

LILIAN NGOYI: A POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY

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IMAGE OF LILIAN NGOYI

Figure 1

Photo of Lilian Ngoyi



Note. From: <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/women/index.html>

“I wish I could be reborn to put my shoulders under the wheel
of freedom. Freedom of all my children. An Africa where there would be
food for all. Universal & compulsory education.”

– Lilian Ngoyi, 1972 (Healy-Clancy, 2017, p.843)

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STUDENT DECLARATION



Declaration_Masters Student

I, Zilondiwe Goge declare that the Master's Degree research dissertation that I herewith submit for the Master's Degree qualification at the University of the Free State is my independent work and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Zilondiwe Goge', is written over a light blue grid background.

Student's Signature

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Date

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DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR



Declaration by Supervisor

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I, Dr Carla Nel, approve the submission of the above-mentioned student's work, for assessment and that the mini-dissertation/dissertation/thesis or interrelated, publishable manuscripts/published articles have not previously, either in part or in their entirety, been submitted to the examiners.

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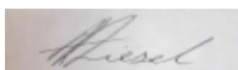
DECLARATION

I, Anneke-Jean Diesel, hereby declare that I did the language editing of Chapters 1-5 and Chapters 7-8 of the dissertation of Zilondiwe Goge (title: LILIAN NGOYI: A POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY). This dissertation is submitted in accordance with the requirements for the Master of Psychology at the Department of Psychology in the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State. All the suggested changes, including the implementation thereof, were left to the discretion of the student.

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ABSTRACT

Lilian Masediba Ngoyi (1911–1980), widely known as the "Mother of the Black Resistance," was a pioneering anti-apartheid activist, politician, and human rights advocate in South Africa. As the first woman elected to the African National Congress (ANC) National Executive Committee and a leader of the historic 1956 Women's March against pass laws, Ngoyi's legacy embodies resilience, leadership, and unwavering commitment to justice. This study employs a psychobiographical approach to explore Ngoyi's psychological wellness through the lens of Positive Psychology and African Psychology, offering a culturally nuanced understanding of her lived experiences within the oppressive socio-political context of apartheid South Africa. A qualitative, single-case research design was adopted, with Ngoyi purposefully selected as the subject of inquiry. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources, including archival materials, biographical texts, and historical records. The study applies a neo-Adlerian holistic wellness model to examine five key dimensions of well-being—the coping self, social self, essential self, physical self, and creative self—while acknowledging the broader systemic influences on her psychological development. Recognizing the model's limitations in capturing the deep interconnectedness of individuals with their cultural and social environments, the study integrates African psychological frameworks, particularly the Macro-cosmos, Meso-cosmos, and Micro-cosmos perspectives, to provide a more holistic analysis. By merging Western and African paradigms, this research highlights Ngoyi's resilience and well-being despite systemic adversity, contributing to the growing body of psychobiographical studies on underrepresented figures. It underscores the necessity of incorporating Indigenous perspectives in psychological research to fully appreciate the complexities of historical change agents like Ngoyi.

Keywords: Lilian Ngoyi, psychobiography, Positive Psychology, African Psychology, holistic wellness, anti-apartheid activism, personality development.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter introduces this study's psychobiographical undertaking of exploring and describing Lillian Ngoyi's holistic wellness through Western and African lenses. It begins by outlining the orientation and background of the study, followed by presenting the overall problem statement. This chapter formally introduces the research subject and establishes the study's aim. The chapter also briefly introduces the theoretical approach employed in this study while concurrently demonstrating the researcher's motivation for undertaking this research. Reflexivity, as applied in this study, is introduced, and an overview of the chapters of the dissertation is given before concluding with a chapter summary.

1.2. Orientation and Background to the Study

The psychobiographical approach is defined as "longitudinal life history research" into the "completed" lives of outstanding or problematic individuals (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). This single case psychobiographical research method focused on Lilian Ngoyi's life, exploring her experiences and contributions within her sociohistorical and sociopolitical milieu. Specifically, this study examined Lilian Ngoyi's holistic wellness throughout her life by using both the holistic wellness model developed by Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer, and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), as well as drawing from the African Psychology perspective on holistic wellness (Anyanwu, 1984; Biko, 1981; Sogolo, 1993; Straker, 1994; Teffo & Roux, 2003). Ngoyi's holistic wellness was thus conceptualised utilising the meta-theoretical paradigms of Positive Psychology and African Psychology to achieve an in-depth and culturally sensitive psychological reconstruction of Ngoyi's holistic wellness development by systematically

examining and describing her life. Ngoyi's life was explored within her sociohistorical and sociopolitical context using a single case psychobiographical research method.

In reconstructing Lilian Ngoyi's life, the study primarily relied on publicly available (published) resources. This included both written and oral recollections by Ngoyi herself, or accounts of her life provided by other individuals through the consultation of secondary sources, including articles, biographies, academic studies, and archival data (Ponterotto, 2017a; Woolums, 2011) obtained through databases such as EBSCOHost, Google Scholar, NexusSearch, the National Research Foundation, and the University of the Free State catalogue. Using primary and secondary sources allowed the researcher to thoroughly examine Ngoyi's life and holistic wellness development within her sociohistorical context. The decision-making model by Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) guided the study's ethical considerations and decision-making process. The next section presents the study's problem statement, elucidating the specific research focus and objectives.

1.3. Problem Statement

A psychobiography offers a comprehensive and nuanced exploration of an individual's psychological development, framed within a specific psychological theory and contextualised by the subject's socio-historical environment (Ponterotto, 2025; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). This approach is characterised by three essential elements, namely in-depth examinations of the lives of individuals who have significantly influenced world history, interpretations and explanations of these lives through psychological theory, and the application of research methods primarily derived from psychology and history (Anderson, 2025; Ponterotto, 2025). Initially, psychobiography held a relatively limited position within academic psychology due to its multidisciplinary origins in diverse academic fields, such as history, political science, and psychiatry (Simonton, 1999). Psychobiography was proposed to

conduct both biography and psychology, implying that it is inherently multidisciplinary (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; McAdams & Ochberg, 1988; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019).

As a subset of psychohistory, psychobiography emerged as a psychological understanding of people or organisations by applying psychological and historiographic methodologies for the exploration and development of psychological theories of personality and human development across the lifespan and from a historical viewpoint (Anderson, 2025; Elms, 1994; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto, 2014a; Ponterotto, 2025; Runyan, 2005, 2019). In support of its potential to enhance one's understanding of oneself and others, numerous scholars have advocated for its importance (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2017b; Ponterotto, 2025). Supervisors and postgraduate students in various South African departments of Psychology have pursued the significance of academically institutionalised psychobiography with much more robustness and zeal (Basson, 2020; Botha, 2021; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007; Hugo, 2020; Nel et al., 2023) (See Appendix A for a chronological list of master's and Doctoral degree psychobiographical outputs at South African Universities at the time of the commencement of this study).

Apart from the resurgence and expansion of psychobiographical research within academic institutions, there has been a notable increase in the publication of prominent works in recent years, reflecting the remarkable increase in national and worldwide interest in psychobiographical research in the new millennium. This includes a commissioned handbook for the American Psychological Association (Ponterotto, 2025), various special issues of journals dedicated to psychobiographical research (Adler & Singer, 2022; Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Fouché, 2015; Mayer, 2023; Mayer & Van Niekerk, 2024) as well as the publication of psychobiographical applications within diverse transcultural (Mayer et al. 2023) and leadership contexts (Adler & Singer, 2022; Bahrs & Mayer, 2023; Du Plessis &

Du Plessis, 2018; Fouché, 2015; Mayer et al., in press; Mayer et al., 2023; Mayer & van Niekerk, 2024; Mayer, 2023; Jareño et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2023).

Despite the importance of psychobiographies and the contribution they make to a better understanding of human lives, further developments are encouraged by the call to address the underrepresentation of women in psychobiographical research, mainly focusing on women of historical significance and profound influence (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015; Ponterotto, 2025). Ponterotto (2015) discovered that only 32% of the psychobiographical subjects selected in 65 doctoral research studies were women. As a result of the consideration of historical significance during subject selection, a significant number of psychobiographers have disregarded the exploration of female lives in psychobiography, perceiving them as lacking sufficient historical energy (Ponterotto, 2015, 2025; Yeung-Breuhl, 2000). In South Africa, very few psychobiographers have focused on prominent female figures, especially those in political spaces during apartheid. South African psychobiographical research historically privileged male subjects, mirroring the profession's endemic patriarchal biases (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Rust, 2019). By 2021, only 30 out of 114 local psychobiographical studies have been on women; nine of which were on Black women, and only three on Black South African women. Only recently have studies been completed on a prominent Black female subject who played an extraordinary role during the apartheid regime, namely Albertina Sisulu (Mayer et al., 2023; Van Niekerk & Freedman, 2023; Nel & Burnell, 2023). Further responding to the need for sampling African women, the psychobiography of Zenzile Miriam Makeba by Fouché et al. (2023) has made further strides by using non-Western theoretical lenses. By focusing on these influential Black women, these studies highlighted the crucial roles individuals such as Sisulu and Makeba played in dismantling apartheid, setting a precedent for future research on such notable women in history. The subsequent section introduces the subject chosen for this study.

1.4. The Research Subject

Lilian Masediba Matabane, born September 24, 1911, in Pretoria, was the only girl among her four siblings, and aspired to become a teacher (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). However, her family's financial circumstances forced her to abandon schooling and she later pursued a career as a trainee nurse at Johannesburg's City Deep Mine Hospital in 1928 (Stewart, 1996). In 1934, Lilian married John Ngoyi and became Edith's mother. Tragically, John passed away in a vehicle accident in 1937, leaving Lilian to support her family by working in a textile factory (Daymond, 2015; Joseph, 1963).

Lilian's participation in the political landscape of South Africa was fuelled by her exposure to worker and union concerns, with her involvement in the anti-apartheid movement through the Defiance Campaign leading to her first arrest (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). With the help of her lawyer, Oliver Tambo¹, the charges against her were dismissed, fuelling her determination to continue fighting against apartheid (Stewart, 1996). Her dedication to the cause led to her historic election as the first woman to the African National Congress (ANC) executive in 1955. Lilian demonstrated her leadership by leading a peaceful march of 20,000 women on August 9, 1956 (Mphahlele, 1989). Her activism resulted in further arrests, including being one of 156 individuals charged with high treason on the Treason Trial (1957-1961) (Clark & William, 2011; Stewart, 1996). Despite facing house arrest and limitations on her activities, Lilian continued supporting other activists and championing women's rights. She co-founded the Human Rights Welfare Committee with Helen Joseph to aid banned² and expelled activists (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). She passed away on March 12, 1980

¹ Oliver Reginald Tambo (1917-1993), a renowned educator, lawyer, freedom fighter, and political exile (refugee), devoted his life to the pursuit of liberation for all South African citizens (Callinicos, 2017; South African History Online, 2019; Tambo, 2014)

² The South African apartheid regime employed repressive and extrajudicial measures, such as banning, to suppress political opposition. Those subjected to bans faced severe restrictions, including the prohibition of attending meetings, contacting other banned individuals, participating in political activities, public speaking, publishing written material, and travelling beyond a designated magisterial district. Additionally, the press was forbidden from broadcasting or publishing any statements made by the banned individuals.

(Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian's powerful oratory skills and ability to inspire courage in others which, even during her 16 years banning, cemented her reputation as a remarkable figure (Daymond, 2015). Chapter 2 comprehensively reviews historical and biographical data from publicly available sources about Lilian Ngoyi's noteworthy life.

1.5. Research Aim

This study aimed to enhance the understanding of Lilian Ngoyi's life through the lens of a positive psychology model of holistic wellness, augmented by an African Psychology perspective. The main objective was to investigate and articulate Ngoyi's wellness throughout her life by developing a thorough and culturally relevant comprehension of her life tasks within her sociohistorical context. To achieve this, the research employed the holistic wellness model, alongside key concepts from African Psychology, as its psychological framework. Furthermore, the study sought to evaluate the relevance and applicability of this chosen framework in analysing Ngoyi's life, while also exploring the possibility of enriching the positive psychology model with insights from African Psychology. The research intends to contribute to psychobiographical studies in South Africa, particularly by ensuring the representation of women, especially Black South African women, in the exploration of remarkable lives. Ultimately, this study advocates for a more inclusive representation of women's experiences and indigenous cultural understandings, within a culturally contextualised framework of Positive Psychology.

1.6. Theoretical Approaches to the Study

In the fields of academic and professional psychology, wellness and the universal quest for health have become recognised paradigms (Myers, 1991; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Peterson, 2000; Roscoe, 2009). The counselling profession advocates for optimal health and wellness, which has led to the creation of various assessment tools and conceptual models of wellness for counselling purposes (Adams et al., 1997; Els & De la Rey, 2006; Hettler, 1984;

Myers, 1991, 1992, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2007). The holistic wellness model was developed to conceptualise wellness as a complex and interconnected construct (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This model represents a neo-Adlerian view of multiple dimensions of wellness (Roscoe, 2009). The creators of the holistic wellness model, Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992), incorporated elements that are directly linked to health, quality of life, or longevity. As a result, the model is grounded in a multidisciplinary theoretical framework (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2008; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Its eugraphic focus allows for a Positive Psychology perspective on Lilian Ngoyi's overall wellness.

The Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL), formulated by Myers and Sweeney (2005b; Myers et al., 2004), offers a three-tiered factor structure that provides a more empirically sound framework for the original 17 components of holistic wellness. These components are organised as third-order factors within the second-order factor structure of the indivisible self (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008). The five second-order factors include the *coping self*, *social self*, *essential self*, *physical self*, and *creative self*, all derived from Adlerian theory (Fullen, 2019; Fullen et al., 2018; Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2005c) (see Figure 3 in Chapter 3 for a visual representation of these factors). The *coping self* encompasses skills and resources such as stress management, leisure activities, self-worth, and realistic beliefs as outlined by Hattie et al. (2004), Myers et al. (2000), and Myers and Sweeney (2004, 2005c, 2008). This factor helps individuals manage their responses to life events and navigate challenges. The *social self* involves aspects like friendship and love that are positively correlated with quality of life and longevity (Myers et al., 2000). The *essential self* includes spirituality, self-care, gender identity, and cultural identification—elements associated with longevity, significance, hope, and purpose (Mansager, 2000). The *physical self* focuses on health-promoting behaviours such as exercise and nutrition that are vital for

physical well-being (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Finally, the *creative self* encompasses thinking patterns, emotions, control mechanisms, humour, and work—traits that differentiate one's interpersonal and intrapersonal qualities from others (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Together, these components illustrate the complex nature of the self and its impact on overall well-being.

The IS-WEL model retained holistic wellness's emphasis on the importance of contextual variables or systems in individual health (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008). Changes in one aspect of wellness can positively or negatively affect other areas, highlighting the interconnectedness represented by dashed lines in the IS-WEL model between the self and second-order factors. The IS-WEL model identifies four key environments essential for individual wellness: local contexts (family, neighbourhood, community), institutional contexts (education systems, religion, government entities), global contexts (politics, culture, global events), and chronometric or lifespan contexts (factors related to an individual's sense of meaning over time). However, these contexts have primarily been theorised based on literature reviews and were not empirically studied or measured as part of the development of the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle (WEL) (Myers & Sweeney, 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005b).

Holistic wellness marked the initial wave of positive psychology by emphasising well-being and life satisfaction beyond merely the absence of mental illness (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). This shift moved the focus in the field from pathology towards more desired or positive human experiences by exploring elements such as happiness and personal strengths (Seligman, 2002). It encouraged individuals to lead more fulfilling lives by nurturing their psychological well-being and realising their inherent potential (Peterson & Seligman, 2004). Research shows that character strengths like hope, zest, and gratitude are strongly linked to life satisfaction and overall well-being (Park et al., 2004; Ruch et al.,

2010). By focusing on cultivating these strengths, positive psychology advocated for a proactive approach to enhancing individual happiness and fulfilment (Seligman et al., 2005).

