan, 2018, p. 83) that signified the connection they shared, while Phooko shared Plaatje's sense of humour and would become a great source of emotional support during the siege of Mafeking (see Section 2.3.3.2).

Plaatje's position as court interpreter and his relationship with the prominent and successful Barolong landowner, Silas Molema, provided him with opportunities to form social support networks with most people in the district, including White residents (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Since Plaatje had initially stayed at the Molema house when he first moved to Mafeking, he was able to also develop a close relationship with Molema's young son, Modiri, which

would grow into a “close personal friendship” (Molema, 2012, p. 10) over the remainder of Plaatje’s life cycle (see Section 2.3.4). At work, Plaatje built a collegial relationship with his boss, magistrate Charles Bell (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997), who significantly contributed to and supported Plaatje’s overall wellness during this historical period. Evidence of this is that Plaatje considered himself fortunate to have “served my apprenticeship under such a man” (Jacobson, 1980, p. 7) and later fondly recalled Bell’s sardonic sense of humour (which was similar to that of his good friend Patrick Lenkoane back in Kimberley) as typifying a ‘White Lenkoane’: “His acumen in fixing sarcastic phrases and aptitude in putting comical jokes is beyond description. His mere silence gives him a very ferocious appearance” (Plaatje, 1973, p. 77). Similarly, Bell was impressed by Plaatje’s “commendable seriousness of purpose” and “high level of professional competence (Willan, 2018, p. 95). His friendly relationship with Bell became strained temporarily when Bell formally instructed him to perform extra duties for the Bechuanaland Protectorate in town, at no extra payment, after Plaatje had initially refused to “render free services to facilitate the work of well-paid officer” (Mizoguchi, 2009, p. 21). Since Plaatje’s biggest frustrations centred around money and status it infuriated him when his skills and status went unrecognised (Willan, 2018). Seven years later, Plaatje reflected on his experiences as a court interpreter in an unpublished manuscript called “*The Essential Interpreter*” (1909) that revealed his understanding of the law along with a sense of pride in being an “agent for implementing this ‘fair’ judicial system” (Mizoguchi, 2009, p. 21).

Isaiah Bud M’belle shared Plaatje’s thirst for education and continued to provide Plaatje with a sense of social support (see Section 2.3.3.1), which most likely encouraged Plaatje’s decision to apply for the entry Cape Civil service examinations in which Bud M’belle had distinguished himself years earlier (Willan, 1984, 2018). The fact that his brother-in-law had since then also passed the proficiency examinations in Sesotho and Setswana, was bound to amplify Plaatje’s eagerness in this regard, although he was disappointed when his intentions

“were completely defeated” (Willan, 2018, p. 104) with the onset of a war that would become one of the most celebrated episodes in the history of the British empire (Beinart, 1985; Couzens, 2001; De Villiers, 2000; Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018).

9.3.4.3.2 During the siege

For the duration of the war, Plaatje stayed at the Molema family home, along with his friend, David Phooko (Willan, 2018). This meant that Plaatje had access to more social support in his immediate home environment than he would have had in the *stadt*, since Elizabeth and Sainty had already returned to her parents’ house in Burghersdorp after their brief visit to Mafeking a few months earlier (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje’s involvement during the war (see Section 2.3.3.2) could be seen as indicative of his sense of social interest. His commitment to his role as intermediary between the British forces and the Barolong community during what was essentially termed a “White man’s war” (Mizoguchi, 2009, p. 22) continued to reflect his sense of connectedness to a larger community (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Plaatje was also tasked with numerous additional duties at work that placed a great amount of mental and physical demands on him (see Section 2.3.3.2). Evidence suggests that these duties also led to numerous opportunities to provide social support to others, which, in turn, significantly influenced his wellness in the life task of friendship. From the available data it would seem that Plaatje also participated actively in many social activities, such as gymkhanas and polo matches and attended church as well as musical concerts on Sunday evenings (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). There was, therefore, sufficient opportunity for the development and maintenance of friendships and support systems outside his family structures. Plaatje utilised these opportunities to establish new relationships with, for example, the war correspondents and journalists Angus Hamilton and Vere Stent, which ultimately resulted in lasting professional relationships and friendship (Willan, 1984, 2018). Stent later described

Plaatje behaviour during this historical period as “an extraordinarily capable assistant...who was quick on the machine...and quick-witted” (Willan, 2018, p. 119). His friendship with another journalist, E. G. Parslow, was also financially beneficial to Plaatje, thus he was affected negatively when Parslow was shot dead in November 1899:

This murder has not only deprived me of a good friend but it has wrecked me financially... He paid for my little assistance so liberally that I never felt the prices of foodstuffs that [have] reigned here since the commencement of the siege. (Plaatje, 1999, p. 32)

Bell supported Plaatje’s ventures to supplement his income and allowed him to use the office typewriter in his reports for Stent and the other newspaper journalists (Willan, 2018). Several of his other friends and acquaintances were killed during the siege, including Martha Sidzumo (the wife of his friend Patrick) and Captain Douglas Marsham, one of Colonel Baden-Powell’s staff officers with whom Plaatje shared a connection (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). Plaatje also held a special admiration for the dangers involved in the work of dispatch runners (Leflaive, 2014) and had respect for one in particular, namely Freddy Manomphe (Mizoguchi, 2009). Plaatje labelled him ‘a Black Sherlock Holmes’ because of the serenity and tact with which he outwitted the Afrikaners (Mizoguchi, 2009; Willan, 2018).

At times Plaatje found it particularly challenging to be disconnected from his wife and son for so long and feelings of loneliness and self-pity tended to intensify when he was ill (Willan, 1984, 2018). An example of this is when he was confined to bed with influenza and complained that “I am nailed to a sick bed with very poor attendance – worst of all, surrounded by Boers” (Plaatje, 1999, p. 76). Nevertheless, it was also during such times that he relied on the support of David Phooko to assist him with entries into his diary, who in turn, saw it as a chance to practice his written English (Willan, 2018). This turned a solitary activity into a companionable one and it helped to pass the time as they reminisced about shared memories (Willan, 1996,

2018). When Plaatje later reflected on this historical period, he mentioned some of the meaningful friendships that included those from previous historical periods too, such as Ernst Westphal, Patrick Lenkoane, Charles Bell and David Phooko (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's sense of social interest continued to be reflected in his attempts to assist African people when stricter rationing arrangements were imposed (Willan, 1984, 2018). For example, he became involved in the soup kitchen set up by the authorities in an effort to keep them from starvation, but being surrounded by about "50 hungry beings, agitating the [engagement] of your pity and to see one of them succumb to his agonies and fall backwards with a dead thud" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 144), only served to remind him of the privileges that he (as a fellow African) had had during the war (Willan, 2018). Findings suggest that Plaatje's set of moral and ethical values had significantly influenced his choices in friendships, which is evident in the difficulty he experienced in maintaining a friendly relationship with Baden-Powell after his misrepresentations of the Barolong in the 'White man's war' (see Section 2.3.3.2) (Mizoguchi, 2009; Willan, 2018).

9.3.4.3.3 After the siege

Post-war, Plaatje experienced less social support in his working environment, as many of his colleagues and friends, including David Phooko and Charles Bell, resigned and left town (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Jacobson, 1980; Midgeley, 1997). Fortunately, Elizabeth and Sainty had since moved in with him, which meant that Plaatje could spend his free time with them (see Section 2.3.3.3). Findings indicate that Plaatje and Elizabeth were a popular couple in their social setting and had many friends and acquaintances that regularly visited their home (De Villiers, 2000; Rall, 2003). The couple were also frequently invited out to dinners and social functions in town (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's sense of social interest continued to be reflected in his work at the *kgotla*'s (Barolong chief's) court (Molema, 1966; Willan, 1984,

2018). His attempts to keep the channels of communication open with the Barolong community may reflect a strong sense of connectedness towards them (see Section 2.3.3.3). Evidence suggests that certain friendships of Plaatje contributed significantly to his decision to enter into the world of journalism (Willan, 2018). Examples of such friends include Vere Stent, Angus Hamilton and Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner (Plaatje, 1925; Willan, 2018).

For the remainder of this historical period, Plaatje's sense of social interest can be inferred from his extensive involvement in activities aimed at fighting for the oppressed majority, namely the African people (see Section 2.3.3.3). As a result, he travelled at length and had a lot of social contact with many different groups (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). This relates to the aspects of social connectedness and social interest (Myers et al., 2000). He offered support to those affected by segregative pass laws, wrote editorials, addressed and participated in protest meetings – mainly against the abolishment of the Cape's non-racial franchise (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Odendaal, 2012; Shillington, 1985). These protest meetings were held in different parts of the country and activated within Plaatje a sense of unity and connectedness with the broader African community (Willan, 2018). The protest movement eventually culminated in the 'South African Native Convention' (Odendaal, 2012; SAHO, n.d.; Walshe, 1970). Plaatje was elected Assistant Secretary to this new organisation at their second meeting (Willan, 1984, 2018).

Many of Plaatje's journalist friends shared his political interests, which served as a support system from which he was able to draw practical and tangible assistance in terms of his political endeavours (see Section 2.3.3.3). One example from the data is when Plaatje and other journalists, including Silas Molema, established the South African Native Press Association that unified newspapers from a nation-wide demographic (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1996). The maintenance of a good personal relationship with Mr G. A. L. Green, editor of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* in Kimberley, was also instrumental in the occasional

publication of extracts from Plaatje's newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana* as bonafide expressions of 'native opinion' (Willan, 2018). Plaatje's amicable relationship with Mr E. Graham Green, civil commissioner in Mafeking, yielded further financial benefits (see Section 2.3.3.3). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of friendship during the fourth historical period.

9.3.4.4 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)

Plaatje's sense of social interest continued to be reflected by his work opposing the disenfranchisement of marginalised people (see Section 2.3.4). Plaatje's broader social interest could be seen as exercising a positive influence on the breadth of his support network, evidenced by, for example, the Barolong landowners' decision to fund his new newspaper, *Tsala ea Becoana*, that was launched when he arrived in Kimberley from Mafeking (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). This gesture demonstrated their trust in Plaatje's efficiency as their spokesman (Leflaive, 2014). During early years of this historical period, Plaatje had worked closely with John Tengo Jabavu (who was also godfather to Plaatje's eldest daughter, Olive), before their friendship ended (see Section 2.3.4).

Many of Plaatje's old friends and family had remained in Kimberley, including Isaiah Bud M'belle who described Plaatje's character during this historical period as "rare and valuable...not possessed by other Bantu leaders" (Willan, 2018, p. 228). He was also the person who usually supported Plaatje when his finances were in disarray (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). In addition to his duties at the newspaper, Plaatje became a founder member and was elected first General Secretary of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which changed its name to the African National Congress (ANC) ten years later (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). The organisation's members shared an interest in bridging the racial divide in the country and constituted a significant social network (Willan,

2018). In this regard, Plaatje utilised his friendship with influential White liberals to secure interviews with several cabinet ministers and heads of departments in the newly-formed Union Government (Midgeley, 1997) and in many instances he was successful in his appeals against specific cases of injustice in the Northern Cape (Midgeley, 1997). Other collaborative efforts against the implementation of the “Native Land Plague” (Woeber, 1998, p. 7) as Plaatje called it, were with Dr Abdurahman, leader of the predominantly Coloured African Political Organisation (APO) (Willan, 2018). Plaatje himself was an active member of the APO’s branch in Kimberley (Peterson et al., 2016) and also shared a relationship of mutual respect and friendship with Dr Abdurahman for many years (Willan, 2018).

His demanding work schedule included an extensive travelling itinerary both locally and abroad, that allowed him to cultivate friendships with many people of different cultural backgrounds (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Plaatje’s activities during his time overseas had significantly influenced his wellness in the life task of friendship, as some of his encounters with liberal sympathisers, such as Alice Werner and William Cross, had resulted in meaningful and lasting relationships (see Section 2.3.4). The decision to name his third newspaper, *Tsala ea Batho* (*The People’s Friend*) reflected the sense of unity advocated by the SANNC (Midgeley, 1997) and represented aspirations towards an even wider unity, which relates to aspects of social interest and social connectedness (Myers et al., 2000). Similarly, Plaatje’s sense of social interest persisted in his fight against the inherent segregative policies of the Afrikaner government (see Section 2.3.4). This includes Plaatje’s efforts to support women’s protest campaigns against the Native Land Act as well as to publicise the plight of female political detainees, whom he called “Black suffragettes” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 91) in the columns of *Tsala ea Batho* (Willan, 2018). Despite the friendly relationships he enjoyed with certain government ministers, what he witnessed of the effects of the Land Act made Plaatje experience a sense of culpability because he had failed to realise

that his ‘friends’ were capable of supporting such inhuman legislation (Willan, 1984, 2018). As his views changed, Plaatje became more disillusioned with the far-reaching impact of the government’s actions and later reflected on the impact that seeing the consequences of the Land Act left on him (see Section 2.3.4).

On his trips abroad, Plaatje was always careful to cultivate new relationships with like-minded individuals with whom he could feel a sense of connectedness. Examples of such individuals (see Section 2.3.4) included Marcus Garvey, Leo Weinthal, John E. Bruce, Georgiana Solomon (to whom he later dedicated *Sechuana Proverbs*), John W. Cromwell, Jane Cobden Unwin, Dr Alfred Salter, George W. Lattimore, W. E. du Bois and Robert Moton. Robert Moton later reflected on Plaatje’s visit to him at Tuskegee University in America: “‘I have been favourably impressed with Mr Plaatje” and added that “many of us were inspired by the things you had to say...You certainly made a very fine impression here and made many personal friends, all of whom will look forward to hearing of your further achievements” (Willan, 2018, p. 410). Another friend, Betty Molteno, whom he had met through Georgiana Solomon, felt that she “knew Plaatje better than anybody” (Willan, 2018, p. 430) and as a result, their friendship turned out to be a rather complex one (see Section 2.3.4).

When the National Brotherhood Council in England allowed Plaatje to submit an editorial in support of the SANNC’s appeal in their *Brotherhood Journal*, he was humbled and felt a deep sense of connection to the values promoted by the organisation (Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). This was essentially his induction into the Brotherhood movement. Later in this historical period, Plaatje also established a branch in Kimberley called ‘*The Diamond Fields Men’s Own Brotherhood*’ (Willan, 2018). Most of his public lectures and meetings abroad eventually occurred under the auspices of the Brotherhood movement (Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s involvement with the Brotherhood movement also had a significant influence on his ambition to translate its *Fellowship Hymnbook* into Setswana and other African languages (Willan,

2018). This relates to the aspects of social interest and social connectedness (Myers et al., 2000). Furthermore, it was through this organisation that Plaatje met Alice Timberlake, with whom he had stayed in London rent-free for over a year and who had also supported him “with exceptional kindness” through an illness in 1915 during the “most strenuous winter” of his life (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 351).

Plaatje always took care to renew and maintain his links with valued friends such as Sophie Colenso and her family, who provided him with much social support in difficult times (see Section 2.3.4). The Colenso family, in turn, loved Plaatje’s ‘lively company, unflinching humour and irresistible laugh’ (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Plaatje also regularly exchanged letters with Sophie Colenso and shared many of his work experiences with her. For example, when he was busy with the translation of the Setswana proverbs, he wrote to her: “You will be agreeably surprised that he has agreed to publish my proverbs and that I got him to improve the terms considerably in my favour...” (Willan, 2018, p. 298). The value of his friendship with the Colenso family was further reflected when he dedicated his book, *Native Life in South Africa*, to Harriette Colenso, who had shared Plaatje’s journalistic passion (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje had also formed social ties with a broad range of people within London’s African and African-American community, such as the Egyptian-born Duse Mohamed Ali and a group of friends from the colony of British Guinea that included individuals such as E. F. Fredericks, Samuel Cambridge and Dr Theophilus Scholes (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). This relates to the broader aspect of social interest and social connectedness (Myers et al., 2000) of the life task of friendship. The collaborative work on Setswana literature between Plaatje and Daniel Jones developed into a friendship of mutual respect; Jones later spoke of Plaatje as ‘a personal friend’ (Collins & Mees, 2002). These findings suggest that Plaatje was able to establish a social network and possessed the necessary social skills to interact with both groups and individuals.

Many of Plaatje's friends frequently honoured his personal and professional impact on their lives by, for example, hosting social gatherings and paying for several of his trips (see Section 2.3.4). When Plaatje left England in 1917, several of his British friends, directed by Alice Werner, further decided to form a "committee to watch over native interests...and the workings of the Land Act" (Willan, 2018, p. 314). The Brotherhood movement also sang his praises and wished Plaatje "all success in the continuance of your noble work in the service of Christ, the cause of humanity, and on behalf of your people, to whom we send our fraternal greetings" (Willan, 2018, p. 315). However, there were some of his friends, especially Alice Werner and Jane Cobden Unwin, who worried about Plaatje's wife and family and were concerned that he spent far too much time away from home; at times they thought he was enjoying life in England a bit too much, but chose to keep such thoughts to themselves (Willan, 1984, 2018).

The years that Plaatje was back in South Africa, he maintained a few of his 'long-distance friendships' in England with, for example, the Colenso family, Jane Cobden Unwin, Georgiana Solomon and William Cross (see Section 2.3.4 for details on these friendships). He also continued to share a close friendship with Silas Molema and his son, Modiri Molema (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). While the findings indicate that Plaatje was able to cultivate and maintain close personal relationships, he was also saddened by the loss of several friends, such as W. P. Schreiner, and relatives, including his favourite daughter, Olive (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Findings indicate that during this historical period, Plaatje had earned himself a favourable reputation as a popular, well-known and well-respected individual (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012) who possessed the required social skills to interact with both small groups as well as individuals. The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of friendship during the fifth historical period.

9.3.4.5 The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)

Plaatje's sense of social interest continued, as reflected in his continued fight against injustice (see Section 2.3.5). He considered it his duty to retain a hands-on approach (Plaatje, 1916b). During the early years of this historical period, he had resumed his journalism and published articles in numerous English-language newspapers of the day while he travelled the country, showing educational and uplifting films on "Plaatje's Bioscope" (Leflaive, 2014, p. 57). Plaatje's relentless attempts to promote reconciliation across races, particularly between the disenfranchised Africans and the White Afrikaners (Willan, 1984, 2018) reflected his sense of connectedness to a broad South African community.

Plaatje's political life diminished with the abolishment of the Cape non-racial franchise in 1930 (see Section 2.3.5) and he turned his attention to the research of Setswana linguistics and the preservation of vernacular languages (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Evidence suggests that Plaatje and his friends shared some frustrations regarding the lack of suitable Setswana reading material available in schools (Willan, 2018). Friends and fellow Setswana scholars such as David Ramoshoana and Peter Sebina, for example, also shared Plaatje's concerns that their native language would eventually become extinct since no other books, aside from those by Plaatje himself, had been written or published in Setswana thus far (Willan, 1984, 2018). He experienced many frustrations that surrounded the theme of disintegration, which he observed in many spheres of the communal life of the African people. For example, he wrote to Robert Moton: "Rigidly excluded from all avenues of earning money they are retrograding and degenerating while others go forward" (Willan, 2018, p. 477), which emphasised his plans to preserve the Setswana language as a form of cultural regeneration (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Plaatje and David Ramoshoana, whom Plaatje described as "a keen student of Bantu lore with a wonderful command of English grammar" (Willan, 2018, p. 479) had forged a close

bond through their collaborative efforts (see Section 2.3.5) that most likely also contributed to Plaatje's overall wellness in the life task of friendship during this historical period. When Plaatje's Setswana's translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was published at the end of 1930, David Ramoshoana commended him on "his remarkable ability in English and complete mastery of the Sechuana language...it will be well for (such) sceptics to see how successfully a self-educated man has translated Shakespeare's 'Comedy of Errors' into Sechuana" (Willan, 2018, p. 502). The publication of *Comedy of Errors* sparked a new and beneficial friendship with Charles Rey (see Section 2.3.5).

It seemed that Plaatje's ability to maintain long-standing friendships provided him with the opportunity for disclosure and, therefore also emotional support. An example from the data relates to his reaction in finally finding a publisher for his book, *Mhudi* that he had written in London in 1920 (Willan, 2018). Plaatje wrote to Georgiana Solomon: "after ten years of disappointment I have at length succeeded in printing my book. Lovedale is publishing it. I am expecting the proofs any day this week" (Willan, 2018, p. 522). *Mhudi* was published with the help of a new associate, R. H. W. Shepherd, an employee at Lovedale Press, who later remembered Plaatje "as a man of strong and independent character, whose mind ranged widely in literature and African affairs" (Shepherd, 1945, p. 98). Evidence suggests that Plaatje sometimes found his literary endeavours a lonely struggle, especially pertaining to difficulties in obtaining funding (Willan, 2018). A letter he wrote to Robert Moton in 1931 revealed his frustrations:

There is much data that wants writing in the line of old Native research, but valuable data lies unprinted, of immense historic and anthropological value; I have no financial aid to visit such localities and the old people are fast dying out and being buried with the information which is thus being lost to posterity. (Willan, 2018, p. 552)

Plaatje's sense of social interest continued for the remainder of his life (see Section 2.3.5). He had contact with many of his friends in the time before his death, who observed that he seemed intensely frustrated by his failing health and decreased mobility (Willan, 2018), although he "refused to feel sick" (Molema, 2012, p. 86). It was almost as if his anxiety over publishing his work and lack of finances fuelled his undaunting spirit and passion (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). In the weeks before his death, Plaatje also wrote the obituaries of several of his friends, including that of Harriette Colenso, to whom he had dedicated *Native Life in South Africa* (Willan, 2018). After his death, many people reflected on their friendship with Plaatje. For example, Michael van Reenen, a neighbour, fondly recalled their late-night conversations over a cup of coffee in his kitchen about Shakespeare, the proverbs Plaatje was collecting for the new edition of his book and newspaper articles he had just completed (Willan, 2018). Simon Lekhela, a teacher, commented that Plaatje always took an interest in his educational progress and that he had enriched his life through his encouraging attitude towards him (Willan, 2018). This reflects the presence of a pervasive aspect of Plaatje's life task of friendship, namely social interest. The following section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of love.

9.3.5 Life task V: Love

The life task of love refers to the individual's ability to build and maintain long-term relationships that are intimate, trusting, compassionate, cooperative and self-disclosing (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These relationships facilitate the experience and expression of non-possessive caring which respects the uniqueness of the other, companionship, stability, long-term commitment and it can extend to sexual or romantic relationships, familial relationships as well as friendships (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Myers et al., 2000). These relationships encourage one's growth and well-being and are usually few

in number over one's lifespan (Myers et al., 2000) (see Section 4.3.1.5). The life forces and global events that may have impacted on the life task of love are highlighted where applicable.

9.3.5.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Findings indicate that as a child, Plaatje experienced close and loving relationships (see Section 2.3.1). The multicultural nature of Plaatje's upbringing promoted close relationships, companionship, shared interests and interdependence (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). These concepts are connected to the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000). Willan (1984, 2018) described Plaatje's nuclear family as a close-knit and secure unit that was very involved in the church and its activities. It seems that the young Plaatje had a particularly close relationship with his mother that was strengthened through their shared interests in reading and languages (Willan, 2018). He also felt great admiration for 'Au Magritte', his paternal grandmother, 'and two aunts who had often shared valuable stories about the family's ancestry with him (Molema, 2012). From the available data, it can be inferred that Plaatje mostly engaged in independent chores and tasks, but he also shared interests and some leisure activities with his peers (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Limited data is available on his relationships with his siblings, who had all moved elsewhere with their parents while Plaatje and his eldest brother Simon chose to remain at Pniel (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Simon, who was 21 years older than Plaatje, can be considered an important attachment figure for the remainder of Plaatje's childhood and acted as Plaatje's official guardian while he attended school (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). It is also possible that Plaatje might have developed an attachment to Simon's wife and received nurturing from her, which was similar to maternal care and affection (see Section 2.3.1). From Plaatje's recollections, no evidence indicated that any domestic tensions had existed that may have negatively affected his experience of the life task of love during this stage in his development (see Section 2.3.1).

Plaatje's teacher, Reverend Ernst Westphal, appreciated Plaatje's intellect, which according to Willan (1984, 2018), had contributed to the strong bond between them. Westphal became a father-like figure to Plaatje and affectionately called him "kleine Salomo Plaatje" (Willan, 2018, p. 3); he was intrigued by his exceptional academic ability and "astounding memory" (Molema, 2012, p. 20), which he was said to have inherited from his mother. Westphal and later also his wife, Marie, were both concerned over the quality of Plaatje's education (Willan, 2018), which could have been a reflection of their continued interest in his growth and well-being. Evidence, therefore, suggests that Plaatje's relationship with the Westphals could have involved dimensions such as commitment, trust, companionship and cooperation. The available data did not reveal any romantic interests or relationships involving Plaatje during this historical period (see Section 2.3.1). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of love during the second historical period.

9.3.5.2 Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)

Regarding the life task of love, the Westphals continued to demonstrate their interest in his growth and well-being, although Plaatje was no longer physically with them at Pniel (see Section 2.3.2). Plaatje also met and became romantically involved with his future wife, Elizabeth (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Their relationship is the first and the last mention of romantic involvement available from the data on Plaatje's lifespan as presented in Chapter 2. Initially, their respective families disapproved of the couple's relationship and forbade any contact since intertribal marriages were unheard of (Mokae, 2012). Elizabeth's family prohibited her from visiting Plaatje in Kimberley and even destroyed the letters she wrote to him (Comaroff et al., 1999; Ward, 1902; Willan, 2018). During the early stages of their courtship, Elizabeth's brother and Plaatje's friend, Isaiah Bud

M'belle, was the only family member from his future in-laws with whom Plaatje enjoyed a close relationship (Willan, 1984, 2018).

The romantic relationship blossomed despite familial opposition and in 1898, the 22-year-old Plaatje married the 21-year-old Elizabeth (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003). Their inter-tribal union gave romantic expression to the spiritual dimension of love (Willan, 1984, 2018), which Plaatje later evoked in his historical novel *Mhudi* (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1978). Both families eventually accepted their marriage, which was a very significant and important relationship for Plaatje in terms of commitment, shared values and mutual affection and appreciation (see Section 2.3.2). Elizabeth's strength and determination would be of great comfort to Plaatje in the difficult times in their life together (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018). The couple moved into a new home in the Malay Camp and a few weeks later, Elizabeth was pregnant with their first child (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

During this historical period, Plaatje enjoyed close relationships and companionship within the African mission-educated community of the Malay Camp where he stayed (see Section 2.3.2). Evidence suggests that friendships (see Section 9.3.4) turned out to be of significant importance to Plaatje throughout his entire lifespan, as he ended up spending the majority of his time within each historical period among friends, not family. He had formed close and meaningful bonds with several friends who also provided him with the emotional support that possibly contributed to his sense of well-being (see Section 2.3.2). Furthermore, their encouragement and interest in each other's growth and well-being was an even greater source of support (Willan, 1984, 2018), while their shared interests and values regarding faith and education further contributed to Plaatje's experience of stability within and commitment to his circle of friends (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). Findings also indicate that Plaatje enjoyed a particularly close and trusting relationship with his brother-in-law, Isaiah Bud M'belle, during this historical period. Shortly after Plaatje's arrival in Kimberley, they stayed together in the

Malay Camp and shared interests and hobbies such as the YMCA and the Philharmonic Society (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Plaatje's decision to pursue a career in law was inspired by witnessing Isaiah's achievements (see Section 2.3.2) (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018).

Although Plaatje led a busy lifestyle during this historical period, family ties had been sustained through visits to Pniel and the Mafeking district (see Section 2.3.2). In a personal interview with biographer Brian Willan in 1976, Martha Bokako, Simon's daughter, clearly remembered how her father sometimes picked up Plaatje from Kimberley on horseback to come and visit the family at Pniel (Willan, 2018). These actions indicate that Simon had remained supportive of his brother even though they did not see each other as often as before. Plaatje's father passed away the year before he married Elizabeth; a sad time of loss for the family (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). However, there is no evidence to suggest that his father's death had negatively affected Plaatje's life task of love during this historical period. Twenty years later he merely recalled the 'needle-like pangs' he felt when he heard the news and that his "grief was easily thrown off in tears" (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 63). It seemed that while Plaatje held great respect for his father and admiration for the work he did (Willan, 1984, 2018), their relationship was not particularly close. Had Plaatje left Pniel with his parents many years ago, the outcome of the relationship may have been different. The available data indicates that Plaatje and Simon had rushed to Mafeking to attend their father's funeral, but arrived too late (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012). The family relationships became strained when Plaatje assumed responsibility for finalising his father's estate and used the proceeds to send his two younger brothers, Ramokoto and Monnawapula, to school in Morija in Basutoland (Molema, 2012). Plaatje's decision not to consult with his other brothers caused a rift between them, but one that was soon mended with Simon (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). There is no further evidence in the available data to describe Plaatje's relationship with the rest of his siblings. The

next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of love during the third historical period.

9.3.5.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)

9.3.5.3.1 Before the siege

Plaatje and Elizabeth's first son was born five weeks after he had relocated to Mafeking to start his new job as a court interpreter (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Elizabeth, who was nine months pregnant at the time of his departure, had stayed with Simon and his wife at Pniel to give birth (Molema, 2012), which highlights the close and supportive relationship that continued to exist between Plaatje and his eldest brother. The caring and compassionate nature of Simon's gesture reflects concepts related to the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000). It is possible that since Plaatje and Elizabeth experienced their entry into parenthood separated from each other, it signified an important feature of their relationship in what would become a recurring theme throughout their marriage. More specifically, Plaatje's commitment to his work would essentially force Elizabeth into a permanent role of primary caregiver.

This historical period was a difficult period for Plaatje and Elizabeth, who had started their family during a significant transition phase of Plaatje's career (see Section 2.3.3.1). Due to his demanding work schedule, they spent a limited amount of time together and even missed out on their first Christmas as a family (Midgeley, 1997). Plaatje's feelings of loneliness during the Christmas period were exacerbated because he was confined to bed with influenza and spent "three lengthy, solitary days" (Molema, 2012, p. 33) wishing that "I could drive the thought from my mind" (Plaatje, 1999, p. 73). He vowed that his family would be with him for

the next Christmas holiday. Unfortunately, these plans were thwarted when the Anglo-Boer war broke out in October of the following year (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 1984, 2018).

9.3.5.3.2 During the siege

Elizabeth and Sainty stayed at her parents' home during this time (Leflaive, 2014). Therefore, as far as family relations were concerned, Plaatje may have attempted to maintain his relationship with them during the war through writing letters that he sent via Vere Stent or with the dispatch runners, for whom he held great admiration (see Section 2.3.3.2) (Willan, 2018). For example, five months into the siege, Plaatje wrote to his brother-in-law, Isaiah, to ask for news of Elizabeth and Sainty and to reassure him that he was still alive and "have never felt better in my life" (Willan, 1984, p. 45). Close relationships with friends throughout the siege (see Section 2.3.3.2) facilitated wellness in the life task of love that involved qualities such as commitment, trust, companionships and cooperation. Plaatje's father's ties with the prominent Molema family who lived and owned land in the Mafeking district, as well as Plaatje's own experience of stability and commitment to the broader Barolong community in town, provided him with a family-like support system, which may have further facilitated wellness in the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Plaatje also developed a close relationship with Silas Molema's son, Modiri (Willan, 2018). From Modiri Molema's later recollections, it can be inferred that mutual respect, trust, and cooperation were qualities that gave stability to a "close personal friendship" (Molema, 2012, p. 10) that deepened over time.

Two of his closest companions during this period, David Phooko and Patrick Sidzumo, turned out to be distant relatives of Elizabeth as well (Willan, 2018). Findings indicate that Plaatje's relationship with them was characterised by respect for the uniqueness of the other, trust, companionship and self-disclosure (see Section 2.3.3.2). Plaatje later recalled that when

he was too ill to write himself, he would dictate to David Phooko, who wrote Plaatje's usual daily entries into his diary, which in turn, also enabled him to practice his written English (Comaroff et al., 1999; Jacobson, 1980). Since they were both staying together at the Molema house for the duration of the siege, this activity created a sense of camaraderie that often led to nostalgia about the past and shared memories (Willan, 2018). It suggests an experience of care that possibly augmented Plaatje's sense of well-being that usually worsened during times of illness (Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). Plaatje also felt great admiration for Charles Bell and the work he was doing (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). In many ways, Bell's genial disposition and dutiful attitude resembled an important attachment figure from Plaatje's childhood, namely Ernst Westphal. It is thus understandable that Plaatje formed a similar attachment to Bell too. They shared a deep respect for each other (Midgeley, 1997; Mizoguchi, 2009). Plaatje felt supported and always had access to Bell's guidance if the need arose (Willan, 1984, 2018), which may have significantly contributed to a sense of satisfaction with life, despite the challenging and often hostile circumstances of war. In Plaatje's later recollections, he remembered Bell with affection and considered himself fortunate to have "served my apprenticeship under such a man" (Jacobson, 1980, p. 7).

9.3.5.3.3 After the siege

Plaatje's experience of stability within and commitment to the Barolong community also contributed to his decision to stay in Mafeking when the war ended (see Section 2.3.3.3). He lost the support network of close friends and confidants such as David Phooko and Charles Bell, who had chosen to resign and left town (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Jacobson, 1980). Their absence might have negatively influenced his sense of well-being had Elizabeth and Saintry not moved to Mafeking to live with him (De Villiers, 2000; Midgeley, 1997). Their presence provided him with an opportunity to define his role as a father and play a more

prominent role in his son's life (Willan, 2018). The family bonds were strengthened and the couple became very involved in the communal life of the Barolong, shared the enjoyment of cultural activities, attended dinners in town and regularly entertained visitors at their home (De Villiers, 2000; Rall, 2003). Modiri Molema also frequented the Plaatje home and was struck by Plaatje's warmth and hospitality (Willan, 2018). He recalled that Plaatje rarely let visitors leave empty-handed and always stepped in to help children who were being bullied (Molema, 2012). This reflects an ability to care and display an affection to others, which are both qualities of the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000). Maud Sidzumo, who would sometimes look after the children when both parents were away, fondly recalled the welcoming and loving atmosphere at the Plaatje family home (Willan, 2018). The home was built on a plot of land provided by the Molemas (De Villiers, 2000; Mokae, 2012; Molema, 2012). This gesture, including that of becoming major shareholders in Plaatje's first newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana*, suggests the Molemas' continued support of and interest in Plaatje's well-being. Plaatje's commitment to act as representative of the Barolong interests also reflect a dimension of spirituality, namely love, compassion and service to others (Sweeney & Witmer, 1992), which was an important and pervasive theme throughout his life (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Four more children, two sons and two daughters, were born in this historical period and Elizabeth created a warm home environment for the family (see Section 2.3.3.3) (Willan, 1984, 2018). Elizabeth had given up teaching to be a full-time mother and felt that Plaatje's work commitments interfered with his family responsibilities and that he did not always make enough time for the children (Lunderstedt, 2014). It seemed that Plaatje would regularly make vital decisions that would impact his family without involving them in the process, as indicated by the biographical data in Chapter 2. Unsavory political developments in the country (see Section 2.3.3.3) urged Plaatje to become more involved in lobbying activities that reflected

aspects of the life task of love. These activities included a wide array of journalistic and political duties that involved an extensive travelling itinerary and caused Plaatje to spend a significant portion of his time on the road and away from home (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). Findings indicate that his absence often negatively impacted on the family (Leflaive, 2014). Nevertheless, evidence suggests that close family relationships remained important to Plaatje and when he was home, he made sure that the children felt loved and supported (see Section 2.3.3.3). Faith and religion featured prominently in the Plaatje family and he encouraged the children to have respect for people regardless of colour or gender (Willan, 2018). Olive, his eldest daughter, seemed to be his favourite of all the children. Examples that support this notion is his poem entitled ‘Olive and I’, in remembrance of a day they spent together in the countryside outside Mafeking and the dedication of *Mhudi* to her memory (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Pampalis, 1992). Such gestures support Plaatje’s wellness in the dimension of love. According to Plaatje’s later recollections of this time (Willan, 1984), it seemed that spending time with his family contributed to his overall sense of well-being and life satisfaction (Myers et al., 2000).

The demise of the newspaper in 1906 left Plaatje with a mountain of debts and without a steady income for the next three years (Lunderstedt, 2014). The family life was disrupted when Plaatje became embroiled in legal matters that eventually forced the bailiff to seize some of the assets in their home (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). This incident quite possibly affected the marital relationship even further since Plaatje was not at home to support Elizabeth when it happened (Willan, 2018). Findings suggest that Plaatje’s acts of love at the age of 34, extended more towards the broader African population than to his wife. This implies that the virtue of care may have been overemphasised to society at great personal cost. The next section focuses on Plaatje’s wellness in the life task of love during the fourth historical period.

9.3.5.4 *Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)*

In April 1910, Plaatje's family life was disrupted again when he uprooted Elizabeth and the children to move to Kimberley (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916b; Willan, 2018). Aside from assuming editorship of a new newspaper, Plaatje thought that the diamond town offered better educational facilities than Mafeking and that it was also generally better placed economically, socially and politically, from which to run a newspaper (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). Most of all, the move presented an opportunity to increase his sense of well-being after the stress and frustrations that riddled the previous historical period (see Section 2.3.3.3). With the birth of the new Union of South Africa in May 1910, Plaatje became a "watchdog" (Willan, 2018, p. 225) of the new government and its rigorous segregation pass laws and used his position as editor to criticise where he believed it was required (Lunderstedt, 2014; Odendaal, 2012). Regarding the life task of love, Plaatje continued to demonstrate his interest in the African people's growth and well-being throughout this historical period and influenced opinion wherever he went (see Section 2.3.4). He had a full work schedule and an extensive travelling itinerary, both locally and abroad (Comaroff et al., 1999; Midgeley, 1997). His duties as Secretary General of the SANNC and as editor of *Tsala ea Becoana* demanded a great deal of his time and intensified even further with the implementation of the Natives' Land Act in 1913 (Odendaal, 2012).

During this period where Plaatje worked very hard, Elizabeth was, as ever, a pillar of strength and support for him, although she may not always have agreed with the decisions he made (Willan, 2018). From the available data, it can be inferred that Elizabeth's maternal qualities brought stability, commitment and security to the familial relationships. Elizabeth's care for Plaatje is illustrated by her continuous concern for his health (Willan, 2018), because even when he was in Kimberley, he worked tirelessly (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje himself later also acknowledged that his long working hours strained his health and often interfered

with his family responsibilities in that “we cannot have the same time we formerly devoted to the children” (Plaatje, 1916b, p. 158). Nevertheless, evidence suggests that close family ties continued to remain important for Plaatje during this historical period. For example, his eldest son, Sainty, assisted his father in the newspaper office after school and during school holidays; while his eldest daughter, Olive, often sat with him in his study to drink a cup of tea together (Willan, 1984, 2018). These examples suggest that Plaatje’s two eldest children may have experienced him as a loving father who spent time with them even if they had to claim his attention themselves (Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018). The death of the youngest son, Johannes, in 1914, deeply affected the entire family and left “an indelible gap ... in our domestic circle” (Willan, 2018, p. 257). The family’s sadness was exacerbated shortly after Johannes’ death when Isaiah and his wife’s 11-month old daughter, Maria, also passed away as a result of an illness (Willan, 2018). These two events significantly challenged Plaatje’s well-being in the life task of love (Plaatje, 1916b).

When Plaatje joined the SANNC delegation to England in 1914 to appeal against the *Native Land Act*, it was nearly three years before he saw his wife and family again (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018). During this period, World War I broke out (Odendaal, 2012). Plaatje attempted to maintain familial relationships through writing letters (see Section 2.3.4). He had left Elizabeth and her brother Isaiah in charge of *Tsala ea Batho*, after *Tsala ea Becoana* went bankrupt in mid-1912 (Willan, 1984, 2018). Elizabeth had proved herself an ‘untiring supporter’ of her husband’s cause, while Isaiah frequently supported Plaatje when the latter’s finances were disorganised (Jacobson, 1980; Willan, 2018). Plaatje’s eldest brother, Simon, who still lived at Pniel, also contributed financially from time to time (Lunderstedt, 2014). These gestures of support from Plaatje’s wife and family members suggest their continued interest in his well-being. Elizabeth continued to be a very supportive spouse to Plaatje during this stressful historical period (Molema, 2012). Plaatje was surprised by how well she coped

with the extra demands placed on her and was glad to receive news about the family from her almost weekly (see Section 2.3.4) (Willan, 1984, 2018). She also regularly sent him the newspapers he needed to write up developments in South Africa for his book, *Native Life in South Africa* (Willan, 2018). However, from the available data, it can also be inferred that Plaatje's absence from home was a difficult time for Elizabeth as she commented on it in one of her letters that she wrote to him: "it is strange that we should be separated each time there is a war" (Willan, 2018, p. 288).

Friendships remained an important source of family-like support for Plaatje during this historical period (see Section 2.3.4). Georgiana Solomon and Betty Molteno, for example, shared his passion for a just society and often accompanied him to his public lectures (Willan, 1984, 2018). Alice Werner encouraged his plans to compile the collection of Setswana proverbs with Daniel Jones and was also instrumental in securing Plaatje's chapter contribution in Gollancz's book commemorating Shakespeare's 300th anniversary (Gollancz, 1916; Remington, 2013). Duse Mohamed Ali allowed Plaatje to use his newspaper office as his address for correspondence (Willan, 2018). His closest friend and *Brotherhood* movement ally, William Cross, supported Plaatje emotionally and once also physically cared for him during a period of illness which Plaatje later recalled "a practical demonstration of the good Samaritan in action" (Willan, 2018, p. 279). Plaatje also maintained a special connection to the Colenso family and regularly visited them at their home; spending time in their company contributed significantly to his sense of well-being and life satisfaction (Myers et al., 2000) when he was away from his own family. Furthermore, he frequently travelled to Scotland, combining his lecturing programme with spending time with Modiri Molema, who was studying medicine at Glasgow University (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

The year 1918 was challenging for Plaatje and his immediate family (see Section 2.3.4). The consequences of the devastating Spanish influenza epidemic (Philips, 1990) affected the

entire Plaatje household but would yield the most serious consequences for himself and Olive. Olive had eventually contracted rheumatic fever and died in 1921, while Plaatje was overseas on yet another work trip (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje's absence from home while Olive's condition had deteriorated, left a negative impact on the family, especially on Sainty, who felt obliged to forfeit his college bursary and found work to support his mother financially instead (Willan, 2018). In a letter to Sophie Colenso, Plaatje acknowledged that although it seemed that Elizabeth was coping with her grief over Olive, "they are only worried by my continued absence from home" (Willan, 2018, p. 405). Plaatje himself developed a fragile heart condition that plagued him for the rest of his life (Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). Olive's death significantly challenged Plaatje's wellness in the life task of love, and he struggled to manage his sadness on his own (Leflaive, 2014). His novel, *Mhudi*, dedicated to the "memory of our beloved Olive" (Willan, 2018, p. 424), may have been an attempt at maintaining some sort of emotional bond that expressed his care for her, a demonstration of an aspect of the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1992). The close relationships he had maintained with, particularly his British friends, proved an invaluable source of emotional (and financial) support (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012).

Plaatje's continuous concern and care for the well-being of others (see Section 2.3.4) despite his declining health, may be regarded as an expression of the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000). The next section focuses on Plaatje's wellness in the life task of love during the fifth historical period.

9.3.5.5 *The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)*

Plaatje's family life had suffered as a result of his gruelling work schedule and his long periods away from home (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003). His joy at returning home was tempered when he found his wife and children living at 32 Angel Street (her brother, Isaiah's house, who

had moved to Pretoria) since their family home had been sold as a result of long-standing unsettled debts (Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). His family was virtually destitute, despite promises made by the ANC to support them in his absence (Lunderstedt, 2014). Elizabeth's eyesight had deteriorated badly; Sainty worked as a clerk after discontinuing his studies; Richard was training as a builder's apprentice and worked over the holidays (Willan, 2018). Only the youngest two children, Halley and Violet, 13 and 17 years old respectively, were in Kimberley when their father arrived home in November 1923 (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018).

Evidence suggests that the family had received a lot of support from friends, as he "was received with cheers" (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 65) when he arrived in town. Shortly afterwards, Elizabeth and Plaatje rekindled their love for each other on a short holiday to Cape Town, after spending almost five years apart (Leflaive, 2014; Willan, 2018). It seemed that Plaatje and Elizabeth maintained a close relationship throughout their married life; she remained a great source of support for him (Willan, 2018).

Plaatje was usually accompanied and assisted by Sainty on trips for "Plaatje's bioscope" (Leflaive, 2014, p. 57). However, no evidence in the data highlights any impact this joint activity might have had on rebuilding the father-son relationship. Plaatje continued to write articles in various English-language newspapers of the day (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). These articles and temperance work under the auspices of the IOTT, as well as personal visits and interviews with political leaders to protest against 'anti-native' legislative bills (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018) relate to dimensions of spiritual wellness as well as concepts in the life task of *love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000). During this historical period, Plaatje maintained contact with some of his close, family-like friends overseas, such as Robert Moton and Georgiana Solomon (see Section 2.3.5) and shared his concerns over the "acute economic depression" (Willan, 2018, p. 450). He expressed his happiness at finding a publisher for some of his manuscripts and on other occasions, his

frustrations at the lack of funding for additional books (Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje was also saddened by the death of Silas Molema and shared his grief in a letter to Molema's son, Modiri: "You will not believe what a shock we got from your telegram conveying the news of Father's passing...I was lying ill at the time and was simply beside myself" (Willan, 2018, p. 462). Sustained communication with close friends seemed to have significantly contributed to Plaatje's sense of well-being (Myers et al., 2000) during this and previous historical periods. Family, as a life force, also formed an integral part of Plaatje's life during this historical period (see Section 2.3.5), although he was deeply disappointed at Sainty and Halley's regular use of alcohol, considering his involvement in temperance work: "Sty and Halley can now be ruled out of the list of humanity and entered up as permanent liabilities" (Willan, 2018, p. 567). Appreciative as Plaatje might have been of Sainty's support to his mother and younger siblings in his absence, he simply could not condone his children's excessive drinking. Plaatje realised that he had paid a high price for not being around when his sons needed him (Willan, 1984, 2018).

In the last few months before his death, Plaatje seemed intensely frustrated by his failing health and decreased mobility and was observed to have a limp (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). When he fell seriously ill with influenza at his sister-in-law's, Maria Smouse's house, on a visit to Johannesburg in 1932, she cared for and assisted him there (Lunderstedt, 2014). His refusal to "feel sick" (Molema, 2012, p. 86) did not stop him from working on his manuscripts and attending appointments in town; his influenza thus turned into double pneumonia (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Midgeley, 1997). Plaatje died a few hours after Elizabeth's arrival, surrounded by her, Isaiah and other family members (De Villiers, 2000; Leflaive, 2014; Mokaë, 2010; Molema, 2012; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018). The experience of wellness in an interrelated dimension, namely *love, compassion and service to others* in the last few years of Plaatje's life is also inferred from the biographical data. Plaatje "had loved and lived for his

people, sacrificing his health for their advancement” (Molema, 2012, p. 88). It might be assumed that he died of overwork and anxieties over his publishing and finances, compounded by his unhappiness with his eldest and youngest sons’ persistent drinking (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018), but he remains “one of the great South Africans of the 20th century” (Lunderstedt, 2014, p. 78). The following section contains a summary of the life forces and global events that may have influenced the development and status of Plaatje’s holistic wellness throughout his entire lifespan.

9.4 Life Forces and Global events throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan

The individual’s mastery of the five life tasks discussed in the previous sections is influenced by what Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) termed as life forces. These are referred to as the “major societal institutions that impinge on the health and well-being of each individual” (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 537). These societal institutions are: (a) family, (b) religion, (c) education, (d) community, (e) media, (f) government and (g) business or industry. Global events such as war, disease, poverty, pollution, overpopulation, economic exploitation and unemployment, impact the everyday functioning and quality of the lives of all individuals because of how they “influence the dynamics of our existential world” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 538). In the Wheel of Wellness, life forces are identified as surrounding the life tasks and the global events are located on the outer edges of the life forces (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.1). The following sections provide a summary of the life forces and global events relevant to the historical periods of Plaatje’s life.

9.4.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)

Plaatje's *family* of origin promoted close relationships and could have had a positive influence on his sense of hope, sense of worth and his experience in the life task of love, through the secure attachments they shared (see Section 2.3.1). Family-like individuals could also have impacted positively on the life task of work as mastery of educational tasks and intellectual curiosity were encouraged (Couzens & Willan, 1979; Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). The family culture of assigning chores (work) to the children also contributed to the development of this life task during this period. Plaatje's multicultural *community* and exposure to the morals and values inherent to the Christian faith, in combination with the beliefs, customs and traditions of his African identity, could have promoted his spiritual wellness. His *community* also impacted on his wellness regarding self-direction, work and friendship. The life tasks of self-direction and work were encouraged more by the additional educational activities he received after school (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje seemed to have enjoyed the opportunity to build and maintain friendships with peers (see Section 2.3.1). His father's refusal to pay for his tertiary studies might have challenged his sense of optimism and sense of control, as described in Section 9.3.2.1.

The *global* events that may have impacted on Plaatje's holistic wellness, include the domination of European mission Christianity and its associated educational institutions on African political life (Nasson, 2004), which eventually influenced Plaatje's family's decision to adopt various elements of European civilisation (Gerhart & Karis, 1977; Nasson, 2004; SAHO, 2019). Although life on a mission station provided good protection against the worst excesses of the British *government's* colonial administration (Leflaive, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018), the policies of the Berlin Mission Society restricted educational advancement in their schools (Midgeley, 1997), possibly delaying Plaatje's development of certain aspects in the life task of work. The discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley district near Pniel resulted

in higher levies and taxes that placed great financial demands on the African people who worked in the area (SAHO, 2019). The full impact of Plaatje's childhood experiences on his mastery of the five life tasks, is more evident during subsequent historical periods, due to the protection of his sheltered upbringing during this historical period.

9.4.2 *Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)*

The Berlin mission school at Pniel might have stunted Plaatje's *educational* growth, but the private tuition he had received from the Westphals (see Section 9.3.3.1) (Leflaive, 2014) provided him with intellectual stimulation and exposure to specific cultural activities that impacted intermittently upon his wellness in the life tasks of work, self-direction and leisure throughout his life. Evidence suggests that Plaatje's *family* of origin and *family-like community* had cultivated certain values in him, especially concerning spirituality and faith. They also provided him with the experience of loving relationships (Willan, 1984, 2018). He had enjoyed a particularly close relationship with his eldest brother Simon that remained relatively stable during subsequent historical periods (Lunderstedt, 2014).

During this historical period, Plaatje seemed to have utilised the numerous opportunities for socialisation and leisure in the multi-cultural *community* of the Malay Camp, which could have had a positive effect on his ability to establish friendships (see Section 9.3.4.2). They shared his moral values and commitment to the faith, which possibly further influenced his spiritual wellness and sense of connectedness to them. This was also the time when he became close friends with Isaiah Bud M'belle, who fuelled the fire of pursuing a career in law (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012; Willan, 1984, 2018). This friendship also facilitated the opportunity for Plaatje to become romantically involved with Isaiah's sister, Elizabeth (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). Plaatje tirelessly engaged in intellectual activities that stimulated his thirst for knowledge and education, which resulted in him being competent in

several languages and ultimately secured him with better employment opportunities (Midgeley, 1997; Willan, 2018), including associated feelings of mastery in the life task of self-direction. Plaatje qualified to vote for the first time during the general election of 1898 (Midgeley, 1997), which likely added to his *sense of meaning and purpose* and wellness in the life tasks of work and self-direction. When the British emerged victorious (Trapido, 1980), Plaatje was disappointed and mounting segregation *governmental* policies started to negatively impact upon his experience in the life task of work, as unemployment and racial tensions had risen (Ngcongco, 1979; Willan, 2018). This meant that he had to learn to cope with an often hostile environment (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). He started to question the policies of division, segregation and separate development and became more involved in political activities that opposed injustice (see Section 2.3.2). A *global event* that played a circumstantial role in the death of Plaatje's father and that negatively impacted Plaatje's financial situation was the Rinderpest epidemic (also called the cattle plague) that swept through the country in 1896 and lasted for a few years (see Section 2.3.3) (Molema, 2012). His marriage to Elizabeth in the final year of this historical period (Leflaive, 2014; Molema, 2012) could have facilitated a process of gender role definition, as well as wellness in the life task of love. Plaatje's *optimism* at the new prospects that awaited him in Mafeking was temporarily thwarted by an unexpected illness (Willan, 2018).

9.4.3 Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)

Plaatje's decision to work as a court interpreter ensured that his curiosity and intellect were stimulated by the challenges of his demanding environment. The radical change in career brought different challenges to his expanding household (Leflaive, 2014; Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). Changes to his *family* life could have facilitated his wellness in the life task of love and self-direction that further influenced his desire to succeed in the life task of work (see

Section 2.3.3) (Willan, 1984, 2018). Although his demanding work schedule left the family with limited time together, Plaatje and Elizabeth shared numerous leisure activities and seemed to have enjoyed ample opportunities for the establishment of mutual friendships (Comaroff et al., 1973; Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). In terms of Plaatje's family of origin, there is no evidence to suggest that they discontinued their caring concern for his well-being. Plaatje felt a strong affiliation with the local Barolong and wider African *community* (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012), which would have impacted his sense of cultural identity. His experience of companionship, trust and commitment within the Barolong community also provided him with a family-like support system (see Section 2.3.3), which may have facilitated wellness in the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The Anglo-Boer War as a *global event* continued to impact on him with specific reference to the subtasks of *emotional awareness and coping* and *stress management*. The African communities and their families were suffering economically and many were destitute and starving (Willan, 1984, 2018). Plaatje continued to feel *compassion* for the suffering of these families and assisted where he could (see Section 2.3.3.2 and Section 2.3.3.3).

Bearing witness to the increasing apartheid policies intensified Plaatje's desire to address issues of injustice and engage in attempts to raise awareness and change or influence the views of the *government*. It sensitised Plaatje to the effects of discrimination and persecution (Willan, 2018), and had, therefore, sparked his *sense of purpose*. This may have also impacted on Plaatje's *spiritual wellness* about the reverence for human life and human dignity, which is an important aspect related to spirituality (Myers et al., 2000). The biased nature of Afrikaner Nationalism had stimulated his interest in the ethical issues involved in local politics (see Section 2.3.3.3). On numerous occasions, Plaatje attempted to engage with the Afrikaner community and explained that the race policies instituted and supported by Afrikaners were morally and ethically wrong and were not supported by scripture (Willan, 1996, 2018).

Plaatje's extensive involvement in the fight for equality across races can also be linked to his sense of control and could have influenced his *sense of connectedness* to others. Regarding *education*, findings indicate that Plaatje's experience of the *government's* reaction after he had written the Cape Civil service examinations left him with a diminished *sense of control*, which, in turn, significantly challenged his wellness in terms of the life task of work (Arnett, 2004).

Print *media* (Leflaive, 2014; Plaatje, 1916b, Willan, 2018) became an important influence on Plaatje's wellness during this historical period, as it provided a platform from which to shape public policies and voice his individual values, beliefs, attitudes and desires (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

9.4.4 Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)

The birth of the new Union *government* in May 1910, coincided with his *family's* relocation to Kimberley and the start of a new career as editor of a newspaper (Lunderstedt, 2014; Odendaal, 2012). Working in the *media* industry brought a lot of social contact with many different groups since he started travelling at length and became more actively involved in political endeavours (Midgeley, 1997; Molema, 2012). The media became a significant life force by providing Plaatje with a platform to distribute information about the struggles of the Black South African community (Shillington, 1985; Willan, 2018), thus, enabling him to better meet his goal of opposing an apartheid government. He wrote editorials, addressed and broadly participated in protest meetings mainly against the abolishment of the Cape's non-racial franchise (Cousins & Walker, 2015; Odendaal, 2012; Shillington, 1985), which relates to the aspects of social connectedness and social interest (Myers et al., 2000) to the larger South African community. The liberal media's support could have had a positive impact on Plaatje's

sense of purpose and experience of wellness in the life task of self-direction, by facilitating his sense of control and sense of worth (see Section 2.3.4).

Initially, Plaatje's overall sense of well-being had increased after the stress and frustrations that riddled the previous historical period, but findings indicate that persistent and precarious financial challenges could have had a significant impact on his ability to manage his stress and maintain wellness in the life task of work. During the course of this historical period, Plaatje was able to use his position as secretary-general of the SANNC (later the ANC) to raise awareness on issues regarding racial segregation in South Africa (Willan, 1984, 2018), which could have contributed to a *sense of worth*. Support from colleagues and the wider liberal community could have positively impacted his wellness concerning stress management during this historical period.

He felt a deep sense of connection to the values of spirituality, sobriety, self-improvement and racial equality promoted by the *Brotherhood* movement community (Plaatje, 1916b). Through his involvement with this community, Plaatje interacted and worked closely with other Black activists abroad such as Marcus Garvey and W. E. du Bois (see Section 2.3.4) (Lunderstedt, 2014). Plaatje also turned the trips abroad into significant *educational* opportunities by co-authoring two books dedicated to the preservation of Setswana proverbs with Daniel Jones (Jones & Plaatje, 1916) and contributed a chapter in a book commemorating Shakespeare's 300th anniversary (Remmington, 2013). The publications of these achievements in 1916 may well have contributed to an additional *sense of worth*. He also wrote *Native Life in South Africa* in reaction to the Native Land Act, which was implemented in 1913 (Odendaal, 2012). After its implementation, the political and economic climate (i.e., the life force of *business/industry*) in South Africa faced new challenges when additional economic sanctions were imposed on African people (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014). This was a significant life force that greatly challenged Plaatje's sense of *hope and optimism* and it's

removal became his priority (see Section 2.3.4) (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018). Within the African *community*, Plaatje was labelled a ‘hero’ who had risked himself by producing *Native Life in South Africa*, and had succeeded in exposing injustice (Rule, 2016). Plaatje’s activities during his time overseas had significantly influenced his wellness in the life task of friendship, as some of his encounters with individuals such as Alice Werner and William Cross, had resulted in meaningful and lasting relationships (see Section 2.3.4). His friends and family were significant life forces in the life task of work as Plaatje (a) received constant encouragement and emotional and tangible support from them throughout his political and journalistic career and (b) enjoyed many of his leisure activities in their company (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Many of his friends also shared his political interest and provided him with support for his efforts to improve racially oppressive policies (see Section 2.3.4). Data from this historical period suggest that Plaatje’s wife was an important supportive figure for him throughout their marriage.

The death of his youngest son, Johannes, significantly challenged Plaatje’s well-being in the life task of love (Plaatje, 1916b), particularly since he was unable to grieve with his family at the time (see Section 2.3.4) (Lunderstedt, 2014). Two *global* events during this period negatively impacted on Plaatje’s nuclear family: (a) World War I that broke out in 1914 while he was in England on a SANNC trip (Odendaal, 2012) and (b) the Spanish influenza (SAHO, 2019) that ultimately resulted in the death of his eldest daughter, Olive (see Section 2.3.4) (Molema, 2012, Willan, 2018). Olive’s death significantly challenged Plaatje’s wellness in the life task of love, especially since financial constraints prevented him from being able to attend her funeral (see Section 2.3.4) (Willan, 2018). World War I also greatly influenced and derailed Plaatje’s plans in the life task of work (see Section 2.3.4).

9.4.5 *The Autumn Years (1923 - 1932)*

As during the previous historical periods, Plaatje's family and friends continued to play an important role in his spiritual life. They were also an integral part of his support system during the periods when his sense of optimism was challenged (see Section 2.3.5), and thus promoted his effective management of stress. They served as important life forces in the life task of work as Plaatje (a) received constant encouragement and emotional and tangible support from them throughout his political and journalistic career and (b) he enjoyed many of his leisure activities in their company (Molema, 2012; Willan, 2018). Print media remained Plaatje's main platform during this historical period and continued to play a role in Plaatje's wellness in self-direction, by facilitating his sense of control and sense of worth. His articles and temperance work under the auspices of the IOTT, as well as personal visits and interviews with political leaders to protest against 'anti-native' legislative bills (Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018) relate to spiritual wellness as well as concepts in the life task of *love, compassion and service to others* (Myers et al., 2000). He was deeply disappointed by two of his sons' excessive use of alcohol that directly challenged his efforts to advocate sobriety (Willan, 2018), which may have negatively influenced the life task of spirituality in this regard within his own family.

Plaatje's relentless dedication to the advancement of human rights, morality, and civil liberties (see Section 2.3.5) reflects that his *ethical and moral values* remained a prominent dimension of his spiritual life task. His continued attempts to promote reconciliation across races, particularly between the disenfranchised Africans and the White Afrikaners (Willan, 1984, 2018) reflected his sense of connectedness to a broad South African community. The implementation of more divisive governmental policies (see Section 2.3.5) and the ensuing South African political climate of the time had contributed to the dissent within the SANNC and Plaatje's eventual resignation from it during this historical period (Jaffer & Tshabalala, 2014). Governmental processes and policies impacted directly on Plaatje's political career, as

it continued to challenge his efforts to oppose and effect change in these policies, which had been a significant focus of his social interest. The abolishment of the non-racial Cape franchise in 1930 greatly challenged Plaatje's *sense of control* and could have been significant to his spiritual wellness, particularly about concepts such as meaning, purpose and moral and ethical values. Furthermore, towards the end of this historical period, his chronic susceptibility to ill-health had weakened him (Lunderstedt, 2014; Willan, 2018).

Findings indicate that Plaatje's community had also provided him with the opportunity to maintain and build supportive friendships (see Section 2.3.5). The social support he received from the Kimberley community, in particular, could have assisted with his effective stress management strategies regarding his family's finances. The recognition of his contributions by members of his own and other communities (Leflaive, 2014; Lunderstedt, 2014; Rall, 2003; Willan, 1984, 2018) as well as the continued relationship between himself and the media, could have facilitated the maintenance of Plaatje's sense of worth. His involvement in the preservation of Setswana literature (Midgeley, 1997; Rall, 2003; Willan, 2018), may have added to this sense of worth and related feelings of mastery and competence and sustained his sense of *meaning, purpose* and *service to others* (Myers et al., 2000). The publication of a few of his works during this historical period fostered a similar positive emotional experience (see Section 2.3.5). Evidence suggests that even when his health had deteriorated to a critical stage, his career remained an important focus of his inner life. In the next section, a synopsis of the main findings of the five life tasks is provided. The chapter ends with concluding remarks about the holistic wellness of Plaatje throughout his entire lifespan.

9.5 Synopsis of holistic wellness findings

In this section, a synopsis of the findings from the five life tasks is presented. Table 9.1 summarises the different dimensions of spiritual wellness, as defined by Myers et al. (2000)

and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) (see Section 4.3.1.1). The majority of the dimensions of spiritual wellness featured more prominently in the data on Plaatje’s life. Although the dimension of spiritual practices featured less prominently in the data, it could have been associated closely with other dimensions of spirituality, such as morality and ethical values, a sense of meaning and purpose and transcendence. During interpretations regarding Plaatje’s degree of wellness in the different dimensions typical to the life task of spirituality, only dimensions that featured with satisfactory prominence during each historical period were considered for analysis. Overall, these more prominent dimensions were found to be indicative of a relatively stable degree of wellness. However, certain life forces and global events challenged Plaatje’s sense of hope and optimism in the fourth historical period, as indicated by asterisks in Table 9.1, where this dimension demonstrated a variable degree of wellness. The researcher postulates that this variation reflects the importance of acknowledging the impact that life forces and global events may have on an individual’s wellness.