As positive psychology evolved, it entered its second wave, concentrating on positive interventions and practices to enhance individuals' lives even more (Seligman et al., 2005). The second wave focused on practical applications (e.g., gratitude exercises, mindfulness, and strengths-based approaches) that would foster resilience and lead to emotional flourishing. A third wave has since emerged, representing a paradigm shift that seeks to incorporate more diverse and culturally relevant perspectives on well-being (Lomas & Ivztan, 2016). This wave acknowledges the limitations of previous waves, which predominantly emanated from Western contexts, aiming to include a broader spectrum of cultural perspectives. In this spirit, indigenous perspectives introduce unique insights into well-being, drawing from the continent's rich tapestry of cultures and traditions, with an African perspective often emphasising community, interconnectedness, and the importance of harmony with nature, offering a holistic view of well-being that transcends individual happiness to encompass collective and ecological well-being (Mbiti, 1990; Gyekye, 1997).

The holistic wellness model's theoretical elements that connect to optimal human functioning and well-being support the model's relevance and applicability in investigating Lilian Ngoyi's psychological wellness. However, the researcher sought to explore how it might be integrated with African Psychology constructs and applied to psychobiographical investigations, as illustrated by Fouché et al. (2023) in the psychobiography of Zenzile Miriam Makeba, and Swanepoel, Fouché, and Naidoo's (2022) work on Oliver Reginald Tambo. Therefore, the Integrated African Psychology perspective, which draws on African viewpoints articulated by Biko (1981), Eagle (2005), Holdstock (2000), Ruch and Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), Teffo and Roux (2003), was also utilised to provide an integrated African conceptual method. The conceptualisation of an African perspective

involves three theoretical components encompassing views on human nature, cognitive functioning, the concept of time, optimal development, and mental health (Meyer et al., 1997). God and individuals' inherent humaneness rooted in traditional African perspectives find their grounding within the macro-cosmos. The meso-cosmos, comprising external agents such as the forces of ancestors, malevolent spirits, and sorcerers, is essential for understanding the interconnected nature of the traditional African worldview (Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000; Straker, 1994). For the traditionally communal African, the link between the physical and the spiritual realms is integral to a collectivistic existence, as highlighted by scholars such as Holdstock (2000) and Sogolo (1993). In this worldview, harmony among these various forces is deemed imperative. The holistic and congruent characteristics of the Africanist theory approach (Biko, 1981; Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000; Ruch, 1973; Ruch & Anyanwu, 1984; Sogolo, 1993; Straker, 1994; Teffo & Roux, 2003) provide a foundational framework for constructing psychobiographies of prominent individuals in the African context (see Chapter Four for a detailed overview).

Psychobiographical explorations such as the study on the career development of Albertina Sisulu (Van Niekerk & Freedman's, 2023), Fouché et al.'s (2023) psychobiography of Zenzile Miriam Makeba, and Swanepoel et al.'s (2022) work on Oliver Reginald Tambo, all underscore the value of using African psychology perspectives in psychobiographical research. These studies reveal that using African psychological conceptualisations rather than Western ones allows for a deeper and more authentic understanding of African figures like Sisulu, Makeba, and Tambo. These researchers aimed to highlight the gap in the field, hoping to inspire future scholars to explore African individuals as subjects, applying African psychological perspectives to their studies, ultimately leading to the current research.

1.7. The Researcher's Reflective Passage and Motivation

During the researcher's undergraduate studies, they were initially introduced to psychobiographical work involving conducting comprehensive investigations into an individual's life across their lifespan. As the researcher delved into existing psychobiographical studies conducted in South Africa and globally, a striking disparity was noticed: the limited number of psychobiographical studies focusing on prominent Black women. This realisation prompted the researcher to question the reasons behind this apparent gap in the literature.

Driven by this curiosity, the researcher embarked on an exploration of prominent Black South African women who played pivotal roles in the struggle for freedom in present-day South Africa. The investigation revealed a significant absence of knowledge about Lilian Ngoyi, particularly when compared to her male counterparts with whom she fought side by side against apartheid in South Africa. This noticeable imbalance intrigued the researcher and fuelled their desire to understand the factors that shaped Lilian Ngoyi's identity and contributed to her overall well-being, especially considering the challenging circumstances in which she lived. Motivated to contribute to the body of knowledge on psychohistory, specifically concerning prominent Black women and their holistic wellness throughout their lives, the researcher saw an opportunity to fill a gap in the literature. By undertaking a psychobiographical study on Lilian Ngoyi, the researcher sought to shed light on her experiences, achievements, and the elements that influenced her well-being. In doing so, the research aimed to expand the understanding of prominent Black women's lives and their journey towards holistic wellness.

1.8 Outline of the Dissertation

The study is organised into sequential chapters that comprehensively explore the topic. The first chapter introduces the study's content, familiarising the reader with its key

elements. The second chapter offers a chronological overview of the subject's life, establishing a contextual foundation for deeper investigation. Chapter 3 provides a detailed explanation of the theoretical framework used, specifically the holistic wellness model. Chapter 4 presents an African perspective on wellness, emphasising insights from African Psychology. Chapter 5 gives a theoretical overview of psychobiographical case study research, highlighting its significance and methodology. This chapter also addresses preliminary methodological and ethical considerations, detailing the decision-making model employed. Following this, Chapter 6 thoroughly examines the research design and methods utilised in the study, ensuring transparency and rigour. Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 present an in-depth discussion of the research findings. Finally, the concluding chapter engages in a comprehensive discussion of the study's conclusions, limitations, and recommendations. It also provides an opportunity for the researcher to share reflective insights on the research process, adding depth to the study's journey and enhancing its credibility and authenticity.

1.9 Chapter Summary

The introductory section of this chapter provided a comprehensive overview of the research background, problem statement, and the subject chosen for investigation. Highlighting these critical elements laid the foundation for a deeper understanding of the study's specific context and objectives. Within this chapter, the theoretical approach employed in the study, namely the Holistic Wellness Model, was extensively explored. Integrating this model into the research framework gave the study a solid academic foundation for examining the subject's holistic well-being. The researcher's motives for pursuing this specific research subject were also discussed. By delving into the researcher's personal journey and motivations, readers gain insights into the passion and dedication driving the study. This chapter offered readers a comprehensive understanding of the research aim and objectives, providing a clear roadmap for the study's progression.

CHAPTER 2

A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LIFE OF LILIAN NGOYI

“In the name of the women of South Africa, we say that we are opposed to the pass system.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their freedom, justice, and security”-

Lilian Ngoyi, 9 August 1956, just before leading 20,000 women to the Union Building.

2.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a historical and biographical overview of the life of Lilian Ngoyi, also known as the mother of the Black Resistance. A socio-historical context in which Ngoyi lived is described to provide the reader with the context in which she lived. This is followed by the biographical data on the five historically significant periods in Ngoyi’s life, which are presented chronologically. This chapter also includes a summarised chronology of Ngoyi’s life in Table 2.1, highlighting abundant leadership roles and ranks that Lilian Ngoyi presided over. The chapter concludes with a summary.

2.2 Lilian Ngoyi: A Socio-historical Perspective

The colonisation of South Africa began with the arrival of Dutch settlers in what became Cape Town in 1652 (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). These settlers did not encounter uninhabited land; instead, they forcibly removed indigenous inhabitants, seized their resources, and stripped them of their freedom and agency (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The Cape Colony became a strategic entry point for European nations to exploit South Africa's resources, turning the indigenous people into enslaved people in their homeland (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.).

En route to the East, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) became involved in the Cape's economy (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The primary aim of the VOC was to trade with the East, where they had commercial interests (Jooste, 2021;

Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). They had the advantage of their Calvinistic faith, which they brought along (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). For the VOC, being a Dutch company, this faith was a privileged religion. Leveraging this privilege, they utilised their monopoly to develop the colony as a Christian institution on a Reformed basis (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The church was imported from the Netherlands as a Dutch Church, evidently becoming the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), supporting the colonial administration of the VOC (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The Dutch Reformed Church played a decisive role in church matters and politics (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). Their influence was reduced by the British colonial rule that began in 1795 and 1806 (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The British seized the Cape Colony because they had trade interests in India (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.), aiming to promote their economic interests and power, aspiring to be the centre of a global empire (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The DEIC wanted to establish a colony in the Cape primarily to produce supplies for their ships to the East (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). The Cape was not their destination, which led to numerous dilemmas throughout South African history and continues to affect the situation today. The European settlement in Africa was mainly driven by economic motives, eventually leading to an exploitation system (Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.).

The rise of institutional apartheid in the twentieth century was complex, reflecting the evolution of the social, political, and religious ambitions of the heirs of Dutch, English, and French Huguenot settlers (Jooste, 2021). The National Party, which came to power in 1948 with its policy of racial segregation, achieved political success primarily due to the support, explicit and otherwise, of the Afrikaans Reformed family of churches, particularly the DRC (Jooste, 2021; Manavhela, 2009; Stamoolis, n.d.). Christian missionaries played a significant role in shaping the beliefs and practices of both African and Coloured populations

(Thompson, 2006). The apartheid era in South Africa, lasting from 1948 to 1994, was marked by systemic racial segregation and discrimination (Bozzoli, 2008). While these oppressive policies affected all non-White South Africans, this study specifically examined the acts that confined women during apartheid, highlighting the significant role of prominent Black women during this period and exploring the link between Black Consciousness and the renowned activist Lilian Ngoyi (Bozzoli, 2008; Freedman, 1994).

Women in South Africa faced various forms of confinement during apartheid aimed at controlling and suppressing their rights and aspirations (Freedman, 1994). The apartheid regime implemented laws and regulations to enforce racial segregation and discrimination, specifically targeting women of colour. The Group Areas Act of 1950, for example, forcibly removed non-White communities from designated areas, resulting in the disruption of families and social networks (Bozzoli, 2008; Freedman, 1994). Consequently, women were uprooted from their homes, leading to displacement and the erosion of their social support systems (Bozzoli, 2008). Furthermore, the Pass Laws and the Immorality Act significantly impacted women. The Pass Laws required non-White women to always carry identification documents, known as passes, and failure to present a valid pass resulted in arrest and detention (Bozzoli, 2008; Freedman, 1994). This system aimed to restrict women's movement and control their access to urban areas. On the other hand, the Immorality Act prohibited sexual relationships between people of different races, further diminishing the autonomy and agency of Black South Africans, especially women (Bozzoli, 2008; Freedman, 1994).

Despite the oppressive conditions of apartheid, numerous Black women played pivotal roles in resisting and challenging the unjust system (Beukes, 2004). These women exhibited remarkable strength and resilience, becoming prominent figures in the struggle for freedom and equality (Beukes, 2004). Lilian Ngoyi, for instance, emerged as a critical leader of the women's anti-apartheid movement (Beukes, 2004). As a member of the African

National Congress (ANC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), Ngoyi organised and mobilised women against apartheid (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). She led the historic Women's March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956, where women protested the discriminatory pass laws (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Freedman, 1994). Ngoyi's commitment to freedom and her advocacy for gender equality made her iconic in the struggle against apartheid rules (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Freedman, 1994).

Black Consciousness, a philosophical and political movement led by Steve Biko, profoundly impacted the struggle against apartheid (Biko, 1981). It emphasised the importance of self-empowerment, self-respect, and the affirmation of Black identity (Biko, 1981). Black Consciousness sought to dismantle the psychological effects of apartheid and instil pride and dignity among Black South Africans (Biko, 1981). Lilian Ngoyi embodied its principles through her activism and leadership and infighting against racial and gender discrimination; Ngoyi recognised the significance of self-empowerment and the need for a positive Black identity (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015, Freedman, 1994). Her involvement in various organisations and her role in mobilising women demonstrated her commitment to uplifting her community and challenging the oppressive system (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

2.3 Historical Periods in the Life of Lilian Ngoyi

A comprehensive search was done on the life of Lilian Ngoyi to attain all the information utilised in this study. Online sources, such as EBSCOHost, Google Scholar, ResearchGate, and the worldwide web, were consulted in cross-referencing the information used in this study. The biographical data in this study include both primary and secondary resources. Some primary resources include an autobiography in the form of a letter written by Lilian Ngoyi, a series of letters written by Ngoyi about her life to her friends worldwide,

newspaper articles, and speeches. For this study, Ngoyi's life was divided into five historical periods.

2.3.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

Lilian Masediba Matabane was born on 25 September 1911 (Daymond, 2015); the same year, the Mines and Works Act restricted skilled jobs in mines and railways to Whites in South Africa (Clark & William, 2011). Ngoyi was born in Blood Street in Pretoria, South Africa. Her maternal grandfather, Mphahlele, was a royal descendant from the Pietersburg [now Polokwane, South Africa] Transvaal area (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Ngoyi's maternal grandfather later became a minister as the missionaries had colonised him to believe that his life and customs before them were primitive (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Lilian was born to Mrs Annie Mphahlele Matabane and Mr Isaac Matabane. She was the only girl child in a family of five boys (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian's mother required extra assistance around the time of Lilian's birth and sought refuge with her mother to receive support (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Lillian was a determined child, famously called "the most prolific crier in the neighbourhood." Mphahlele described her as someone who would cry until she became unconscious (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 106). Annie was a night schoolteacher when she met Isaac (Daymond, 2015). During Lilian's childhood, Annie worked as a domestic worker and seamstress. Isaac worked as a miner at the Platinum mine, earning £3 every six weeks (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian attended school at Kilnerton Primary³ until Grade 4. The fundamental teachings of numeracy and literacy were enhanced during her school years by incorporating Christian education. Ngoyi frequently drew upon biblical stories in her personal experiences (Bickford-Smith &

³ Kilnerton Primary was a Methodist-affiliated teacher training college that also provided schooling in the local community.

Nasson, 2018). However, Ngoyi would occasionally be kept out of school to care for her younger brother while her parents worked. Her mother would sometimes take her and her younger brother with her to her place of employment (Daymond, 2015; Ngoyi, 1972). There, Lilian experienced the unwelcoming atmosphere in which her mother had to work. She later recalled how her mother's employers, whom she would wash clothes for, treated her: "Mother always had to use the back door of her employers' houses. Compared to White people, I used to think we were made of second-hand stuff" (Stewart, 1996, p.8). Lilian later remembered feeling resentful when she saw her mother breastfeeding under a tree after being prohibited from doing so in the house. As a young child, Lilian, whose parents held strong religious beliefs, found the injustice troubling. This led her to initially believe that 'the Black man was made second by God' (Daymond, 2015, p.272). However, she rejected her parents' explanation over time that 'our tears will be wiped away in the next world' (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 106).

Furthermore, she recalled that when the children accompanied her to work, they had to share one cup of tea and a slice of bread for lunch (Daymond, 2015). Food was a constant preoccupation for her, and when she reminisced about her childhood, the theme of its scarcity often took centre stage (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). The family's limited means allowed for little more than a mielie meal, with meat appearing on the table only once a month (Daymond, 2015). Milk, rice, and cheese were considered luxuries they rarely had the chance to enjoy. This was in stark contrast to the White population, who, as Lilian perceived it, not only had access to the finest cuisine but also indulged in leisurely activities like going to the cinema and playing tennis (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Undoubtedly influenced by her father, whom she remembered as being vehemently opposed to White people, she quickly developed a resolute sense of racial injustice (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian found the missionaries

hypocritical, as they preached the Gospel, but seemed to neglect the principle of loving thy neighbour regarding the Black community (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

During her early years, she faced various socio-economic and gender-based obstacles. She observed her mother's struggle to enrol her in a boarding school after their family relocated from Pretoria (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The expenses for school fees were viewed as a substantial financial burden since her father deemed it unnecessary for a girl. He argued that Lilian's chances of advancement were more likely to come through marriage (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). While her mother eventually persuaded him, at eleven, Lilian gave up her aspiration of becoming a teacher and left school. The strain of witnessing her mother work so tirelessly to afford the additional fees became too much for her (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The family's situation deteriorated further during this period, which Ngoyi attributed to her father's poor health. She referred to his asthma (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996), but he likely suffered from miner's phthisis, a type of silicosis caused by prolonged inhalation of fine rock dust, often resulting in tuberculosis (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Eventually, he stopped working in the mines and took up a position as a packer at a lock store, a job that paid poorly. This added extra financial strain on both Lilian and her mother, compelling them to seek additional sources of income (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

In 1928, at seventeen, Ngoyi moved to Johannesburg to receive training as a nurse at City Deep Mine Hospital to help with the financial situation at home (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Even though the first 'native' nurse was officially registered in 1908, before World War I, the nursing profession was predominantly occupied by English-speaking men (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). However, when the state mandated that

mines provide medical care staff (ensuring one hospital bed for every 40 miners employed), the Union faced a shortage of skilled workers due to an overflow of orderlies to the British army (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). To address this, several mine hospitals started training 'native' female nurses, a successful venture by 1917 (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). However, Ngoyi's career choice was met with disapproval from her mother, who believed that Ngoyi would be better off pursuing a more financially lucrative path, specifically as a dressmaker (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Despite her mother's reservations, Ngoyi continued her nursing training, demonstrating her commitment to personal and professional growth (Daymond, 2015).