Table 9.1

Wellness in the Life Task of Spirituality throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan

Wellness in the Life Task of Spirituality		
Historical Period	Prominent Dimension	Less Prominent Dimension
The Formative Years (1876 – 1894)	Spiritual practices Belief in a power beyond oneself Transcendence Moral and ethical values Hope and optimism Meaning and purpose Love and compassion	Service to others
Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	Meaning and purpose Hope and optimism Belief in a power beyond oneself Moral and ethical values Love, compassion and service to others	Transcendence Spiritual practices
Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	Meaning and purpose Hope and optimism Belief in a power beyond oneself Moral and ethical values Love, compassion and service to others Transcendence	Spiritual practices
Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	Meaning and purpose Love, compassion and service to others Moral and ethical values	Spiritual practices

	Hope and optimism* Belief in a power beyond oneself Transcendence	
The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	Moral and ethical values Meaning and purpose Belief in a power beyond oneself Love, compassion and service to others Hope and optimism	Transcendence Spiritual practices

* The degree of wellness in this dimension was variable during the associated historical period.

Table 9.2 summarises the different dimensions in the life task of self-direction as defined by Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) (see Section 4.3.1.2). The findings of this study indicate that most of the dimensions of self-direction consistently featured prominently in the data on Plaatje's life. Although limited information regarding the three less prominent dimensions, namely (a) exercise, (b) self-care and (c) nutrition, Plaatje's active lifestyle and enjoyment of various activities suggest that he experienced a satisfactory degree of wellness in these dimensions. During interpretations regarding Plaatje's degree of wellness in the different dimensions typical to the life task of self-direction, only dimensions that featured with satisfactory prominence during each historical period were considered for analysis. Overall, these more prominent dimensions were all associated with a degree of wellness. However, as indicated by the asterisks in Table 9.2, it seemed that certain dimensions demonstrated a variable degree of wellness during certain historical periods, which suggests that they may have been influenced by Plaatje's socio-political climate in which he worked. Nonetheless, the researcher postulates that these variations did not significantly impact on Plaatje's overall wellness in the life task of self-direction. Instead, it is important to acknowledge the impact that life forces and global events may have on an individual's wellness.

Table 9.2

Wellness in the Life Task of Self-Direction throughout Plaatje's Lifespan

Wellness in the Life Task of Self-direction		
Historical Period	Prominent Dimension	Less Prominent Dimension
The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)	Sense of control Sense of worth Stress management* Cultural identity Gender identity Self-care Realistic beliefs Nutrition Exercise Problem-solving and creativity	Sense of humour Emotional awareness and coping
Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	Sense of control Sense of worth Stress management Problem-solving and creativity Self-care Sense of humour Emotional awareness and coping Gender identity Cultural identity Realistic beliefs	Exercise Nutrition
Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	Sense of control* Sense of worth Stress management Problem-solving and creativity Gender identity Sense of humour Realistic beliefs Emotional awareness and coping Cultural identity	Exercise* Nutrition* Self-care
Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	Problem-solving and creativity Gender identity Cultural identity Sense of worth Sense of control* Stress management Emotional awareness and coping Realistic beliefs Sense of humour	Nutrition Self-care Exercise
The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	Self-care Stress management Emotional awareness and coping Realistic beliefs Problem-solving and creativity Sense of worth Sense of control	Sense of humour Cultural identity Exercise Nutrition

* The degree of wellness in this dimension was variable during the associated historical period.

Table 9.3 summarises the different dimensions in the life task of work and leisure as defined by Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) (see Section 4.3.1.3). It reflects a

description of Plaatje’s wellness on all five historical periods, due to the prominence of his work in the available data, including his diary and letters. The findings of this study indicate that Plaatje displayed a relatively high degree of overall wellness in the life task of work and leisure during his lifespan. The findings of the study also indicated some variation in his degree of wellness about leisure during the last three historical periods. The researcher postulates that the challenges to Plaatje’s wellness during these historical periods did not significantly diminish his overall experience of wellness in the life task of work and leisure during these historical periods. Instead, it is important to acknowledge the impact that the individual’s context may have on their wellness.

Table 9.3

Wellness in the Life Task of Work and Leisure throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan

Historical Period	Wellness in the Life Task of Work and Leisure
The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)	Work: Plaatje’s academic performance indicates a relatively high degree of wellness concerning his educational activities. Leisure: A relatively high degree of wellness was suggested by the data, as evident in his extracurricular activities.
Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	Work: Plaatje’s dedication to meeting the demands of his formal employment and other extracurricular activities, as well as his participation in educational opportunities, all indicate a relatively high degree of wellness in this task. Leisure: A high degree of wellness was proposed by the data, as evident by his enjoyment of numerous leisure time activities.
Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	Work: His extraordinary productivity under challenging circumstances during the siege of Mafeking, indicates a relatively high degree of wellness in this life task. Leisure: Findings indicate that he was able to maintain some involvement in leisure activities, as evident in his attempts at relaxation in nature, writing and occasional physical exercise outdoors.
Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	Work: Plaatje’s involvement in political and public life for the duration of this historical period, most notably his role as newsman and spokesperson for the African people, indicates a relatively high degree of wellness in this life task. Leisure: Plaatje’s workload could have impacted negatively on his participation in leisure activities.
The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	Work: Plaatje’s continued involvement in political and public life for the majority of this historical period, including his engagement in Setswana linguistics and other literary endeavours, indicates a relatively high degree of wellness in this life task. Leisure: A variable degree of wellness was suggested by the data. Plaatje’s workload could have impacted negatively on his engagement in regular leisure activities

Table 9.4 summarises the different dimensions in the life task of friendship as defined by Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) (see Section 4.3.1.4). It reflects Plaatje’s

social interest as well as the supportive friendships he formed and maintained. The findings of this study indicate that Plaatje displayed a relatively stable degree of overall wellness in the life task of friendship during his lifespan. It is important to acknowledge the impact that the individual's context may have on their experience of wellness. The researcher postulates that Plaatje's occasional experience of loneliness and isolation related to difficulties in his work context and associated challenges were brought on by certain life forces and global events. These difficulties and challenges did not significantly diminish his overall experience of wellness in the life task of friendship.

Table 9.4

Wellness in the Life Task of Friendship throughout Plaatje's Lifespan

Historical Period	Wellness in the Life Task of Friendship
The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)	The development of his social interest is marked by his respectful attitude towards others. His ability to form and maintain supportive friendships is reflected by his popularity with his peers and his efforts to maintain close proximity to his friends.
Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	Plaatje's sense of social interest was evident in his involvement in political activities aimed at opposing oppressive governmental policies. His continued ability to form and maintain supportive friendships is reflected by his enjoyment of numerous social activities in town. It is further reflected by the willingness of his friends to provide him with tangible and emotional support.
Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	Plaatje's social interest is evident by the focus of his career within the law and his sense of connectedness to the Barolong people. His ability to form and maintain supportive friendships is reflected by the close emotional bonds he was able to forge with his colleagues prior to the war, as well as his and Elizabeth's active participation in many social activities post-war. Plaatje's wellness in this life task was challenged to an extent, as evident by his feelings of loneliness and isolation from his family during the war, and a decreased social support network in his immediate working environment post-war.
Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	Plaatje's social interest is reflected by his continued involvement in political activities opposing the disenfranchisement of marginalised people, and his sense of connectedness to the broader South African community. His ability to form and maintain supportive friendships is reflected by the breadth of his increasing support network across different cultures and the continued availability and willingness of his friends to provide him with support.
The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	Plaatje's social interest is evident by his continued fight against injustices inherent to oppressive governmental policies, as well as his relentless attempts to preserve Setswana linguistics.

	His continued ability to form and maintain meaningful and supportive friendships is reflected by his sustained contact with and disclosure to his friends.
--	---

Table 9.5 summarises the different dimensions in the life task of love as defined by Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) (see Section 4.3.1.5). The researcher postulates that Plaatje consistently displayed a relatively stable degree of wellness in the life task of love, which could have impacted his overall experience of wellness. For example, Plaatje and Elizabeth were married for nearly all of the historical periods. Their marriage seemed to have promoted Plaatje’s wellness in the life task of love. The life forces of family and family-like friends provided Plaatje with loving relationships from which to attain wellness in the life task of love. These loving relationships also contributed to Plaatje’s wellness in many of the other life tasks (see sections 9.3.1 to 9.3.5).

Table 9.5

Wellness in the Life Task of Love throughout Plaatje’s Lifespan

Historical Period	Wellness in the Life Task of Love
The Formative Years: Doornfontein and Pniel (1876 – 1894)	Before she moved away, Plaatje had a close relationship with his mother. Simon, as well as Ernst Westphal can be considered important attachment figures during this historical period. Both of them demonstrated continuous interest in his growth and well-being.
Plaatje at Kimberley (1894 – 1898)	Ernst Westphal continued to demonstrate his interest in Plaatje’s growth and well-being. Plaatje’s relationship with Isaiah Bud M’belle was characterised by trust, mutual respect, caring, companionship and cooperation. Plaatje also became romantically involved with and married Elizabeth.
Plaatje at Mafeking (1898 – 1910)	Evidence on Elizabeth’s support suggests continued interest in Plaatje’s well-being. The couple had five children during this historical period. Charles Bell can be considered an important attachment figure during this historical period.
Tales of Travels (1910 – 1923)	Evidence on Elizabeth’s support suggests continued interest in Plaatje’s well-being. Plaatje and Elizabeth’s relationship was characterised by commitment, shared interests and values, communication, problem-solving and mutual appreciation. Close friendships remained an important source of support and encouragement for Plaatje during this historical period.
The Autumn Years (1923 – 1932)	Plaatje’s relationship with Elizabeth at this stage seemed to have been characterised by care, affection, commitment and shared values. Plaatje’s family relationships remained indicative of care, support and shared values. Friendships remained an important source of support for Plaatje during this historical period

9.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented a discussion on the research findings regarding Sol Plaatje's holistic wellness throughout his entire lifespan. This was done in terms of the five life tasks of the WoW model. The life forces and global events which may have influenced Plaatje's holistic wellness were highlighted. A conceptual outline of the discussion was also presented. A synopsis of the findings related to the life tasks concluded the chapter. In the following chapter, Chapter 10, a comparative conclusion of the psychosocial development and holistic wellness of Plaatje over his lifespan is provided.

CHAPTER 10

INTEGRATION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

10.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter presents an integrated discussion of Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness. It includes a conceptual outline, as well as a discussion about the two theoretical frameworks, namely the stage-based theory of psychosocial development and the holistic wellness or WoW model used in this study. Furthermore, a comparison highlighting the models' similarities and differences are also presented. This is followed by a comparative summary of the two theoretical frameworks concerning Plaatje's biographical material over his entire lifespan.

10.2 Conceptual Outline for the Presentation and Discussion of Integrated Findings

The findings related to Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness were discussed, respectively in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. The current chapter aims to present and discuss the integration of the findings presented in the aforementioned chapters. Firstly, the similarities and differences between the two theoretical frameworks relevant to their application to this psychobiographical study are presented. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of the comparative conclusions of the findings for all five historical periods of Plaatje's life. A summary of the comparative findings of each framework is also included in table format and contrasted to explore the degree to which the frameworks complemented each other against the background of Plaatje's life.

10.3 Similarities and Differences between the Theoretical Frameworks

The two theoretical frameworks used in this study, namely Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950, 1963a, 1968) and the holistic wellness or WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), share both similarities and differences. These points are vital to consider before the findings of the biographical material on the life of Plaatje can be integrated meaningfully. A discussion regarding the similarities between the theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model follows in the next section.

10.3.1. Similarities between the Theoretical Frameworks

10.3.1.1 *Eugraphic approach*

In psychosocial development, Erikson (1950, 1963a) described an empowered ego as having adaptive abilities. The developmental stages are characterised by the ego's purposeful task of trying to successfully resolve corresponding psychosocial crises in order to develop ego strengths or virtues (Gross, 1987, Roazen, 1976; Watts et al., 2009). Interestingly, the presence of a certain degree of conflict is necessary (Coles, 2001; Meyer, et al., 2008) to allow the successful resolution of each crisis (Meyer et al., 2008). Individuals may, however, revisit and rectify unresolved crises in subsequent stages (Atalay, 2007; Erikson, 1963a, 1997). The emergence of each new ego strength encourages the advancement to a higher level of development or growth (Erikson et al., 1989; Meyer et al., 2003; Newman & Newman, 2012; Watts et al., 2009). The positive or optimistic theory of psychosocial development thus emphasises qualities inherent to optimally-functioning individuals. Its eugraphic focus corresponds with the Positive Psychology movement and highlights processes of adapting to

external demands, coping with internal conflict and finding a healthy balance (Robinson et al., 2016). Similarly, the WoW model is eugraphic in its approach as it emphasises aspects related to adaptive and optimal human functioning, strengths and coping. The WoW model embraces the concept of wellness and “systems thinking as it attempts to explain the interconnectedness of the characteristics of a psychologically well person” (Henning, 2009, p. 42). Therefore, the Wellness movement is a way of life oriented towards positive lifestyle choices and the active prevention of illness that are crucial aspects to ensure health, quality of life and longevity (Myers & Sweeney, 2008).

10.3.1.2 Integrative approach

A fundamental assumption of Erikson’s (1950, 1963a, 1997) theory of psychosocial development is that an individual’s development depends on three complementary levels: (a) the *soma* (i.e., the body, which includes all the biological, hierarchical organisation of organ systems); (b) the *psyche* (i.e., the individual’s psychic organisation of experiences through the process of ego synthesis in order to cope with external demands as well as inner conflict); and (c) the *ethos* (i.e., the social milieu that includes the individual’s developmental history within his or her family and the particular socio-cultural context which shapes him or her (Erikson, 1997; Stevens, 2008). Integration of these three levels results in a complex bio-psychosocial and dynamic description of human behaviour and experience (Newman & Newman, 2012).

Similarly, the WoW model provides a holistic, integrative approach to wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Its multi-dimensional and dynamic nature explores the life tasks of the individual as they interact with external life forces that include family, community, media, education, religion, business or industry, and government which are, in turn, influenced by global events (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al.,

2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The differences between the theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model are discussed next.

10.3.2. Differences between the Theoretical Frameworks

10.3.2.1 *Developmental orientation*

Erikson's (1963a, 1968, 1997) theory of psychosocial development proposed that human development occurs in a progression of eight stages which cover the entire lifespan of an individual. Erikson (1963a, 1968, 1997) applied the epigenetic principle to personality development and hypothesised that individual personality characteristics develop over time according to a predetermined timetable that results from the interaction between genetic and social factors (Meyer et al., 2008; Peedicayil, 2012). The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) does not have a lifespan or developmental orientation, but rather provides a comprehensive view of all the constructs related to holistic wellness without linking these constructs to a specific age or developmental stage. Therefore, the model does not propose progression through its life tasks.

10.3.2.2 *Dynamic emphasis*

Each developmental stage in Erikson's (1963a, 1968, 1997) theory of psychosocial development contains two opposing extremes or poles of conflict which must come into a healthy balance to enhance optimal progress of development (Capps, 2004; Meyer et al., 2008). The solution to each developmental crisis is attained through a synthesis between the syntonic (positive) pole and the dystonic (negative) pole; typically favouring the syntonic pole (Erikson, 1997; Gross, 1987). Erikson's stage-based approach possesses a dynamic quality and a sense

of continuity, integration and balance, which allows for the explanation of developmental processes throughout the lifespan. Adler's (1927, 1992) dynamic concepts, *social interest* and *lifestyle*, on which the WoW model is based, implicitly reflect the individual's innate desire to serve his or her community and cultivate a satisfactory lifestyle. Despite the interrelatedness of the life tasks, life forces and global events contained within the WoW model, it does not present these constructs in a successive stage format. The WoW model, therefore, does not provide theoretical or dynamic explanations of how the individual develops certain aspects of wellness nor does it explain the processes through which the individual achieves wellness in the life tasks.

10.4 Comparative Summary

The sections that follow, provides a presentation of the most significant findings from the two psychological frameworks used in this study in table format. These findings include all of the historical periods of Plaatje's life. The two sets of findings are compared to explore aspects that may be complementary or contrasting in nature.

10.4.1 The Formative Years: Doornfontein & Pniel: 1876 – 1894

Table 10.1 summarises the findings from the two psychological frameworks for the first historical period of Plaatje's life. This historical period ranges from Plaatje's birth until his first official job as a government employee, which was shortly before his 18th birthday. During this historical period, Plaatje's psychosocial development included the successful completion of the first four stages, as proposed by Erikson (1963a, 1968). Plaatje's progression through the fifth developmental stage, *identity versus role confusion*, was initiated during this historical period

but also continued into the first few years of the second historical period. In terms of the WoW model, Plaatje achieved a relatively high degree of wellness in all the life tasks.

Table 10.1 illustrates that both psychological frameworks used in this study emphasised a hopeful and optimistic attitude towards life and both acknowledged the importance of the immediate socio-cultural milieu (particularly the nuclear family) on the individual's development. Throughout this historical period, Plaatje's expression of purposeful, industrious behaviour, as highlighted by Erikson's (1963a) theory, was also emphasised by Myers et al. (2000) in the application of the WoW model, although at differing times. Plaatje's autonomous exploration of his environment and his pro-active endeavours towards progression and competence resemble certain dimensions of the life task of self-direction, such as sense of control, problem-solving and creativity, exercise, and emotional awareness and coping. Although the two theoretical frameworks differ in their conceptualisation of purpose (see Section 3.3.3 and Section 4.3.1.1.), Table 10. 1 indicates that Plaatje acquired the ego strength of purpose and also experienced a high degree of meaning and purpose through his moral and spiritual belief system. This reiterates the significant impact Plaatje's environment had on his development of the life task of spirituality. The life forces of family, community and religion provided Plaatje with the necessary structure during this period of exploration to facilitate the development of self-esteem and competence (instead of what Erikson (1963a) described as feelings of inferiority).

The fifth stage of psychosocial development, *identity versus role confusion*, also resembled aspects of the life task of spirituality, as Plaatje's identity formation most likely reflected in his development of a set of moral and ethical values. Another similarity exists between the fifth psychosocial stage of development and the life tasks of self-direction (i.e., his experience and identification with his own African culture within a multicultural environment), work and

leisure (where his abilities and achievements could have impacted his identity), and friendship (which may well have aided his social identity).

Table 10.1

Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the First Historical Period

Psychosocial Development	Holistic Wellness
<p><i>Trust versus Mistrust:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje’s close relationships with his caregivers, particularly with his mother, could have enabled him to develop trust and sufficient self-confidence to explore his environment. 2. It appears that Plaatje was able to balance the opposing forces of basic trust and basic mistrust and acquired the ego strength of <i>hope</i>. <p><i>Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It appears that Plaatje was able to explore his immediate environment autonomously and independently as the conditions at Pniel seemed neither too restrictive nor too permissive. 2. Plaatje seemed to have successfully attained the virtue of <i>willpower</i>, which may have occurred with an element of compulsion that provided the impetus for the development of self-discipline in subsequent stages. <p><i>Initiative versus Guilt:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The potentially harmful effects of being separated from his parents could have been mitigated by an environment in which Plaatje received the level of care and attention that enabled him to successfully cope with their absence. 2. Plaatje demonstrated a fair amount of initiative through his resilience and active efforts at learning (e.g., being able to read and write by the age of five). The encouragement and support provided by his family and teacher/father-like figure at school, particularly regarding his linguistic talents and above-average academic abilities, could have further protected him from any feelings of guilt. 3. Plaatje appeared to have developed the ego strength of <i>purpose</i> that aided him in overcoming future struggles. 	<p>Most of the information relevant to the life tasks discussed in this section may not have manifested during Erikson’s first few stages of development, but it was included here because different aspects featured prominently during different times of this historical period.</p> <p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Moral and ethical values, respect for diversity and human dignity accompanied by a sense of meaning and purpose, hope and optimism, self-care, as well as transcendence, were prominent features of the life task of <i>spirituality</i> and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness. 2. A sense of worth, sense of control, cultural identity, problem-solving and creativity, and nutrition were prominent features of the life task of <i>self-direction</i> and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness. Stress management was another prominent aspect of self-direction but showed variation during this historical period. 3. Regarding the life task of <i>work and leisure</i>, Plaatje demonstrated a substantial degree of wellness in his educational activities, despite the associated challenges related to the pursuit of these activities. Plaatje displayed a relatively high degree of participation in formal employment (e.g., herdboyer, student-teacher). He also showed a relatively high degree of wellness through his involvement in leisure activities. 4. The development of his social interest is marked by his respectful and caring attitude towards others. The diverse number of cultures within his environment presented ample opportunities for social interaction with peers. Plaatje’s popularity with his friends reflects his ability regarding peer interactions, which is indicative of a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>friendship</i>.
<p><i>Industry versus Inferiority:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje developed industriously through his curiosity, above-average academic ability, part-time employment as a herdboyer, and other extracurricular activities. Values related to industry, such as work ethic, diligence and conscientiousness, that were modelled in his environment allowed Plaatje to stand out from his peers in subsequent stages. 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Plaatje’s environment allowed him to enjoy multiple close relationships that could have increased his experience of the life task of <i>love</i>. In addition to his mother, his brother Simon and teacher Rev Ernst Westphal were important attachment figures who demonstrated continuous interest in Plaatje’s growth and well-being during this historical period.

<p>2. Physical activity or sport was not a priority in his environment but did not seem to have a negative impact on his development.</p> <p>3. Although Plaatje strove to uphold the gained sense of <i>competence</i> throughout his life, it is possible that this quality gradually became so overdeveloped that he became a workaholic who typically neglected his health and family.</p> <p><i>Identity versus Role Confusion:</i></p> <p>1. Plaatje's entry into this stage was without any obvious delays in psychosocial development. His family anchored him in his African heritage and identity. Their influence sparked a lifelong preoccupation with the preservation of Setswana linguistics.</p> <p>2. Plaatje's teacher, Rev Ernst Westphal and his wife, Marie, served as positive role models who:</p> <p>(a) allowed for continuity of educational experience beyond formal schooling;</p> <p>(b) cultivated his love for Shakespeare; and</p> <p>(c) supported and encouraged his Christian belief system.</p> <p>3. His appointment as a student-teacher allowed Plaatje to continue his academic industriousness and develop healthy peer group relations.</p> <p>4. Plaatje's search for greater occupational direction extended this developmental stage into the next historical period.</p>	<p><i>Life Forces include:</i></p> <p>(a) Family</p> <p>(b) Religion</p> <p>(c) Education</p> <p>(d) Community</p> <p>(e) Government</p> <p><i>Global Events include:</i></p> <p>(a) The influx of British and European missionaries into South Africa in the 1800s, spreading Western culture and the Christian faith. This led to a domination of European mission Christianity and its associated educational institutions on African political life. These events also influenced the Plaatje family's decision to adopt various elements of European civilisation.</p> <p>(b) The discovery of diamonds and gold on the Witwatersrand resulted in higher levies and taxes that placed great financial demands on the African people who worked in the area. This event also saw an increase in immigrants to South Africa and intensified land and labour disputes between the Afrikaners and the British.</p>
--	---

10.4.2 Plaatje at Kimberley: 1894 – 1898

Table 10.2 presents a summary of the findings from the two psychological frameworks for the second historical period, which marked Plaatje's relocation to Kimberley. Table 10.2 illustrates that Plaatje's fifth stage of psychosocial development continued from the previous historical period. Plaatje's progression through the sixth developmental stage, *intimacy versus isolation*, was initiated during the second historical period but also spanned the third historical period and the first year of the fourth historical period. In terms of the WoW model, Plaatje achieved a relatively high degree of wellness in all the life tasks, despite challenges caused by the destructive global event, namely the Rinderpest epidemic (the cattle plague) that occurred during this historical period.

Table 10.2

Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Second Historical Period

Psychosocial Development	Holistic Wellness
<p><i>Identity versus Role Confusion:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje did not experience a period of <i>psychosocial moratorium</i>, yet it appears that he was able to avoid the complications of <i>role confusion</i>. 2. He demonstrated the virtue of <i>fidelity</i> through his commitment to work, community, educational progress, and his marriage to Elizabeth. 3. Due to his purposeful nature and sense of hope, which had developed during earlier stages, he was able to form meaningful friendships. His friendship with Isaiah Bud 'M-belle in particular, may have provided him with adequate stability for continued gender identity development during this period. 4. Forming part of an elite group of mission-educated Africans during this time may have buffered Plaatje from role confusion as the group shielded him from a sense of identity loss. 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje's <i>spirituality</i> developed beyond the religious traditions of the church <i>per se</i> to include inter-racial love, compassion and service to others. Other prominent dimensions (e.g., morality and ethical values, a sense of meaning and purpose) were found to be indicative of a high degree of wellness. 2. While most of the aspects of <i>self-direction</i> continued to show a relatively stable degree of wellness during this historical period, the aspect of emotional awareness and coping in particular, appeared to be enhanced (e.g., his behaviour during the time of his father's death). 3. Plaatje's success in educational and <i>work</i>-related activities may have reflected feelings of mastery, competence and confidence that further enhanced his sense of worth. He also demonstrated a relatively high degree of participation in <i>leisure</i> activities.
<p><i>Identity versus Role Confusion:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje demonstrated the ego strength of willpower when he took charge of the arrangements necessary to finalise his deceased father's estate, proving that he was able to cope with what could have been a potentially traumatic experience. 2. Plaatje developed an almost fanatic need to ensure equality across races, although he did not demonstrate any associative maladaptive signs of <i>repudiation</i> since he remained loyal to this cause and his people throughout subsequent stages. 3. Plaatje seems to have emerged from this developmental period with a stable and integrated sense of identity. <p><i>Intimacy versus Isolation:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plaatje was able to develop and maintain healthy friendships, where intimacy was also achieved. 2. His close family bonds continued to reflect his experience of intimacy. 3. During the early stages of Plaatje's romantic relationship with Elizabeth, he experienced negative feelings of personal isolation but was able to synthesise the opposing forces of intimacy and isolation that ultimately afforded him the ego strength of <i>love</i>. 4. His interpersonal commitments and involvement in extra-curricular activities (e.g., literature, music, drama, politics) amplified his social identity significantly during this stage. 6. While there were no obvious signs of compulsion during Plaatje's early childhood, he continued to develop industriously and became increasingly focused on his career, money and status. 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Plaatje enjoyed numerous social activities and while he continued his regular interactions with peers from the community in which he lived, he also formed political alliances and friendships with individuals who shared his beliefs of equality for all. This is indicative of a substantial degree of wellness in the life task of <i>friendship</i>. 5. With regard to <i>love</i>, the Westphals' and Plaatje's family, especially his eldest brother Simon continued to demonstrate interest in his growth and well-being. The companionship with several close friends was a great source of emotional support that most likely contributed to his sense of well-being and resilience. Plaatje also met and married his wife, Elizabeth. <p><i>Life Forces include:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Family - the death of his father (b) Religion (c) Education (d) Community (e) Government (f) Business/Industry <p><i>Global Events include:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) The discovery of diamonds and gold on the Witwatersrand continued to intensify land and labour disputes between the Afrikaners and the British; (b) The Rinderpest epidemic (the cattle plague); and (c) Racial tensions and government policies of segregation within an increasingly hostile political climate in South Africa reinforced Plaatje's moral and ethical values related to equality, liberty and a reverence for human rights and dignity.

As can be seen from Table 10.2, there are notable similarities between the theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model. Both frameworks highlighted the significance of Plaatje's interpersonal relationships during this historical period. Plaatje did not seem to experience a period of *psychosocial moratorium* to assist him in the formation of his identity, although the biographical findings suggest that he had successfully resolved the crises of the previous psychosocial stages, and was, therefore, able to avoid the associated complications that may occur if the adolescent is denied such a period. His purposeful behaviour and pervasive sense of hope and optimism compared favourably to the degree of wellness in the life tasks of spirituality, self-direction and work.

Findings from Erikson's theory indicated that Plaatje's capacity to establish intimacy probably culminated in the development of the ego strength of love; concepts that also reflect in the WoW model's life tasks of friendship and love. His autonomous and industrious behaviour during this historical period may also be a reflection of an ability to exercise the virtue of willpower, attained in the second developmental stage, which in turn, seemed to be related to a high degree of wellness in the life tasks of spirituality, self-direction and work. Furthermore, Plaatje's demonstration of the virtues of fidelity, willpower and competence, as described by Erikson's theory (through his commitment to work, community, educational progress and enjoyment of close and loving relationships) was also reflected in the findings from the WoW model, where involvement in these aspects seemed to enhance his wellness in the life tasks of self-direction, work, friendship and love. Plaatje's progression through the sixth developmental stage, *intimacy versus isolation*, continued into the next historical period, which is discussed next.

10.4.3 Plaatje at Mafeking: 1898 – 1910

Table 10.3 presents the most important points of comparison between the findings from the two psychological frameworks. Plaatje’s sixth stage of psychosocial development continued into the third historical period, which coincided with the occurrence of a few significant personal events in his life. According to findings from the WoW model, Plaatje maintained an overall high degree of wellness in all the life tasks, with temporary variations in a sense of control, exercise and nutritional habits, influenced by the country’s politically tense climate which included the Anglo-Boer war in 1899 (as presented in Section 2.3.3).

Table 10.3

Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Third Historical Period

Psychosocial Development	Holistic Wellness
<p><i>Intimacy versus Isolation:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His marriage to Elizabeth portrays him as an intimate individual regarded not only as a productive member of society but as a sexual and loving being as well. 2. An incident of physical illness days before starting his new job in Mafeking placed a period of moratorium on all Plaatje’s industry-related activities. 3. The Anglo-Boer war coincided with this developmental stage and negatively influenced Plaatje’s studies, which could have threatened his sense of industry and feelings of intimacy. However, this period of war proved to be one of Plaatje’s most productive in terms of his literary achievements (i.e., he wrote his famous <i>Boer War Diary</i> that contained daily entries about the ongoings of the war in a manner that continued to reflect his hope in equality for all). 4. The birth of five of his children during this historical period could have added to the dimension of love and a sense of intimacy within the context of his family with Elizabeth. 5. The responsibilities of fatherhood and the family’s weak financial position (exacerbated by his three years of unemployment) could also have enhanced his sense of ethical responsibility and generative concern, which delayed his personal plans to seek more autonomy in the field of journalism. 6. Plaatje’s expansion of ego interests may have been facilitated by his role as newspaper editor, father, spokesperson for the African people, and increased involvement in politics. 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The prominent aspects that indicated a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>spirituality</i> during the previous historical period (see Table 10.3), also continued to feature prominently during this historical period. 2. Most aspects of the life task of <i>self-direction</i>, except for self-care, featured prominently and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness. His sense of control, exercise and nutritional habits showed variation during this period. 3. <i>Work:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plaatje’s productivity in the life task of work is closely linked to the continued spiritual growth he experienced in this period. • A relatively high degree of wellness was observed in the life task of <i>work</i>. • His industriousness earned him top marks in the Cape Civil Service examinations; he wrote a plethora of newspaper articles; and he produced two important literary documents: (a) <i>The Boer War Diary: An African at Mafeking</i>; and (b) <i>The Essential Interpreter</i>. 3. <i>Leisure:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A satisfactory degree of wellness was observed through, for example, occasional participation in horse-riding, singing of hymns at church and relaxing in the gardens.
<p><i>Intimacy versus Isolation:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The successful navigation of the period of war serves as evidence for his capacity for love and ability to 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. <i>Leisure:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-war, Plaatje and Elizabeth became increasingly involved in the social activities of

<p>endure isolation from his family (especially over the Christmas period). It was possibly aided by:</p> <p>(a) an excessive involvement in work-related activities that also benefitted him financially (i.e., usual court interpreter duties, doing extra administrative work for war journalists, typing out others' diaries, writing articles for the local newspaper, acting as linguistic liaison between the British authorities and the Barolong chiefs);</p> <p>(b) an ability to be selectively intimate and form close relationships with family-like friends (e.g., David Phooko, Silas Molema and his son, Modiri Molema) and colleagues (e.g., Charles Bell and Vere Stent); and</p> <p>(c) an affiliation to the Barolong community.</p> <p>2. Post-war, Plaatje's industriousness revealed itself when he, upon completion of the Cape Civil Service examinations finally emerged as the top candidate on the list. Not receiving the recognition for this achievement, however, might have left him with feelings of inferiority.</p> <p>3. The threat of rigorous segregation policies fuelled the political tension at the time and greatly influenced Plaatje's ethical sense regarding the infringements on equality for all.</p> <p>4. Plaatje may have prematurely entered the next developmental stage of <i>generativity vs stagnation</i>. Therefore, despite the demands of domesticity and fatherhood, Plaatje struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society.</p> <p>5. The stage of <i>intimacy vs isolation</i> continued into the next historical period.</p>	<p>their community and in the communal life of the Barolong tribe, indicative of a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>leisure</i>.</p> <p>4. Plaatje's extensive involvement during this historical period demonstrated his sense of social interest. He provided social support to others (e.g., his political endeavours to fight against oppressive pass laws) and he also received practical and tangible support from friends (e.g., David Phooko's assistance during Plaatje's illness). Plaatje's continuing ability to form supportive friendships positively influenced his degree of wellness in the life task of <i>friendship</i>.</p> <p>5. Plaatje's wellness in the life task of <i>love</i> was facilitated by: (a) his marriage to Elizabeth and fathering their five children; and (b) close relationships with friends, the Molema family, Charles Bell, and the Barolong community who demonstrated continued interest in his well-being.</p> <p><i>Life Forces include:</i> Family, Religion, Education, Community, Government, Business/Industry, and Print Media.</p> <p><i>Global Events include:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lingering effects of the destructive Rinderpest epidemic still negatively impacted the country's economy. • Afrikaner nationalism and its mounting segregation policies, as well as the birth of a new Union of South Africa, had further sensitised Plaatje to the effects of injustice and discrimination. While it challenged his sense of control, it sparked his sense of purpose and intensified his interest in the ethical issues involved in politics.
---	---

The application of both theoretical frameworks highlighted the changes and disruptions that marked this historical period. A global event, the Anglo-Boer war (see Section 2.3.3) occurred during this historical period. Plaatje was profoundly affected by the country's indifference to the plight of many poverty-stricken African people who were also still struggling in the aftermath of the previous global event, namely the Rinderpest epidemic (cattle plague) (Lunderstedt, 2014; Molema, 2012). The war not only impacted Plaatje's personal development, but it also fuelled his sense of purpose and inspired the writing of *The Boer War diary: An African at Mafeking*, that captured real-life events during a painful and disturbing time for everyone in the country. Plaatje's first documented incident of physical ill-health occurred during this historical period. Similar incidents repeatedly resurfaced throughout

subsequent stages and frustrated Plaatje immensely due to the interference with his sense of competence and purpose. Feelings of isolation and loneliness seemed to flare up during times when he could no longer disregard his health and was confined to bed. Fortunately, the ego-strengths that he attained in the previous developmental stages, as well as the ego-strength of love that developed during this stage, enabled Plaatje to endure these times *of isolation*.

It appears that Plaatje experienced significant spiritual growth in this historical period about, specifically, morality and ethics and compassion for others and the preservation of human rights and dignity. His sense of meaning and purpose broadened to include the larger context of South African society. This spiritual growth was especially facilitated by him witnessing at grassroots level how negatively the Afrikaner government's increasingly discriminative laws and policies were affecting African individuals, families and communities (Willan, 2018). This observation forced Plaatje to cope with many negative emotions and may have invoked feelings of inferiority on his sense of identity as a young adult since his exposure to racial segregation during childhood and adolescence was fairly limited. In terms of the theory of psychosocial development, any form of discrimination contributes to feelings of inferiority, especially if the individual's sense of worth depends on factors beyond their control (Erikson, 1968). However, if Plaatje's sense of hope and optimism was challenged by the sometimes obvious injustices of his environment (e.g., not being recognised for his top achievement in the Cape Civil Service examinations), he continued to engage in industrious activities that contributed to feelings of mastery, competence and self-confidence that also elevated his sense of worth. Plaatje's psychological shift outward (to the world of politics) was partly linked to the ethical sense of adulthood, which, according to Erikson (1963a), develops when the conflict of this stage is being navigated effectively.

This historical period was a difficult period for Plaatje and Elizabeth, who had started their family during a significant transition phase of Plaatje's career (see Section 2.3.3.1). Their entry

into parenthood, separated from each other, may have signified an important feature of what would become a recurring theme throughout their marriage. According to Erikson et al. (1989), individuals from diverse backgrounds (and cultures, as was the case with Plaatje and Elizabeth), need to strike a balance between the capacity for intimacy and some isolation to allow them to love and be loved, while they cultivate their milieu in which each one's individual identity is preserved. Since Plaatje and Elizabeth were often faced with long periods of separation and isolation in their marital relationship, it was extremely challenging to find such a balance. Nonetheless, the couple was married for all five of the historical periods in Plaatje's lifespan and evidence in the literature indicated that their marriage seemed to have consistently promoted Plaatje's relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of love. Both theoretical frameworks also highlighted the significance of Plaatje's intimate relationships during this historical period. The mutually-beneficial relationships with family, friends and colleagues could have provided the ideal circumstances for successful resolution of the crisis between intimacy and isolation, thus allowing for the demonstration of the ego-strength of love.

Table 10.3 further highlighted important points of comparison. Plaatje's financially precarious situation during the three years he was unemployed, could have reinforced his sense of isolation since it directly impacted on his degree of wellness in the life tasks of self-direction and work and may also account for the temporary variation in the dimension of sense of control. The findings suggest that Plaatje may have prematurely entered Erikson's developmental stage of *generativity versus stagnation*, and, therefore, struggled to strike a balance between caring for his own family and the community at large, which may have also impacted on the dimensions of wellness in the life task of spirituality. Plaatje's progression through the sixth developmental stage, *intimacy versus isolation*, continued into the next historical period. This, along with his ongoing generative concern, is discussed in the next section.

10.4.4 Tales of Travels: 1910 – 1923

Summaries of the findings from the two theoretical frameworks for this historical period are included in Table 10.4. Historically, this period was launched by the birth of the Union of South Africa, an event that corresponded almost precisely with the start of a new chapter in Plaatje’s own life when he and his family relocated back to Kimberley. Table 10.4 shows that Plaatje’s sixth stage of psychosocial development, *intimacy versus isolation*, continued from the previous historical period. Both theoretical frameworks identified significant life forces and global events that may have challenged Plaatje’s psychosocial development and wellness, particularly considering the variable degree of wellness displayed by the WoW model’s dimensions of hope, optimism and sense of control. In terms of Erikson’s (1963a, 1968) theory, Plaatje’s acts of love extended more towards society at large than to his own family during this historical period, which may have also impacted on the dimensions of wellness in the life task of spirituality. The findings, therefore, suggested that the virtue of care may have been overemphasised to the general public at great personal cost.

Table 10.4

Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Fourth Historical Period

Psychosocial Development	Holistic Wellness
<p><i>Intimacy versus Isolation:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This historical period commenced with Plaatje moving back to Kimberley to assume editorship of a new newspaper, which also offered opportunities for personal intimacy with family and friends. 2. He was also able to continue his capacity for interpersonal intimacy in his social involvement and increased participation in local politics (e.g., becoming secretary-general of the SANNC; acting as spokesperson for the African people and forming relationships with larger communities on his travels around the country) that reflected his experience of intimacy in the social world. 3. The birth of his youngest son and continued relationships with his other children during this historical period could have added to the dimension of love and intimacy but may have been impacted by work commitments and financial challenges. 4. Plaatje seems to have emerged from this developmental period as having successfully attained 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Most aspects of the life task of <i>spirituality</i>, except spiritual practices, featured prominently and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness. Variations were noted in his sense of hope and optimism during this historical period. 2. Regarding the life task of <i>self-direction</i>, only aspects of self-care, nutrition and exercise showed less prominence. All other aspects featured prominently and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness. His sense of control showed variation during this historical period. 3. <i>Work:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plaatje displayed astonishing productivity in educational activities that also served a social purpose under extremely challenging circumstances. • Persistent financial and health problems may have significantly impacted Plaatje’s

<p>the virtue of love, even though his acts of love extended more to the larger community.</p> <p>5. Plaatje also appears to have prematurely entered the stage, <i>generativity vs stagnation</i> and he associated ego strength of <i>care</i> as reflected in his relationships with his family, and various commitments to people in the greater society.</p> <p><i>Generativity versus Stagnation:</i></p> <p>1. Plaatje's response to the implementation of the Natives' Land Act in 1913 may have provoked within him a sense of mistrust and feelings of despair and could have resulted in social isolation, had he not successfully acquired the previous ego strengths (i.e., <i>hope, will, purpose, fidelity and love</i>), as well as <i>care</i>, that enabled him to avoid a pervasive sense of stagnation or regression to past conflicts.</p>	<p>maintenance of wellness in the life task of <i>work</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustained support from a wide network of friendships abroad may have served as a protective factor for the maintenance of wellness in this life task. <p><i>Leisure:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plaatje's workload impacted negatively on his participation in <i>leisure</i> activities. His limited involvement in leisure time usually occurred in the company of close friends or at home. <p>4. Plaatje's ability to form and maintain long-standing friendships provided him with emotional and tangible support and a sense of connectedness to people who shared his moral and ethical values with regard to race relations. His activities abroad had significantly influenced his wellness in the life task of <i>friendship</i>.</p>
<p><i>Generativity versus Stagnation:</i></p> <p>1. Plaatje seems to have demonstrated a distinct expansion of ego interests and continued to be a productive member of society throughout this historical period, although his generative behaviour often isolated him from his wife and children.</p> <p>2. He developed an unhealthy investment in his work and career that resulted in him garnering a number of publishing accomplishments, which, in turn, appears to have complemented his experience of generativity.</p> <p>3. Obvious signs of the maladaptive tendency, <i>narrow virtuosity</i>, went unnoticed until Plaatje got married and had children. This manifested in an over-extension of the virtue of <i>care</i> to society in this historical period.</p> <p>3. A sense of isolation and possible feelings of despair may have been fuelled by the death of two of his children during this historical period, especially since work responsibilities and a weak financial position prevented him from attending both of their funerals. He reflected on their deaths in his book, <i>Native Life in South Africa</i> and in his novel, <i>Mhudi</i>, respectively. His motivation to continue writing despite certain setbacks suggest the expression of an empowered ego.</p> <p>4. Plaatje's opposition to the segregation policies by the Union authorities reflect a fervent desire to contribute towards the development of future generations through the protection of human rights. He travelled across the globe to promote equality for all, and demonstrated care and concern for all those affected by injustice.</p> <p>5. Despite his declining health, Plaatje continued to demonstrate signs of generativity. The extensive acknowledgement of his political and literary efforts may have reinforced his sense of generativity.</p> <p>6. The stage of <i>generativity vs stagnation</i> continued into the next historical period.</p>	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <p>4. Plaatje's overall experience of wellness in the life task of friendship appeared to be relatively high, as evidenced by lasting and meaningful relationships with, for example, Sophie Colenso, Isaiah Bud M'belle, William Cross and Georgiana Solomon. His social interest in and connection to the marginalised people of South Africa also continued to be expressed.</p> <p>5. Plaatje demonstrated a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>love</i> through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The close relationships he had maintained with friends that reflected care, mutual appreciation and shared interests and values. Family bonds, especially with Elizabeth, who continued to be his pillar of strength although she found his long absences from home very difficult. His continuous concern and care for the well-being of others despite his own declining health. <p><i>Life Forces include:</i></p> <p>(a) Family – particularly the death of youngest son and eldest daughter</p> <p>(b) Religion</p> <p>(c) Community</p> <p>(d) Government – particularly the implementation of the Natives' Land Act</p> <p>(e) Business/Industry</p> <p>(f) Education</p> <p>(g) Print Media</p> <p><i>Global Events include:</i></p> <p>(a) World War I;</p> <p>(b) The Spanish influenza;</p> <p>(c) Plaatje's moral and ethical values related to equality, liberty and independence may have been reinforced by his sense of responsibility to empower the African people in South Africa.</p>

Plaatje's evolving capacity for intimacy, as described by the theory of psychosocial development (i.e., establishing and enjoying close relationships with family and friends and working towards the interests of disenfranchised communities), was mirrored in the degree of wellness he experienced in the WoW model's life tasks of spirituality, work, friendship and love. This was another busy historical period for Plaatje regarding the life task of work. Through his literary endeavours, numerous speaking engagements and contact with people at grassroots level, he contributed towards the empowerment and education of his culture. Via his position in the SANNC and the Brotherhood Movement, he also continued to speak out against racial inequality (Willan, 2018). In this manner, he continued to enhance his overall experience of wellness, with specific emphasis on reverence for human rights and dignity and service to others, following the implementation of the 1913 Natives' Land Act (see Section 2.3.4). This life force was a daily reminder of the country's new pre-apartheid reality and its abolishment became a central event in Plaatje's life.

The two global events, World War I (SAHO, n.d.) and the Spanish influenza (Philips, 1990), significantly impacted on Plaatje's generative concern and ability to work, which was a prominent theme throughout his life. However, biographical findings suggest that he was still able to derive a significant sense of meaning and purpose for the duration of these events, particularly since it was linked to his sense of responsibility towards the preservation of human rights and dignity, morality and ethics. Friendships were an important source of family-like support for Plaatje during this historical period, particularly when his wellness in the life task of love was challenged by the death of two of his children and he had to process his grief separated from his family. His love for Shakespeare may also qualify as a lifelong companion during times of isolation (Willan, 2018). The family's financially precarious position may have had a profound impact on Plaatje and contributed to possible feelings of inferiority and a variable degree of wellness in the dimensions of hope and optimism and a sense of control.

Nevertheless, it appears that Plaatje's empowered ego was consistently being expressed through his motivation to stay productive despite certain setbacks.

The accrual of the previous virtues (i.e., hope, will, purpose, fidelity and love) enabled Plaatje to prematurely progress to the seventh stage of generativity versus stagnation, where he appears to have developed the virtue of care, even though it may have been overemphasised to society to the detriment of his own family. Plaatje's progression through this final developmental stage applicable to his life continued into the fifth historical period and is presented next.

10.4.5 The Autumn Years: 1923 – 1932

Table 10.5 presents the summary of findings from the two psychological frameworks for this historical period that coincided with Plaatje's return to South Africa after being abroad for almost five years. The findings indicate that Plaatje's psychosocial development, as proposed by Erikson (1963a), progressed without obvious delays and that he maintained a relatively high degree of wellness in all the life tasks of the WoW model. It seemed that the life force of government, in particular, had significantly frustrated Plaatje's sense of generativity during this historical period, as more segregation policies (e.g., the Colour Bar Act in 1926 and the Native Administration Bill in 1927) were implemented. He started to increasingly mistrust the regime of his time but maintained his trust in the potential of individuals to behave righteously. Plaatje's sense of resilience amidst the challenges related to the pressure he faced in his environment, highlight the successful accrual of previous ego strengths that prevented him from stagnation during this historical period. He continued to engage in activities that served a social purpose (e.g., sobriety campaigns, preserving Setswana linguistics) and in doing so continued to express his generative concern, despite persistent financial- and health-related difficulties.

Table 10.5

Psychosocial Development and Holistic Wellness in the Fifth Historical Period

Psychosocial Development	Holistic Wellness
<p><i>Generativity versus Stagnation:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When Plaatje returned from his travels abroad, he may have experienced some feelings of guilt and pessimism to find his wife and children had lost the family home due to financial difficulties that were exacerbated by his long absence. 2. Later in this historical period, a gift in the form of a house from the Kimberley community (in acknowledgement of his ceaseless altruism) might have restored some of his hope for the future and had a positive, or protective, influence on his sense of generativity. 3. His decision to distance himself from the ANC and its newly adopted volatile practices steered his generative impulses toward other avenues of contributing to the development of society through: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) sustained involvement as African spokesman and the writing of newspaper articles; (b) advocating sobriety under the auspices of the IOTT; (c) extending his responsibility to all South Africans as vice-president of the Cape Native Voter's Association to actively oppose the abolishment of the non-racial Cape franchise and; (d) maintaining his expansion of ego interests to the larger African community and focusing on the preservation of Setswana linguistics to restore a sense of pride in Setswana customs and traditions. 4. Although his sense of generativity was challenged (mainly regarding financial, political or health-related struggles), a sense of stagnation did not become his dominant experience. 5. Plaatje remained productive and industrious in any activities that continued to be characterised by commitment, care and concern for his community at large, right up until his death. 	<p><i>Life Tasks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Most aspects of the life task of <i>spirituality</i>, except spiritual practices and transcendence, featured prominently and indicated a relatively high degree of wellness, although South Africa's growing apartheid system weighed heavily on him. 2. Regarding the life task of <i>self-direction</i>, all aspects featured prominently, except nutrition, exercise and sense of humour, and were associated with a relatively high degree of wellness during this historical period. <p>3. <i>Work:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plaatje's tenacity and dedication to work commitments despite ubiquitous health and financial issues possibly reflected the unwavering sense of meaning and purpose he derived from being productive in industry-related activities. Thus, a relatively high degree of wellness continued to be observed in the life task of <i>work</i>. <p><i>Leisure:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A variable degree of wellness in leisure activities seemed to be influenced by an ever-present gruelling workload. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Social interest remained a pervasive aspect throughout Plaatje's life and he continued to form and maintain long-standing, supportive friendships that contributed to a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>friendship</i>. 5. Plaatje demonstrated a relatively high degree of wellness in the life task of <i>love</i> that was dominated by experiences of wellness in interrelated dimensions of love, compassion and service to others. <p><i>Life Forces include:</i> Family, Religion, Education, Community, Government, Business/Industry, and Print Media.</p> <p><i>Global Events include:</i> The indirect impact of the Stock market crash of 1929, is noted.</p>

Both theoretical frameworks once again highlighted the importance of the individual's context for both their psychosocial development and holistic wellness. The life forces of government and community continued to impact on Plaatje's spirituality. The plight of all marginalised South Africans, in particular Black South Africans who did not have parliamentary representation, weighed heavily on Plaatje. In terms of the WoW model, his

dedication to opposing oppressive governmental policies mirrored his demonstration of generative concern for the next generation of South Africans, especially in terms of the theory of psychosocial development. This behaviour reflected a dimension of spirituality related to love, compassion and service to others and reverence for human rights and dignity, which, in turn, allowed him to translate his own ethical beliefs and moral convictions regarding equality and liberty into practice. While Plaatje's anti-apartheid work was being recognised and welcomed by the international community (Lunderstedt, 2014), he was aware that his contributions to the fight against inequality were not always appreciated amongst the African people within his community. Their negative attitude towards Plaatje and his beliefs were exemplified by what he perceived as 'indifference' regarding their political and social lives.

Family, as a life force, continued to form an integral part of Plaatje's life during this historical period, although he may have experienced a diminished sense of control and feelings of shame at the public behaviour of two of his sons, Sainty and Halley. Their excessive drinking was in stark contrast with his own beliefs and moral convictions (see Section 2.3.5), especially considering his involvement in temperance work with the IOTT, which made him realise that his children may not have adapted as well as their mother did to their father's long absences from home. Although Sainty and Plaatje had worked and travelled together to show educational and uplifting films on 'Plaatje's bioscope', this collaboration did not seem to significantly rebuild the long-neglected father-son relationship. Plaatje and Elizabeth, however, maintained a close relationship throughout their married life and she remained a great source of support for him. Plaatje's generative behaviour during his last years caused him to age prematurely and strained his already weak heart, although it seemed that his spirit and passion was as undaunted as ever. This suggests that his involvement in activities that served a social purpose facilitated significant meaning and purpose and a continued sense of self-worth and a sense of control related to feelings of mastery and competence.

When General Hertzog's Nationalist Party gained overall control in the South African parliament in 1929 (SAHO, n.d.), Plaatje's sense of optimism was challenged by his social environment, possibly to a greater degree than during the previous historical periods. Nonetheless, his psychosocial development and well-being continued in a positive direction, which may have been supported by the accrual of previous ego strengths, the sustained close relationships with friends and family, as well as the publication of two of his literary efforts a year later (i.e., his Setswana translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* and his novel, *Mhudi*). The latter achievements, more 'first-of-its-kinds' by a Black South African (in addition to the already published *The Boer War diary: An African at Mafeking* and *Native Life in South Africa*) undoubtedly fostered feelings of hope and optimism regarding his generative efforts.

Career-wise, Plaatje never self-stagnated but seemed to have maintained a relatively high degree of wellness in the life tasks of spirituality and self-direction, especially regarding the dimensions of meaning and purpose and a sense of worth. His resilience during challenging circumstances remained evident in the last few days before his death. In the last days of his life, his generative efforts continued despite being gravely ill, which suggests that he derived a significant sense of meaning and purpose from the ability to express his generative concern for future generations. The researcher concludes that, based on the findings of this psychobiographical study, Plaatje consistently displayed a relatively high degree of holistic wellness across his lifespan according to the WoW model and that his psychosocial development progressed without any obvious delays through the stages as proposed by Erikson (1963a).

10.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an integrated discussion pertaining to the psychosocial development and holistic wellness of Sol Plaatje. The two theoretical frameworks were compared in terms

of the prominent similarities and differences, followed by a comparative summary of Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness for each developmental stage of his life; all within the context of specific historical periods. The last chapter encompasses the conclusions and limitations of the study, as well as recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Chapter Preview

This concluding chapter revisits the research aim and provides a brief summary of the research findings. The value and limitations of the study are discussed and recommendations for future research endeavours of a similar nature are explored. Lastly, the researcher's final personal thoughts and motivations on this journey of exploration through the study on Sol Plaatje are shared reflexively.

11.2 The Research Aim Revisited

This research study provided a longitudinal account of the life of Sol Plaatje (1876-1932). The study aimed to provide a psychologically grounded exploration and description of a single life within its socio-historical context by applying psychological frameworks to biographical data. The study's primary aim was to explore and describe Sol Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness across his lifespan. The study can be regarded as exploratory-descriptive in nature, falling within an inductive research approach (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2018). In following this approach, the researcher conceptualised Sol Plaatje's life in terms of specific psychological perspectives based on Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

The inherent descriptive-dialogic quality of psychobiographical research within the deductive approach (Edwards, 1998) also allowed the researcher to assess the relevance and

applicability of the two psychological frameworks applied to Plaatje's life, which was the secondary aim of this study.

11.3 Summary of Key Research Findings

Firstly, Sol Plaatje's life was explored and described from the perspective of Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development. The findings indicated that Plaatje successfully navigated through seven of the psychosocial stages and that he accrued all the proposed ego strengths or virtues that facilitated adaptive functioning and development. His death at the age of 56 negated the inclusion of Erikson's eighth stage of psychosocial development (integrity versus despair). Although Plaatje died relatively young while midway through Erikson's seventh stage of psychosocial development, his frenzied urgency to produce and publish as many manuscripts as he could in the last months of his life, could be seen as evidence of relentless generative behaviour. It seemed that Plaatje's sense of industry (initially attained in the fourth stage of psychosocial development) may have become so overdeveloped during his final years, that it turned him into a workaholic who demonstrated the maladaptive tendency of *narrow virtuosity*. The researcher speculated that because Plaatje seemed to have prematurely entered the developmental stage of generativity versus stagnation, it had a significant effect on his future psychological development. It became apparent that he struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society. His limited involvement and time spent with his family might indicate that the virtue of *care* may have been overemphasised to society at great personal cost.

Secondly, Sol Plaatje's holistic wellness was explored and described in terms of the constructs of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The findings indicated that the life tasks and life forces of the WoW model were applicable to Plaatje's life and that overall, he attained a relatively high degree of holistic

wellness throughout his lifespan. There were specific life forces and global events that challenged certain dimensions of wellness at different points in his life (e.g., the death of his two children; and the tense socio-political climate in which he worked), but these challenges did not seem to significantly diminish Plaatje's overall experience of wellness. The application of both psychological frameworks to the biographical material on Plaatje's life highlighted that it is important to acknowledge the impact that the individual's context may have on their development and experience of wellness. The value and contributions of the study are discussed next.

11.4 The Value and Contributions of the Study

11.4.1 The Psychobiographical Subject

Several life history researchers have encouraged the study of great or exemplary individuals in order to uncover the reasons behind their greatness (Elms 1994; Howe, 1997; Schultz, 2005a; Simonton, 1999). The main value of this study lies in the psycho-historical exploration and description it provided on the life of a significant figure involved in the anti-apartheid struggle in South African history. None of the existing biographies or other works on Sol Plaatje provided an in-depth psychological perspective on his life, which was a void that this study addressed. A renewed focus on anti-apartheid activists might contribute to a deeper understanding of South Africa's troubled past, while also providing some insight into the psychological functioning of Plaatje and his role in the journey to the country's democracy. The study was, therefore, deemed as relevant to South Africa's current society. Moreover, the study demonstrated the value of reviewing a subject which led a long and productive life within his unique socio-historical context. Plaatje proved a suitable example for the study of optimal

development and holistic wellness, thus this study might contribute to the existing body of knowledge in these two areas.

Furthermore, the contextual and demographic variables unique to Plaatje's life created real-world scenarios against which the two psychological frameworks used in this study could be assessed, even though it was not an explicit aim of the research study. As Elms (1994) stated, psychologists conducting psychobiography need to assess the personal value of hypotheses by applying these hypotheses to a single life at a time. The exploration of Sol Plaatje's life created a platform for the assessment of these two psychological frameworks, by testing the applicability and relevance of (a) psychosocial development; and (b) holistic wellness, to a single life.

11.4.2 Psychological Frameworks Used in the Study

The two psychological frameworks that were applied to interpret aspects of Sol Plaatje's life also proved to be of value. It enabled the researcher to consider a broader range of biographical material compared to had only one psychological framework been used. Furthermore, the application of multiple psychological frameworks highlighted some of the complexities of the single life and prevented an oversimplification of the subject's life story.

Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development allowed the researcher to explore and describe Plaatje's life across his entire lifespan holistically and longitudinally. It also emphasised the complex process of his adaptation and growth and positioned the periods in his life into a developmental context. The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) allowed for the extraction, analysis and interpretation of numerous dimensions of Plaatje's holistic wellness and provided a framework that facilitated the categorisation of biographical material as it related to life tasks and life forces.

The integration of these two psychological frameworks also proved valuable in this psychobiography on the life of Plaatje. Their shared eugraphic and holistic focus (see Section 10.3) facilitated a dynamic description of Plaatje's development and ensured a comprehensive exploration of the different dimensions of wellness present in his life. The integration of these frameworks thus enabled the researcher to describe Plaatje's positive attributes as well as gain insight into the dynamics of some of his strengths. The integrative, holistic nature of the two aforementioned psychological frameworks also enabled an extensive exploration and description of various constructs and dimensions. Furthermore, it ensured that Plaatje's life was not explored in isolation, but rather within his socio-historical context. This was possible because both frameworks highlighted the influence of the broader political, cultural and historical environment on the individual's development and experience of wellness. The difference between the two frameworks, as far as a developmental, lifespan approach is concerned, highlighted the importance of considering alternative explanations concerning different aspects of a subject's life. Although both frameworks acknowledged significant changes (e.g., the implementation of the Natives' Land Act) and challenges (e.g., the death of his two children) in the fourth historical period (i.e., Tales of Travels), the WoW model provided descriptions of the different aspects of Plaatje's experience of wellness in response to these changes and challenges, while Erikson's theory of psychosocial development provided an alternative perspective by proposing a normalising developmental context (see Section 10.4.4).

11.4.3 Psychobiographical Case Study Research

The value and benefit of a case study with a psychobiographical focus were discussed in general terms in Section 5.7. The value and benefit of this specific psychobiographical case study, however, is highlighted in this section. Besides contributing to the existing body of

knowledge on Sol Plaatje, and to the frameworks of psychosocial development and holistic wellness, this study also supplemented the available body of psychobiographies in South Africa and added to the field's growth in academic psychology. This is an invaluable contribution as life history research, such as psychobiography, aims to enrich the understanding of the lives of unique individuals (Stroud, 2004).

Previously, between 1995 and 2004, South African psychobiographical research produced limited studies on Black and female subjects (Fouché, 2015; Fouché et al., 2007), therefore, Fouché (2015) encouraged psychobiographers to focus on significant African individuals and females as chosen subjects in the future. Furthermore, Fouché et al. (2014) suggested that the examination of the lives of exemplary figures who promoted values of equality and liberty, especially within the South African context, remains an important avenue of exploration for future researchers. Also, the use of specific methodological strategies in this study proved particularly beneficial in the extraction and analysis of data. The researcher used Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine indicators of salience to facilitate the organisation and prioritisation of biographical material, which was discussed in Section 7.5.1.1.

In order to manage the vast amount of biographical data available on the life of Sol Plaatje, the researcher posed specific questions to the data, which enabled the extraction of units of analysis relevant to the research objectives of the study. This was discussed in Section 7.5.1.2. The researcher also utilised two conceptual matrices (Yin, 2009, 2018) to facilitate the analysis of data in psychobiographical research as proposed by Fouché (1999), which guaranteed the systematic categorisation and consistent analysis of the collected biographical data on Sol Plaatje (see Table 7.2 and Table 7.3). As a result, the study's findings could be presented in terms of the socio-historical contexts that impacted on his life, as well as according to the stages of psychosocial development and the constructs of holistic wellness. The vast amount of data available on Plaatje proved advantageous to this study since it enabled the researcher to

corroborate the salient biographical findings. In turn, the cross-corroboration of the biographical data further enhanced the internal validity (credibility) of the findings pertaining to Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness. The limitations of the study are discussed in the next section.

11.5 The Limitations of the Study

11.5.1 The Psychobiographical Subject

The potential limitations regarding the choice of psychobiographical subject for this study were discussed in Chapter 6. These included, amongst others, subjectivity and researcher bias, the analysis of an absent subject and the possible impact of cross-cultural, trans-historical differences between the researcher and the research subject of this study. The researcher also discussed the strategies that were applied in order to address these limitations. Therefore, since the major limitations, along with the researcher's efforts to minimise their impact on the study have been presented in Chapter 6, this section reviews Ponterotto's (2015a) suggestions for a more scientifically-orientated approach to conducting psychobiographical research. These suggestions include: (a) applying more empirically validated and testable psychological theories; (b) utilising more rigorous research approaches that also include quantitative methods; and (c) considering ethical guidelines during the planning, executing and reporting of psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2015a).

This section also revisits Anderson's (1981a) suggestions by acknowledging that the psychological interpretations and explanations offered in this study do not replace other (including historical, political and economic) interpretations and explanations but rather complement them. Furthermore, the researcher emphasises that the interpretations and

explanations are not conclusive and remain speculative. This psychobiography aimed to reconstruct a credible psychological account of Plaatje's life, rather than to propose conclusive inferences on his life. Therefore, the findings of this psychobiography do not represent a definite, all-encompassing answer to the psychosocial development or holistic wellness of Sol Plaatje, nor do they replace interpretations and explanations of his life from other disciplines. Ponterotto (2015a) reminded that despite the lengthy and time-consuming task of exploring a research subject's biographical material, it is the interdisciplinary co-operation in research that strengthens both the value of the field and the research that is being conducted. The researcher believes that future psychobiographers may find that the application of alternative models and theories to examine the life of Sol Plaatje, could provide unique and insightful interpretations and descriptions.

11.5.2 Psychological Frameworks Used in the Study

Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development posed to be a limitation to this psychobiography concerning the use of specific age-ranges (Hamachek, 1990). Although it proved useful in operationalising the theory, it also resulted in a more rigid application of the stages than what was suggested by Erikson (Fouché et al., 2014). Joan Erikson observed that human development is flexible and "apart from the infant's arrival date such variety exists in the timing of human development that no age specifications could be validated for each stage independent of social criteria and pressures" (Erikson, 1997, p. 105).