2.3.2 Marriage, Motherhood, and Widowhood (1934-1943)

While working at City Deep Hospital, Lilian met John Gerard Ngoyi (Stewart, 1996). John Ngoyi was a qualified teacher by profession; however, due to the poor salaries of teachers at the time, he also worked as a driver for a paint firm (Daymond, 2015). Lilian and John had a happy marriage: "The young Mr and Mrs Ngoyi enjoyed going out together. They loved ballroom dancing and even danced in local competitions. Lilian's marriage was happy and contented" (Stewart, 1996, p.6). Most records primarily mention Edith Mosime Ngoyi, their only biological child, and their adopted daughter, Mphahlele (Memory) (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Lilian, however, also adopted Nomathamsanqa (Eggart) Ngoyi (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian took Mphahlele into her care in 1943 after the passing of the newborn's mother, Lilian's aunt (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Lilian loved Mphahlele and Nomathamsanqa deeply and treated them as if they were her biological children (SAHO, n.d.). Mphahlele was unaware of their adoption until she turned one (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

After her husband died in a car accident, Lilian had to take care of their daughters as well as her parents (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The family relocated to Johannesburg

before being forced to move 20 kilometres outside the city centre to Orlando, in what would eventually become Soweto, where they resided in "The Shelters" in the 1950s. The tiny one-room shacks lacked lighting, chimneys, or windows, and the tin roof was supported by big stones (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Thirty families were served by a single tap at the end of a row of shacks. The tiny tracks between the rows of shacks were filled with the odour of leaking sewage and decaying garbage (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The family later relocated to a modest brick home in Soweto, which the town had recently constructed for the workers (Daymond, 2015). It remains standing in Orlando's Mzimhlophe neighbourhood. Approximately 25 years later, Lilian would write to Belinda Allan from the same "matchbox house," 9870B Orlando (there were no street names in the township) (Daymond, 2015, p. 7).

2.3.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

Lilian's friend, Elizabeth⁴, worked in the kitchen of a refugee from Vienna, Austria, who owned a clothing factory; Lilian was interviewed for the seamstress position at the same clothing factory (Stewart, 1996). Upon being successful in the interview, Lilian told Elizabeth, "I hope she treats me well; I do not want to be as unhappy as my father" (Stewart, 1996, p. 7). As a refugee, the Austrian woman had experienced suffering and mistreatment, so she understood it. Thus, Lilian did not need to be concerned (Stewart, 1996). Her employer was generous and friendly, and she and Lilian quickly became friends (Stewart, 1996). The Austrian woman was relieved to be able to provide Lilian with a job because she understood the hardship of Black people in South Africa (Stewart, 1996). Although Lilian was fortunate to have a compassionate employer, she never forgot how her father had been taken advantage of by the supervisors at the platinum mines (Stewart, 1996).

⁴ Elizabeth is only mentioned by her first name; no further identification of her is given in the letters or autobiographical letters.

In 1945, Lilian began working as a machinist, sewing garments in the garment factory that belonged to the Austrian woman; she worked there for more than ten years. There, she joined the Garment Workers' Union, led by Solly Sachs⁵ (Alexandra, 2000). Lilian's involvement in the labour movement drew her into politics (Stewart, 1996). She dedicated herself tirelessly to her union and fellow factory workers, viewing advocating for workers as synonymous with advocating for the broader Black South African community (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

During the era when the National Party was in power, they introduced a new law known as the 1961 Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950 (SAHO, n.d). In 1950, Solly was banned under this new law, prompting Lilian and approximately 15,000 others to protest in the streets of Johannesburg, demanding Solly's release (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lilian participated in this demonstration alongside her daughter, Edith, and the protest culminated on the steps of the City Hall (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

At work, I was a member of the Garment Workers' Union Executive. This was difficult because workers in this country were [racially] divided. Ours was [the] Garment Workers' African section. It was where I learned to protest. We protested the dismissal of Solly Sacks, who said a worker is a worker despite their colour.

(Daymond, 2015, p. 274)

⁵ Solly Sachs, born Emil Solomon Sachs in Kamaai, Lithuania, immigrated to Johannesburg, South Africa, with his family in 1914. He became actively involved in political movements, joining the Young Communist League of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), and pursued his studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1925, Sachs traveled to the Soviet Union, marking an important phase in his political development. The following year, he became a member of the executive council of the newly established South African Trade Union Congress. In 1927, he assumed the role of secretary of the Witwatersrand Middlemen Tailors' Association, and in 1928, he became the secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, a position for which he is best known (Alexandra, 2000).

Despite the ban on public appearances, Solly defied the order and addressed the crowd (Stewart, 1996). As he began to speak, the police emerged from the hall and forcibly removed him inside (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). The following day, the Rand Daily Mail published photographs depicting police brutality against protesters, particularly highlighting the mistreatment of women (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Sadly, Edith was one of the victims who endured a baton strike during this distressing incident (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). This event marked a pivotal moment in history, clearly showing women they were not exempt from experiencing police violence (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). During the era when the National Party was in power, they introduced a new law known as the 1961 Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950 (SAHO, n.d). Ngoyi's involvement in the trade union concluded when she discovered her political allegiance with the African National Congress. In her autobiography, she acknowledged being removed from the GWU executive due to her advocacy for 'Congress ideas,' which was viewed as a conflict of interest (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.111):

Whenever we had meetings in this Executive, I used to put up my views strongly. Then they, the members, said I was putting Congress ideas , and our next elections were by [secret] ballot, and suddenly I was dropped. I was also asked to serve in the Peace Council of South Africa. I was not very happy because I thought how could I have peace in my head and war in my stomach. (Daymond, 2015, p. 274)

Lilian Ngoyi demonstrated exceptional political acumen and bravery in her leadership of a unionised African labour force against apartheid (Daymond, 2015). Her initial encounter with what she described as the 'organisation behind all these beneficial initiatives' occurred in 1952, a few months after the protest of Sachs's banning (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). News of the ANC's upcoming Defiance Campaign had reached Orlando, leading to calls for

individuals to violate various apartheid restrictions (Daymond, 2015) willingly. The strategy behind this was the hope that law enforcement would become overwhelmed and unable to continue enforcing apartheid laws (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi was greatly impressed by this reasoning, prompting her to join the party and officially commit to defiance by signing a special pledge, vowing to serve her country and people following the directives of the National Volunteer Corps (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The choice was laden with risk. In early 1953, the government introduced the Criminal Law Amendment Bill to suppress the campaign; potential arrests meant that volunteers could face imprisonment for up to three years (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). During this period, Edith was unwell and hospitalised; thus, Ngoyi could hardly endure an extended prison sentence (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Still, just before Albert Luthuli called off the campaign, she approached ANC officials, seeking permission to participate in the act of defiance and was instructed to recruit an additional five volunteers, a task she accomplished (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Ngoyi provided a lucid account of her pivotal role, a moment of great significance to her (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). The group ventured into the Whites-only section of the Rissik Street Post Office, an imposing colonial structure in Johannesburg, where she initiated the composition of a telegram addressed to Prime Minister D.F. Malan (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Recollecting the message she crafted, it conveyed, 'Please stop your ruthless laws; otherwise, the Black man is rising' (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 112). Upon seeing the group in the Whites-only section, a White customer addressed Ngoyi, stating, "Excuse me, Annie, you are in the wrong department" (Stewart, 1996, p.14). The reference to "Annie" likely alluded to Annie Oakley, the fearless American

cowgirl popularised a few years earlier through the musical "Annie Get Your Gun" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

She referred to the prime minister, as telegrams could only be dispatched from the Whites-only sections of post offices (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). However, she could only send her message if the group was apprehended shortly after the interaction (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018):

Just as I signed my name, I felt a strong arm on my shoulders. When I looked up, the Police. He said, 'Come with me, you a[re] under arrest.' Good God! I then thought, I'm now gone three years without my family, and this was the very first time for me to be in a jail. (Daymond, 2015, p. 273)

This marked a pivotal year when the ANC, in collaboration with the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), launched the Defiance campaign, a non-violent resistance movement aimed at challenging the oppressive pass laws and segregation policies that imposed racial divisions in various facets of daily life, including facilities like restrooms, entrances, and even park benches (Beukes, 2004). As part of this campaign, individuals deliberately occupied spaces designated for White individuals, resulting in voluntary imprisonment (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). However, it is essential to note that Parliament passed an amendment in January 1953 before she participated in the campaign. This amendment mandated a three-year prison sentence without the option of a fine for anyone engaged in acts of defiance, underscoring the risks she and others undertook in their pursuit of justice (Daymond, 2015).

In her initial night in prison, a terrified Ngoyi encountered both the severity of the penal system, marked by unappetising porridge, meagre sleeping accommodations, a lack of washing facilities, and the unity of the movement (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018;

Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). An empathetic Indian woman prepared a delightful dinner for the women. The following morning, enthusiastic supporters greeted them in court, all fervently shouting "Africa!" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). To her relief, her attorney, Oliver Tambo, successfully obtained bail, and after several court appearances, the case was dismissed (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

I always felt within me that these Whites should be approached to register our disapproval of the wage we were earning. This time, I was working in a garment factory. I was immediately elected a shop steward. (Daymond, 2015, p. 273)

Her efforts to gain knowledge included appealing to her Amnesty benefactors to send her various books from authors, including Mark Twain, Leo Tolstoy, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Her correspondence often revealed her insecurities about her writing, and it is evident that she needed to be more prolific in leaving written records in the archives of the organisations she served (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

In 1952, Lilian solidified her commitment to the cause by becoming a member of the African National Congress (ANC) for the nominal fee of two shillings and sixpence (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). In 1943, the African National Congress (ANC) established the Women's League, marking a significant shift in the organisation's stance toward women's participation (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). With this, a campaign advocating for universal adult franchise was initiated within the ANC, signifying a pivotal moment in the organisation's approach to gender inclusivity (Daymond, 2015). This change reflected a departure from the organisation's prior exclusion of women from full membership, demonstrating a growing recognition of women's voices and contributions to the ANC (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Despite Edith's severe illness, Lilian, alongside four other women, took a significant step by occupying the 'Whites-only' counter at the post office to send a bold telegram to the prime minister, conveying their defiance (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The message contained a powerful plea: 'Dr Malan, will you please withdraw your bills? South Africa has been a peaceful country. If not, remember what happened to Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy!' (Beukes, 2004, p.170-171). The audacious act led to the arrest of the five women, but they were subsequently acquitted due to their resourceful attorney, Oliver Tambo (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

So we choose to defy in the White section of the General Post Office. As soon as we got in, I went to grab a paper and send a telegram to the then Prime Minister, Malan. As I was writing next to a White man, he politely said to me, 'Excuse me Annie. You are in the wrong department.' You see, without asking for my name, he calls me Annie. I said to him, 'Excuse me, sir, my name is Lilian. And I am not in the wrong department. I'm sending a telegram to the Minister of Justice, and because of apartheid, I feel I should write this just here. (Daymond, 2015, p. 273)

In her early forties, Ngoyi's life trajectory closely paralleled the experiences of numerous African women. Renowned for her exceptional oratory skills, she could attract audiences to various gatherings and captivate them with her discourse (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Among her listeners was a youthful Winnie Madikizela, who, around twenty, was drawn to Ngoyi's magnetic presence (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). In subsequent recollections, Madikizela would reflect upon the profound impact that Ngoyi had on her (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018):

She was one of the greatest orators I have ever heard, one of the greatest women I have lived to know. And you could feel she was self-taught. I felt some kind of

physical identity with her because she belonged to the working class. She spoke the language of the worker; she was herself an ordinary factory worker. When she said what she stood for, she evoked emotions no other person could evoke. (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 113)

She distinguished herself as an eloquent and fearless orator, unreservedly articulating her convictions (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi had the exceptional capacity to instil in her audience the same fervour she felt (Stewart, 1996). Her physical presence was equally striking: tall and slender, with joyful eyes and a radiant smile, marked by the slight gap between her front teeth, conferred a timeless and youthful appearance (Stewart, 1996). Her manner of speaking, often accompanied by a slight tilt of her head on her graceful neck, lent her an engaging allure (Stewart, 1996). She is fondly remembered as an attractive and charismatic figure, characterised by her laughing eyes and a charming gap between her front teeth (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Photographic evidence depicts her in smartly tailored dress suits, frequently adorned with pillbox hats and earrings (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

Furthermore, her ability to resonate with women was particularly noteworthy (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Her vivid and impassioned expressions had a pronounced influence on inspiring women to participate in the Defiance Campaign (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi's exceptional gift for public speaking was the key to her widespread popularity, and she garnered significant support in various organisational elections. Women sought her as their voice and representation, elevating her to a precious and influential position within the Women's League (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Details regarding Lilian Ngoyi's personal life during her years of active political engagement are relatively scarce (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). After her

father passed away, she continued to reside with her mother and daughters (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Furthermore, her family was allocated a house in Orlando West, marking their transition from the Shelters, a change that likely brought relief (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

The little one-room shacks had tin roofs which were held down by large stones. The rooms had no windows, no chimneys and no lights. One tap at the end of a row of shacks served thirty families. The narrow tracks between the rows of shacks stank with sewage and rotting rubbish. (Stewart 1996, p. 6)

Their new residential area in Orlando West, called Mzimhlope, offered a markedly different environment. Characterised by dust and a sense of monotony, the municipal houses, constructed on relatively small, uniform plots, were nearly indistinguishable. Despite street lamps illuminating the dirt roads, the houses lacked electricity (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). This shift in residence reflected the broader socio-economic landscape and living conditions of the time.

Regarding Lilian Ngoyi's romantic relationships, historical records do not provide substantial information beyond her first marriage. However, a lingering rumour suggests a possible affair between her and Nelson Mandela while he was still married to Evelyn Mase (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). If this rumour holds any truth, it would have occurred during the same period (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Notably, both Ngoyi and Mandela resided in the Orlando area, raising the possibility of their meeting, perhaps through Oliver Tambo, who served as Ngoyi's legal counsel (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

Mase, whose religious disposition was incongruent with political life, confided in Fatima Meer, Mandela's first biographer, about the rumours suggesting her husband's involvement with a female ANC member, someone she knew, respected, and liked (Beukes,

2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Initially, she was sceptical of these rumours, and Mandela never substantiated the allegations (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Beyond these whispers, limited concrete evidence supports the claims (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Notably, Ngoyi was approximately ten years Mandela's senior, although she appeared to be his contemporary (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Their relationship's exact nature remains unknown (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that both Ngoyi and Mandela spoke fondly of each other in their respective recollections (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). There were several instances of their interaction; Ngoyi attended Mandela's wedding to Winnie Madikizela, and Mandela unsuccessfully applied from prison to attend Ngoyi's mother's funeral (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Furthermore, Ngoyi visited Mandela on Robben Island. His prison diary includes a note instructing a telegram to convey condolences to Edith the day after Ngoyi's passing (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Lilian Ngoyi assumed another prominent leadership role when she became involved with the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), a national umbrella organisation uniting various women's groups (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). FEDSAW's inception was credited to Ray Alexander, a politically well-connected White trade unionist and former member of the Communist Party. Alexander's vision emphasised that the battle for women's rights should transcend the boundaries of class and race (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

When invitations were extended for a nationwide conference addressing women's status in South Africa, this initiative garnered the admiration of the African National

Congress Women's League (ANCWL), prompting their agreement to participate (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). However, it is essential to note that the leadership of the ANC, primarily composed of men, expressed reservations regarding the potential overlap between FEDSAW's activities and political endeavours. They were reluctant to involve women in activist pursuits (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

On April 17, 1954, a significant conference occurred at the Trades Hall in Johannesburg, an expansive venue adorned with banners bearing powerful slogans, such as 'Women! Speak out your demands,' and 'Homes, food, jobs; real education for all' (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.115). Despite not being designated as one of the scheduled speakers, Lilian Ngoyi delivered a passionate address when the floor was opened for discussion (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her speech commenced with a bold critique of male hypocrisy, where she forthrightly pointed out that the event's attendance might have been even more substantial if husbands had not held many women back (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). This candid opening was met with wide applause (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

At this event, Helen Joseph, an active trade unionist who would later play a significant role in Lilian's life, first encountered Ngoyi (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Joseph was deeply impressed, humorously remarking that she doubted any husband could have restrained Lilian similarly (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Ngoyi's speech delved into several pressing issues, skilfully interweaving her diverse life experiences. She questioned, "If we are not employees, then what are we?" concerning the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, which aimed to extend passes to African women (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.115). Ngoyi raised another thought-provoking question: "When the garments are sold in shops, could you tell

which were made by Black hands and which by White hands?" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.115).

The FEDSAW conference proved successful, uniting 150 delegates representing almost 250,000 women (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). During this gathering, the women crafted a charter. They formulated a draft constitution, articulating their goal of uniting the women of South Africa and advocating for complete equality of opportunity for all women (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.115). Subsequently, Ida Mntwana assumed the role of president later in the year, with Lilian Ngoyi appointed as the vice president in the Transvaal and Helen Joseph as the secretary (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

This period of involvement with the organisation paved the way for an extraordinary opportunity (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). When the Women's International Democratic Federation, which had communist affiliations, announced the upcoming World Congress of Mothers to be held in Switzerland, they extended an invitation to FEDSAW to send two delegates to represent South Africa (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ray Alexander, who had been deeply impressed by Ngoyi, asserted that she should be supported in her pursuit of becoming a significant leader of her people following their initial encounter (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.116). When selecting delegates for the congress, Alexander was notably more captivated by Lilian than Ida, even though Ida held the positions of president in both FEDSAW and the Women's League, which would have naturally designated her as the primary choice. It was only a matter of time before Ngoyi assumed leadership in both these positions (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

In 1955, Lilian Ngoyi, along with Capetonian Dora Tamana, both committee members of FEDSAW, was selected to participate in the World Conference of Mothers held

in Lausanne, Switzerland (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi initially had reservations about the journey, admitting, "Because of poor geography, I thought abroad was no soil, and people there were supernatural" (Daymond, 2015, p.275). The ANC's Ahmed Kathrada arranged their passage to Switzerland, booking tickets under European names (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). However, their plans were foiled when they were discovered hiding in the ship's toilet shortly after departure (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Subsequently, they were returned to shore, arrested, and had their baggage confiscated. Ngoyi described the moment when the ship left the harbour as a "moment of disappointment" that would remain etched in her memory (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

So my trip was arranged for my first stop in England by sea. When I was in the ship already, [and] it had moved, it was returned to the harbour. [I was ...] hiding in the toilet with another [...] lady, Dora Tamana, from Cape Town. Our tickets were in European names. So we were arrested and got out of the ship. This was a moment of disappointment I shall never forget. When the ship pulled and sailed. As you know, even Jesus had those among his disciples who betrayed him (Daymond, 2015, p.275).

After they were released, she recounted:

Before we flew from our airport, Jan Smuts, a White gentleman with a lovely white shirt with a pile of documents, came straight to me. As he stood before me, There was ice in my stomach. I thought, now I'm out again. Instead, he gave a loving smile and asked, 'Are you Lilian Ngoyi?' 'Yes, sir.' He stretched his hand and said, 'Happy landing. In this plane, there is no apartheid; you use the same facilities.' I could not believe my ears. And off we went. (Daymond, 2015, p. 276)

Ngoyi's astonishment is evident as she recounted the warm hospitality extended to the women (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Lacking passports, she employed her persuasive skills to navigate various border controls, even claiming to be on a Bible study tour at one point (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Their journey took them to England via Italy and Amsterdam, and subsequently, they spent time in East Germany. While in London, Ngoyi had her first experience attending the theatre, and passers-by greeted them with warm smiles (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

As we went out, there [were] a lot of women in about six cars to welcome us. They hugged us, kissed us without looking around [in ...] fear of apartheid. Well, we preferred to be in a home than a hotel. Part of this was now we were suffering from a complex, [because] during those days there were not so many Black people as now, [so] as soon as we were in the streets, the people would focus their attention on us, with broad smiles. Even the use of public facilities was a joy: No discrimination,' she noted, 'we were human beings'. (Daymond, 2015, p. 277)

Revisiting her experiences while residing at the Orlando Shelters, she left no aspect unexplored, vividly describing the overcrowded and perilous living conditions where women were compelled to resort to using the passage at the rear of their one-room residences for basic needs (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). She openly shared the moment she turned to prayer, an uncommon practice for her, upon receiving the news that she had been assigned a three-room semi-detached house—a considerable but still substandard improvement by contemporary standards (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Through her narrative, she underscored the profound injustices within a society where Black individuals received an inferior education, earned meagre wages, and yet were burdened with identical tax

responsibilities and faced the exact high costs for essential commodities and transportation (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

In Berlin, the warmth of the local populace surpassed even that of London, as evidenced by the way Berliners warmly greeted Ngoyi, firmly gripping her hand (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). To her astonishment, Ngoyi and Tamana were not only driven to and from events but also provided with personal attendants and interpreters (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

During their stay, they participated in various cultural functions. Ngoyi vividly recalled the beauty of the music, which was so moving that it could bring tears to one's eyes (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Additionally, their visit to the Buchenwald concentration camp left a profound impact on Ngoyi, solidifying her anti-war stance (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Later, when Ngoyi was invited to the Peace Council of South Africa, she was offered a role, although her level of contentment needed to be more anticipated (Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Nevertheless, her colleagues encouraged her to remain in her position (Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

Peace, I thought to myself, this is really a bluff. No African, meaning a Black man, has peace whatsoever. I did not know the value of the Peace Council until I went to Germany, to one of the worst concentration camps. Yes, now I was really for peace. (Daymond, 2015, p. 274)

Their itinerary also included visits to places of specific interest to women, such as hospitals where they observed Caesarean procedures and learned about fertility treatments. Furthermore, they toured factories, where Ngoyi was particularly impressed by the provision

of crèches for children and the freedom for women to breastfeed (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Throughout their visit, Ngoyi could not help but look ahead, harbouring anxiety about the upcoming congress and her perceived lack of education. She felt the need to project herself as an educated individual in front of her hosts (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996):

As we left the [hospital] office with the Superintendent, [at] each ward by the door, there was a Sister with their beautiful veils. As we passed, they would bow down their heads. I did not very much approve of this. ‘Who am I to deserve such a welcome?’ As we got into the other ward, the sister was standing with a girl about five years [old]. She bowed down so long, and this touched me, and I could not keep quiet. Then I asked the Superintendent, ‘What is this all about? Don’t the staff of this Hospital mistake me to be someone with a high qualification of Education?’ He stopped and said, ‘You see, educational degrees do not worry us. But anyone who respects his people and knows their suffering is most respected’. (Daymond, 2015, p. 278)

The congress, held in Lausanne, Switzerland, gathered a remarkable assembly of over 1,000 delegates representing 66 countries, including individuals like Ngoyi and Tamana, who had undertaken challenging journeys to attend (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi presided over the second session of the congress in a somewhat nervous role. Various meetings were convened throughout the event to address health, education, child protection, and the media. Delegates shared their experiences from their respective homelands, fostering enduring friendships (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Upon the conference's conclusion in July, Tamana and Ngoyi received invitations to visit various countries. Subsequently, they embarked on journeys to China and the USSR, adventures filled with awe and discovery. Ngoyi explored Peking, Shanghai, and Moscow,

each destination holding its wonders (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi described this encounter as follows:

And we were taken to health resorts for workers. We went to factories where mothers would be allowed to breastfeed their children. The amount of crèches for the children whose parents work. Life was simply great. (Daymond, 2015, p. 278)

Upon her arrival in the USSR, Ngoyi found herself amused by her prior anticipation of encountering an iron curtain upon entry (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The evident pro-Soviet exhibitions of industriousness left a lasting impression on her. She was particularly struck by the grandeur of the Orthodox churches and the impressive Moscow Metropolitan (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). More than just a cultural and political exposure, the trip abroad marked a turning point in her life, where she felt recognised and valued (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

Upon her return to her homeland in August 1955, her commitment to the struggle for African women's rights was further fueled. She returned with a wealth of experiences and knowledge, prompting her desire to passionately advocate for these causes (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Shortly after her arrival, she became acutely aware of a new challenge facing African women (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). In August 1955, the Minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, announced the government's intention to issue passbooks to women, commencing in March of the following year, initially in rural areas (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). This ominous development prompted Ngoyi and her fellow activists to embark on a nationwide campaign to obtain support for the burgeoning anti-pass movement, sparking a groundswell of protests

throughout the country (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

These efforts culminated in the iconic Women's March on August 9, the event for which Ngoyi is best remembered (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). An estimated 20,000 women, many of whom incurred significant personal sacrifices, participated in this historic march to the Union Buildings (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Donned in uniforms that emphasised their identity as workers, these women proudly held aloft placards bearing slogans that equated the pass system with a form of modern slavery (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Among the leaders of this impassioned procession were Ngoyi, alongside Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa, and Sophia Williams (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Together, they delivered a substantial collection of written demands to the office of Prime Minister J.G. Strijdom (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). As they stood on the steps of the Union Building, Ngoyi, filled with inspiration and a tinge of fear, scanned the crowd and locked eyes with her devoted mother, Edith, wondering if this might be their final farewell (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Subsequently, upon returning, she informed the crowd that Prime Minister Strijdom had retreated like a coward and called for a peaceful protest (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The women obediently maintained their silence, with only the clock's chime breaking the quiet, striking three and a quarter past (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Arms raised in the Congress salute stood silently for half an hour, a powerful and united force. As they eventually broke the silence by singing 'Nkosi Sikilel'

iAfrica, the women from Natal sang out, "Strijdom! Wathint' abafazi,/ Wathint' imbokodo!/ Uzokufa" (Strijdom! You have struck the women/ You have struck a rock/ You will be destroyed) (Daymond, 2015, p.252). Maggie Resha vividly recalls Ngoyi concluding the event, her resounding voice echoing through the hallowed halls of the Union Buildings as she cried out: "A ... frika!" The electrifying atmosphere was palpable, and the crowd responded in unison: "Mayibuye" (May it [r]eturn!) (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 118).

The Women's March of August 1956, hailed for its remarkable dignity, discipline, and unity, attracted widespread acclaim. Remarkably, no arrests were made during this historic demonstration, and it was speculated by the Cape Times to be the largest gathering of women in South Africa's history (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). On August 10, 1956, Ngoyi ascended to the presidency of FEDSAW following her election at a national conference (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). She held the pivotal position of leader of the ANCWL and was the sole female member of the ANC national executive committee, subsequently becoming the most influential woman within the liberation movement (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

However, this marked the onset of profound turmoil in her life (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Five months after the Women's March, a predawn raid led to Ngoyi's arrest, along with prominent figures like Helen Joseph, Ida Mntwana, Nelson Mandela, Chief Albert Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, and 153 other activists (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Following a three-week confinement, she faced the charge of high treason, a capital offence (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The sheer number of defendants necessitated the conversion of Johannesburg's Drill Hall into a makeshift courtroom for their initial appearance, during which stringent bail conditions were imposed. Ngoyi was

prohibited from participating in public gatherings or addressing meetings and had to report to her local police station weekly (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). These restrictions defined her life (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). By 1959, the number of defendants was pared down to thirty, and the trial proceedings relocated to Pretoria (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi was one of the few remaining trialists who had to endure the daily commute from Soweto to Pretoria on the government-provided "Treason Bus" (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Due to the arduous travel and her daily presence in court, she lost her job. She was also compelled to earn a living as a seamstress, taking on various sewing tasks from her home (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). To supplement her income, she sewed black-and-green Women's League blouses for courtroom supporters, and for a portion of the trial period, she rented out a room to another trialist, Arthur Letele, a doctor from Kimberley, who continued his medical practice there (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Frequent fundraising events and gatherings were organised, and the trialists received support from the International Defence and Aid Fund, established in England in 1956 to provide financial aid to political prisoners and their families (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The prosecution presented transcriptions of select incendiary speeches compiled by Special Branch officers over the years (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). In Ngoyi's case, it was evident that Detective Sergeant Van Papendorf had been meticulously recording her words as early as 1954, including a document titled '10 reasons why I refuse to carry a pass,' which was submitted as general evidence (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her travels and

public addresses had drawn much attention. The court scrutinised a speech in which she was purported to have stated that there are free countries in Europe due to their liberation fighters, and this freedom carries a weighty significance (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The meaning behind the final sentiment was ardently defended by Joseph, who contended that Ngoyi had been misquoted, with her intended reference being the gas chambers in Europe (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Conversely, the prosecution leaned toward guilt by association, asserting that even if there was uncertainty regarding whether Ngoyi had made these remarks, she had not distanced herself from the statements made by Nimrod Sejake⁶ and Robert Resha⁷, subsequently aligning herself with the spirit of the meeting (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

This protracted legal ordeal continued for nearly five years, earning the dubious distinction of being the lengthiest trial in the nation's history (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The situation took a turn for the worse a year before its conclusion when the Pan Africanist Congress launched an anti-pass campaign outside the Sharpeville police station on March 21, 1960 (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The Sharpeville Massacre, transpiring March

⁶ **Nimrod Sejake** was a prominent South African trade unionist and anti-apartheid activist. As a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), Sejake played a pivotal role in mobilising workers during the apartheid era. His involvement in the 1956 Treason Trial, a landmark legal case targeting anti-apartheid activists, underscored his unwavering commitment to resistance. Following the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, Sejake was forced into exile, where he continued his advocacy for workers' rights, primarily in Ireland (South African History Online, 2023).

⁷ **Robert Resha** was a notable journalist and anti-apartheid activist affiliated with the ANC. His involvement in the 1956 Treason Trial alongside prominent figures like Nelson Mandela and Lilian Ngoyi solidified his status as a key figure in the resistance movement. Resha's contributions extended to the ANC Youth League, where he played a significant role in organising youth-led protests against apartheid. After going into exile in 1961, Resha continued to serve the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), until his untimely death in 1973 (South African History Online, 2023).