The analysed biographical data indicated notable variation in the life of Plaatje in terms of the timing of Plaatje's experience of some of the developmental conflicts. As discussed in Section 8.3, Plaatje's resolution of the crises of *generativity versus stagnation*, as well as the subsequent development of the ego quality of *care* may have been prematurely attained during the preceding stage, namely *intimacy versus isolation*, which could explain why he struggled to strike a balance between his own children's upbringing and his need to contribute to society.

Although stage-specific developmental crises overflowed from time to time in this study, Erikson (1963a, 1997) maintained that all psychosocial crises could emerge sooner or at a later time in an individual's life. This statement supports the applicability of Erikson's theory with regards to the specific study.

Another shortfall of Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory is that it does not provide an adequate and clear explanatory structure for most of its constructs. In other words, although the theory does provide possible explanations for why an individual would reach a certain outcome in a specific stage, except for general pathological indicators, it does not explain specific criteria that would establish an outcome. Erikson's fourth stage, namely *industry versus inferiority*, proved to be a good example of this. According to the theory, successful resolution of the fourth stage's developmental crisis leads to the attainment of a sense of *industry*, which refers to the ability to work with tools to produce things that others will approve of (Erikson, 1963a). However, the theory does not specify the nature of these tools, nor the acts that the individual must produce to resolve the crisis successfully. This uncertainty, therefore, gives rise to the notion that the attainment of any tools - whether adaptive or maladaptive - for example, school utensils, musical instruments or even social skills, including any produced object, such as poems or an established friendship, could be interpreted as representative of a sense of *industry* and the successful completion of the stage (Rust, 2019). It is also unclear whether a sense of *inferiority* is fostered only by the failure to produce tangible things or if other aspects could also contribute to feelings of worthlessness. In light of this, the researcher questioned whether Plaatje's ability to play the violin and produce literary works could have created a sense of *industry* and thus would have compensated for any feelings of *inferiority* he might have had.

Another criticism against Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development significant to this psychobiography is that it does not consider certain anticipated

psychosocial crises relevant to people's lives. For example, psychosocial crises such as divorce or the death of a loved one may assist in the development of resilience (as it seemed to be in Plaatje's case), but they may also lead to regression and defensiveness at particular times of development (Newman & Newman, 2012). Therefore, it may be important for psychosocial theorists to expand on explanations of lifespan development, which might be more sensitive to issues such as the death of loved ones, which was central to Plaatje's environmental stressors (see Chapter 2).

Furthermore, Erikson's theory described the development of adults in only three stages. Research has indicated that psychosocial crises are related to physical, psychological and social changes during adulthood (Holz, 2014; Peck, 1968). As a result, Newman and Newman (2012) proposed that the following stages be added in adulthood to provide a more accurate representation of this lengthy phase of development and that each stage should be accompanied by core pathologies and crises: early adulthood (ages 24-34), middle adulthood (ages 34-60), later adulthood (ages 60-75 years) and elderliness (ages 75-death). Plaatje's death at the age of 56 limited the research to exploring only seven of Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development, which was, nevertheless, mitigated by Erikson's principle of *Life in Time* (Erikson et al., 1986). This principle stipulates that one never struggles only with those tensions that are dominant at a specific time, but one also struggles with those tensions that are to become dominant in the future. Because of this principle, the researcher was able to explore Plaatje's development on a continuum of past and future, allowing for a conceptual and operational understanding of the construct of generativity as it was expressed in his developmental trajectory. In terms of this study, regardless of the aforementioned limitations, Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development seemed appropriate as it provided a comprehensive understanding of Plaatje's psychosocial development at each stage.

One criticism regarding the use of the WoW model relates to the absence of an adequate

description of how aspects of wellness develop over the subject's lifespan (Fouché, 1999). Another criticism relates to the lack of information on how specific wellness indicators would relate to certain developmental stages (Fouché, 1999). The indicators of wellness appear to be more applicable to adult developmental stages with no clear, specific indicators for the childhood and adolescence developmental stages. Similarly, there also seems to be a lack of wellness indicators related specifically to age, gender and cultural differences. Furthermore, the WoW model has been criticised for not fully addressing the impact that environmental factors may have on individual wellness and how these factors may directly influence aspects such as quality of life and a holistic wellness lifestyle (Fouché, 1999). Another criticism of the use of the WoW model in this study pertains to the multidisciplinary and multidimensional nature of the model. Its multidimensional focus created an extensive process of data extraction and analysis which led to lengthy descriptions of various constructs of wellness that are laborious and time-consuming to read (Fouché, 1999). Its multidimensionality also created difficulties concerning in-depth discussions of the findings related to holistic wellness (Fouché, 1999). A final point of critique regarding the WoW model is that some of its constructs, such as nutritional habits, exercise and self-care, are not readily available for extraction in the biographical information of individuals. Such information on Plaatje's life was less publicised, which impeded the holistic appraisal of much of his wellness. Based on these limitations, future research may benefit from exploring these constructs of wellness in more detail to further complement the descriptions of Plaatje's holistic wellness in the current study.

11.5.3 Psychobiographical Case Study Research

Psychobiographical research methodology is often criticised (Kövány, 2011; Runyan, 1983; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). These criticisms, as well as the methods employed in this study to address those criticisms, were covered in detail in Chapter 6 (see Section 6.2). In this section, additional limitations relating to the use of the psychobiographical approach in the current study are highlighted and explored.

Firstly, this study has relatively low external validity and transferability (Ashworth, 2003), as the findings regarding Plaatje's psychosocial development and holistic wellness cannot be generalised to a larger population. However, this psychobiography aimed to generalise its findings to the theoretical propositions of Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) through analytical generalisation and not statistical generalisation (Yin, 2009, 2018). Thus, it allowed the researcher to (a) *test* the relevance of aspects of the two psychological frameworks on Plaatje's holistic wellness and psychosocial development; and (b) identify areas of conceptual deficiencies that could prompt refinement of the existing theory and the model (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Martin, 1996; McLeod, 1994; Yin, 2009, 2018).

Secondly, the study has low internal validity regarding causal explanations, as the aim of this study was not to explain cause-and-effect relationships but to explore and describe the historical life of Plaatje in the context of the two psychological frameworks. In order to increase the internal validity of the study, structural corroboration (Fouché, 1999; Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2009, 2018) was applied to validate the inferences made by the researcher. The specific strategies employed by the researcher to enhance the credibility of this study included:

1. *Prolonged engagement* with, and an in-depth exploration and analysis of the life history material on Plaatje.

2. *Data triangulation* (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2018) that involved the use of multiple sources of biographical information to extract data for analysis to prevent distorted interpretations of the literature.
3. *Theoretical triangulation* (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2018) by utilising two complementary approaches to holistic wellness and psychosocial development.
4. *Investigator triangulation* (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2018) since the study promoter (who is an expert consultant in the field of psychobiography in South Africa) provided regular feedback and constructive criticism on the data collection and analysis procedures.
5. *Reflexive analysis* (Willig, 2013) to reflect critically on the researcher's journey throughout the research process.

Thirdly, it is important to note that the findings of this study are tentative and contextualised within the frameworks of psychosocial development and holistic wellness. The researcher acknowledges that alternative frameworks may also provide novel insight into other psychological aspects of Plaatje's lived life. Therefore, the descriptions and explanations generated in this study should not give rise to inflated claims but should be considered as a point of departure for future investigations into the life of Plaatje. Further research projects may be undertaken to explore Plaatje's complex personality and socio-historical background as both prove rife with information that could benefit the field of psychology, especially within the South African context. According to Runyan (1988a), alternative explanations in psychobiographical research are advantageous and amplify the diversity of idiographic understanding.

Lastly, the qualitative approach of psychobiographical research with its narrative dimension makes it a lengthy and time-consuming endeavour (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). This relates to the criticism of large amounts of biographical data that were discussed in Section 6.2.7. It

also relates to the large amount of biographical data available on Plaatje that were presented in Chapter 2. The preparation, analysis and discussion of the findings demanded comprehensive and precise documentation, occasional replication and a great deal of time. Future psychobiographers should ensure that they appreciate the extensive and tiresome nature of this approach. Specific recommendations are discussed in the next section.

11.6 Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher concludes from this psychobiographical study that an examination of the lives of prominent figures who promoted values of equality and liberty, specifically within the South African context, should remain an important endeavour for future researchers. The researcher argues that future researchers may find the psychobiographical approach, particularly the methodological strategies used in this study, valuable in addressing the aforementioned research aim. Furthermore, future researchers may apply alternative theories to examine the life of Sol Plaatje that could provide beneficial descriptions and explanations which fall outside the scope of this study and are, therefore, recommended. For example, a focus on Plaatje's lifespan development to explore more sensitive issues related to loss and trauma could augment the findings generated in this study. Plaatje may have experienced loss and trauma during his childhood when his parents moved away, during the Anglo-Boer war and during his adult years with, amongst other events, the death of two of his children.

Specific recommendations regarding the use of the theory of psychosocial development include: (a) that alternative psychological theories be applied to mitigate the culture-related criticism against Erikson's theory; (b) cognisance of the rigid age-range specifications that, although useful in organising biographical data and establishing a framework for data analysis, could pose challenges within the psychobiographical context as these oppose Erikson's intentional vagueness regarding the unfolding of the life cycle; and (c) utilising the ninth stage

of psychosocial development as described by Joan M. Erikson (Erikson & Erikson, 1997) that could provide future psychobiographers with valuable information on constructs such as gerotranscendental well-being, quality of life and life satisfaction (Panelatti, 2018).

The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) also proved well suited for psychobiographical research (Fouché, Burnell, & Van Niekerk, 2015). This study may serve to inform its relevance for future research and inspire a review of its usefulness as a psychological approach. It is, however, recommended that control measures are implemented for its limitations to lifespan application. Developmental transitions, for example, could be investigated as a possible additional life force within the model.

11.7 Final Reflections on the Researcher's Personal Journey

The researcher's personal interest in South African history and the stories of the people who lived through the process towards the country's democratic elections in 1994, was a motivating factor in this psychobiographical exploration of Sol Plaatje. Given the extraordinariness that surrounds the life of Plaatje and his significant role during the formative years of the current ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), the researcher grasped at the opportunity to study his life. The historical period in which Plaatje lived, as well as the pervasive socio-historical influence which the period had on his development, both personally and professionally, further intrigued the researcher. Also, the researcher was curious to understand how certain individuals manage to maintain high levels of psychological wellness, resilience and perseverance amidst great adversity, thus the qualitative, in-depth nature of the psychobiographical approach provided the ideal platform to explore and understand his life from a psychological vantage point. Mayer and May (2019) have also argued that studies that include virtues, meaning and resilience, seem to be underrepresented in psychobiographical works.

Since the subject inhabited a different historical period compared to that in which this study was conducted, it required an extensive literature study regarding the political, social, historical and cultural milieu in which Plaatje lived. Furthermore, the researcher also visited apartheid and war museums and memorials to further improve her understanding of the context in which the subject existed. This ensured sensitivity to the contextual considerations applicable to this study and also emphasised noteworthy differences between the researcher and the research subject that included home language, gender and cultural group, which needed to be addressed in order to combat the dangers of subjectivity and biased reports of Plaatje. As a result, the researcher was confronted with material on the country's troubled past that often contained upsetting information about the atrocities committed against its people. The fact that the researcher and the research subject differed in terms of historical life period prompted the researcher to choose psychological frameworks, namely Erikson's (1950, 1963a, 1968) theory of psychosocial development and the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) that both acknowledge the role of socio-historical contexts in shaping an individual's life story.

Despite the effort, time and resources inherent to undertaking a postgraduate study of this nature, the researcher enjoyed engaging with the historical content of the subject because of Sol Plaatje's sense of humour and resilience. The holistic and eugraphic exploration of his life and works was also refreshing and insightful, particularly during a time when questions about wellness and well-being are being raised. Furthermore, since the researcher primarily works with university students, many of whom struggle to realise their full academic and personal potential as a result of familial, socio-cultural and psychological obstacles, the researcher experienced this research process as a meaningful endeavour that contributed to her personal growth and enhanced her empathy and compassion in her work as a Counselling Psychologist. The researcher found great value and benefit in discussing her personal reactions to the research

subject and his historical background with her promoter and research colleagues. Lastly, the researcher wishes to commend Willan (2018) for his comprehensive and in-depth biography on Sol Plaatje, as it was extremely valuable in investigating this extraordinary individual, especially since it provided an all-encompassing reference and played a crucial part in the completion of this psychobiographical study.

11.8 Chapter Summary

This final chapter concludes the psychobiographical study on the life of Sol Plaatje. The research aim was reviewed and a summary of the key research findings was presented, followed by a discussion on the study's value and limitations. The researcher also offered recommendations for future research and provided the reader with her final reflections regarding her personal journey as psychobiographer of Sol Plaatje's life story. The researcher proposes that there are still many lessons to be learnt and insights to be gained from the life (and works) of Sol Plaatje, and therefore, concludes with the words of the late Professor Kader Asmal, a former South African Minister of Education, on International Literacy Day on 8 September 1999:

Sol Plaatje lived by the written word. He was a teacher...a messenger...a South African novelist...Plaatje lived and died at the crucial intersection of South Africa's history, where a cowardly imperial government created an overtly racial constitution and handed the reins of power to the forces of reaction and oppression. He experienced dispossession. He fought against it. He foretold the bleak future of repression and resistance through which generations more were condemned to pass until liberation day. (Limb, 2003, p. 1)

REFERENCE LIST

- Adams, T., Bezner, J., & Steinhardt, M. (1997). The conceptualization and measurement of perceived wellness: Integrating balance across and within dimensions. *American Journal of Health Promotion, 11*(3), 208-218. doi: 10.4278/0890-1171-11.3.208
- Adler, A. (1927). Individual psychology. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 22*(2), 116-122. doi: 10.1037/h0072190
- Adler, A. (1992). *Understanding human nature*. Center City, MN: Hazelden.
- Agronin, M. E. (2014). From Cicero to Cohen: Developmental theories of aging, from antiquity to the present. *The Gerontologist, 54*(1), 30-39. doi: 10.1093/geront/gnt032
- Aknin, L. B., Dunn, E. W., & Norton, M. I. (2012). Happiness runs in a circular motion: Evidence for a positive feedback loop between prosocial spending and happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 13*(2), 347-355. doi: 10.1007/s10902-011-9267-5
- Alexander, I. E. (1988). Personality, psychological assessment and psychobiography. *Journal of Personality, 56*(1), 265-294. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00469.x
- Alexander, I. E. (1990). *Personology: Method and content in personality assessment and psychobiography*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Alexander, I. E. (2005). Erikson and psychobiography, psychobiography and Erikson. In T. W. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 265-284). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Allen, B. P. (2006). *Personality theories: Development, growth and diversity* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Allinger, R. L., & Causey, M. E. (1995). Health concept of older Hispanic immigrants. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 17*(6), 605-613. doi: 10.1177/019394599501700603

- Allport, G. W. (1962). The general and the unique in psychological science. *Journal of Personality, 30*(3), 405-422. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1962.tb02313.x
- Alter, M. A. (2002). The wounded healer spelled out: A review of Jesus. *Pastoral Psychology, 50*(6), 447-458. doi.org/10.1023/A:1015495715395
- American Psychiatric Association. (1976). *The psychiatrist as psychohistorian*. Task Force Report #11. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <https://www.psychiatry.org/psychiatrists/search-directories-databases/library-and-archive/task-force-reports>
- American Psychological Association. (2002). Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct. *American Psychologist, 57*(12), 1060-1073. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.57.12.1060
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2010). 2010 Amendments to the 2002 “Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct.” *American Psychologist, 65*, 493. doi: 10.1037/a0020168
- American Psychological Association. (2016). Revision of ethical standard 3.04 of the “Ethical principles of psychologists and Code of Conduct” (2002, as amended 2010). *American Psychologist, 71*(9), 900. doi: 10.1037/amp0000102
- American Psychological Association. (2017). *Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct*. Adopted 2002, with 2016 amendment, effective January 1, 2017, Washington DC. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/ethics/code/ethics-code-2017.pdf>
- Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). The effects of media violence on society. *American Association for the Advancement of Science, 295*(5564), 2377-2379. doi:10.1126/science.1070765
- Anderson, J. W. (1981a). The methodology of psychological biography. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 11*(3), 455-475. doi: 10.2307/203628

- Anderson, J. W. (1981b). Psychobiographical methodology: The case of William James. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 245-272). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Anderson, J. W. (2003). Recent psychoanalytic theorists and their relevance to psychobiography: Winnicott, Kernberg and Kohut. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *The annual of psychoanalysis* (Vol 31, pp. 79-96). Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press.
- Anderson, J. W. (2003). Recent psychoanalytic theorists and their relevance to psychobiography: Winnicott, Kernberg and Kohut. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *The annual of psychoanalysis* (Vol 31, pp. 79-94). Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press.
- Anderson, T. H. (1978). Becoming sane with psychohistory. *The Historian*, 41(1), 1-20. doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6563.1978.tb01225.x
- Anderson, W., & Dunlop, W. L. (2019). Executing psychobiography. In C. Mayer & Z. Kőváry (Eds.), *New trends in psychobiography* (pp. 11 - 33). Switzerland: Springer.
- Ansbacher, H. L., & Ansbacher, R. R. (1967). *The individual psychology of Alfred Adler*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Antonovsky, A. (1987). *Unraveling the mystery of health: How people manage stress and stay well*. San Fransico, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Antonovsky, A. (1994). A sociological critique of the well-being movement. *Advances: The Journal of Mind-Body Health*, 10(3), 6-12.
- Araya, R., Dunstan, F., Playle, R., Thomas, H., Palmer, S., & Lewis, G. (2006). Perceptions of social capital and the built environment and mental health. *Social Sciences and Medicine*, 62(12), 3072–3083. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.11.037

- Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging Adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ashworth, P. (2003). The origins of qualitative psychology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 4-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Atalay, M. (2007). Psychology of crisis: An overall account of the psychology of Erikson. *Ekev Academic Review*, 11(33), 15-34.
- Ayandele, E. A. (1970). *Holy Johnson, Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*. (Africana Modern Library, Number 13.) New York: Humanities Press.
- Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Baillie, F. D. (2012). *Mafeking: A Diary of a Siege*. Retrieved from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41511/41511-h/41511-h.html>
- Baker, G. R. (2011). The contribution of cast study research to the knowledge of how to improve quality of care. *British Medical Journal Quality and Safety*, 20(Suppl. 1), i30-i35. doi: 10.1136/bmjqs.2010.046490
- Barbour, R. S. (2001). Checklists for improving rigour in qualitative research: A case of the tail wagging the dog? *British Medical Journal*, 322, 1115-1117. doi: 10.1136/bmj.322.7294.1115
- Barenbaum, N. B., & Winter, D. G. (2013). Personality. In D. K. Freedheim & I. B. Weiner (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Vol. 1. History of psychology* (2nd ed.) (pp. 198-223). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.
- Barham, J. E. (2007). *Alice Greene, teacher and campaigner: South African correspondence 1887-1902*. Leicester: Troubador Publishing Ltd.
- Bar-On, R. (2010). Emotional intelligence: An integral part of positive psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(1), 54-62. doi: 10.1177/008124631004000106

- Barresi, J., & Juckes, T. J. (1997). Personology and the narrative interpretation of lives. *Journal of Personality*, 65(3), 693-719. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1997.tb00331.x
- Bartels, M., De Moor, M. H. M., Van der Aa, N., Boomsma, D. I., & De Geus, E. J. C. (2012). Regular exercise, subjective wellbeing, and internalizing problems in adolescence: Causality or genetic pleiotropy? *Frontiers in Genetics*, 3(4), 1-12. doi: 10.3389/fgene.2012.00004
- Batra, S. (2013). The psychosocial development of children: Implications for education and society – Erik Erikson in context. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 10(2), 249– 278. doi: 10.1177/0973184913485014
- Bauer, J. J., McAdams, D. P., & Pals, J. L. (2008). Narrative identity and eudaimonic well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Subjective Well-Being*, 9(1), 81–104. doi: 10.1007/s10902-006-9021-6
- Bay, M. (2009). *To tell the truth freely: The life of Ida B. Wells*. New York: Hill & Wang.
- Becker, H. S. (2009). The life history and the scientific mosaic. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Life story research* (Vol. 1, pp. 3-13). London, England: Sage.
- Beckingham, A. C., & Watt, S. (1995). Daring to grow old: Lessons in healthy ageing and empowerment. *Educational Gerontology*, 21(5), 479-495. doi: 10.1080/0360127950210508
- Beinart, W. (1985). University of Witwatersrand Library, historical and literary papers, inventories of collection: No. 7 (1978). The Silas T. Molema and Solomon T. Plaatje Papers. Compiled by Marcelle Jacobson. *Journal of African History*, 26(4), 443.
- Benveniste, D. (2000). Review of the book *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik Erikson* by Lawrence J. Friedman. *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 87(6), 1–6.
- Beres, D. (1959). The contribution of psychoanalysis to the biography of the artist: A commentary on methodology. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 40, 26-37.

- Berg, B. L. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 15(2) 219–234.
doi/10.1177/1468794112468475
- Berkman, L. F., & Syme, S. L. (1979). Social networks, host resistance, and mortality: a nine-year follow-up study of Alameda County residents. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 109(2), 186–204. doi: 10.1093/oxfordjournals.aje.a112674
- Binion, R. (2006). Hitler and Murray's Hitler. *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion*, 8. Retrieved from <https://lawandreligion.com/sites/law-religion/files/Hitler-Murray-Binion.pdf>
- Blainey, G. (1965). Lost causes of the Jameson Raid. *The Economic History Review*, 18(2), 350-366. doi: 10.2307/2592099
- Blum, R. W. (2005). A case for school connectedness. *Educational Leadership*, 62(7), 16–20.
- Boeree, C. G. (2006). *Erik Erikson*. Retrieved from: http://www.social-psychology.de/do/pt_erikson.pdf
- Bonner, P. (1982). The Transvaal Native Congress 1917–1920: The Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand. In S. Marks and R. Rathbone (Eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (pp. 270-313). London: Longman.
- Borkowski, N. (2011). *Organizational behavior in health care* (2nd ed.). Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.
- Brockway, F. (1949). *Bermondsey story: The life of Alfred Salter*. University of Michigan: Allen & Unwin.
- Broman, C. L. (1993). Social relationships and health-related behaviour. *Journal of Behavioural Medicine*, 16(4), 335-350. doi: 10.1007/BF00844776

- Bromley, D. B. (1986). *The case study method in psychology and related disciplines*. New York, NY: Wiley & Sons.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1999). Environments in developmental perspective: Theoretical and operational models. In S. L. Friedman & T. D. Wachs (Eds.), *Measuring environment across the life span: Emerging methods and concepts* (p. 3–28). doi: 10.1037/10317-001
- Brown, C., & Lowis, M. J. (2003). Psychosocial development in the elderly: An investigation into Erikson's ninth stage. *Journal of Aging Studies, 17*(4), 415-426.
- Brown, T.J. (1925). *English dictionary*. Johannesburg: Pula Press.
- Brown, L. (2010). Making the case for case study research. *Chaplaincy Today, 26*(2), 2-15. doi: 10.1080/10999183.2010.10767407
- Bruner, J. S. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bujold, C. (1990). Biographical-hermeneutical approaches to the study of career development. In R. A. Young & W. A. Borgen (Eds.), *Methodological approaches to the study of career* (pp. 57-69). New York, NY: Praeger Press.
- Burgers, M. P. O. (1939). *Die mens Langenhoven*. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, Beperk.
- Burke, J., & Kern, S. (1996). The issue is: Is the use of life history and narrative in clinical practice reimbursable/Is it occupational therapy? *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 50*(5), 389-392.
- Burke, R. J., & McKeen, C. A. (1995). Work and career experiences and emotional wellbeing of managerial and professional women. *Stress Medicine, 11*(1), 51-60. doi: 10.1002/smi.2460110107
- Burnell, B. (2013). *The life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

- Burnell, B., Nel, C., Fouche, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2019). Suitability indicators in the study of exemplary lives: Guidelines for the selection of the psychobiographical subject. In C. Mayer & Z. Kövary (Eds.), *New Trends in Psychobiography* (pp. 173-193). Switzerland: Springer.
- Bushman, B. J., & Anderson, C. A. (2009). Comfortably numb: Desensitizing effects of violent media on helping others. *Psychological Science*, *20*(3), 273-277. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02287.x
- Butler, A. (2017). *Contemporary South Africa*. England: Macmillan Education.
- Campbell, J. F. (2009). Psychohistory: Creating a new discipline. *Journal of Psychohistory*, *37*(1), 2-26. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Frederick_Hickling2/publication/38031731_The_EuropeanAmerican_psychosis_psychohistoriographic_perspective_of_contemporary_Western_civilization/links/560697e008aeb5718ff491fc.pdf#page=5
- Cann, A., & Collette, C. (2014). Sense of humor, stable affect, and psychological well-being. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, *10*(3), 464-479. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v10i3.746
- Capps, D. (2004). The decades of life: Relocating Erikson's stages. *Pastoral Psychology*, *53*(1), 3-32. doi: 10.1023/B:PASP.0000039322.53775.2b
- Capps, D. (2012). Erikson's schedule of human strengths and the childhood origins of the resourceful self. *Pastoral Psychology*, *61*, 269-282.
- Cara, E. (2007). Psychobiography: A research method in search of a home. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *70*(3), 115-121. doi: 10.1177/030802260707000304
- Carlson, R. (1988). Exemplary lives: The use of psychobiography for theory development. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 105-138. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00464.x
- Carlson, R., & Hadjikhani, N. (1992, June). *Hermeneutics in psychology: Crawling out from*

- between a rock and a hard place*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Society, San Diego, CA. Retrieved from <https://www.rogercarlsonphd.com/pages/papers/hermeneutics.html>
- Carr, A., & McNulty, M. (2006). *The Handbook of Adult Clinical Psychology: An Evidence Based Practice Approach*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cavaye, A. L. M. (1996). Case study research: A multi-faceted research approach for IS. *Information Systems Journal*, 6(3), 227-242. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2575.1996.tb00015.x
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London, UK: Sage.
- Cheng, S. T., & Chan, A. C. M. (2006). Filial piety and psychological well-being in well older Chinese. *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, 61B(5), 262–269. doi: 10.1093/geronb/61.5.P262
- Chéze, E. (2009). *Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Christians, C. G. (2008). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Claasen, M. (2007). *The life of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: A psychobiographical case study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Clark, F. (1993). Occupation embedded in real life: Interweaving occupational science and occupational therapy: 1993 Eleanor Clark Slagle Lecture. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 47(12), 1067-1078. doi: 10.5014/ajot.47.12.1067

- Clark, F., Carlson, M., & Polkinghorne, D. (1997). The issue is: The legitimacy of life history and narrative approaches in the study of occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 51(4), 313-317. doi: 10.5014/ajot.51.4.313
- Clark, J. J. (2007). Book reviews: Handbook of psychobiography. *Social Service Review*, 81(3), 557-564.
- Clark, J., & Tyson, H. (2003). *Laugh, the beloved country: A compendium of South African Humour*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books.
- Clark, L. P. (1923). Unconscious motives underlying the personalities of great statesmen. A psychologic study of Abraham Lincoln. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 10, 56–69.
- Clouston, T. (2003). Narrative methods: Talk, listening and representation. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 66(4), 136-142. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F030802260306600402>
- Couzens, T. (2001). *Solomon Plaatje: A man for our time*. Johannesburg: Thorolds Africana Books.
- Cocker, M. (2001). *Rivers of blood, rivers of gold: Europe's conquest of indigenous peoples*. New York: Grove Atlantic Press.
- Coetzee, E. E. (2017). *John Wayne Gacy: A psychobiography of the clown killer* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Coetzee, S., & Viviers, R. (2007). An overview of research on positive psychology in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37(3), 470-490. doi: 10.1177/008124630703700307
- Cole, A. L., & Knowles, J. G. (2001). *Lives in context: The art of life history research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Coles, R. (1970). *Erik H. Erikson: The growth of his work*. Boston, MA: Souvenir Press.

- Coles, R. (2001). *The Erik Erikson reader*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Collins, B., & Mees, I. M. (2002). The real professor Higgins. The life and career of Daniel Jones. *ELT Journal*, 56(2), 208–211. doi: 10.1093/elt/56.2.208
- Comaroff, J., Willan, B., & Reed, A. (1999). *The Mafeking Diary of Sol T. Plaatje*. Centenary Edition. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd.
- Constantinople, A. (1969). An Eriksonian measure of personality development in college students. *Developmental Psychology*, 1(4), 357–372. doi: 10.1037/h0027706
- Cooney, A. (2010). Choosing between Glaser and Strauss: An example. *Nurse Researcher*, 17(4), 18-28. doi: 10.7748/nr2010.07.17.4.18.c7921
- Coplan, D. B., & Jules-Rosette, B. (2005). Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and the Liberation of the Spirit of South Africa. *Journal of African Studies*, 64(2). doi: 10.1080=00020180500355876
- Corey, G. (2005). *Theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Cousins, B., & Walker, C. (2015). *Land divided, land restored: Land reform in South Africa for the 21st century*. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Cousins, N. (1979). *Anatomy of an illness as perceived by the patient*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Couzens, T. (1976). *A Short History of "The World" (and other Black South African Newspapers)*. Retrieved from <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/8608/ISS-105.pdf?sequence=1>
- Couzens, T. (1990). *The struggle to be independent: A history of the Black press in South Africa 1836-1960*, *History Workshop*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.
- Couzens, T. (2000, 24 July). *Solomon Plaatje: A Man for Our Time*. Current Affairs Films, 1 VHS video cassette. Broadcast on ETV.

- Couzens, T., & Willan, B. (1979). *Light in a dark world: The life of Sol T Plaatje, 1876-1932*. University of the Witwatersrand Central TV Unit, 1 VHS video cassette. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Cowley, J. H. (1994). *UBungca (Oxford Bags). Recordings in London of African and West Indian Music in the 1920s and 1930s, Musical Traditions*. No. 12, pp. 13-26. Rochford: Essex.
- Cox, K. S., & McAdams, D. (2014). Meaning making during high and low point life story episodes predicts emotion regulation two years later: How the past informs the future. *Journal of Research in Personality, 50*(1), 66–70. doi: 10.1016/j.jrp.2014.03.004
- Cozby, P. C. (2007). *Methods in behavioural research* (9th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Craig, G. J. (1996). *Human development* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Craig, G. J., & Baucum, D. (2002). *Human development* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Crebs, P. M. (1999). *Gender, race, and the writing of empire: Public discourse and the Boer War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 124-130. doi: 10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2
- Cromwell, A. M. (2007). *Unveiled voices, unvarnished memories: The Cromwell Family in slavery and segregation, 1692-1972*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press.