21, 1960, when police in Sharpeville fired upon protesters, resulting in the deaths of 69 men, women, and children, with most of the victims shot in the back, marked a pivotal and tragic moment in South Africa's history (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The police's fatal firing upon the protesters as they tried to flee resulted in widespread fear and unrest throughout the country (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi fell victim to the newly declared state of emergency and was subjected to five months of detention without formal charges, with 19 of those days spent in solitary confinement (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). In the aftermath of this horrific event, the Nationalist Government responded to mounting local and international outrage by imposing bans on political organisations and escalating the detention of anti-apartheid activists (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Following the Sharpeville incident, the government banned the PAC and the ANC, providing further ammunition for the authorities to target activists (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). As a result, Ngoyi, who was now unemployed, found herself without the financial support that had sustained her during the trial, and the once-close bonds of camaraderie among the trialists, many of whom were now banned and isolated, were severed (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Consequently, her life swiftly descended into a cycle of arbitrary arrests, frequent police raids, and the imposition of banning orders (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The protracted Treason Trial eventually concluded on March 29, 1961. Despite the prosecution's efforts to discredit her, Ngoyi emerged unscathed, as described by Joseph (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). However, the authorities perceived the situation differently, and the environment surrounding Ngoyi

underwent a significant transformation (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

On May 4, 1961, the police executed a predawn search of her home. On September 26, she received her first banning order, which prohibited her from attending public gatherings and meetings (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). A month later, she was arrested for violating the order after hosting a small gathering at her home. However, the case was ultimately dropped due to the refusal of the attendees to testify that the event constituted a meeting (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

2.3.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)

In March 1962, Lilian Ngoyi faced the imposition of an additional restriction that severely curtailed her freedom of movement, confining her to a mere one-mile radius centred on her residence (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). A few days before Christmas of the same year, she was confronted with yet another oppressive decree that forbade her from participating in social events. This development, eloquently described as a form of living death by Bertha Mashaba, marked a further extension of her isolation (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Despite these formidable constraints, Ngoyi managed to maintain a resilient and optimistic public demeanour. During an interview conducted by journalist Benjamin Pogrand in 1962, she emphasised her indomitable spirit by declaring, "The government cannot confine my spirit to Orlando" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.121).

Nevertheless, her unwavering optimism was of limited duration. In a surprising turn of events, she was apprehended once more on the night of June 26, 1963, during a sudden midnight raid carried out at the homes of associates of Walter Sisulu, who had recently gone underground (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). During this period, she was

detained under the newly enacted General Law Amendment Act and endured a harrowing 71 days of solitary confinement, an ordeal she graphically described as "devilish" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, Stewart, 1996):

'You count your fingers until you can count no more,' she later explained. 'One day, I actually fainted, and when I complained to the authorities, I was told that I asked for it. (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p. 121)

Banning orders constrained her political, social, and intellectual pursuits and severely impeded her capacity to earn a decent livelihood (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Her ability to procure materials for her work at a wholesale level within the city was restricted, necessitating the purchase of goods at inflated township prices (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

This state of confinement proved to be exceptionally stifling for an individual with Ngoyi's disposition, as characterised by her daughter Edith as restless and constantly in motion; Edith poignantly likened the ban's impact to clipping a bird's wings and confining it to a cage (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Her banning order was renewed in 1967, condemning her to endure this constrained existence for another five years (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi maintained an active correspondence with her friends during this challenging period. She engaged in regular written exchanges with Helen Joseph, who, like Ngoyi, was subjected to banning orders, rendering her homebound (Stewart, 1996). Additionally, Ngoyi continued her correspondence with another long-standing friend, Ray Alexander. Although Alexander and her husband were compelled to exile in 1965, they remained committed to sustaining their connection with Ngoyi through written communication (Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi had a network of individuals in the United States and Europe who provided material

and emotional support. Her letters revealed her diligent efforts to maintain ties with this group. She considered some of her correspondents to be genuine friends, expressing to Belinda that their letters brought solace to her soul and helped ease her challenges (Daymond, 2015).

2.3.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

The correspondence between Ngoyi and Belinda Allan originated when she was chosen as a recipient of a modest monthly contribution from the Riverside group of Amnesty International in New York City (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). This particular phase of Ngoyi 's life finds its primary documentation within the insights and reflections discerned from the letters exchanged with Belinda Allan (real name Belinda Keown), whose identity remains undisclosed, with documentation commencing only in 1972.

Belinda Keown, hailing from English and Irish heritage, belonged to a family with notable connections. Her father held the esteemed position of a drama critic at Punch magazine in London. During World War II, her family moved from London to Surrey. This relocation eventually saw her mother ascending to the role of magistrate in Guildford. Belinda's active engagement with Amnesty International began during her two-year residence in Greece from 1967 to 1969. This period coincided with the release of the organisation's inaugural official report on the conditions in Greece during the Colonel's Junta. Subsequently, Belinda relocated to New York, where she took on the position of assistant to Whitney Ellsworth, the publisher of the New York Review of Books. Through this association, she was introduced to the Riverside branch of Amnesty International. At this juncture, Amnesty International was still in its infancy in the United States, resulting in a limited number of operational groups. Within the Riverside branch, each member was responsible for corresponding with multiple prisoners of conscience. Belinda personally engaged in monthly exchanges with two such individuals: a Greek political prisoner and

Lilian Ngoyi in South Africa. Her responsibilities extended to providing these prisoners with modest financial support and raising awareness about their predicaments. Amnesty International members exercised vigilance, avoiding overly specific publicity that could potentially jeopardise the safety of the prisoners. Belinda's recognition of Ngoyi's passion for reading led to her consistent dispatch of books, further nurturing their unique connection.

After her initial exchange of letters with Ngoyi, Belinda embarked on a new chapter by marrying Donald Allan, an American journalist renowned for his contributions to prominent publications such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *The Reporter*. Shortly after their union, Donald assumed a pivotal role with UNICEF, where he was appointed to oversee its Middle East Information Bureau, based in Beirut. As a result, Belinda and Donald resided in Beirut from 1972 to 1975. During her stay in Beirut, Belinda pursued her professional career with Harper & Row, where she assumed the responsibilities of managing their local sales office. This role not only facilitated her job but also presented opportunities to travel alongside her husband to countries including Iran, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, broadening her exposure to the diverse cultures and landscapes of the Middle East. During their sojourn in Beirut, the Allans welcomed the birth of their daughter, Diana, in 1974, marking a significant personal milestone for the couple.

Facilitated by the Defence and Aid Fund, it was customary for the recipient to personally acknowledge the receipt of this assistance through a letter addressed to the individual sender rather than the organisation (Daymond, 2015). Regrettably, Ngoyi's earliest letters to Belinda have not survived (Daymond, 2015). Furthermore, there exist gaps in the correspondence attributable to multiple factors. Some letters were likely lost due to surveillance by the South African postal system led by the Police, which Ngoyi distrusted and called a 'monster... devouring our letters' (letter 87). Other gaps may have occurred during

one of Belinda's relocations or, toward the end, due to Ngoyi's declining health (Daymond, 2015).

Commencing with the first extant letter in 1971, it becomes evident that Ngoyi wanted more than merely offering a perfunctory acknowledgement of the financial assistance. As the months passed, the relationship between Ngoyi and Belinda flourished, progressing to a point where she felt comfortable sharing some of her most personal family matters (Daymond, 2015). Despite her deteriorating health, Ngoyi maintained a consistent correspondence with Belinda until the month preceding her death in March 1980. She consistently showed keen interest in Belinda's family life, mainly focusing on her daughter Diana. While Ngoyi could be reserved about her own family, she remained open to discussing her limited activities, such as gardening, and commenting on significant national developments (Daymond, 2015). In Ngoyi's letter to Belinda dated April 21, 1972, she expressed that she did not feel as strong as she was before, as she was turning 61 years old that year, and that she longed for the ban to be lifted:

If all goes well, my ban will expire in Nov. I'm now 61 years old and have no security. I'm no longer as strong as I was physically, but my spirit is strong as a rock. I love life and would be pleased to see a change in the country I love and its people before I close my eyes in death. (Daymond, 2015, p. 269)

In December 1972, the expiry of her banning order marked a significant turning point in Lilian Ngoyi's life, as it was not renewed (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Alexander Ray provided her with financial assistance, enabling her to embark on journeys across the country and make up for the almost ten years of her isolation (Stewart, 1995). Among her travels, she visited the grave of Chief Albert Luthuli in Natal, where she offered a prayer for the young freedom fighters (Stewart, 1995) and paid her respects:

The Sunday, the 21st of July, I hired a taxi to take me to Groutville to the Grave of Chief Albert Luthuli. I'm sure you read about him; he was our [ANC] Leader. When he died, I could not attend his funeral. According to our Custom, I do not need a wreath, and of course, I could not afford one. (Daymond, 2015, p. 289)

Her immediate aspiration was to explore and travel. With contributions from various women, she successfully embarked on journeys to both Durban and Cape Town. She corresponded with Alan from both destinations, and her letters vividly capture the elation she felt during this trip, akin to her writings on Europe (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996).

I sat by the window, noticing the wonderful changes. The guard of our train said, 'Tickets, tickets Ladies'; we were three Black women. How nice to our ears to be addressed ladies. Then the next man comes in. 'Bedding, and Supper'. I proudly said yes because of you and your family (Daymond, 2015, p. 289)

Upon entering Pietermaritzburg, another notable geographical feature becomes apparent: the area referred to as the Valley of a Thousand Hills. Ngoyi stated: 'Oh! Nature can provide beauty. I feel now this is where I would suggest a University of our children should be erected, one without discrimination of colour, race or creed' (Daymond, 2015, p. 289). From Durban, she shared her exhilaration, observing the sea waves, ships, and the bustling crowd with a sense of gratitude for the 11 years of the banning order that had not been renewed (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

During her visit to Durban, Ngoyi indulged in various activities, including swimming in the ocean, visiting a snake park, and paying her respects at the grave of Albert Luthuli (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). In Cape Town, she

obtained permission to meet with Nelson Mandela. According to police surveillance records, their conversation revolved around past experiences and the whereabouts of ANC exiles (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Lilian Ngoyi could pursue exile, yet she deliberately decided to remain within her homeland (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). During a brief intermission between the periods of her banning orders, she conveyed to a reporter that her resolve and determination remained undiminished. In her own words:

You can tell my friends all over the world that this old girl is still her old self, if not more mature after all the experiences. I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa. (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; p. 177)

Despite enduring 18 years of confinement, Ngoyi's indomitable spirit remained unbroken; however, her physical health did succumb to the ordeal. On March 12, 1980, she passed away at the age of 68, primarily due to heart-related ailments (Beukes, 2005; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1995). Her funeral in Soweto drew thousands of mourners, who unflinchingly adorned themselves with the illegal colours of the African National Congress (Beukes, 2005; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1995). The scene was described by her friend and comrade, Helen Joseph:

The large church was packed with people and bright with Congress colours. Six women of the Federation and the African National Congress Women's League maintained a guard of honour in their green blouses and black skirts, standing still and silent on each side of the coffin where she lay under the Congress flag. It was a gathering of old members of the ANC and the Federation and the Women's League, but they were joined by the young [...] all differences disappeared and young and old,

black consciousness and Congress, joined together in tribute. [...] A moving announcement had been made: “Lilian Ngoyi lived a life of great simplicity, and we shall bury her in simplicity. The coffin will be borne on a cart drawn by two horses.” A thousand people walked behind her five miles to the cemetery. The people of Soweto came out of their houses to wave farewell to her as she passed, giving her the Amandla salute, the clenched fist of strength and struggle. (Joseph, 1986, pp. 198–99).

Remarkably, two years following her death, Ngoyi posthumously made history by becoming the first woman to be honoured with the liberation movement's most prestigious award, the *isithwalandwe* (Beukes, 2005). In 1992, when Helen Joseph passed away, her final wishes were duly honoured as she was laid to rest next to Ngoyi in Soweto (Stewart, 1995).

CHAPTER 3

THE HOLISTIC WELLNESS MODEL

“I was also asked to serve in the Peace Council of South Africa. I was unhappy because I thought, ‘How could I have peace in my head and war in my stomach.’”

– Lilian Ngoyi, Letter 94

3.1. Chapter Preview

This study will explore Lilian Ngoyi's life through the lens of holistic wellness, utilising the theoretical framework developed by neo-Adlerian scholars Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer, and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The chapter will begin by providing an overview of the emergence of the Positive Psychology paradigm and the wellness construct. It will then outline the first, second, and third waves of Positive Psychology, placing holistic wellness within this broader context. The chapter aims to trace the origins of holistic wellness, referencing core principles from Adler's individual psychology framework. Additionally, it will examine the evolution and application of the holistic wellness model, highlighting its importance in psychobiographical research. The chapter will conclude with a critical discussion of the model's limitations and the criticisms it has faced.

3.2. Positive Psychology and the Wellness Movement

Historically, the dominant approach to health was the medical model, primarily emphasising disease diagnosis and treatment (Myers & Sweeney, 2016; Zachar & Kendler, 2007). The concept of perfect health was equated with physical ability (Shannonhouse et al., 2016; Zachar & Kendler, 2007). According to Shannonhouse et al. (2016), the medical model focuses on diagnosing and treating conditions, considerably influencing how individuals perceive health. However, the shift from the traditional medical model to a wellness

paradigm has resulted in considering additional psychological and social factors that can impact disease (Gong et al., 2015).

Preceding World War II, psychology had three primary goals: (a) to heal mental illness, (b) to improve people's quality of life, and (c) to nurture and promote the gifted (Linley et al., 2006; Peterson & Park, 2003). Following WWII, the profession switched its focus to studying and treating psychopathology (Faller, 2001; Strümpfer, 2005, 2006). However, in 1946, the World Health Organization (WHO) revised its definition of health to include complete physical, mental, and social well-being rather than simply the absence of disease or infirmity, allowing for the conceptualisation of wellness as a multifaceted construct and linking health interventions with the advancement of wellness (Oliver et al., 2018). However, the predominant focus on mental health concerns persisted in primary care settings (Johnson, 2013) until 1977, when the biopsychosocial model (Engel, 1977; Gong et al., 2015; Myers et al., 2000) was introduced as an alternative to the traditional medical model for treating mental and physical disorders. Regrettably, compared to existing research on psychopathology, there was insufficient knowledge about psychological well-being (Ryff, 1995).

Martin E. P. Seligman publicly committed to returning the profession to include a more positive psychology approach in his presidential address to the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1998 (Linley et al., 2006; Strümpfer, 2005). Theorists like Abraham Maslow (1962) had previously advocated for such a transition, claiming that health psychology would provide more opportunities to manage and improve people's lives, aiming to become better people. As a result, there has been a paradigm shift from illness and pathology to wellness and health in recent decades. Positive Psychology encompasses a total person approach to improving one's quality of life in proactive and positive ways (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000; Witmer & Sweeney,

1992). It has also been highlighted as a significant paradigm for counselling and development (Myers, 1992; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Furthermore, the Positive Psychology movement aims to make positive lifestyle choices and optimal growth and development more accessible (Shannonhouse et al., 2016).

Positive Psychology is based on the humanistic and existential psychology framework, founded by pioneers such as Maslow, Rogers, and Frankl, who believed that people want to live rewarding and satisfying lives, nurture and develop their best selves, and enrich their love, work, and play experiences (Faller, 2001). Linley et al. (2006) offered an integrated definition in an inaugural *Journal of Positive Psychology* article:

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

Subjective experiences such as well-being, contentment, satisfaction, hope, optimism, and happiness are valued in Positive Psychology (Duckworth et al., 2005; McMahon et al., 2010; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). A clear distinction is often drawn between two primary forms of well-being: hedonic or subjective well-being and eudaimonic or psychological well-being (De Vries et al., 2022; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Subjective well-being is closely linked to the hedonistic philosophical tradition, positing that life aims to maximise pleasure and minimise pain (De Vries et al., 2022; Lambert et al., 2015; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Consequently, contemporary measures of subjective well-being focus on levels of positive and negative affect and individuals' subjective life satisfaction (Diener et al., 2018). On the other hand, psychological well-being is rooted in eudaimonic philosophy, which emphasises

living a life of virtue beyond mere pleasure and pain (De Vries et al., 2022; Lambert et al., 2015). This perspective encourages assessments of positive functioning, personal thriving, and evaluations of life's meaning and purpose, as reflected in current psychological well-being measures (Ryff, 1989).