- Cronon, E. D. (1955). *Black Moses: The story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Crowne, D. P. (2009). *Personality theory* (2nd ed.). Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press.
- Cummins, R. A., & Lau, A. L. (2005). *Personal Wellbeing Index – School Children* (3rd ed.). Melbourne: Deakin University Press.
- Davis, G. (1975). The early years of Theodore Roosevelt: A study in character formation. *History of Childhood Quarterly*, *11*, 461-492.
- De Villiers, G. E. (2000). *Servant of Africa: The life and times of Sol T. Plaatje*. Pretoria, South Africa: Stimela.
- De Vos, A. S. (2005). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In A. S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, & C. S. L. Delpont (Eds.), *Research at grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions* (3rd ed., pp. 333-349). Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. Van Schaik.
- De Vos, A. S., Schurink, E. M., & Strydom, H. (1998). The nature of research in the caring professions. In A. S. de Vos (Ed.), *Research at grass roots: A primer for caring professions* (pp. 3-22). Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. Van Schaik.
- De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché, C. B., & Delpont, C. S. L. (2005). *Research at grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions* (3rd ed., pp. 333-349). Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. Van Schaik.
- Dean, A., Kolody, B., & Wood, P. (1990). Effects of social support from various sources on depression in elderly persons. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *31*(2), 148-161. doi: 10.2307/2137169
- Demorest, A. P. (2005). *Psychology's grand theorists: How personal experiences shaped professional ideas*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretative biography*. London, United Kingdom: Sage.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed., pp. 1-60). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp.1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Diener, E., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2004). Beyond Money: Toward an economy of well-being. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 5(1), 1-31.
<https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.0963-7214.2004.00501001.x>
- Dignan, M. H. (1965). Ego identity and maternal identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1(5), 476–483. doi:10.1037/h0021861
- Dobson, K. S. (2010). *Handbook of cognitive-behavioral therapies* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Dockery, A. M. (2010). Culture and wellbeing: The case of indigenous Australians. *Social Indicators Research*, 99(2), 315-332. doi: 10.1007/s11205-010-9582-y
- Dodgson, J. E. (2019). Reflexivity in qualitative research. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 35(2), 220-222. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0890334419830990>
- Doke, C. M. (1935). Early Bantu literature: The age of Brusciotto. *Bantu Studies*, 9(1), 87-114. doi: 10.1080/02561751.1935.9676360
- Dorr, A., Rabin, B. E., & Irlen, S. (2002). Parenting in a multimedia society. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 349-374). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Douvan, E. (1997). Erik Erikson: Critical times, critical theory. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 28(1), 15–21. doi: 10.1023/A:1025188901554
- Dreikurs, R. (1971). *Social equality: The challenge of today*. Chicago, IL: Adler School of Professional Psychology.
- Dreikurs, R., & Mosak, H. H. (1967). The tasks of life: II. The fourth life task. *Individual Psychologist*, 4(2), 51-56. Retrieved from http://adler-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/resource/filename/332/The_Tasks_of_Life_II-Dreikurs-Mosak__Individual_Psychologist__1967__4_2_.pdf
- Du Plessis, C. (2017). The method of psychobiography: Presenting a step-wise approach. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 14(2), 216-237. doi: 10.1080/14780887.2017.1284290
- Du Plessis, C., & Du Plessis, G. (2018). An easy alliance: The relationships between phenomenology and psychobiography. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 18(1), 1-4. doi: 10.1080/20797222.2018.1511307
- Duminy, K., & Sabatini, R. J. L. (2011). *50 Years on the Diamond Fields 1870-1920, Volume 2*. Kimberley, South Africa: Africana Library.
- Dunkel, C. S., Mathes, E., & Papini, D. R. (2010). The effect of life expectancy on aggression and generativity: A life history perspective. *Evolutionary Psychology*, 8(3), 492-505. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F147470491000800314>
- Dunn, H. L. (1959). High-level wellness for man and society. *American Journal Public Health*, 49(6), 786-792. doi: 10.2105/ajph.49.6.786
- Dunn, H. L. (1961). *High-level wellness*. Arlington, VA: R.W. Beatty.
- Dyer, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1991). Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better theory: A rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *The Academy of Management Review*, 16(3), 613-619. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.2307/258920>

- Edwards, D. (1990). *Case study research method: A theoretical introduction and practice manual* (Unpublished honours manuscript). Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
- Edwards, D. J. A. (1998). Types of case study work: A conceptual framework for case-based research. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 38*(3), 36-70. doi: 10.1177/00221678980383003
- Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal, 50*(1), 25-32. doi: 10.5465/AMJ.2007.24160888
- Eklund, M., Rottpeter, J., & Vikstrom, F. (2003). The meaning of psychosocial occupational therapy in a life-story perspective. A long-term follow-up of three cases. *Occupational Therapy International, 10*(3), 185-206. <https://doi.org/10.1002/oti.185>
- Eliastam, L. M. (2010). *A psychobiography of Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Mpilo Tutu* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.
- Elkind, D. (1970, April 5). Erik Erikson's eight ages of man: One man in his time plays many psychosocial parts. *The New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/04/05/archives/one-man-in-his-time-plays-many-psychosocial-parts-erik-eriksons.html>
- Elliott, T. R., & Marmarosh, C. L. (1994). Problem-solving appraisal, health complaints, and health-related expectancies. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 72*(5), 531-537. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1994.tb00987.x
- Ellis, A. (2008). Rational Emotional Behaviour Therapy. In R. J. Corsini & D. Wedding (Eds.), *Current Psychotherapies* (9th ed., pp.196-234). Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Elms, A. C. (1988). Freud as Leonardo: Why the first psychobiography went wrong. *Journal of Personality, 56*(1), 19-40. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00461.x

- Elms, A. C. (1994). *Uncovering lives: The uneasy alliance of biography and psychology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Elms, A. C. (2005). If the glove fits: The art of theoretical choice in psychobiography. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 84 -103). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Elms, A. C. (2007). Psychobiography and case study methods. In R. W. Robins, R. C. Fraley & R. F. Krueger (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in personality psychology* (pp. 97-113). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Elms, A. C., & Song, A. V. (2005). Alive and kicking: The problematic of political psychobiography. In T. W. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 301-310). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Elovitz, P. H. (2003). Psychoanalytic scholarship on American presidents. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *The Annual of Psychoanalysis* (pp. 135-149). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Els, D. A., & De la Rey, R. P. (2006). Developing a holistic wellness model. *South African Journal of Human Resource Management*, 4(2), 46-56. doi: 10.4102/sajhrm.v4i2.86
- Erdman, L. (1991). Laughter therapy for patients with cancer. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, 18(8), 1359-1363.
- Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1958). *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis and history*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle: Selected papers*. Oxford, UK: International Universities Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1963a). *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

- Erikson, E. H. (1963b). Youth: Fidelity and diversity. In E. H. Erikson (Ed.), *Youth: change and challenge*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Erikson, E. H. (1964). *Insight and responsibility*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1966). The ontogeny of ritualization in man. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Series B: Biological Sciences*, 251(772), 337–349.
- https://www.tsu.ge/data/file_db/faculty_psychology/2.%20R..pdf
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York, NY: WW Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1969). *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1971). On the nature of psycho-historical evidence: In search of Gandhi. In Greenstein, F. I., & M. Lerner (Eds.), *A source book for the study of personality and politics*. (pp. 78-98). Chicago: Markham.
- Erikson, E. H. (1974). *Dimensions of a new identity*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1975). *Life History and the historical moment*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1977). *Toys and reasons: Stages in the ritualization of experience*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1978). *Adulthood*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1993). *Young man Luther*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1995). *Childhood and society* (3rd ed.). London: Vintage.
- Erikson, E. H., & Erikson, J. M. (1997). *The life cycle completed: Extended version*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H., Erikson, J. M., & Kivnick, H. Q. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

- Erikson, E. H., Erikson, J. M., & Kivnick, H. Q. (1989). *Vital involvement in old age*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, J. M. (1997). The ninth stage. In E. H. Erikson (Ed.), *The life cycle completed: Extended version* (pp. 105-121). New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Erlmann, V. (1991). *African stars: Studies in Black South African performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Etherington, K. (2009). Life story research: A relevant methodology for counsellors and psychotherapists. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 9(4), 225-233.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14733140902975282>
- Evans, M. D., & Kelley, J. (2004). Effect of family structure on life satisfaction: Australian evidence. *Social Indicators Research*, 69(3), 303-349. doi: 10.1007/s11205-004-5578-9
- Evans, R. I. (1981). *Dialogue with Erik Erikson*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Fage, J. D. (2002). *A history of Africa*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Faller, G. (2001). Positive psychology: A paradigm shift. *Journal of Pastoral Counselling, Annual*, 36, 7-20. <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/6394991/positive-psychology-paradigm-shift>
- Fancher, R. E. (2006). Handbook of psychobiography. [Review of the book Handbook of psychobiography by William Todd Schultz]. *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 42(3), 287-289. doi: 10.1002/jhbs.20177
- Ferrus, D. (2019, June). *Sol Plaatje: Annual Commemorative Public Lecture*. Free State Arts Festival, South Africa: Bloemfontein, University of the Free State.
- Finlay, F. (2004). From ‘gibbering idiot’ to ‘iceman’, Kenny’s story: A critical analysis of an occupational narrative. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 67(11), 474-480.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F030802260406701102>

- Fisher, A. T., & Sonn, C. C. (2008). Psychopolitical validity: Power, culture and wellness. *Journal of Community Psychology, 36*(2), 261-268. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20237
- Fisher, J. (2000). Being human, becoming whole: Understanding spiritual health and well-being. *Journal of Christian Education, 43*(3), 37-52.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F002196570004300307>
- Fiske, D. W. (1988). From inferred personalities toward personality in action. *Journal of Personality, 56*(4), 815-833. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00478.x>
- Fitzpatrick, J. (1976). Erik H. Erikson and psychohistory. In S. Smith (Ed.), *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* (pp. 295-314). Kansas, USA: Menninger Foundation.
- Flemming, J. S. (2004). *Psychological perspectives on human development*. Retrieved from <http://swppr.org/Textbook/Contents.html>
- Flick, U. (2006). *An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). London, England: Sage.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245. doi: 10.1177%2F1077800405284363
- Fouché, J. P. (1999). *The life of Jan Christiaan Smuts: A psychobiographical Study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Fouché, J. P. (2015). The 'coming of age' for Southern African psychobiography. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 25*(5), 375-378. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101261
- Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2005a, June). *Psychobiography: An interdisciplinary approach between psychology and biography in the narrative reconstruction of personal lives*. Poster presented at the International Society of Theoretical Psychology Conference, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

- Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2005b, June). *Psychobiography: Methodological criticisms, constraints and strategic considerations*. Paper presented at the International Society of Theoretical Psychology Conference, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2010). Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future. *South African Journal of Psychology, 40*(4), 495-507.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F008124631004000410>
- Fouché, J. P., Louw, D. A., Naidoo, P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2018). Queen's great pretender: A psychohistorical sketch of Freddie Mercury. *The Journal of Psychohistory, 46*(1), 17-36.
- Fouché, J. P., Smit, R., Watson, M. B., & Van Niekerk, R. (2007, August). *Psychobiographical research in South Africa: A systematic review from 1995–2004*. Poster presented at the 13th South African Psychology Congress, International Convention Centre, Durban, South Africa.
- Fouché, P., Burnell, B., & Van Niekerk, R. (2015). The spiritual wellness of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study of a South African anti-apartheid theologian. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 25*(5), 429-437. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101264
- Fouché, P., Nel, C., & Van Niekerk, R. (2014). Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical- psychosocial development trajectory study. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 24*, 351-360.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2014.980622>
- Foulkes, A. (2002). *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franco, Z. E., Blau, K., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2011). Heroism: A conceptual analysis and differentiation between heroic action and altruism. *Review of General Psychology, 15*(2), 99-113. doi: 10.1037/a0022672

- Frankl, P. J. L. (2006). (*Werner, Alice - 1859–1935*). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/38117
- Frankl, V. E. (1984). *Man's search for meaning*. New York, NY: Pocket Books.
- Franz, C. E., & White, K. M. (1985). Individuation and attachment in personality development: Extending Erikson's theory. *Journal of Personality, 53*(2), 224-256.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1985.tb00365.x>
- Freiberg, K. L. (1987). *Human development: A lifespan approach* (3rd ed.). Boston: Jones and Bartlett.
- Freud, S. (1910). *Leonardo da Vinci: A memory of his childhood*. London: Routledge.
- Freud, S. (1938). *The basic writings of Sigmund Freud*. New York, NY: Modern Library.
- Freud, S. (1957). Leonardo da Vinci and a memory of his childhood. In J. Strachey (Ed. & Trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 11, pp 59-137). London: Hogarth Press.
- Friedman, L. J. (2000). *Identity's architect: A biography of Erik H. Erikson*. New York, NY: Scribner.
- Fromme, D. F. (2010). *Systems of psychotherapy: Dialectical tensions and integration*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Frydman, J. S., Cheung, L., & Ponterotto, J. G. (2019). The “journey” of doctoral study in Applied Psychology: Lived experiences of students in Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology. *The Qualitative Report, 24*(6), 1181-1210. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol24/iss6/1>
- Fullen, M. C. (2019). Defining wellness in older adulthood: Toward a comprehensive framework. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 97*(1), 62-74. doi: 10.1002/jcad.12236

- Fullen, M. C., Richardson, V., & Granello, D. H. (2018, July). Comparing successful aging, resilience, and holistic wellness as predictors of the good life. *Educational Gerontology, 44*(7), 459-468. doi: 10.1080/03601277.2018.1501230
- Garraty, J. (1986). *The Great Depression*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Gasson, S. (2004). Rigor in grounded theory research: An interpretive perspective on generating theory from qualitative field studies. In M. E. Whitman & A. B. Weszczynski (Eds.), *The handbook of information systems research* (pp. 79-102). Hershey, PA: Iden Group.
- Gatzke, H. W. (1973). Hitler and psychohistory. *American Historical Review, 78*, 394-401.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Geiss, I. (1974). *The Pan African Movement*. London: Methuen.
- Gerhart, G. M., & Karis, T. (1977). *From protest to challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa: 1882-1964, Vol.4. Political Profiles 1882-1964*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.
- Gilgun, J. F. (1994). A case for case studies in social work research. *Social Work, 39*(4), 371-380. doi: 10.1093/sw/39.4.371
- Giliomee, H. (2003). *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people. Reconsiderations in Southern African History*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Gish, S. D. (2000). *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African*. Palgrave MacMillan UK: MacMillan Publishers Limited.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York, NY: Aldine.
- Goff, K. (1993). Creativity and life satisfaction of older adults [Abstract]. *Educational Gerontology, 19*(3), 241-250. doi: 10.1080/0360127930190304

- Gogo, O. (2011). *Brenda Fassie: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Gold, L., & Mansager, E. (2000). Spirituality: Life task or life process? *The Journal of Individual Psychology*, 56(3), 266-276. Retrieved from <https://familycouselling.files.wordpress.com/2018/07/goldmansagerspiritualityltorlifeprocess.pdf>
- Goldenberg, I., & Goldenberg, H. (2004). *Family therapy: An overview* (6th ed.). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Goldstein, W. (2009, April). The pursuit of simple justice. *Focus*, 53, 6-11. Retrieved from <http://www.hsf.org.za>
- Gollanz, I. (1916). *A book of homage to Shakespeare*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (2000). Case study and generalization. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, & P. Foster (Eds.), *Case study method: Key issues, key texts* (pp. 98-115). London: Sage.
- Gong, F., Diao, Y., Pan, T., Liu, M., & Sun, H. (2015). Evolution of human medical model and development course of medical humanistic spirit. *Biomedical Research*, 26(3), 407-414. Retrieved from <https://www.alliedacademies.org/articles/evolution-of-human-medical-model-and-development-course-of-medicalhumanistic-spirit.html>
- Goodson, I. F., & Sikes, P. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.
- Goss, H. (2011). *Wellness education: An integrated theoretical framework for fostering transformative learning* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.

- Gough, B., & Madill, A. (2012). Subjectivity in psychological science: From problem to prospect. *Psychological Methods, 17*(3), 374-384. doi: 10.1037/a0029313
- Gould, S. J. (1986). Evolution and the triumph of homology, or why history matters. *American Scientist, 74*(1), 60 - 69.
- Graves, S. B., & Larkin, E. (2006). Lessons from Erikson: A look at autonomy across the lifespan. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(2), 61-71. doi: 10.1300/J194v04n02_05
- Greeff, M. B. (2010). *Alan Paton: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Green, M., & Elliot, M. (2010). Religion, health, and psychological well-being. *Journal of Religion and Health, 49*(2), 149-163. doi: 10.1007/s10943-009-9242-1
- Greene, D., & David, J. L. (1984). A research design for generalizing from multiple case studies. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 7*(1), 73-85. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7189\(84\)90027-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7189(84)90027-2)
- Greene, R. R., Graham, S. A., & Morano, C. (2010). Erikson's healthy personality, societal institutions, and holocaust survivors. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 20*(4), 489-506. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911350903275069>
- Greitemeyer, T. (2011). Effects of prosocial media on social behavior: When and why does media exposure affect helping and aggression? *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 20*(4), 251-255. doi: 10.1177/0963721411415229
- Gronn, P. (1993). Psychobiography on the couch: Character, biography and the comparative study of leaders. *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science, 29*(3), 343-358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886393293005>
- Gross, F. L. (1987). *Introducing Erik Erikson: An invitation to his thinking*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denkin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 255-286). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gülaçti, F. (2010). The effect of perceived social support on subjective well-being. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(2), 3844–3849. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.03.602
- Haber, D. (2006). Life review: Implementation, theory, research, and therapy. *International Journal of Ageing and Human Development*, 63(2), 153-171.
<https://doi.org/10.2190%2FDA9G-RHK5-N9JP-T6CC>
- Haggard, H. R. (1892). *Nada the Lily*. London: Longman's, Green & Co.
- Hale, E. D., Treharne, G. J., & Kitas, G. D. (2007). Qualitative methodologies I: Asking research the questions with reflexive insight. *Musculoskeletal Care*, 5(3), 139-147. doi: 10.1002/msc.109
- Hall, G. S. (1917). *Jesus, the Christ, in light of psychology*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company.
- Hamachek, D. (1990). Evaluating self-concept and ego status in Erikson's last three psychosocial stages. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 68(6), 677-683. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1990.tb01436.x
- Hamilton, N. (2008). *How to do biography: A primer*. Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's wrong with ethnography?* London: Routledge.
- Hancock, K., & Van der Poel, J. (1966). *Selections from the Smuts Papers, (I)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Harlow, R. (1923). *Samuel Adams*. New York, NY: Henry Holt & Company.
- Harman, W. W. (1988). *Global mind change: The promise of the last years of the twentieth century*. Indianapolis, IN: Knowledge Systems.
- Hasan, Y., Bègue, L., & Bushman, B. J. (2012). Viewing the world through “blood-red tinted glasses”: The hostile expectation bias mediates the link between violent video game exposure and aggression. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(4), 953-956. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2011.12.019
- Hattie, J. A., Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2004). A factor structure of wellness: Theory, assessment, analysis, and practice. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 82*(3), 354-364. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6678.2004.tb00321.x
- Haverkamp, B. E. (2005). Ethical perspectives on qualitative research in applied psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 146-155.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.146>
- Health Professions Council of South Africa. (2008). *Guidelines for good practice in the health care professions. General ethical guidelines for healthcare researchers. Booklet 6*. Retrieved from
https://www.hpcs.co.za/Uploads/Professional_Practice/Ethics_Booklet.pdf
- Helliwell, J. F., Layard, R., & Sachs, J. (2012). *World happiness report*. New York: The Earth Institute, Columbia University. Retrieved from
<http://issuu.com/earthinstitute/docs/world-happiness-report>
- Henning, S. (2009). *Towards a system psychodynamic model of psychological wellness* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa.
- Hermans, H. J. M. (1988). On the integration of nomothetic and idiographic research methods in the study of personal meaning. *Journal of Personality, 56*(4), 785-812. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00477.x

- Hermon, D. A., & Hazler, R. J. (1999). Adherence to a wellness model and perceptions of psychological well-being. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 77*(3), 339-343. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1999.tb02457.x
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The Practice of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hettler, B. (1984). Wellness: Encouraging a lifetime pursuit of excellence. *Health values, 8*(4), 13-17.
- Hevern, V. W. (1999, August). *Allport's (1942) Use of Personal Documents: A contemporary reappraisal*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA.
- Hill, C. E., Knox, S., Thompson, B. J., Williams, E. H., Hess, S. A., & Ladany, N. (2005). Consensual qualitative research: An update. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*, 196-205. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.196
- Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 25*(4), 517-572.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1177/0011000097254001>
- Hill, R. A. (2006). (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers: Africa for the Africans. 1923-1945. Vol X*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Hiller, T. T. (2011). Visualizing the intersection of the personal and the social context - the use of multi-layered chronological charts in biographical studies. *The Qualitative Report, 16*, 1018-1033. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR16-4/hiller.pdf>
- Hoare, C. H. (2002). *Erikson on development in adulthood: New insights from the unpublished papers*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Hoare, C. H. (2005). Erikson's general and adult developmental revisions of Freudian thought: "Outward, forward, upward". *Journal of Adult Development*, 12(1), 19-31. doi: 10.1007/S10804-005-1279-0
- Holder, A. C. (1921, February 5). 'Welcome to Plaatje, a distinguished African; an appreciation: Toronto, Canada. *Negro World* (New York).
- Holz, T. (2014). *Roald Dahl: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Homan, K. J., & Boyatzis, C. J. (2010). Religiosity, sense of meaning, and health behavior in older adults. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 20(3), 173-186. doi: 10.1080/10508619.2010.481225
- Hook, D. (2002). Erikson's psychosocial stages of development. In D. Hook, J. Watts, & K. Cockcroft (Eds.), *Developmental psychology* (pp.494-500). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Horst, E. A. (1995). Reexamining gender issues in Erikson's stages of identity and intimacy. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 73(3), 271-278. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1995.tb01748.x
- Houle, J. N. (2014). Mental health in the foreclosure crisis. *Social Science and Medicine*, 118, 1-8. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.07.054
- Howard, G. S. (1991). Culture tales: A narrative approach to thinking, cross-cultural psychology and psychotherapy. *American Psychologist*, 46(3), 186 - 197. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.46.3.187
- Howe, M. J. A. (1997). Beyond psychobiography: Towards more effective synthesis of psychology and biography. *British Journal of Psychology*, 88(2), 235-248. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8295.1997.tb02632.x>
- Huges, J. A. (1990). *The philosophy of social research* (2nd ed.). London, England: Longman.

- Hurlburt, R. T., & Knapp, T. J. (2006). Münsterberg in 1898, not Allport in 1937, introduced the terms 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' to American psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, *16*(2), 287-293. doi: 10.1177/0959354306062541
- Hunt, T. C., Carper, J. C., Lasley, T. J., & Raisch, C. D. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Educational Reform and Dissent*. doi: 10.4135/9781412957403
- Hyuck, M. H. (1990). Gender differences in aging. In J. E. Birren & K. W. Schaie (Eds.), *Handbook of the psychology of aging* (3rd ed., pp. 124-132). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Irvine, L. (2013). Animals as lifechangers and lifesavers: Pets in the redemption narratives of homeless people. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *42*(1), 3-30.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0891241612456550>
- Izenberg, G. N. (2003). Intellectual-cultural history and psychobiography: The case of Kandinsky. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *Annual of psychoanalysis* (pp. 21-33). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Jackson, P. W. (1990). Looking for trouble: On the place of the ordinary in educational studies. In E. W. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp. 153-166). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Jacob, C., Guéguen, N., & Boulbry, G. (2010). Effects of songs with prosocial lyrics on tipping behavior in a restaurant. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *29*(4), 761-763. doi: 10.1016/j.ijhm.2010.02.004
- Jacobs, A. (2004). *Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Jacobson, M. (1980). The personal papers of Silas Thelesho Molema and Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje. *Journal of Research in African Literatures*, *11*(2), 224-234.

- Jaffer, Z., & Tshabalala, S. (2014). Sol Plaatje: Wordsmith extraordinaire. *The Journalist*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/sol-plaatje-1876-to-1932>
- Jarnagin, W. L., & Woodside, M. (2012). Life lived well: A description of wellness across the lifespan of a senior woman. *Qualitative Report*, 17(36), 1-22. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol17/iss36/1>
- Jeal, T. (2001). Baden-Powell. In I. Smith (Ed.), *The siege of Mafeking*. Vol 1. (pp. 201-210). Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press.
- Jha, A. P., Krompinger, J., & Baime, M. J. (2007). Mindfulness training modifies subsystems of attention. *Cognitive, Affective, & Behavioural Neuroscience*, 7(2), 109-119. doi: 10.3758/CABN.7.2.109
- Johnson, S. B. (2013). Increasing psychology's role in health research and health care. *American Psychologist*, 68(5), 311-321. doi: 10.1037/a0033591
- Johnson, W., & Krueger, R. (2005). Higher perceived life control decreased genetic variance in physical health: Evidence from a national twin study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(1), 165–173. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.165
- Johnson-Feelings, D. (1996). *The best of the Brownies' book*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, D., & Plaatje, S. T. (1916). *A Sechuana reader in international orthography (with English translations)*. London: London University Press.
- Jooste, G., & Webster, R. (2002). *Innocent blood: Executions during the Anglo-Boer War*. Cape Town: New Africa Books.
- Jung, C. G. (1958). *The undiscovered self*. New York: Mentor Books.
- Kasser, T. (2013). *Lucy in the mind of Lennon*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kasser, T. (2017). Integrating psychobiography into psychology's mainstream: Introduction to the special section. *American Psychologist*, 72(5), 430-433. doi: 10.1037/amp0000157

- Keczer, Z., File, B., Orosz, G., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2016). Social Representations of hero and everyday hero: A network study from representative samples. *PLoS ONE*, *11*(8), 1-17. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0159354. –
- Keita, G. P., & Jones, J. M. (1990). Reducing adverse reaction to stress in the workplace: Psychology's expanding role. *American Psychologist*, *45*(10), 1137-1141. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.45.10.1137
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2006). Mental health in adolescence: Is American's youth flourishing? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *76*(3), 395-402. doi: 10.1037/0002-9432.76.3.395
- Keyes, C. L. M., & Reitzes, D. C. (2007). The role of religious identity in the mental health of older working and retired adults. *Aging & Mental Health*, *11*(4), 434–443. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13607860601086371>
- Kiloh, M., & Sibeko, A. (2000). *A fighting union*. Randburg: Ravan Press.
- Kirkorian, H. L., Wartella, E. A., & Anderson, R. D (2008). Media and young children's learning. *The Future of Children*, *18*(1), 39-61. doi: 10.1353/foc.0.0002
- Kivnick, H. Q., & Wells, C. K. (2013). Untapped richness in Erik H. Erikson's rootstock. *Gerontologist*, *1*(54), 40-50. doi: 10.1093/geront/gnt123
- Kluckhohn, C., & Murray, H. S. (1953). Personality formation: The determinants. In C. Kluckhohn, H. A. Murray, & D. M. Schneider (Eds.), *Personality in nature, society, and culture* (pp. 53-67). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Koenig, H. G. (2009). Research on religion, spirituality, and mental health: A review. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *54*(5), 283-291. doi: 10.1177/070674370905400502
- Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Diaz, E. M., & Bartkiewicz, M. J. (2010). *The 2009 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools*. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED512338.pdf>

- Kosciw, J. G., Palmer, N. A., & Kull, R. M. (2015). Reflecting resiliency: Openness about sexual orientation and/or gender identity and its relationship to well-being and educational outcomes for LGBT students. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 55*(1-2), 167–178. doi: 10.1007/s10464-014-9642-6
- Kotton, D. (2002). *Bantu Stephen Biko: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Kotzé, D. A. (1974). Black consciousness in South Africa. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, 1*(1), 44–63. doi: 10.1080/02589347408704658
- Kövány, Z. (2011). Psychobiography as a method. The revival of studying lives: New perspectives in personality and creativity research. *Europe's Journal of Psychology, 7*(4), 739-777. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v7i4.162
- Kövány, Z. (2018). Life history, clinical practice and the training of psychologists: The potential contribution of psychobiography to psychology as a “rigorous science”. *International Journal of Psychology and Psychoanalysis, 4*(1), 1-10.
<https://doi.org/10.23937/2572-4037.1510025>
- Kövány, Z. (2019). Psychobiography, self-knowledge and “psychology as a rigorous science”: Explorations in epistemology, clinical practice and university education. In C. Mayer & Z. Kövány (Eds.), *New Trends in Psychobiography* (pp. 99-113). Switzerland: Springer.
- Kramer, D. A. (2002). A psychobiographical analysis of faith, hope and despair in suicide. *Journal of Adult Development, 9*(2), 117-126. Retrieved from
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1023/A:1015785313076>
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigour in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 45*(3), 214-222. doi: 10.5014/ajot.45.3.214

- Kressel, K. (2009). Lurching toward theory: The case of case study research in conflict mediation. *Pragmatic Case Studies in Psychotherapy*, 5(3), 23-37. doi: 10.14713/pcsp.v5i3.974
- Kris, E. (1952). *Psychoanalytic explorations in art*. Madison, CT: International Universities Press.
- Krog, A. (2017, June). *Sol Plaatje: Annual commemorative public lecture*. Free State Arts Festival, South Africa: Bloemfontein, University of the Free State.
- Kroger, J. (2000). Ego identity status research in the new millennium. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*, 24(2), 145-148. doi:10.1080/016502500383250
- Kroger, J. (2005). Identity development during adolescence. In G. R. Adams & M. D. Berzonsky (Eds.), *Blackwell Handbook of Adolescence* (pp. 205-226). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Kroger, J. (2015). Identity in childhood and Adolescence. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences* (pp. 537-542). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
- Kroger, J., & Marcia, J. E. (2011). The identity statuses: Origins, meanings and interpretations. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 31-53). Springer Science + Business Media. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_2
- Kuiper, N. A., & Martin, R. A. (1993). Humor and self-concept. *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, 6(3), 251-270. doi: 10.1515/humr.1993.6.3.251
- Lacan, J. (1977). *Ecrits*. New York: Norton.
- Lacey, M. (1981). *Working for Boroko*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Langer, W. C. (1972). *The mind of Adolf Hitler*. New York: Basic Books.
- Längle, A. (2004). The search for meaning in life and the existential fundamental motivations. *International Journal of Existential Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 1(1), 28-

37. Retrieved from
<http://journal.existentialpsychology.org/index.php/ExPsy/article/view/93/200>
- László, J. (2008). *The science of the stories. An introduction to narrative psychology*. New York: Routledge.
- Leasor, J. (1962). *The plague and the fire*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Lee, D., & Tracey, J. G. (2005). Incorporating idiographic approaches into multicultural counseling research and practice. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, (33)66-80. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.2005.tb00006.x
- Lee, H. (2009). *Biography. A very short introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, Y. M., & Holm, K. (2012). Stressors related to depression among elderly Korean immigrants. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 33(1), 52-58. doi: 10.3109/01612840.2011.618965
- Leflaive, G. (2014). *Sol Plaatje: Memory and history in South Africa (1932-2013): From Oblivion to National Recognition* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Paris, France.
- Lestrade, G. P. (1934). *Some aspects of the economic life of the Southern African Bantu*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1813-6982.1934.tb03011.x>
- Leurent, H., Reddy, K. S., Voûte, J., & Yach, D. (2008). Wellness in the workplace: A multistakeholder health-promoting initiative of the world economic forum. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 22(6), 379-380. doi: 10.4278/ajhp.22.6.379
- Levenstein, S. (1994). Wellness, health, Antonovsky. *Advances: The Journal of Mind-Body Health*, 10(3), 26-29. Retrieved from <http://www.advancesjournal.com>
- Levinson, D. J. (1986). A conception of adult development. *American Psychologist*, 41(1), 3-13. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.41.1.3

- Limb, P. (2003). The 'other' Sol Plaatje: Rethinking Sol Plaatje's attitudes to empire, labour and Gender. *Journal of African Studies*, 62(1), 33-52. doi: 10.1080/0002018032000086505
- Lincoln, Y. S. (1995). Emerging criteria for quality in qualitative and interpretive inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1, 275-289. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F107780049500100301>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Linley, P. A., Joseph, S., Harrington, S., & Wood, A. M. (2006). Positive psychology: Past, present and (possible) future. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 1(1), 3-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760500372796>
- Louw, D. (2017). *The great pretender: A psychobiography of Freddie Mercury* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Louw, D. A., & Louw, A. E. (2009). *Adult development and ageing*. Bloemfontein: Psychology Publications.
- Louw, D., & Edwards, D. (1994). *Psychology: An introduction for students in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Louw, D., & Louw, A. (2014). *Child and adolescent development* (2nd ed.). Bloemfontein, South Africa: Psychology Publications.
- Lunderstedt, S. (2014). *Native eyes: Sol Plaatje versus The Natives' Land Act of 1913*. Kimberley, South Africa: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust.
- Luyckx, K., Klimstra, T. A., Duriez, B., Van Petegem, S., & Beyers, W. (2013). Personal identity processes from adolescence through the late 20s: Age trends, functionality, and

- depressive symptoms. *Journal of Social Development*, 22(4), 701–721. doi: 10.1111/sode.12027
- Maccoby, E. E. (1990). Gender and relationships: A developmental account. *American Psychologist*, 45(4), 513-520. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.45.4.513
- MacPhee, A. R., & Andrews, J. J. W. (2006). Risk factors for depression in early adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 41(163), 435-466.
- Maier, H. W. (1988). *Three theories of child development* (3rd ed.). New York: University Press of America.
- Makhudu, P. D. K. (2012). *Sol Plaatje and Setswana: Contributions towards language development* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Limpopo, Limpopo, South Africa.
- Manganyi, N. C. (1996). *A black man called Sekoto*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Manis, J. G. (1994). What should biographers tell? The ethics of telling lives. *Biography*, 17(4), 386-395. doi: 10.1353/bio.2010.0308
- Mansager, E. (2000). Notes from the special editor: Holism, wellness, spirituality. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 56(3), 237-241. Retrieved from <https://utpress.utexas.edu/journals/00-fall-56-3>
- Mansager, E., Gold, L., Griffith, B., Kal, E., Manaster, G., McArter, G., & Solverman, N. N. (2002). Spirituality in the Adlerian forum. *The Journal of Individual Psychology*, 58(2), 177-196.
- Manson, A. H., & Mbenga, B. K. (2014). *Land, chiefs, mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/10.18772/22014097717

- Marcia, J. E. (2001). A commentary on Seth Schwartz's review of identity theory and research. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(1), 59-65. doi: 10.1207/S1532706XMARCIA
- Marcia, J. E. (2002). Identity and psychosocial development in adulthood. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 2(1), 7-28.
https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1207/S1532706XID0201_02
- Marcia, J., & Josselson, R. (2013). Eriksonian personality research and its implications for psychotherapy. *Journal of Personality*, 81(6), 617–629. doi: 10.1111/jopy.12014
- Marks, N. F., Jun, H., & Song, J. (2007). Death of parents and adult psychological and physical well-being: A prospective U.S. national study. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(12), 1611-1638. doi: 10.1177/0192513X07302728
- Markstrom, C. A., & Kalmanir, H. M. (2001). Linkages between the psychosocial stages of identity and intimacy and the ego strengths of fidelity and love. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(2), 179-196. doi: 10.1207/S1532706XID0102_05
- Martin, J. (1996). Psychological research as the formulation, demonstration, and critique of psychological theories. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 16(1), 1-18. doi: 10.1037/h0091149
- Martin, J., & Sugarman, J. (2001). Interpreting human kinds: Beginnings of a hermeneutic psychology. *Theory Psychology*, 11(2), 193-207. doi: 10.1177/0959354301112003
- Mascaro, N., Rosen, D. H., & Morey, L. C. (2004). The development, construct validity and clinical utility of the spiritual meaning scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 37(4), 845-860. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2003.12.011
- Maslow, A. H. (1962). *Toward a psychology of being*. New York: D. van Nostrand.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

- Massey, R. F. (1986). Erikson: Neo-Adlerian. *Individual Psychology: The Journal of Adlerian Theory, Research and Practice*, 42(1), 65-91.
- Matija, S. (2014). Resilience in the context of Erikson's theory of human development. *Current Psychology*, 33(3), 393–404. doi: 10.1007/s12144-014-9218-5
- Matjila, D. S., & Haire, K. (2014). *Bringing Plaatje back Home*. Johannesburg: Africa World Press.
- Matthews, Z. K. (1981). *Freedom for my people: The autobiography of Z. K. Matthews*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Mayer, C. (2017). *The life and creative works of Paulo Coelho: A psychobiography from a Positive Psychology perspective*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Mayer, C., & Kőváry, Z. (2019). New perspectives on psychobiography. In C. Mayer & Z. Kőváry (Eds.), *New trends in psychobiography* (pp. 1-7). Switzerland: Springer.
- Mayer, C., & Maree, D. (2017). A psychobiographical study of intuition in a writer's life: Paulo Coelho revisited. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 13(3), 472-490.
- Mayer, C., & May, M. (2019). The positive psychology movements PP1.0 and PP2.0 in psychobiography. In C. Mayer & Z. Kőváry (Eds.), *New trends in psychobiography* (pp. 155-171). Switzerland: Springer.
- Mayer, J. D. (2010, June 27). *The APA's ethics code and personality analysis at a distance*. Retrieved from <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-personality-analyst/201006/the-apas-ethics-code-and-personality-analysis-distance>
- Mbenga, B., & Manson, A. (2012). *North West History – Tawana Molema. Historical encyclopaedia of South Africa's North-West Province*. Department of Economic Affairs & Tourism, North West Province, South Africa. Archived from the original on 15 March 2012.
- McAdams, D. P. (1985). *Power, intimacy and the life story*. New York: Guilford Press.