Local researchers in South Africa have responded to international trends by directing their research activities toward optimal growth and development (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). Strümpfer's publication of *Salutogenesis: A New Paradigm* in 1990 revolutionised the South African Positive Psychology movement (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). Strümpfer linked salutogenesis (also known as the roots of health) to five constructs based on Antonovsky's (1987) work: (a) sense of coherence, (b) toughness, (c) potency, (d) stamina, and (e) learned resourcefulness, later adding two more constructs, namely self-efficacy and locus of control (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007; Strümpfer, 1995). He also proposed a new term, fortogenesis, to encompass the beginnings of strengths, fortigenic structures, and salutogenesis (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). Dimensions of resilience such as involvement, meaningfulness, subjective well-being, positive emotions, and proactive coping are among the fortigenic constructs (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007). Wissing and Van Eeden coined "psychofortology" to describe this new sub-discipline. They argued that psychological wellness and coping should receive more attention and focus (Strümpfer, 2006; Wissing & Van Eeden, 1997) and, in line with the tenets of the Positive Psychology movement, emphasised individual strengths and skills (Seligman et al., 2005; Strümpfer, 2006).

Within Positive Psychology, there have been developments as various waves emerged, including the second wave (PP2.0) and the third wave (PP3.0). Table 3.1 summarises the focus, method, worldview ontology, epistemology, and values of these waves of Positive Psychology over the past 24 years, compiled from multiple sources (Ivtzan et al.,

2015; Mayer & Vanderheiden, 2021; Seligman, 1998; Seligman, 2002; Seligman & Peterson, 2004; Seligman et al., 2005; Wissing et al., 2021; Wong, 2011).

Table 3.1

Summary of Various Waves of Positive Psychology

	Focus (Seligman, 1998)	Method	Worldview, Ontology, Epistemology and Values
First Wave (PP1.0) 1998/2000-2010	Seligman's support of positivity over pathology (1998). Positive affect, the ability to differentiate more, and subjective well-being are specific aspects of well-being. Construct clustering, including hedonic and eudaimonia components. Theory development, such as that of Fredrickson (2001). Research streams that are similar but isolated, such as mainstream Positive Psychology, humanistic viewpoints, youth development, and asset-based approaches. Ignoring multimodal, cultural, and ethical elements of well-being, including WEIRD research.	Quantitative: Surveys and controlled experiments Confirmation of hypotheses Generalisations made without regard to context Quantitative determination of causality	Emphasises well-being as a fundamental aspect of human existence, recognising the importance of innate strengths such as resilience, optimism, and character traits, which can be developed to improve life satisfaction. Adopts an empirical and scientific approach, utilising assessment tools like the Values in Action (VIA) classification system to identify and categorise character strengths across different cultures. Promotes values centred around happiness, personal fulfilment, and virtues, such as kindness and integrity, encouraging individuals to engage in meaningful activities and contribute positively to society (Seligman, 2002; Seligman & Peterson, 2004; Seligman et al., 2005).
Second Wave (PP2.0) 2010-2015	Positive and negative aspects of life are intertwined, and their meanings vary depending on the situation and culture. Constructs or phenomena have both good and bad aspects. Culture as background; more comprehensive ideas. More fields have begun to examine well-being.	Case studies, polls, and interviews with a focus on qualitative Small samples, in-depth research, and qualitative Combining quantitative and qualitative techniques	Acknowledges the interconnectedness of positive and negative experiences, recognising that both are essential for human flourishing, as suffering and adversity can foster character development and contribute to overall well-being (Ivtzan et al., 2015; Wong, 2011). Introduces a broader epistemological approach, incorporating qualitative research and cultural perspectives. to understand human experiences, including indigenous and existential viewpoints, emphasising compassion, integrity, and social responsibility as virtues that enhance both individual well-being and societal health (Wong, 2011).
Third Wave (PP3.0) 2015 onward	Relatedness Interconnectedness is the ability to balance opposites and harmonise differences. W.B. as multimodal integral/holistic theories. A balance between humans and the environment. Importance of all circumstances. Collaboration among disciplines and across sectors. Spirituality	Multimethod studies Action research is intervention-based. Quantitative and qualitative data collection that is both random and purposeful Hermeneutics is transdisciplinary Promotes interdisciplinary research, integrating qualitative and quantitative methods to capture diverse cultural narratives and lived experiences, drawing from fields like psychology, sociology, and anthropology (Wissing et al., 2021; Wong, 2011).	Emphasises relationality/cosmodernity: Every element of the cosmos is characterised by its relationship to other elements, focusing on the interconnectedness of individuals, communities, and the environment, highlighting the influence of social contexts on well-being. Promotes multiplicity and humble coexistence of worldviews: knowledge is an emergent quality that is never entirely or unquestionably certain. Views well-being as a dynamic and multifaceted construct shaped by cultural, social, and environmental factors and acknowledges the complex interplay of positive and negative life experiences. Emphasises social justice, inclusivity, and sustainability, advocating for ethical well-being practices that consider societal structures and promote collective flourishing. Includes pragmatism, critical dialectical pluralism, integrated research, and a social justice perspective in which values and virtues are crucial (Wissing et al., 2021; Wong, 2011).

3.2.1 Wellness in the Positive Psychology Movement

Wellness is a central concept in the Positive Psychology movement (Roscoe, 2009). Although some theorists may have underemphasised specific wellness dimensions, such as physical health (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), it can be traced back to the work of prominent earlier psychological theorists such as Adler, Jung, Rogers, and Maslow. These theorists recognised the importance of holism (the interconnectedness of mind, body, and complete personality), alluding to a human urge toward wholeness and a universal quest for health (Fouché, 1999; Strümpfer, 2005; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Adler's Individual Psychology, specifically, is known for its comprehensive approach to human lives, recognising that individuals are socially entrenched, and that growth occurs in a social setting (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, 1964). In addition, Maslow (1962) and Jung (1958) both acknowledged the importance of healthy functioning and established constructs associated with it (Nechal, 2016). Maslow (1962) advocated for a greater focus on developing the psychology of health and used the phrase "self-actualisation" to emphasise the necessity of realising one's full potential. Similarly, Jung (1958) viewed the integration of the mind, body, and spirit as an inherent human pursuit of wholeness and well-being.

Holism, defined as recognising the inseparability of body, mind, and spirit, is vital to the wellness approach per these traditions (Myers, 2009). Fouché (1999) commented on the roots of the term well-being, noting that it first entered modern American vernacular in the 1950s because of Dr. H. Dunn's famous book, *High-level Wellness*, published in 1961, and his talks to the Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C. One of Dunn's pupils at his Wellness Resource Centre, John Travis, became the first physician to formalise wellness instruction and is credited with pioneering the modern wellness movement (Fouché, 1999; Strohecker, 2005). Dunn is known as "the father of the current wellness movement" (Oliver, 2018, p. 3),

and his landmark book, *High-level Wellness*, was first published in 1961 (Fouché, 1999). High-level wellness is defined as an integrated manner of functioning that maximises the individual's potential under conditions that present opportunities and activities for self-actualisation to be achieved (Dunn, 1959, 1961). A "health grid" scale (Oliver et al., 2018, p. 42) that contains a health axis (ranging from death to peak wellness) and an environmental axis (that includes physical, biological, and socioeconomic components that may affect health) is used to determine an individual's level of wellness (Goss, 2011). If an individual can retain balance and meaningful direction within their work environment, they can achieve high-level well-being and operate on the positive side of the health scale (Goss, 2011; Oliver et al., 2018). Through his Wellness Resource Centre, one of Dunn's medical students, John Travis, expanded on Dunn's ideas and formalised wellness teaching; he is considered a pioneer in the current wellness movement (Fouché, 1999; Nechal, 2016). According to Hettler's (1984) existential perspective, wellness is an active situation in which individuals become conscious of and make choices toward a more successful existence. In 1977, Hettler co-founded the NWI (Oliver, 2018; WHO, 1946). The six-dimensional paradigm is based on a holistic, interconnected approach in which all variables work together to promote a healthy lifestyle (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). According to this paradigm, wellness occurs when a person accepts responsibility for their health through personal lifestyle choices and maximises all six dimensions of wellness (physical, social, emotional, spiritual, occupational, and intellectual) (Goss, 2011; Oliver et al., 2018). This concept implies a sense of control in which an individual's decisions and behaviours may impact their overall health (Oliver et al., 2018).

Behavioural medicine, psychology, anthropology, sociology, education, and religion have all embraced the concept of wellness since wellness has been widely accepted as a paradigm in academic and professional psychology (Els & De la Rey, 2006; Myers, 1991;

Myers, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Counselling emerged as a natural partner in the wellness movement, advocating for optimal health and well-being (Myers & Sweeney, 2007). An issue of the 1992 Journal of Counselling and Development, namely *Wellness Throughout the Life Span*' (Myers, 1992), voiced the dedication to wellness as a lifespan paradigm for counselling and development (Fouché, 1999). The wellness movement has made a significant global impact across various sectors of society. Moreover, workplaces have integrated wellness through diverse programmes that strive to reduce employee absenteeism, minimise risk exposure, and decrease medical expenses, all while boosting productivity (Fouché, 1999; Laurent et al., 2008). Higher education institutions also commonly implement wellness programmes, reflecting their commitment to enhancing students' quality of life and psychological well-being (Hermon & Hazler, 1999).

Numerous definitions of wellness have been put forward, influenced by its interdisciplinary nature. Consequently, the concept has been employed in various contexts, resulting in multiple purposes ranging from reductionistic to holistic (Fouché, 1999). The concept of wellness, also known as wholeness in the literature, currently holds a central position in positive psychology (Roscoe, 2009) and has had a global impact (Fouché, 1999).

According to most wellness theorists, it is a continuous journey toward optimal functioning, shaped by an individual's self-responsibility and motivation (Roscoe, 2009). Myers et al. (2000) described wellness as a way of life that prioritises optimal health and well-being, emphasising integrating the body, mind, and spirit to fully engage in human and natural communities. According to Roscoe (2009), wellness is a multidimensional concept characterised by intricate and synergistic interaction of various factors. This interplay suggests that all aspects of well-being are interconnected and interdependent. Multiple conceptual wellness models have been established, exhibiting consistent descriptions of wellness despite their focus on different elements (Adams et al., 1997; Depken, 1994; Hettler,

1980; Myers, 1992; Renger et al., 2000; Roscoe, 2009). Hettler's six-dimensional model (1980) and Crose et al.'s (1992) systems model of wellness emphasise intellectual, emotional, physical, social, occupational, and spiritual wellness, while other models include psychological and environmental wellness (Adams et al., 1997; Renger et al., 2000; Roscoe, 2009). Roscoe (2009) proposed seven distinct wellness characteristics, synthesising key ideas from various wellness dimensions identified by Fouché (1999) as prominent core components in the literature. These characteristics encompass (a) social wellness, (b) emotional wellness, (c) physical wellness, (d) intellectual wellness, (e) spiritual wellness, (f) occupational wellness, and (g) environmental wellness.

The holistic wellness model, as established by Myers et al. (2000), Sweeney and Witmer (1991), and Witmer and Sweeney (1992), exemplifies a comprehensive framework aimed at conceptualising wellness as a multifaceted and synergistic construct. Due to its integrative and holistic nature, the holistic wellness paradigm was deemed appropriate for the psychobiographical study conducted in this research. The subsequent section will explore the components of the model and the wellness dimensions it encompasses.

3.2.2 Holistic Wellness: The Wheel of Wellness and the Indivisible Self Models

Witmer and Sweeney developed the Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model in the 1990s to expound on holistic health in counselling (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). As a holistic wellness model, it exemplifies a comprehensive framework that conceptualises wellness as a multifaceted and synergistic construct. Due to its integrative and holistic nature, the holistic wellness paradigm was deemed appropriate for the psychobiographical study conducted in this research. The subsequent section will explore the components of the model and the wellness dimensions it encompasses. This model was based on research on several factors linked to healthy living, quality of life, and longevity (Myers & Sweeney, 2004, 2008). This 'lifespan' wellness model

uses Adlerian Individual Psychology principles to explain the various components of wellness, such as the life tasks individuals should engage with to develop their wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). After its initial development, it was changed to incorporate new empirical results related to issues of diversity and self-direction. The Wheel of Wellness and Prevention Model was renamed the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) model (Myers et al., 2001). Myers et al. (2000) and Myers and Sweeney (2008) described the WoW model as having a diverse theoretical foundation and representing a holistic approach to health. As a result, it is deeply rooted in the first-wave Positive Psychology paradigm, emphasising well-being. The model's psychological underpinnings are based within the fields of personality, social, clinical, health, and developmental psychology, as well as research findings and theoretical concepts from anthropology, behavioural medicine, psychoneuroimmunology, sociology, education, ecology, and religion (Hermon & Hazler, 1999; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

The conceptual diagram of this model is a multi-layered wheel with spokes, with every concentric circle representing different aspects of an individual's wellness. Spirituality is placed at the core life duty of the wheel, and it is regarded as the foundational sphere of wellness (Oliver et al., 2018). This is surrounded by the life task of self-direction, divided into spokes representing the different components of this personal life task: (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).

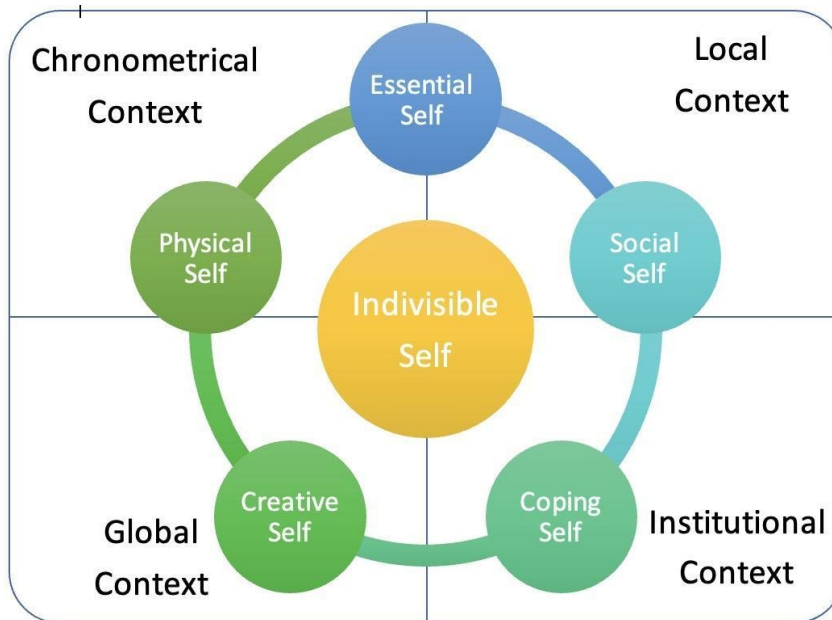
The wheel then circles the three remaining life tasks: (a) friendship, (b) love, and (c) work and leisure. The outer circle contains the life forces, such as (a) media, (b) government,

(c) community, (d) family, (e) religion, (f) education, and (h) business/industry. Global events are placed around the wheel to remind of the broader contextual factors that impact individual wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The model, therefore, highlights the interconnectedness of personal, social, and global factors in contributing to an individual's overall wellness.

The initial 17 components of the holistic wellness model (related to wellness-related life tasks) were also confirmed as unique third-order factors by the factor analysis (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers, 2009). As a result, the Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL) was established as a more empirically rigorous model of wellness to explain this three-level factor structure (Myers & Sweeney, 2005b; Myers et al., 2004). The IS-WEL included the original 17 components of the holistic wellness model from Adlerian theory (Fullen et al., 2018) but reorganised them into third-order factors within the indivisible self's second-order factor structure (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008). Figure 3 depicts the Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL).

Figure 3

The Indivisible Self



Note. Adapted from “The Indivisible Self: An Evidence-Based Model of Wellness,” by J. E. Myers and T. J. Sweeney, 2005, *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 61(3), p. 272.

The five second-order components, according to Hattie et al. (2004), Myers et al. (2000), and Myers and Sweeney (2004, 2005c, 2008), are presented in the sections below.

3.2.2.1 The Coping Self

The *coping self* consists of specific skills and resources: *stress management*, *leisure activities*, *self-worth*, and *realistic beliefs* that help regulate responses to life events and provide ways to overcome bad experiences. *Stress management* involves detecting stressors and implementing techniques that reduce their impact, ultimately improving mental and physical functioning (Myers et al., 2000). Stress can harm mental and physical health (Borkowski, 2011; Myers et al., 2000). Strategies such as self-regulation (e.g., biofeedback, meditation, or relaxation), behavioural or ecological techniques (e.g., assertiveness training, problem-solving, physical exercise), and social support are practical tools for managing stress

(Cheng & Chan, 2006; Keita & Jones, 1990; Myers et al., 2000). More stress-resistant individuals tend to experience more significant personal growth, have more robust immune responses, and exhibit better overall health (Keita & Jones, 1990).

Leisure activities are crucial in building resilience and managing stress, significantly contributing to overall well-being. These activities enable individuals to navigate life's challenges by creating spaces for relaxation, social connection, and personal satisfaction (Myers & Sweeney, 2005). In times of stress, leisure pursuits can also serve as adaptive coping mechanisms, helping individuals temporarily shift focus from stressors and experience emotional relief (Nimrod et al., 2012). This reprieve lightens emotional burdens and fosters a renewed sense of balance and fulfilment.

Self-worth, a key component of psychological well-being, is linked to self-esteem, which reflects a combination of worth and control (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Positive self-esteem aligns with Adler's emphasis on the human search for significance (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991) and is associated with effective stress-coping mechanisms (Steger, 2012; Witmer et al., 1983). A high sense of self-worth has been identified as crucial for personal growth and behaviour (Witmer & Sweeney, 1991), while low self-worth is linked to poor coping, anxiety, depressive symptoms, physical health issues, and insomnia (MacPhee & Andrews, 2006; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Psychologically healthy individuals can embrace their imperfections without distress, particularly when they feel accepted and respected by others (Maslow, 1962, 1970; Keyes, 2006).

Realistic beliefs, as defined by cognitive and cognitive behavioural therapists, suggest that individuals' perceptions and interpretations of situations influence their feelings and actions (Myers et al., 2000). In Adlerian psychology, this concept is called private logic, which shapes personal beliefs and influences behaviour (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009;

Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Private logic, being subjective, is prone to errors, especially when there is a significant gap between it and reality (Myers et al., 2000). Such discrepancies can lead to emotional distress, anxiety, cognitive distortions, unrealistic expectations, as well as unhealthy behaviours and more physical symptoms of distress (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer, 1983). Replacing negative and irrational beliefs with more positive, rational, and realistic ones allows individuals to make better decisions and improve their mental health (Ellis, 2008; Mosak & Maniacci, 2008).

3.2.2.2 The Social Self

The *social self* comprises two elements: *friendship* and *love*, favourably linked to the quality of life and longevity. *Friendship* refers to social interactions between persons or communities not based on marriage, sexuality, or familial ties (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This is consistent with Adler's (1927, 1992) idea that human nature requires social contact and interpersonal relationships. He claimed empathy, cooperation, and altruistic behaviour are examples of social interest (Adler, 1927, 1992; Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). People's need for frequent, positive contact with the same individuals and the search for a secure, rewarding, and loving support system reflects this (Myers et al., 2000). Developing meaningful friendships requires more courage, self-disclosure, and a willingness to accept risks and take on responsibilities (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991), which can be challenging. Individuals who can make and sustain friendships may benefit from them because they receive (a) emotional support through attachment and reassurance, (b) practical help through direct aid and services, and (c) informational support in the form of guidance or feedback (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Myers et al., 2000). As a result, the individual's sense of social interest and closeness, as well as the availability of social support, play a role in the life task of friendship (Myers et al., 2000). Social support and interpersonal interactions are positively associated with physical and mental health,

relieving stress, self-esteem, personal control and subjective happiness (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Gülaçti, 2010; Merz & Huxhold, 2010; Sackney et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Additionally, resilience, quality of life, and longevity are all improved by fulfilling interpersonal relationships (Blum, 2005; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Those in healthy relationships are less likely to experience physical illness or mental health issues and are more likely to avoid harmful behaviours like smoking, excessive alcohol consumption, and unsafe driving practices (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Love encompasses the development of trust, cooperation, reciprocity, and respect, more so than other life tasks (Sweeney, 2009). Love refers to an individual's ability to maintain trusting, self-disclosing, cooperative, and committed relationships with intimate friends, family members, children, and romantic partners (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Healthy love relationships are characterised by trust, self-disclosure, intimacy, the ability to experience and express affection, non-possessive care that respects the uniqueness of others, concern for the growth and well-being of significant others, and a sense of fulfilment (Myers et al., 2001; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These relationships contribute significantly to life satisfaction, well-being, good health, and longevity (Evans & Kelly, 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991).

3.2.2.3 The Essential Self

Spirituality, self-care, gender identity, and cultural identification are four components of the *essential self* that are positively associated with longevity, significance, hope, and a sense of purpose.

Spirituality is considered the core life task in the holistic wellness paradigm. Witmer and Sweeney (1992) defined spirituality as accepting life-enhancing concepts related to human dignity, human rights, and reverence for life. Many cultures worldwide view spirituality as crucial for maintaining health and well-being, as it helps individuals make sense of external events (Shannonhouse et al., 2016; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Myers et al. (2000) described spirituality as an awareness of a force that transcends the material aspects of life and fosters a sense of wholeness and connectedness to the universe. This aligns with the Positive Psychology notion that spirituality should be considered a fundamental construct (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman et al., 2005). Notably, spirituality and religion are not interchangeable terms: spirituality is the broader construct, and religiosity is a subset that includes institutionalised beliefs and practices such as prayer, meditation, and relationships with a divine being (Fisher, 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Spirituality encompasses multidimensional concepts (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000; Sweeney, 2009). This is reflected in Witmer and Sweeney's (1991) identification of seven dimensions of this life task: belief in a higher power, religious choice and practices, transcendence, meaning and purpose in life, hope and optimism, values and love, compassion and service toward others. The first aspect of spirituality is the description of God, where individuals decide whether to believe in God and how they perceive this higher power. This process shapes their interactions with others, including those with different beliefs. Atheists and agnostics similarly evaluate their belief systems and how they relate to those who hold religious beliefs (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). The second aspect involves the choice and practice of religion, where individuals determine how to best express their philosophical or ethical views through religious observance (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). Thirdly, conceptualising humanity's place in the universe affects individuals' relationships with the

world, God (if they believe), and society (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). Fourth, there is contemplation of immortality, where individuals consider the nature of the soul, the afterlife, and the legacy they leave through their contributions and future generations (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). Fifth, individuals contemplate the meaning of life, seeking fulfilment through experiences like love, overcoming challenges, self-actualisation, and social interest (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000).

Self-care is an individual's preventive and therapeutic behaviours, such as safety measures, regular medical and dental check-ups, and avoiding harmful substances (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Self-care has been shown to improve well-being, quality of life, and longevity (Broman, 1993; Myers et al., 2000).

Gender identity refers to each person's deeply felt internal sense of gender, which may or may not align with the sex assigned at birth. It includes gender expressions through dress, speech, mannerisms, and changes to one's body if freely chosen (Castro-Peraza et al., 2019). Gender identity is shaped by three main factors: satisfaction with one's gender, feeling supported in one's gender identity, and the capacity to transcend traditional gender norms (Sweeney & Myers, 2003). Individuals who feel content with their gender identity are more likely to experience positive mental health outcomes. Family, friends, or community support further enhances this sense of satisfaction, contributing significantly to overall well-being. Research shows that individuals who feel supported in their gender identity report higher self-esteem and experience lower levels of anxiety and depression (Boonzaier & Peters, 2024).

Cultural identification, or the extent to which individuals integrate into the culture of their society, has been linked to happiness and is considered a personal strength that supports growth and development (Dockery, 2010; Myers et al., 2000). Cultural identity includes racial identification, acculturation, and respect for cultural diversity and is seen as a crucial

element in shaping self-care, self-esteem, mental health, and happiness (Allinger & Causey, 1995; Myers et al., 2000).

3.2.2.4 The Physical Self

The *physical self* comprises health-promoting behaviours such as exercise and nutrition, which are vital for physical well-being. *Exercise* or regular physical activity prevents illness, supports healthy ageing (Myers et al., 2000), and enhances psychological well-being, including improved self-confidence, cognitive functioning, self-esteem, and positive emotions (Sweeney, 2009). Research by Stubbe et al. (2007) showed that individuals who exercise regularly are generally happier and more satisfied with life than those who do not exercise. Similarly, Bartels, De Moor, Vander Aa, Boomsma, and De Geus (2012) found that regular physical activity is associated with fewer depressive symptoms and a stronger sense of personal control. Other studies have consistently demonstrated that regular exercise can significantly reduce anxiety and stress (Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Myers et al., 2000).

Nutrition also plays a critical role in both physical and mental health. Research has established clear links between diet and overall wellness, with a healthy diet contributing to improved mood, cognitive functioning, behaviour, performance, and longevity (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Good nutritional habits are associated with longer life spans and enhanced quality of life, reinforcing the importance of a nutritious diet and regular physical activity (Sweeney, 2009). A balanced diet and a long-term approach to nutritional well-being are essential for healthy ageing and longevity (Myers et al., 2000).

3.2.2.5 The Creative Self

The *creative self* includes thinking, emotions, cheerful humour, and work, which shape one's intrapersonal and interpersonal qualities, distinguishing an individual from

others. *Thinking*, specifically problem-solving and creativity, plays a crucial role in enhancing quality of life and continues to develop throughout a person's lifetime (Myers et al., 2000). Creativity, closely tied to self-actualisation and happiness, involves generating new ideas and concepts (Goff, 1993; Myers et al., 2000). Maslow (1962) argued that self-actualising individuals are characterised by spontaneity, openness to experience, and innovation. These individuals maintain intellectual vitality and creativity throughout their lives, constantly seeking new ways to learn and grow (Sackney et al., 2000), ultimately enhancing both the quality and length of life (Myers et al., 2000). Effective problem-solvers experience better psychological adjustment, reduced anxiety, fewer illogical beliefs, and greater resilience (Dobson, 2010; Elliott & Marmarosh, 1994).

Emotions, including emotional awareness and coping, are critical for healthy interpersonal functioning and overall well-being (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). The ability to experience, manage, and express positive and negative emotions reflects solid mental health and rich interpersonal interactions (Bar-On, 2010). In contrast, an inability to recognise or express emotions can hinder the quality of relationships. Well-functioning individuals express a wide range of emotions daily, echoing Maslow's (1970) concept of self-actualisation as involving spontaneous and authentic emotional reactions (Myers et al., 2000).

Cheerful humour is typical among self-actualised people who can laugh at themselves and unexpected events (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Their humour tends to be spontaneous, free from prejudice, and philosophical rather than premeditated, often bringing smiles rather than outright laughter (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Humour and laughter are linked to positive self-perception, improved interpersonal skills, reduced stress, and overall enjoyment of life (Kuiper & Martin, 1993).

As Adler (1927, 1992) defined, *work* encompasses any meaningful activity that benefits oneself and others, including formal employment, childrearing, homemaking, education, and volunteer work (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Meaningful work provides individuals with financial resources, social support, and psychological well-being, such as feelings of mastery and self-efficacy (Burke & McKeen, 1995; Myers et al., 2000). Those who are unable to work may miss out on these benefits, increasing their risk for mental and physical disorders, social difficulties, and suicide (Myers et al., 2000; Roh, 2010). Job satisfaction is a critical physical and psychological health indicator, promoting productivity, resilience, and longevity (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Sweeney and Witmer (1991) expanded the definition of work to include children's play and adult leisure activities, highlighting their role in enhancing self-esteem, reducing stress, and fostering psychological resilience. Leisure activities such as physical exercise, social interactions, intellectual pursuits, and creative endeavours provide essential social support and help individuals cope with life's challenges (Cheng & Chan, 2006). Moreover, choosing leisure activities that align with one's personality type correlates with life satisfaction (Sweeney, 2009).

The Indivisible Self encompasses various integral components, including several significant contexts. The local context refers to the immediate environments where individuals interact, such as their families, neighbourhoods, and communities. These interactions fundamentally shape a person's identity and sense of belonging. According to Bronfenbrenner (1999), local contexts align closely with the microsystem, where daily interactions profoundly impact well-being. For instance, supportive family relationships can foster emotional resilience and enhance coping strategies (Fullen et al., 2018).

The institutional context involves larger societal structures: education, religion, government, and business, establishing societal norms, policies, and regulations that guide

interactions and behaviours (Myers et al., 2000). These institutions establish norms and policies that shape individual behaviours and opportunities. Depending on their design, institutions can support or restrict personal growth and well-being by promoting specific values or limiting access to resources (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c).

The global context encompasses broader influences such as politics, culture, international events, and environmental factors. Global events, politics, culture, international happenings, environment, media, and community dynamics influence one's identity and experiences by shaping individuals' worldviews, with media playing a pivotal role in making global events more personal and relevant (Fullen et al., 2018; Wong, 2011).

Finally, the chronometric context considers the temporal aspects of an individual's life experience, acknowledging that personal growth and identity evolve. This context reflects how different life stages (e.g., childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and ageing) affect a person's values, aspirations, and overall well-being (Myers et al., 2009; Seligman et al., 2005).

These contextual factors (local, institutional, global, and chronometric) interact with the five selves to offer a comprehensive understanding of individual wellness. These contexts collectively contribute to the intricate fabric of the Indivisible Self, weaving together personal identity, societal dynamics, and the ever-evolving nature of existence. By recognising the dynamic interplay between these selves and their surrounding contexts, the development of wellness can be better understood holistically (Myers & Sweeney, 2005c, 2008).

3.3 Holistic Wellness and Psychobiographical Research

Elms (1994) urged psychobiographers to enhance their theoretical horizons and enlarge their scope to include psychological health and wellness studies. Similarly, Coetzee and Viviers (2007) advocated for more qualitative and longitudinal research in the field of Positive Psychology, with a focus on fortology (i.e., the origins of health and strengths)

(Strümpfer, 2006). According to Mayer (2017), Positive Psychology theories are helpful in psychobiographical research since they help build new insights and models for health and well-being in persons across their lifetimes. Focusing on such new approaches may lead to a more balanced psychological understanding of outstanding people widely regarded as positive role models (Mayer, 2017). Eminent people who have lived exemplary lives allow psychobiographers to investigate specific processes and behaviours, such as well-being and associated ideas (McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2001a).

The use of the holistic wellness model (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) in psychobiographical research has allowed psychobiographers explore the lives of individuals who exhibit positive, exemplary or healthy traits, as evident from several completed studies, including psychobiographies on Jan Christiaan Smuts (Fouché, 1999), Bram Fischer (Swart, 2010), Brenda Fassie (Gogo, 2011), Beyers Naudé (Burnell, 2013), Helen Suzman (Nel, 2013), Margaret Thatcher (Winter, 2019) and Sol Plaatje (Welman, 2020). The findings of these psychobiographical explorations have substantiated the model's theoretical and practical importance in understanding people's holistic wellness. The holistic wellness model offers a clear conceptualisation of the components that influence an individual's well-being, which makes extracting and reliably categorising data easier, improving a psychobiographical study's confirmability and dependability (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The model's significance also stems from its ability to analyse and interpret extracted positive health characteristics, promoting a more eugraphic approach to psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The objections levelled at the wellness movement in general, as well as the holistic wellness model, are examined in the following section.

3.4 Criticisms of Wellness Conceptualisations

Criticism of the wellness movement has been influenced by biomedicine and medical sociology (Fouché, 1999). However, it is essential to note that some of these criticisms are explicitly directed at the wellness movement, often conflated with the biopsychosocial and lifestyle movements (Fouché, 1999). Biomedicine has criticised the biopsychosocial model and lifestyle movements for downplaying disease's physiological and pathologic causes and placing responsibility on patients (Levenstein, 1994). Similarly, sociology has criticised the biopsychosocial model for emphasising voluntary lifestyle factors while neglecting sociohistorical, cultural, and economic influences on disease (Antonovsky, 1994; Levenstein, 1994). Although psychosocial, economic, pathogenic, and genetic factors impact health, physical lifestyle movements have been criticised for overlooking them (Antonovsky, 1994; Levenstein, 1994). In response to these criticisms, Myers (1991) emphasised that wellness models do not invalidate or minimise disease but provide alternatives to illness through stress reduction, choice, and optimal functioning.