- McAdams, D. P. (1988). Biography, narratives and lives: An introduction. *Journal of Personality*, 56(1), 1-18. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00460.x
- McAdams, D. P. (1994). *The person: An introduction to personality psychology* (2nd ed.). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College.
- McAdams, D. P. (1996). Personality, modernity and the storied self: A contemporary framework for studying persons. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7(4), 295-321. doi: 10.1207/s15327965pli0704_1
- McAdams, D. P. (2005). What psychobiographers might learn from personality psychology. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 64 - 83). New York: Oxford University Press.
- McAdams, D. P. (2006). *The person. A new introduction to personality psychology* (4th ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- McAdams, D. P. (2009). *The person: An introduction to the Science of Personality Psychology* (5th ed.). New York: Wiley.
- McAdams, D. P. (2010). The problem of meaning in personality psychology from the standpoints of dispositional traits, characteristic adaptations, and life stories. *Japanese Journal of Personality*, 18(3), 173-186. doi:10.2132/personality.18.173
- McAdams, D. P. (2011). *George W. Bush and the redemptive dream: A psychological portrait*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McAdams, D. P., & Ochenberg, R. L. (1988). *Psychobiography and life narratives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- McAdams, D. P., & West, S. G. (1997). Introduction: Personality psychology and the case study. *Journal of Personality*, 65(4), 757-783. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1997.tb00533.x
- McAdams, D. P., Anyidoho, N. A., Brown, C., Huang, Y. T., Kaplan, B., & Machado, M. A. (2004). Traits and stories: Links between dispositional and narrative features of

- personality. *Journal of Personality*, 72(4), 761–784. doi: org/10.1111/j.0022-3506.2004.00279.x
- McAdams, D. P., Reynolds, J., Lewis, M., Patten, A. H., & Bowman, P. J. (2001). When bad things turn good and good things turn bad: Sequences of redemption and contamination in life narrative and their relation to psychosocial adaptation in midlife adults and in students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(4), 474–485.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1177/0146167201274008>
- McKee, A. (2004). Getting to know case study research: A brief introduction. *Workbased Learning in Primary Care*, 2(1), 6-8.
- McLeod, J. (1994). *Doing counseling research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mda, Z. (2016, June). *Sol Plaatje: Annual commemorative public lecture*. Free State Arts Festival, South Africa: Bloemfontein, University of the Free State.
- Meissner, W. W. (2003). Methodological issues in the psychohistory: Psychobiography of religious figures. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *The annual of psychoanalysis* (vol. 31, pp. 181-196). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Mendelsohn, R. (2007). Blainey and the Jameson Raid: The debate renewed. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 6(2), 157-170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057078008708012>
- Merz, E., & Huxhold, O. (2010). Wellbeing depends on social relationship characteristics: Comparing different types and providers of support to older adults. *Ageing and Society*, 30(5), 843-857. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X10000061
- Mettler, P. (2016). Is bruin mense ontslae van die juk van Apartheid? In W. A. M. Carstens & M. Le Cordeur (Eds.), *Ons kom van vêr* (pp. 129-145). Tygervally: Naledi.
- Meyer, W., & Viljoen, H. (2003). The ego psychological theory of Erik Erikson (1902-1980) [sic]. In W. Meyer, C. Moore, & H. Viljoen (Eds.), *Personology: From individual to ecosystem* (3rd ed., pp. 186-211). Sandown: Heinemann.

- Meyer, W. F., Moore, C., & Viljoen, H. G. (2008). *Personology. From individual to ecosystem*. (4th ed.). Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Meyer, W., Moore, C., & Viljoen, H. (2003). *Personology from individual to ecosystem* (3rd ed.). Cape Town: Heinemann.
- Midgeley, P. (1997). *Sol Plaatje: An Introduction*. Grahamstown: National English Literature Museum.
- Mikulincer, M., Shaver, P. R., & Pereg, D. (2003). Attachment theory and affect regulation: The dynamics, development, and cognitive consequences of attachment-related strategies. *Motivation and Emotion*, 27(2), 77–102. doi: 10.1023/A:1024515519160
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994a). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994b). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Millard, C. (2016). *Hero of the empire: The Boer War, a daring escape, and the making of Winston Churchill*. New York: Doubleday.
- Miller, P. H. (2010). *Theories of developmental psychology* (5th ed.). New York: Worth Publishers.
- Miller, P. H. (2016). *Theories of developmental psychology* (6th ed.). New York: Worth Publishers.
- Minnameier, G. (2010). The logicity of abduction, deduction and induction. In M. Bergman, S. Paavola, A. V. Pietarinen, & H. Rydenfelt (Eds.), *Ideas in action: Proceedings of the Applying Peirce conference* (pp. 239–251). Nordic Studies in Pragmatism 1. Helsinki: Nordic Pragmatism Network.
- Mitchell, G. P., & Howcroft, G. (2015). Hagiography: Current and prospective contributions. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 25(5), 390–394. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101270

- Mizoguchi, A. (2009). *Imagining the empire under siege: Sol Plaatje's writing on the time during the Anglo-Boer War*. Retrieved from
file:///C:/Users/cwelman/Downloads/Mizoguchi%20pp1-13%20(1).pdf
- Mkhize, K. (2015). *Empire unbound - Imperial citizenship, race and diaspora in the making of South Africa* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania. Retrieved from <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1096>
- Mochon, D., Norton, M. I., & Ariely, D. (2008). Getting off the hedonic treadmill, one step at a time: The impact of regular religious practice and exercise on well-being. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 29(5), 632-642. doi: 10.1016/j.joep.2007.10.004
- Moguerane, K. (2016). Black landlords, their tenants and the Natives Land Act of 1913. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42(2), 243-266.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1148954>
- Mokae, S. (2010). *The story of Sol T. Plaatje*. Kimberley, South Africa: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust.
- Mokae, S. (2012). *The family of Sol T. Plaatje*. Kimberley, South Africa: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust.
- Molema, S. M. (1920). *The Bantu past and present: An ethnographical and historical study of the native races of South Africa*. Edinburgh: W. Green & Son.
- Molema, S. M. (1966). *Montshiwa: Barolong chief and patriot, 1815-96*. Cape Town: Struik.
- Molema, S. M. (2012). *Lover of his people: A biography of Sol Plaatje*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Mollinger, R. N. (1975). Introduction on psychohistory. *Journal of Psychoanalytic Review*, 62(2), 315-319.
- Morris, A. G. (1997). The Griqua and the Khoikhoi: Biology, ethnicity and the construction of identity. *Journal of Cape History*, 24, 106-118.

- Morris, C. G. (1996). *Psychology: An introduction* (9th ed.). New Jersey, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Morris, C. G., & Maisto, A. A. (2002). *Psychology: An introduction* (11th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counselling psychology. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52(2), 250-260.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250>
- Morrow, S. L., & Smith, M. L. (2000). Qualitative research for counselling psychology. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Handbook of counselling psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 199-230). New York: Wiley.
- Mosak, H. M., & Dreikurs, R. (2000). Spirituality. The fifth life task. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 56(3), 257-265. Retrieved from
<http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/9054817/spirituality-fifth-life-task>
- Mosak, H. M., & Maniaci, M. (2008). Adlerian Psychotherapy. In R. J. Corsini & D. Wedding (Eds.), *Current psychotherapies* (8th ed., pp. 63-106). Belmont, CA: Thomson Brooks/Cole.
- Moss, A. A. (1981). *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mpe, P. (1996). *Sol Plaatje, orality and the politics of culture* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Mui, A. C. (2001). Stress, coping, and depression among elderly Korean immigrants. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 3(3-4), 281-299. doi:
10.1300/J137v03n03_17
- Müller, T. (2010). *A psychobiography of Paul Jackson Pollock* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

- Munter, P. O. (1975). Psychobiographical assessment. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 39(4), 424-428. doi: 10.1207/s15327752jpa3904_18
- Murray, H. A. (1943). *Analysis of the personality of Adolf Hitler with predictions of his future behaviour and suggestions for dealing with him now and after Germany's surrender*. Harvard Psychological Clinic. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-02646R000100030002-2.pdf>
- Murray, H. A. (1981). *Endeavors in Psychology: Selections from the Personology of Henry A. Murray*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Murray, M. (1989). 'The Natives are always stealing: White vigilantes and the reign of terror in the OFS, 1918-1924'. *Journal of African History*, 30(10), 112-113.
- Musemwa, M. (2006). Disciplining a dissident city: Hydropolitics in the city of Bulawayo, Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, 1980-1994. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(2), 239-254. doi: 10.1080/03057070600656119
- Myers, J. E. (1991). Wellness as the paradigm for counseling and development: The possible future. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, 30(3), 183-193. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6978.1991.tb01199.x
- Myers, J. E. (1992). Wellness, prevention, development: The cornerstone of the profession. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 71(2), 136-139. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1992.tb02188.x
- Myers, J. E. (2009). Wellness through social interest: The goal of helping. In T. J. Sweeney (Ed.), *Adlerian counselling and psychotherapy: A practitioner's approach* (5th ed., pp. 33-44). New York: Routledge.
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2004). The indivisible self: An evidence-based model of wellness. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 60(3), 234-245.

- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2005a). *Counseling for wellness: Theory, research, and practice*. Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2005b). *The Five Factor Wellness Inventory, Adult (5F-Wel-A)*. Palo Alto, CA: Mindgarden.
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2005c). The indivisible self: An evidence-based model of wellness. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, *61*(3), 269-279. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f345/ee44e2f14c74f43fddac1f771376706270cf.pdf>
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2005d). *Manual for the Five Factor Wellness Inventory, Elementary*. Palo Alto, CA: Mindgarden.
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2006). Counseling for wellness: Theory, research, and practice. Response to Charyton. PsycCritiques. Retrieved from http://libres.uncg.edu/ir/uncg/f/J_Myers_Counseling_2006.pdf
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2007). *Wellness in counselling: An overview (ACAPCD-09)*. Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- Myers, J. E., & Sweeney, T. J. (2008). Wellness counseling: The evidence base for practice. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *86*(4), 482-493. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6678.2008.tb00536.x
- Myers, J. E., Luecht, R. M., & Sweeney, T. J. (2004). The factor structure of wellness: Re-examining theoretical and empirical models underlying the wellness evaluation of lifestyle (WEL) and the five-factor WEL. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *36*(4), 194-208. doi: 10.1080/07481756.2004.11909742
- Myers, J. E., Sweeney, T. J., & Witmer, J. M. (2000). The wheel of wellness. Counseling for wellness: A holistic model for treatment planning. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *78*(3), 251-266. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.2000.tb01906.x

Myers, J. E., Witmer, J. M., & Sweeney, T. J. (2001). *Wellness evaluation of lifestyle (WEL) Workbook*. Menlo Park, CA: Mind Garden.

Myers, S. G. (2012). *Buffalo*. USA, Buffalo: Arcadia Publishing.

Nasson, B. (2004). "Why they fought: Black Cape colonists and imperial wars 1899-1918". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 37(1), 55-70. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f45b/7e4471dc19d8ea2e866aceecd74a74f86b04.pdf>

Ndhlovu, F., & Kamusella, T. (2018). Challenging intellectual colonialism: The rarely noticed question of methodological tribalism in language research. In T. Kamusella & F. Ndhlovu (Eds.), *The social and political history of Southern Africa's languages*, (pp. 347-364). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/deref/https%3A%2F%2Fdoi.org%2F10.1057%2F978-1-137-01593-8_22

Nechal, C. M. (2016). *The indivisible self model in counseling: A wellness program* (Unpublished master's thesis). The Adler Graduate School, Richfield, Minnesota.

Nel, C. (2013). *The life of Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Nell, W. (2018). *Joan Rivers* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Nelson-Becker, H. (2005). Religion and coping in older adults: A social work perspective. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 45(1-2), 51-67. https://doi.org/10.1300/J083v45n01_04

Neuman, W. L. (2003). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7th ed.). Pearson Education: Allyn & Bacon.

- Newman, B. M., & Newman, P. R. (2012). *Development through life. A psychosocial approach* (2nd ed.). Belmont: Cengage Learning.
- Newman, B. M., & Newman, P. R. (2017). *Development through life: A psychosocial approach* (13th ed.). New York: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Ngcongco, L. D. (1979). 'John Tengo Jabavu 1859-1921'. In C. Saunders (Ed.), *Black leaders in South African history*. (pp. 142-155). London: Heinemann Educational.
- Nortjé, N., Fouché, P., & Gogo, O. (2013). The neo-Adlerian holistic wellness of Brenda Fassie: A psychobiography. *Online Journal of African Affairs*, 2(3), 46-53.
- Nunnally, J. C. (1978). *Psychometric theory* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Nworah, K. (1971). The aborigines' protection society, 1889-1909: A pressure-group in colonial policy. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 5(1), 79-91. doi: 10.2307/484052
- O'Brien, L., Denny, S., Clark, T., Fleming, T., Teevale, T., & Robinson, E. (2013). The impact of religion and spirituality on the risk behaviours of young people in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Youth Studies Australia*, 32(4), 25-37. Retrieved from <http://pym.org.nz/skoty/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/YSAdec2013spirituality.pdf>
- Oakes, D. (1992). *Illustrated history of South Africa* (2nd ed.). Cape Town: The Reader's Digest Association of South Africa.
- Ochse, R., & Plug, C. (1986). Cross-cultural investigation of the validity of Erikson's theory of personality development. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50(6), 1240-1252. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.50.6.1240
- Odendaal, A. (2003). *The story of an African game*. Cape Town: New Africa Books.
- Odendaal, A. (2012). *The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana.

- Oliver, M. D. (2018). *An exploration into the relationship between indices of autonomic nervous system health and wellness* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Oliver, M. D., Baldwin, D. R., & Datta, S. (2018). Health to wellness: A review of wellness models and transitioning back to health. *The International Journal of Health, Wellness and Society*, 9(1), 41-56. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.18848/2156-8960/CGP/v09i01/41-56>
- Oosthuizen, G. (2018). *Clive Staples Lewis: A psychobiography* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Pampalis, J. (1992). *Sol Plaatje*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Panelatti, A. (2018). *Sylvia Plath: A Psychobiographical Study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Papalia, D. E., Olds, S. W., & Feldman, R. D. (2006). *A child's world. Infancy through adolescence*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Park, N., & Peterson, C. (2006). Moral competence and character strengths among adolescents: The development and validation of the values in action inventory of strengths for youth. *Journal of Adolescence*, 29(6), 891–909. doi: 10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.04.011
- Parsons, N., & Crowder, M. (1988). Gaborone: The Botswana Society. *Journal of African History*, 30(2), 345-347. doi: 10.1017/S0021853700024257
- Patterson, J. M. (2002). Understanding family resilience. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 58(3), 233-246. doi: 10.1002/jclp.10019
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice*. (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peck, C. R. (1968). Psychological developments in the second half of life. In B. L. Neugarten (Ed.), *Middle age and aging* (pp. 88-92). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Peedicayil, J. (2012). A comparison of Erikson's epigenetic principle with epigenetics. *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, 315, 144–145. doi: 10.1016/j.jtbi.2012.09.010
- Peires, J. (1980). Lovedale press: Literature for the Bantu revisited. *English in Africa*, 7(1), 71-85.
- Penn, N. (2005). *The forgotten frontier: Colonists and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th century*. Athens, Ohio: Double Storey and Ohio University Press.
- Peräkylä, A. (2004). Reliability and validity in research based on naturally occurring social interaction. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 283-304). London: Sage.
- Perry, M. J. (2012). *The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Peshkin, A. (1988). In search of subjectivity - One's own. *Educational Researcher*, 29, 5-9.
- Peterson, B. E., & Stewart, A. J. (1993). Generativity and social motives in young adults. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(1), 186–198. Retrieved from <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.65.1.186>
- Peterson, B., Willan, B. & Remmington, J. (2016). *Sol Plaatje's native life in South Africa. Past and Present*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Peterson, C. (2000). Optimistic explanatory style and health. In J. E. Gillham (Ed.), *The science of optimism and hope: Research essays in honor of Martin E. P. Seligman* (pp. 145-162). Radnor, PA: Templeton Foundation Press.

- Peterson, C., & Park, N. (2003). Positive psychology as the evenhanded positive psychologist views it. *Psychological Inquiry*, 14(2), 143-147.
- Peterson, F. (2018, June). *Sol Plaatje: Annual Commemorative Public Lecture*. Free State Arts Festival, South Africa: Bloemfontein, University of the Free State.
- Phillips, H. (1990). *Black October: The impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa*. Pretoria: Archives Year Book for South African History.
- Phoenix, T. L. (2001). Who am I? Identity formation, youth and therapeutic recreation. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal*, 35(4), 348-356. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4e97/fab73531c0bb2bfc95f965238d5522c6db62.pdf>
- Pienaar, T. C. (1981). Solomon, Georgiana Margaret. In C. J. Beyers (Ed.), *Dictionary of South African biography* (Vol. IV, pp. 590-591). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Pietikainen, P., & Ihanus, J. (2003). On the origins of psychoanalytic psychohistory. *History of Psychology*, 6(2), 171-194. doi: 10.1037/1093-4510.6.2.171
- Pillay, K. (2009). *Mahatma Gandhi: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1909). *The Essential Interpreter. An essay*. Retrieved from http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/Sol_T._Plaatje
- Plaatje, S. T. (1916a). *Sechuana Proverbs with literal translations and their European equivalents*. London: Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1916b). *Native life in South Africa: Before and since the European war and the Boer Rebellion*. London: P. S. King & Sons Ltd.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1921). *The Mote and the Beam: An Epic on Sex-relationship 'twixt White and Black in British South Africa*. New York: Young's Book Exchange.

- Plaatje, S. T. (1925, 15 June). *Friends of the natives*. Kimberley, South Africa: Diamond Fields Advertiser.
- Plaatje, S. (1930a). *Mhudi: An epic of South African life a hundred years ago*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1930b). *Diphosho-phosho/Comedy of Errors*. Kimberley: Morija Press.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1931, July, 9). 'Through native eyes: a visit to the Belgian Congo'. Cape Town: Cape Argus.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1931, June, 20). 'Native's definition of segregation'. Zimbabwe: Bulawayo Chronicle.
- Plaatje, S. T. (1937). *Dintshontsho Tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara/Julius Caesar*. (C. Doke & G. P. Lestrade, Eds.). Johannesburg: Wits University Bantu Treasury Series.
- Plaatje, S. (1998). *Native life in South Africa*. London: P. S. King and Son Ltd.
- Plaatje, S. (1999). *The Mafeking diary of Sol T. Plaatje*. In J. Comaroff, B. Willan, S. Molema, & A. Reed (Eds.), *Centenary edition*. (pp. 27-154). Cape Town: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd.
- Plaatje, S. T. (2016). A South African's homage. *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, 28, 21-34. doi: 10.4314/sisa.v28i1.3
- Plomin, R., Scheier, M. F., Bergeman, C. S., Pendersen, N. L., Nesselroade, J. R., & McClearn, G. E. (1992). Optimism, pessimism and mental health: A twin/adoption analysis. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 13(8), 921-930. doi: 10.1016/0191-8869(92)90009-E.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Ponterotto, J. G. (2005). Integrating qualitative research requirements into professional psychology training programs in North America: Rationale and curriculum model. *Quality Research in Psychology*, 2(2), 97-116. doi: 10.1191/1478088705qp035oa
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2006). Brief note on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative research concept thick description. *The Qualitative Report*, 11(3) 538-549. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol11/iss3/6>
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2010). Qualitative research in multicultural psychology: Philosophical underpinnings, popular approaches, and ethical considerations. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16(4), 581-589. doi: 10.1037/a0012051
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2012). *A psychobiography of Bobby Fischer: Understanding the genius, mystery, and psychological decline of a world chess champion*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, Pub Ltd.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2013). Case study in psychobiographical ethics: Bobby Fischer, World Chess Champion. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, 8(4), 19–27. doi: 10.1525/jer.2013.8.4.19
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2014a). The art and craft of psychobiography. *Counseling Today*, 56(9), 54-62. Retrieved from <https://ct.counseling.org/2014/02/the-art-and-craft-of-psychobiography/>
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2014b). Best practices in psychobiographical research: Ethical considerations and publishing. *Qualitative Psychology*, 1(1), 77-90. doi: 10.1037/qup0000005
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2015a). Psychobiography in psychology: Past, present, and future. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 25(5), 379-389. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101267

- Ponterotto, J. G. (2015b). In pursuit of William James' McLean hospital records: An inherent conflict between postmortem privacy rights and advancing psychological science. *Review of General Psychology, 19*(1), 96-105. doi: 10.1037/gpr0000031
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2017a). John F. Kennedy, Jr., and the torn self: A psychological portrait. *Journal of Psychohistory, 44*(3), 221-241.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2017b). A counsellor's guide to conducting psychobiographical research. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 39*(3), 249-263. doi: 10.1007/s10447-017-9295-x
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Grieger, I. (2007). Effectively communicating qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35*(3), 404-430. doi: 10.1177/0011000006287443
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Moncayo, K. (2018). A cautious alliance: The psychobiographer's relationship with her/his subject. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology, 18*(Sup 1), 1-12. doi: 10.1080/20797222.2018.1511311
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Reynolds, J. D. (2013). The "genius" and "madness" of Bobby Fischer: His life from three psychobiographical lenses. *Review of General Psychology, 17*(4), 384-398. doi: 10.1037/a0033246
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Reynolds, J. D. (2017). Ethical and legal considerations in psychobiography. *American Psychologist, 72*(5), 446-458. doi: 10.1037/amp0000047
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Reynolds, J. D. (2019). An ethics guide to psychobiography: A best practice model. In C. Mayer & Z. Köváry (Eds.), *New Trends in Psychobiography* (pp. 55-78). Switzerland: Springer.
- Ponterotto, J. G., Reynolds, J. D., Morel, S., & Cheung, L. (2015). Psychobiography training in psychology in North America: Mapping the field and charting a course. *Europe's Journal of Psychology, 11*(3), 459-475. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v11i3.938
- Porter, S. (2012). *The great plague of London*. Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing.

- Pozzuto, R. (1982). Toward an Adlerian psychohistory. *Individual Psychology*, 38(3), 261-270. Retrieved from psycnet.apa.org/record/1984-16563-001
- Prenter, T. (2015). *A psychobiographical study of Charlize Theron* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Prince, M. (1915). *Psychology of the Kaiser: A study of his sentiments and his obsessions*. London: Badger.
- Rall, M. (2003). *Peacable warrior: The life and times of Sol T. Plaatje*. Kimberley, South Africa: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust.
- Ramoroka, M. D. (2009). *The history of the Barolong in the district of Mafikeng: A study of the Intra-Batswana ethnicity and political culture from 1852 to 1950* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Zululand, Richards Bay, South Africa.
- Raper, P. E. (1987). *Dictionary of South African place names*. Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers.
- Reber, A. S., & Reber, E. S. (2001). *Dictionary of psychology* (4th ed.). London: Penguin Books.
- Remington, J. (2013, June). Solomon Plaatje's decade of creative mobility, 1912-1922: The politics of travel and writing in and beyond South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(2), 425-446. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2013.767546>
- Roazen, P. (1976). *Erik H. Erikson: The power and limits of a vision*. New York: The Free Press.
- Roberts, B. (1976). *Kimberley: Turbulent City*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical research*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.
- Roberts, P., & Newton, P. M. (1987). Levinsonian studies of women's adult development. *Psychology and Aging*, 2(2), 154-163. doi: 10.1037//0882-7974.2.2.154

- Robins, R. W., Fraley, R. C., & Krueger, R. F. (2007). *Handbook of research methods in personality psychology*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Robinson, O. C. (2011). The idiographic/nomothetic dichotomy: Tracing historical origins of contemporary confusions. *History & Philosophy of Psychology, 13*(2), 32–39.
- Robinson, O. C., & McAdams, D. P. (2015). Four functional roles for case studies in emerging adulthood research. *Emerging Adulthood, 3*(6), 413-420. doi: 10.1177/2167696815592727
- Robinson, O., & Smith, J. (2010). The Stormy Search for Self in Early Adulthood: Developmental Crisis and the Dissolution of Dysfunctional Personae. *The Humanistic Psychologist, 38*(2), 120 -145. doi: 10.1080/08873267.2010.485916
- Robinson, O., & Stell, A. (2015). Later-life crisis: Towards a holistic model. *Journal of Adult Development, 22*(1), 38-49. doi: 10.1007/s10804-014-9199-5
- Robinson, O., Demetro, J. D., & Litman, J. A. (2016). Adult life stage and crisis as predictors of curiosity and authenticity: Testing inferences from Erikson’s lifespan theory. *International Journal of Behavioural Development, 42*(3), 1-6. doi: 10.1177/0165025416645201
- Robinson, O., Wright, G., & Smith, J. (2013). The holistic phase model of early adult crisis. *Journal of Adult Development, 20*(1), 27-37. doi: 10.1007/s10804-013-9153-y
- Rogers, J. S. (1990). *Cobden and his Kate: The story of a marriage*. London: Historical Publications.
- Roh, S. (2010). *The impact of religion, spirituality, and social support on depression and life satisfaction among Korean immigrant older adults* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). New York University, New York, United States of America.

- Roscoe, L. J. (2009). Wellness: A review of theory and measurement for counselors. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 87(2), 216-226. Retrieved from <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2009.tb00570.x>
- Rosenthal, E. (1967). *Ensiklopedie van Suidelike Afrika*. Central News Agency.
- Rosenwald, G. C. (1988). A theory of multiple-case research. *Journal of Personality*, 56(1), 239-264. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00468.x
- Rossmann, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2003). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rotberg, R. I. (1988). *The founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2001). *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rule, P. (2016, October 5). Remembering Sol Plaatje as South Africa's original public educator. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/remembering-sol-plaatje-as-south-africas-original-public-educator-65979>
- Runyan, W. M. (1982). In defence of the case study method. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 52(3), 440-446. Retrieved from <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1982.tb01430.x>
- Runyan, W. M. (1983). Idiographic goals and methods in the study of lives. *Journal of Personality*, 51(3), 413-437. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1983.tb00339.x
- Runyan, W. M. (1984). *Lives, histories and psychobiography: Explorations in theory and method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Runyan, W. M. (1988a). A historical and conceptual background to psychohistory. In W. M. Runyan (Ed.), *Psychology and historical interpretation* (pp. 3-60). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Runyan, W. M. (1988b). Progress in psychobiography. *Journal of Personality*, 56(1), 295-326. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00470.x
- Runyan, W. M. (1988c). Alternatives to psychoanalytic psychobiography. In W. M. Runyan (Ed.), *Psychology and historical interpretation* (pp. 219-244). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Runyan, W. M. (1997). Studying lives: Psychobiography and the conceptual structure of personality psychology. In R. Hogan (Ed.), *Handbook of personality* (pp. 41-69). New York: Academic.
- Runyan, W. M. (2003). From the study of lives and psychohistory to historicizing psychology: A conceptual journey. In J. A. Winer & J. W. Anderson (Eds.), *Annual of psychoanalysis* (pp. 119–132). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Runyan, W. M. (2005). Evolving conceptions of psychobiography and the study of lives: Encounters with psychoanalysis, personality psychology and historical science. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 19-41). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Runyan, W. M. (2019). Adventures in psychobiography and the study of lives: A personal journey. In C. Mayer & Z. Kövary (Eds.), *New Trends in Psychobiography* (pp. 35-53). Switzerland: Springer.
- Runyan, W. M. (1981). Why did Van Gogh cut off his ear? The problem of alternative explanations in psychobiography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40(6), 1070-1077. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.40.6.1070
- Rust, B. (2019). *Ingrid Jonker: A Psychobiography* (Unpublished master’s thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Ryff, C. D. (1995). Psychological well-being in adult life. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 4(4), 99-104. doi: 10.1111/1467-8721.ep10772395

- Ryckman, R. M. (1989). *Theories of Personality* (4th ed.). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Saccaggi, C. F. (2015). *Leading the latter-day saints: Psychobiographical studies of mormon prophets* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Sackney, L., Noonan, B., & Miller, C. M. (2000). Leadership for educator wellness: An exploratory study. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 3(1), 41-56. doi: 10.1080/136031200292858
- Sadie, S., & Tyrrell, J. (2004). *The new grove dictionary of music and musicians*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2003). *Kaplan & Sadock's synopsis of psychiatry, Behavioural Science/Clinical Psychiatry* (9th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott, Williams & Wilkins.
- Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2007). *Kaplan & Sadock's synopsis of psychiatry* (10th ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Saks, L. (2004). Projecting citizenship: Realizing Plaatje's vision in "Come see the bioscope". *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, 45(2), 24-35.
- Santrock, J. W. (2001). *Child Development* (9th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Scalapino, L. M. (1999). *Anne Sexton: A psychological portrait* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Psychology, University of Alberta, Alberta, USA.
- Schachter, E. P. (2005). Erikson meets the postmodern: Can classic identity theory rise to the challenge? *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 5(2), 137-160. doi: 10.1207/s1532706xid0502_4
- Schapera, I. (1938). *A handbook of Tswana law and custom*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Schoeman, K. (1985). *Die huis van die armes: Die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap in die OFS, 1834-1869*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Schoeman, K. (1991). *The missionary letters of Gottlob Schreiner 1837-1846*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Schultz, D. P., & Schultz, S. E. (2013). *Theories of personality* (10th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Schultz, D. P., & Schultz, S. E. (2017). *Theories of personality* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.
- Schultz, W. T. (2001a). Psychology and life-writing. In M. Jolly (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of life-writing* (pp. 1-5). London, England: Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Schultz, W. T. (2001b). Psychobiography and the study of lives: Interview with William McKinley Runyan [Special issue]. *Clio's Psyche: A Psychohistorical Forum*, 8(3), 105-112.
- Schultz, W. T. (2003). The prototypical scene. A method for generating psychobiographical hypothesis. In R. Josselson, A. Lieblich, & D. P. McAdams (Eds.), *Up close and personal: Teaching and learning narrative methods* (pp. 151-176). Washington, DC: American Psychology Association Press.
- Schultz, W. T. (2005a). How to write a psychobiography. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 3-18). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schultz, W. T. (2005b). How to strike psychological pay dirt in biographical data. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 42-63). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schultz, W. T. (2013). William Todd Schultz: A site devoted to (a) psychobiography and (b) writings by William Todd Schultz. Retrieved from <http://williamtoddschultz.wordpress.com/>

- Schultz, W. T. (2014). The psychobiography of genius. In D. K. Simonton (Ed.), *The Wiley handbook of genius* (pp. 20-32). New York: Wiley.
- Schultz, W. T., & Lawrence, S. (2017). Psychobiography: Theory and method. *American Psychologist*, 72(5), 434-445. doi: 10.1037/amp0000130
- Schultz, D. P. & Schultz, S. E. (2009). *Theories of personality* (9th ed.). Australia: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Schurink, W. J. (1988). Lewensgeskiedenis: Die gebruik van persoonlike dokumente. In M. Ferreira, J. Mouton, G. Puth, E. Schurink, & W. Schurink (Eds.), *Inleiding tot kwalitatiewe metodes* (pp. 14-74). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Schurink, W. J. (2003). Qualitative research in management and organisational studies with reference to recent South African research. *South African Journal of Human Resource Management*, 1(3), 2-14. doi: 10.4102/sajhrm.v1i3.25
- Schwartz, S. J. (2001). The evolution of Eriksonian and neo-Eriksonian identity theory and research: A review and integration. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(1), 7-58. doi: 10.1207/S1532706XSCHWARTZ
- Seddon, D. (2004). Shakespeare's orality: Solomon Plaatje's Setswana translations. *Journal of English Studies in Africa*, 47(2), 77-95. doi: 10.1080/00138390408691323
- Seligman, L., & Reichenberg, L. W. (2010). *Theories of counselling and psychotherapy: Systems, strategies, and skills* (3rd. ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 5-14. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.55.1.5
- Seligman, M. E. P., Steen, T. A., Park, N., & Peterson, C. (2005). Positive psychology progress. Empirical validation of interventions. *American Psychologist*, 60(5), 410-421. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.60.5.410

- Shadish, W. R. (1995). The logic of generalization: Five principles common to experiments and ethnographies. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(3), 419-428.
<https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1007/BF02506951>
- Shaffer, D. R. (2002). *Developmental psychology: Childhood and adolescence* (6th ed). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson.
- Shannonhouse, L., Myers, J., & Sweeney, T. (2016). *Counseling for wellness*. In M. Stebnicki, & I. Marini (Eds.), *The Professional Counselors' Desk Reference*. (2nd ed.), (pp. 617-623). Switzerland: Springer. doi: 10.1891/9780826171825.0093
- Sharma, D. (2011). *Barack Obama in Hawaii and Indonesia: The making of a global president*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22(2), 63-75. doi: 10.3233/EFI-2004-22201
- Shepherd, R. H. W. (1945). *Lovedale and literature for the Bantu: A brief history and a forecast*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Shillington, K (1985). *The colonisation of the Southern Tswana 1870-1900*. Pretoria: Ravan Press.
- Shiner, L. (2005). Psychobiography. In A. de Mijolla (Ed.), *The international dictionary of psychoanalysis* (p. 1388). Detroit: Thomson Gale.
- Sigelman, C. K., & Rider, E. A. (2009). *Life-span human development* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. B. (2008). *Doing qualitative research. A comprehensive guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Simonton, D. K. (1999). Significant samples: The Psychological study of eminent individuals. *Psychological Methods*, 4(4), 425-451. doi: 10.1037//1082-989X.4.4.425

- Simonton, D. K. (2003). Qualitative and quantitative analyses of historical data. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54(1), 617-641. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145034
- Skinner, R. (2010). *Foundations of Anti-Apartheid: Liberal Humanitarians and Transnational Activists in Britain and the United States*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smuts, J. C. (1942). *Plans for a better world: Speeches of Field-Marshal the Right Honourable J. C. Smuts, PC., CH., KC., DTD*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Sneed, J. R., Whitbourne, S. K., & Culang, M. E. (2006). Trust, identity, and ego integrity: Modeling Erikson's core stages over 34 years. *Journal of Adult Development*, 13(3), 148-157. doi: 10.1007/s10804-007-9026-3
- Sokolovsky, M. (1996). Case studies as research method to study life histories of elderly people: Some ideas and a case study of a case study. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 10(4), 281-294. doi: 10.1016/S0890-4065(96)90002-X
- Soldz, S., & Vaillant, G. E. (1999). The Big Five personality traits and the life course: A 45-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33(2), 208-232. doi: 10.1006/jrpe.1999.2243
- Sollod, R. N., Wilson, J. P., & Monte, C.F. (2009). *Beneath the mask: An introduction to theories of personality* (8th ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- SookDeo, A. (1988). The transformation of ethnic identities, the case of 'Coloured and Indian South Africans'. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 15(4).
- Sorell, G. T., & Montgomery, M. J. (2001). Feminist perspectives on Erikson's theory: Their relevance for contemporary identity development research. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(2), 97-128. doi: 10.1207/S1532706XID0102_01
- South African History Online. (SAHO). (2017, September). Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/solomon-tshekisho-plaatje>

- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stapleton, T. (1996). The expansion of a pseudo-ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo 'Exodus' of 1865. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 29(2), 233-250. doi: 10.2307/220517
- Starfield, J. (2001). Rethinking Sol Plaatje's Mafeking Diary. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(4), 855-863. doi: 10.1080/03057070120090713
- Steger, M. F. (2012). Experiencing meaning in life: Optimal functioning at the nexus of well-being, psychopathology, and spirituality. In P. T. P. Wong (Ed.), *Personality and clinical psychology series. The human quest for meaning: Theories, research, and applications* (pp. 165-184). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Steinberg, L., Elmen, J. D., & Mounts, N. S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychosocial maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child Development*, 60(6), 1424 – 1436. doi: 10.2307/1130932
- Steinitz, R. (2011). *Time, space and gender in the nineteenth century British Diary*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stevens, R. (2008). *Erik Erikson: Explorer of identity and the life cycle*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stewart, A. J., Franz, C., & Layton, L. (1988). The changing self: Using personal documents to study lives. In D. P. McAdams & R. L. Ochberg (Eds.), *Psychobiography and life narratives* (p. 41–74). Duke University Press.
- Stewart, J. (1887). *Lovedale past and present*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Stone, A. A., Cox, D. S., Valdimarsdotti, H., Jandorf, L., & Neale, J. M. (1987). Evidence that secretory IgA Antibody is associated with daily mood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(5), 988-993. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.52.5.988

- Strack, S. (2005). *Handbook of personology and psychopathology*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Strasburger, V. C. (2009). Why do adolescent health researchers ignore the impact of the media? *Journal of Adolescent Health, 44*(3), 203-205. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2008.12.019
- Stroud, L. (2004). *A psychobiographical study of Mother Teresa* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Strümpfer, D. J. W. (1990). Salutogenesis: A new paradigm. *South African Journal of Psychology, 20*(4), 45-52. doi: 10.1177/008124639002000406
- Strümpfer, D. J. W. (1995). The origins of health and strength: From 'salutogenesis' to 'fortigenesis'. *South African Journal of Psychology, 25*(3), 81-89. doi: 10.1177/008124639502500203
- Strümpfer, D. J. W. (2005). Standing on the shoulders of giants: Notes on early positive psychology (psychofortology). *South African Journal of Psychology, 35*(1), 21-45. doi: 10.1177/008124630503500102
- Strümpfer, D. J. W. (2006). The strengths perspective: Fortigenesis in adult life. *Social Indicators Research, 77*(1), 11-36. doi: 10.1007/s11205-005-5551-2
- Struwig, F. W., & Stead, G. B. (2004). *Planning, designing and reporting research*. Cape Town: Pearson Education.
- Strydom, H., & Delpont, C. S. L. (2005). Information collection: Document study and secondary analysis. In A. S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, & C. S. L. Delpont (Eds.), *Research at grass roots for the social science and human service professions* (3rd ed., pp. 314-326). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

- Stubbe, J. H., De Moor, M. H., Boomsma, D. I., & De Geus, E. J. (2007). The association between exercise participation and well-being: A co-twin study. *Preventive Medicine, 44*, 148–152. doi: 10.1016/j.ypmed.2006.09.002
- Swart, D. K. (2010). *Bram Fischer: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Swart, S. (2014). 'It is as bad to be a Black man's animal as it is to be a Black man' – The politics of species in Sol Plaatje's *Native Life in South Africa*. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 40*(4), 689-705. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2014.930625
- Swartz, L., De la Rey, C., Duncan, N., & Townsend, L. (2008). *Psychology: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.
- Sweeney, T. J. (2009). Individual psychology: The man, the movement, and the psychology of Alfred Adler. In T. J. Sweeney (Ed.), *Adlerian counseling and psychotherapy: A practitioner's approach* (5th ed., pp. 3–32). New York: Routledge.
- Sweeney, T. J., & Witmer, J. M. (1991). Beyond social interest: Striving toward optimum health and wellness. *Individual Psychology: Journal of Adlerian Theory, Research & Practice, 47*(4), 527–540.
- Syed, M., & Seiffge-Krenke, I. (2013). Personality development from adolescence to emerging adulthood: linking trajectories of ego development to the family context and identity formation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 104*(2), 371-384. doi: 10.1037/a0030070
- Tatz, M. (1962). *Shadow and substance in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Tavallaei, M., & Abu Talib, M. (2010). A general perspective on role of theory in qualitative research. *Journal of International Social Research, 3*(11), 570-577. Retrieved from http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt3/sayi11pdf/tavallaei_abutalib.pdf

- Taylor, M. (1999). Action research. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor, & C. Tindall (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide* (pp. 108-120). Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Histories of the present: Social science research in context. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim and D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 1-17). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (2006). *Research in action*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Thimm, J. C. (2010). Relationships between early maladaptive schemas and psychosocial developmental task resolution. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 17(3), 219-230.
- Thompson, L. M. (1960). *The unification of South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tindall, C. (1999). Issues of evaluation. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor, & C. Tindall (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide* (pp. 142-159). Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Tomkins, S. S. (1987). Script theory. In J. Aronoff, A. I. Rabin and R. A. Zucker (Eds.), *The emergence of personality* (pp. 147–216). New York: Springer.
- Toner, E., Haslam, N., Robinson, J., & Williams, P. (2012). Character strengths and wellbeing in adolescence: Structure and correlates of the Values in Action Inventory of Strengths for Children. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 52(5), 637-642. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2011.12.014
- Torges, C. M., Stewart, A. J., & Duncan, L. E. (2009). Appreciating life's complexities: Assessing narrative ego integrity in late midlife. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 43(1), 66-74. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.jrp.2008.12.003>

- Tornstam, L. (1989). Gerotranscendence: A reformulation of the disengagement theory. *Aging: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 1(1) 55-63.
- Torres, J. (1977). Psychobiographical analysis as a teaching tool. *Social Work*, 22(2), 119-123. doi: 10.1093/sw/22.2.119
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight “big-tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851. doi: 10.1177/1077800410383121
- Trapido, S. (1980). The friends of the natives: Merchants, peasants and the political and ideological structure of liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910. In S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa* (p. 262). London: Longman.
- Trzebinski, J., & Zieba, M. (2013). Basic trust and posttraumatic growth in oncology patients. *Journal of Loss and Trauma: International Perspectives on Stress and Coping*, 18(3), 195-209. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15325024.2012.687289>
- Unwin, J. (1913). *The land hunger: Life under monopoly*. England: Forgotten Books.
- Vail, L. (1991). *Mfengu-Rharhabe rivalry and the rise of Lennox Sebe. The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa*. Retrieved from <https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft158004rs&chunk.id=d0e9803&oc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e9714&brand=ucpress>
- Van De Water, D. A., & McAdams, D. P. (1989). Generativity and Erikson’s “belief in the species”. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23(4), 435-449.
- Van Heyningen, E. (2006). *Solomon, Georgiana Margaret (1844-1933)*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56252>
- Van Niekerk, R. (2007). *’n Psigobiografiese ontleding van Christiaan Neethling Barnard se loopbaanontwikkeling* (Unpublished master’s thesis). University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, South Africa.

- Van Niekerk, R., Prenter, T., & Fouché, P. (2019). Doing psychobiography: The case of Christiaan Barnard. In S. Laher, A. Flynn and S. Kramer (Ed.), *Transforming research methods in the social sciences: Case studies from South Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press.
- Van Niekerk, R., Vos, H., & Fouché, P. (2015). The career development of Christiaan Neethling Barnard: A psychobiography. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 25(5), 395-402. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101268
- Van Wyk, C. (2003). *Sol Plaatje: A biography*. Johannesburg: Wits University Bantu Treasury Series.
- Van Wyk, B. (2012). Research design and methods Part I. University of Western Cape. Retrieved from https://www.uwc.ac.za/Students/Postgraduate/Documents/Research_and_Design_I.pdf
- Van Wynsberghe, R., & Khan, S. (2007). Redefining case study. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 6(2), 80-94. doi: 10.1177/160940690700600208
- Vasari, G. (1998). *The lives of the artists*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Verwey, J. (1995). *New dictionary of South African biography* (Vol 1). Pretoria: HRSC Publishers.
- Villani, S (2001). Impact of media on children and adolescents: A 10-year review of research. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 40(4), 392-401. doi: 10.1097/00004583-200104000-00007
- Vorster, M. S. (2003). *The life of Balthazar Johannes Vorster: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- Walshe, P. (1970). *The rise of African nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1912-1952*. Stanford: University of California Press.

- Walter, B. E. (2000). *Plaatje's African Romance: the Translation of Tragedy in Mhudi and other writings* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
- Ward, D. (1902). *A handbook to the marriage laws of the Cape colony, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Rhodesia*. Johannesburg: Juta.
- Ward, L., Epstein, M., Caruthers, A., & Merriwether, A. (2011). Men's media use, sexual cognitions, and sexual risk behavior: Testing a mediational model. *Developmental Psychology*, 47(2), 592-602. doi: 10.1037/a0022669
- Ward, L., Gorvine, B., & Cytron-Walker, A. (2002). Would that really happen? Adolescents' perceptions of sexual relationships according to prime-time television. In J. D. Brown, J. R. Steele & K. Walsh-Childers (Eds.), *Sexual teens, sexual media: Investigating media's influence on adolescent sexuality* (pp. 95-123). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wastell, C. A. (1996). Feminist developmental theory: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 74(6), 575-581. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1996.tb02295.x
- Waterman, A. S. (1982). Identity development from adolescence to adulthood: An extension of theory and a review of research. *Development Psychology*, 18(3), 341-358. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.18.3.341
- Watts, J., Cockcroft, K., & Duncan, N. (2009). *Developmental psychology* (2nd ed.). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Weizman, F. (2009). [Review of the book *Erik Erikson and the American psyche: Ego, ethics, and evolution*, by Daniel Burston]. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 45(1), 78-80. doi: 10.1002/jhbs.20358
- Welchman, K. (2000). *Erik Erikson: His life, work and significance*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

- Welman, C., Fouche, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2019). The psychosocial-historical turning points in the life of Sol Plaatje: Co-founder of the African National Congress. In C. Mayer & Z. Kövary (Eds.), *New Trends in Psychobiography* (pp. 443-461). Switzerland: Springer.
- Willan, B. (1979). The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society and the South African Natives' Land Act of 1913. *Journal of African History*, 20(1), 83-102. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/181975>
- Willan, B. (1982). *An African in Kimberley: Sol T. Plaatje, 1894-1898*. In S. Marks & R. Rathbone (Eds.), *Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa* (pp. 238-258). London: Longman.
- Willan, B. (1984). *Sol Plaatje: South African nationalist, 1876 – 1932*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Willan, B. (1996). *Sol Plaatje. Selected Writings*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Willan, B. (2018). *Sol Plaatje: A life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje, 1876 – 1932*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Williams, E. N., & Morrow, S. L. (2009). Achieving trustworthiness in qualitative research: A pan-paradigmatic perspective. *Psychotherapy Research*, 19(4-5), 576-582. doi: 10.1080/10503300802702113
- Williams, G. (1902). *The diamond mines of South Africa: Some account of their rise and development*. New York: Buck.
- Williams, G. (1902). *The diamond mines of South Africa: Some account of their rise and development*. New York: Buck.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. London: Open University Press.

- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. London: Open University Press.
- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology* (3rd ed.). London: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Winter, R. (2019). *The holistic wellness of Margaret Thatcher: A psychobiography* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
- Wissing, M. P., & Van Eeden, C. (1997, September). *Psychological well-being: A fortigenic conceptualisation and empirical clarification*. Paper presented at the third Annual Congress of the Psychological Society of South Africa, Durban, South Africa.
- Witmer, J. M. (1989). Reaching toward wholeness. In T. J. Sweeney, *Adlerian counseling* (pp. 31-80). Muncie: Accelerated Development.
- Witmer, J. M., & Sweeney, T. J. (1992). A holistic model for wellness and prevention over the lifespan. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 71*(2), 140-148. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1992.tb02189.x
- Witmer, J. M., Rich, C., Barcikowski, R. S., & Mague, J. C. (1983). Psychosocial characteristics mediating the stress response: An exploratory study. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 62*(2), 73-77. doi: 10.1111/j.2164-4918.1983.tb00150.x
- Woeber, C. (1998). Review: Plaatje revisited. *English in Africa, 25*(2), 111-121. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40238868>
- Woodward, K. L. (1994). Erik Erikson: Teaching others how to see. *America, 171*(4), 6-8. Retrieved from EBSCOHost database in June 2019.
- Woolums, J. (2011). *Primary and secondary sources for education and psychology*. Retrieved from <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/EDP/primary.html>

- World Health Organisation. (1946). *Preamble to the constitution of the World Health Organisation*. Geneva, Switzerland: WHO. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/governance/eb/who_constitution_en.pdf
- Yin, R. K. (1981). The case study crisis: some answers. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26(1), 58-65. doi: 10.2307/2392599
- Yin, R. K. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newsbury Park: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zachar, P., & Kendler, K. S. (2007). Psychiatric disorders: A conceptual taxonomy. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 164(4), 557-565. doi: 10.1176/app.ajp.164.4.557
- Zang, L. F., & He, Y. F. (2011). Thinking styles and the Eriksonian stages. *Journal of Adult Development*, 18(1), 8-17. doi: 10.1007/s10804-010-9101-z
- Zhang, J., Zhang, J., Zhou, M., & Yu, N. X. (2018). Neighborhood characteristics and older adults' well-being: The roles of sense of community and personal resilience. *Social Indicators Research*, 137(3), 949-963. doi: 10.1007/s11205-017-1626-0

APPENDIX A

Dimensions of the Life Tasks of the WoW Model

LIFE TASK	DIMENSIONS
Spirituality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Belief in a power beyond oneself b) Hope and optimism c) Meaning and purpose d) Worship, prayer, meditation, self-reflection e) Love, compassion and service to others f) Moral and ethical values to guide daily living g) Transcendence
Self-direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Sense of Worth</i>: Acceptance of imperfections; feelings of adequacy and recognition of positive qualities b) <i>Sense of Control</i>: Feelings of mastery and competence; belief that desired outcomes are possible; assertiveness c) <i>Realistic Beliefs</i>: Recognising realistic goals and ideals; minimizing irrational beliefs; revising self-defeating thoughts d) <i>Emotional Awareness and Coping</i>: Experience and express a full range of emotions; recognize emotions in others; enjoy positive and manage negative emotions e) <i>Problem Solving and Creativity</i>: Open-mindedness and curiosity; problem-solving and conflict management skills; desire and willingness to express creative urges f) <i>Sense of Humour</i>: Laughing appropriately at oneself; seeing humour in the contradictions and predicaments in life; using humour to cope with difficulties or mistakes g) <i>Nutrition</i>: Regular meals with various healthful foods; a balanced diet; maintaining weight within the acceptable range h) <i>Exercise</i>: Lifestyle which is active rather than sedentary; regular physical activities that develop endurance, flexibility and strength; seeking opportunities to be physically active i) <i>Self-Care</i>: Good health habits; safety habits; not using or abusing harmful substances j) <i>Stress Management</i>: Awareness and monitoring of stressors; belief that life is manageable and meaningful; mental, emotional, physical and behavioural coping methods k) <i>Gender Identity</i>: Satisfaction with gender orientation; feeling supported in one's gender; valuing relationships with both genders l) <i>Cultural Identity</i>: Satisfaction with one's cultural background; feeling supported in one's culture; valuing relationships with people of different cultures
Work and Leisure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Work</i>: Perception of adequate financial reward; satisfactory challenges, co-worker relations and working conditions; satisfying relationship between work goals and the rewards and opportunities in the work setting b) <i>Leisure</i>: Self-determined activities and experiences engaged in because of discretionary time and money; positive feelings associated with the chosen physical, social, intellectual; creative or volunteer activities; being absorbed by activities so that consciousness of time and self are lost
Friendship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Having social support when needed or desired b) Providing others with support c) Basic social skills d) A sense of connectedness

Love	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) A reciprocal relationship with trust, intimacy, caring and companionship b) Romance, passion and sexual relations may be part of the relationship c) Having somebody who has an interest in one's growth and well-being Commitment, shared interests and values, time together, mutual appreciation and affection, good communication, as well as problem-solving and conflict-resolution skills
-------------	---

Note: Adapted from "The Wheel of Wellness Counselling for Wellness: A Holistic Model for Treatment Planning," by J. E. Myers, T. J. Sweeney, and J. M. Witmer, 2000, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 78(3), pp. 251-266.

APPENDIX B

Consent from Sol Plaatje Educational Trust



THE SOL PLAATJE EDUCATIONAL TRUST (T265)

32 Angel Street, Kimberley, 8301

Tel/ fax : (053) 833 2526

Cell: 082 804 3266

e-mail: solt@telkomsa.net (Office)

solplaatje@telkomsa.net (After hours)

11 October 2017

CONSENT FOR RESEARCH

Herewith the undersigned wish to state the following:

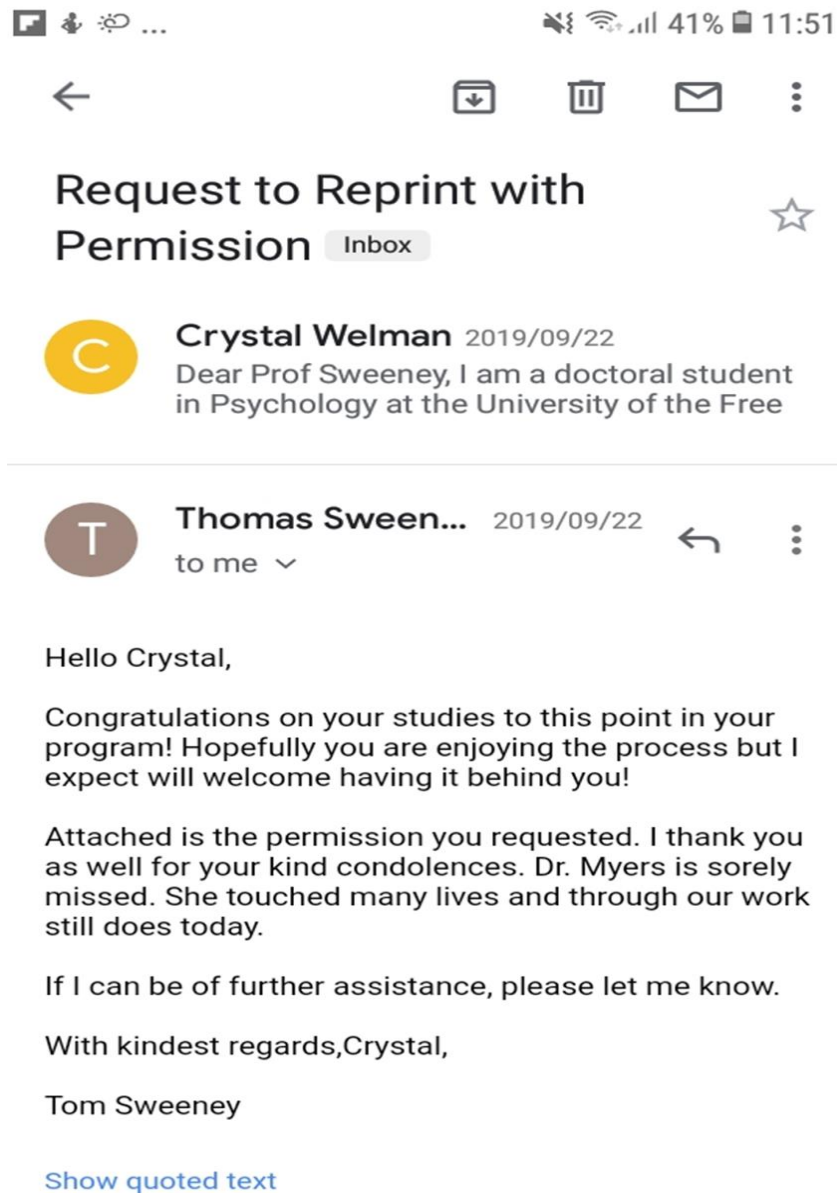
1. That a letter of request was submitted by Ms Crystal Welman in her capacity as a student enrolled as a PhD candidate at the University of the Free State;
2. That the Trust endorses all of the relevant activities for requests of this nature, and that the Trust be duly informed when deemed necessary;
3. That we approve of her request to proceed with a psycho-biographical research project on the life of Plaatje;
4. That we humbly request a copy of the completed work be submitted to us for future use in our research library.


GD Plaatje
Trustee


RJ Cronje
Director

APPENDIX C

Permission to use the WoW model



Permission for Wellness Models

Drs. Thomas J. Sweeney and on behalf of Jane E. Myers grants you permission to use figures (i.e., The Wheel of Wellness Model and the Indivisible Self: An Evidenced Based Model of Wellness) including reference and description of their component factors as a part of your doctoral dissertation.

APPENDIX D

Sol Plaatje Legacy: Post-humous Accolades and Awards

Date/Year	Brief Description	Title/Extra information
1982	The African Writers' Association instituted a poetry award.	Sol Plaatje Prose Award
1991	Plaatje's Kimberley home at 32 Angel Street was renamed.	Sol Plaatje Educational Trust and Museum
19 June 1992	Plaatje's Kimberley home at 32 Angel Street was declared a national monument. It is now a provincial heritage site.	Currently continues as: Sol Plaatje Library and Museum
1995	Kimberley Municipality in Northern Cape Province, South Africa renamed after Plaatje.	Sol Plaatje Local Municipality
27 February 1998	Plaatje's grave in West End Cemetery, Kimberley, was declared a national monument. It was only the second grave in South African history to be awarded national monument status.	1999: It was named a Provincial Heritage Site.
18 April 1998	University of the North West, South Africa, conferred an honorary doctorate degree on Plaatje.	Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje DLitt: Doctor of Literature
15 June 2000	Department of Education Building in Pretoria was renamed after Plaatje.	Sol Plaatje House
2000	The Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley launched an award to honour the top Setswana and top English matriculant each year in the Northern Cape Province.	Sol T Plaatje Memorial Award
2000	The South African Post Office issued a series of stamps featuring writers of the Anglo-Boer War, with Plaatje appearing on the 1.30 Rand stamp (The rand is the official currency of South Africa).	The stamp displays the Anglo-Boer War medal which was available to all soldiers who remained loyal to the Boer cause until the end of the war.
2000	The African National Congress (ANC) initiated an annual award that recognises the best performing ANC branch.	Sol Plaatje Award
2002	Rhodes University's Department of Journalism and Media Studies established a sub-unit within its department.	Sol Plaatje Media Leadership Institute
2002	Secondary School in Mahikeng, North-West Province of South Africa opened its doors.	Sol Plaatje Secondary School
2004	Plaatje received South Africa's highest award from The Presidency, given for exceptional contribution in a relevant field.	Order of Luthuli in Gold
1 April 2005	On 1 May 2003, 41 Sol Plaatje Municipal workers drowned in a bus disaster at Saulspoort dam near Bethlehem, Free State Province, South Africa. The dam was renamed as a tribute to them.	Sol Plaatje Dam
2007	The English Academy of South Africa institutes a bi-annual award for translation of prose or poetry into English from any of the other South African official languages.	Sol Plaatje Prize for Translation
9 January 2010	A statue of Sol Plaatje, seated and writing at a desk, was unveiled at Kimberley's Civic Centre, formerly the Malay Camp. The statue is situated approximately where Plaatje had his printing press in 1910 - 1913.	Former South African President Jacob Zuma unveiled Plaatje's statue as part of the 98 th anniversary celebrations of the ANC.
5 & 6 November 2010	Launch of North-West Department of Sports, Arts and Culture and Department of Education	Plaatje Literary Festival

	festival in Mafikeng, since renamed to Mahikeng).	
2011	Inauguration of an annual poetry competition in Plaatje's honour.	The European Union Sol Plaatje Poetry Competition.
25 July 2013	Former South African President Jacob Zuma announced opening of a new university in Kimberley, South Africa.	The Sol Plaatje University officially opened its doors in 2014.
08 January 2020	Current South African President Cyril Ramaphosa honoured Plaatje's memory at his gravesite in the West-End cemetery in Kimberley, South Africa.	The official visit formed part of the 108 th anniversary celebrations of the ANC.

Note: Two South African museums, namely the Mahikeng Museum in the North-West Province and the Anglo-Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein, Free State Province, both host permanent exhibitions of Sol Plaatje.