While many authors have explored well-being, a consensus on a single comprehensive definition has yet to be reached (Myers, 2009; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Oliver et al., 2018; Roscoe, 2009). Some wellness models have also been criticised for failing to consider the diverse cultural and social contexts in which people live (Fisher & Sonn, 2008). The Indivisible Self model has been criticised for its limited consideration of diversity and intersectionality. Critics argue that the model's focus on the six dimensions of wellness fails to account for the unique experiences and challenges faced by individuals with different social identities, such as race, gender, sexuality, and disability (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Myers (1991) asserted that the wellness paradigm is inclusive and acknowledges the influence of families, groups, society, and other systems on individuals. Therefore, while the objections are admitted, they cannot be generalised to all wellness models (Fouché, 1999).

However, the commercialisation of positive psychology has led to concerns about its misapplication in various settings, such as workplaces and schools, where interventions can be superficial and fail to meet deeper psychological needs (Worth, 2022). Moreover, the principles of positive psychology, often grounded in Western ideals, may not be universally applicable across different cultural contexts, raising questions about the cultural relevance of its practices (Naragon-Gainey & Watson, 2021). For example, Piff (2013) recommended a more nuanced framework encompassing the breadth of human psychological experiences. The third wave has been criticised for its narrow definitions of happiness and well-being, which do not fully account for the complexity of human emotions. Additionally, there is concern that overemphasising positive emotions may lead to undervaluing negative emotions, which are essential for personal growth and resilience. Wong (2011) suggested an integrated model that considers the importance of positive and negative experiences in promoting psychological health.

While positive psychology has significantly promoted well-being, its methodologies, theories, and practices remain areas of critical debate (Wissing et al., 2021). It is evident that there is a need for a more comprehensive approach that incorporates diverse perspectives and reflects the complexity of human experience (Lomas et al., 2021). This evolving landscape indicates that the third wave may represent the beginning of a new interdisciplinary domain focused on well-being, emphasising the interconnectedness of individual experiences within broader social and cultural contexts (Wong, 2019). By embracing this complexity, researchers and practitioners can better understand and promote sustainable well-being in diverse settings (Mayer & Vanderheiden, 2021).

Psychologically, several limitations of the holistic wellness model have been noted in psychobiography. Fouché (1999) employed the holistic wellness model in a psychobiography of South African political leader Jan Christiaan Smuts. However, the researcher identified

some limitations of using the holistic wellness model in their research, including a lack of wellness indicators or standards for different developmental stages, the failure to address the importance of critical periods for well-being development and the inadequate consideration of the immediate ecological environment's impact on well-being. Recently, Mayer et al. (2020) suggested revising the Wheel of Wellness, considering sociocultural changes and the new developments in subsequent waves of the Positive Psychology movement, emphasising the importance of updating the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) to better align with contemporary sociocultural shifts and advancements in Positive Psychology. They also asserted that traditional wellness models often overlook the complexities of modern life, which are increasingly influenced by diverse cultural contexts and evolving societal norms, including the growing awareness of mental health issues and social justice calls for a more inclusive wellness framework that respects different cultural values and practices.

The wellness movement has faced criticism from both biomedicine and medical sociology, arguing that the biopsychosocial model often overemphasises individual responsibility while downplaying the physiological causes of illness (Fouché, 1999; Levenstein, 1994). Sociologists have also pointed out that this model overlooks broader sociohistorical and economic factors that shape health outcomes (Antonovsky, 1994). Furthermore, wellness frameworks like the Wheel of Wellness (WoW) have been critiqued for their limited consideration of cultural diversity and intersectionality (Mayer et al., 2020). These models often fail to account for the unique experiences of individuals with different social identities, such as race, gender, sexuality, and disability (Myers & Sweeney, 2008).

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the origins of Positive Psychology and the evolution of the holistic wellness model. This chapter briefly summarised wellness as a concept in Positive Psychology and provided an overview of holistic wellness, structured through the framework

of the Indivisible Self model as a theoretical approach to conceptualising human wellness through life tasks, skills, and global events. The chapter also reviewed the value and criticisms of the wellness paradigm. The holistic wellness model's framework, using the Indivisible Self components, will be utilised to investigate Lilian Ngoyi's holistic wellness throughout her life, and the results will be presented in Chapter 7. The next chapter delves into an African Psychology Perspective on wellness.

CHAPTER 4

AN AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE ON WELLNESS

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter provides an overview of an integrated African perspective on wellness, with insights into the foundational principles shaping African-centred psychology. An overview of African-centred psychological concepts will be presented, drawing from the works of Biko (1981), Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), Teffo and Roux (2003) and Nwoye (2017a). The discussion will delve into the Africanist view of human nature and its three distinct realms: macro-cosmos, meso-cosmos, and micro-cosmos. Furthermore, it will present the basic tenets of the African worldview's interdependent and complementary realms: the visible or material plane and the invisible or spiritual plane (Nwoye, 2013, 2014, 2015a). Additionally, the chapter will present concepts such as cognitive functioning and the concept of time and their significance within an African psychological perspective on wellness. Lastly, it will explore the interconnected aspects of optimal development and mental health, providing a comprehensive understanding of the holistic nature of an African wellness framework.

4.2 African-Centred Psychology

In the field of psychological studies in South Africa, the need for more indigenous healing practices, knowledge systems, transpersonal psychology, spirituality, ancestral wisdom, and community-based perspectives has been widely acknowledged (Edwards, 2011, 2014; Edwards et al., 2021; Makhubela, 2016; Mkhize, 2020; Nsamenang & Dawes, 1998; Nwoye, 2017a, 2017b; Ratele, 2017; Ratele et al., 2018). Despite ongoing discussions on African psychological perspectives and methodologies, an official African psychological perspective has yet to be established (Makhubela, 2016; Mkhize, 2020; Nsamenang &

Dawes, 1998; Nwoye, 2017a, 2017b; Ratele, 2017; Ratele et al., 2018). It is worth noting that works have acknowledged unique talents and creativity emphasised in Africanist contexts (Mpopfu et al., 2006, 2012; Serpell, 2011), which can contribute to developing theoretical frameworks for African psychology (Fouché et al., 2023; Swanepoel et al., 2022). Additionally, there is an increasing body of research on an integrated African-centred psychological theory that draws on the methodologies of Biko (1981), Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), and Teffo and Roux (2003). These theories are founded on the three conceptual dimensions of humanistic nature, cognitive functioning, and the concept of time, which form the basis of this emerging approach to psychology (Molutsi, 2022; Swanepoel et al., 2022; Viljoen, 2016).

4.3 An Africanist View of Human Nature

The African conception of humanity and the world is grounded in a holistic and anthropocentric ontology, as Swanepoel et al. (2022) described. In this worldview, humans are deeply interconnected with the cosmos, forming a unified whole that encompasses and explains all aspects of existence. Within this integrated cosmic order, three distinct realms or realities are recognised: the macrocosm, the mesocosm, and the microcosm. These realms reflect different layers of existence, each interwoven with the other, providing a framework that aligns seamlessly with the practical aspects of daily life (Meyer et al., 1997). This interconnected perspective emphasises the relational nature of human experience within the broader universe, grounding daily practices in a cosmic understanding that reinforces communal identity and purpose.

4.3.1 Macro-Cosmos

As Nwoye (2017a) explains, in the African worldview, the physical earth is home to all living things, while spirits, deities, ancestors, and other supernatural entities inhabit the

invisible spiritual realm. This worldview positions Africans “as intensely spiritual people” (Mbaya & Cezula, 2019, p. 430) who maintain a dynamic, two-way interaction between the physical and spiritual realms, where all aspects of life, however minor, are imbued with spiritual significance (Holdstock, 2000). Within the discourse about the development of African theology and philosophy against a colonialist backdrop, early scholars noted that traditional African beliefs contained the “notion of a Supreme Being” (Mbaya & Cezula, 2019, p. 423). Furthermore, God is considered the creator of the world *ex nihilo*, or from nothing (Teffo & Roux, 2003). This worldview, deeply embedded in African spirituality, perceives a life-giving force that transcends human existence and resides within all creation (Fouché et al., 2022; Molutsi, 2022; Nwoye, 2017a, 2017b; Swanepoel et al., 2022). Mbiti (1999) described how traditional African beliefs further hold that God continues with acts of creation, with many cultural practices attributing procreation to acts of creation by God and firmly believing in the notion of predestination.

Biko (1981) described how traditional African spirituality integrates the worship of God seamlessly into everyday life, where worship is not seen as separate from other activities. Acts of reverence, often seen in social gatherings, dances, customs, and even conflicts, reflect this holistic spirituality. Traditional African belief holds that individuals can connect to the spiritual world through death, mediated perceptions like divination or dreams, or through ritual practices (Peek, 2009).

In line with Nwoye’s (2017b) first assumption, the African worldview regards the earth, or the visible physical realm humans inhabit, as the home of all created things, while the invisible, spiritual realm serves as the dwelling place for spirits, including divinities, ancestral and ghost spirits, clan deities, and other mysterious forces. God is ever accessible and communicates continuously, ensuring that even the smallest aspects of life are filled with meaning and value (Holdstock, 2000). This perspective also supports Nwoye’s (2017b)

second assumption, namely that a dynamic, two-way interaction exists between these two realms, the visible and the invisible, which together comprise the universe.

4.3.2 Meso-Cosmos

In the African worldview, the boundaries between the natural and supernatural, or the material and spiritual, are fluid, enabling interaction between the living and the dead, including ancestors and mortals (Ruch, 1973; Ruch & Anyanwu, 1984; Sogolo, 1993). Those that inhabit the spiritual plane, such as spirits, the ancestors, and the *living dead* (departed community members remembered by name), are believed to have access to the human world to communicate symbolically with the living and to hold continued interest in the living community (Mbiti, 1999; Nwoye, 2017a; Viljoen, 2016). Mbiti (1999) found that African people have conditions under which they do not approach God alone but rather elicit the help of intermediaries as mediators, whether living priests, prophets, diviners, or departed ancestors. When respectfully acknowledged, ancestors serve as benevolent guardians, upholding moral integrity and promoting community cohesion (Holdstock, 2000). Honouring the deceased through proper customs and rites ensures their peaceful transition into the ancestral realm, which prevents them from becoming spirits that might harm the living (Teffo & Roux, 2003). Benevolent and malevolent spirits, as well as virtuous and malevolent humans, are believed to exist within the world (Magesa, 1998), highlighted by Nwoye (2017b) as the third assumption. This perspective suggests that humans live among invisible forces to which they are mystically connected. When these forces are angered, they may bring misfortune and hardship, but when respected and appeased, they can offer blessings and prosperity (Nwoye, 2006; 2015a, b, 2017b).

4.3.3 Micro-Cosmos

The micro-cosmos refers to the aspects of an individual's daily life as part of their collective existence (Viljoen, 2016). *Ubuntu's* ideology is rooted in the micro-cosmos

domain, emphasising the communal nature of a traditional African identity (Viljoen, 2016; Eagle, 2005; Edwards, 2014). *Ubuntu*, regarded as the highest African virtue, serves as a code of conduct guiding interactions with others, emphasising interdependence rather than dependency. It reflects the essence of humanness, where respect for oneself and others is paramount (Edwards, 2011). The Zulu proverb *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, meaning “a person is a person through other people,” underscores this communal philosophy (Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000). Rooted in the normative conceptions of personhood, which stretches beyond an ontological understanding of human nature into an evaluative act of “grading a human life in terms of excellence or virtue” (Molefe, 2020, p. 196), *Ubuntu* highlights the interconnectedness of individuals and embodies the recognition that human identity is shaped through relational engagement and a deep concern for the well-being of others (Baloyi, 2008). This interdependent view extends to the African approach to health, illness, and recovery, where the self is understood as interrelated and holistic (Eagle, 2005). *Ubuntu*, characterised by compassion, kindness, respect, and empathy, reflects the fourth assumption of the African worldview—the belief in mystical causality in the universe, where success or failure is attributed to spiritual forces (Holdstock, 2000; Nwoye, 2006; 2015b, 2017a).

The fifth assumption of the African worldview emphasises moral virtues such as patience, perseverance, *Ubuntu*, respect for elders, and industriousness, which are integral to the upbringing of a well-bred African child (Mbiti, 1969; Nsamenang, 1992; Magesa, 1998; Nwoye, 2004). In African culture, interpersonal relationships take precedence over individualism, with the self being inseparable from family, society, and the broader metaphysical reality (Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000). The self-concept is also interconnected with a wider network of care, and a child is expected to resemble either their biological or ancestral lineage, reflecting the communal belief in genetic continuity and family ties.

The sixth assumption further stresses the genetic foundation of personhood, where family and community cohesion are vital to the individual's identity. Deviation from family resemblance can lead to suspicion and discord, reinforcing the significance of extended family bonds and interdependence (Nwoye, 2006, 2017b). Finally, the seventh assumption views the individual's life project as multi-dimensional, aiming for success in various areas such as life, health, wealth, and peace. In this worldview, paradise begins on earth and extends into the ancestral realm through proper rites and ceremonies (Ekwunife, 1998; Nwoye, 2006; Ejizu, 1987).

In addition to these key elements of the African self, other factors related to optimal functioning and development, as well as viewpoints that shape the individual's relationship with the world around them, have been incorporated into an Integrated African Perspective (Molutsi, 2022; Swanepoel et al., 2022). On the micro-cosmic level, African conceptions of optimal development and mental health shape and inform the day-to-day behaviour and practices of an African worldview (Viljoen, 2016).

There is a notable difference in the relative prominence of different cognitive functions between traditional Africans and Westerners, as highlighted by scholars such as Ruch and Anyanwu (1984) and Sogolo (1993). Western cognitive patterns often prioritise rational thought, while Africanist theory emphasises intuition and emotion, particularly in social intelligence (Ruch, 1973; Sogolo, 1993). From an African cultural perspective, optimal development and mental health are deeply connected to physical and spiritual environments, focusing on collective existence (Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000). Meyer et al. (1997) added that African thinking embraces empathy, manifesting as intuitive decision-making, which contrasts with Western analytical reasoning.

Any integration of African viewpoints into a holistic psychological framework rejects the Western dichotomy between mind and body, instead viewing health as a unified state of being (Viljoen, 2008; Swanepoel et al., 2022). In African health philosophy, individuals are seen as either healthy or unwell without separating well-being into somatic, psychological, or psychosomatic categories, with traditional African healers, therefore, extending their focus into social, cultural, and spiritual relationships, recognising the individual's interconnectedness with their environment (Eagle, 2005; Swanepoel et al., 2022). From the African perspective, misfortune stems from mystical, animistic, or magical causation (Eagle, 2005; Swanepoel et al., 2022). Mystical causation refers to adverse influences, particularly affecting vulnerable individuals like postpartum women or recent widows (Eagle, 2005). Animistic causation is linked to ancestors withdrawing their protection due to perceived neglect of rituals, while magical causation involves witchcraft, curses, or spells (Straker, 1994; Swanepoel et al., 2022). This comprehensive view of health and well-being highlights the complex interplay between the physical, spiritual, and social dimensions of African psychology.

4.4 African-Centred Psychological Perspectives within Psychobiographies

The incorporation of an African-centred perspective to the study of individual lives has recently emerged in South African academic psychobiography. The study *A Psychobiography of Albertina Sisulu from an Integrated African Psychology Perspective* by Molutsi (2022) and the publication of *A Psychobiography of Oliver Reginald Tambo from an African Psychology Perspective* by Swanepoel et al. (2022) and *Zenzile Miriam Makeba: A Psychobiography of "Mama Africa" from an Integrated African Psychology Perspective* by Fouché et al. (2023), provide insightful examples of applying African-centered psychological frameworks in psychobiographical research.

Molutsi (2022) utilised an Integrated African Psychology Perspective (IAPP) to explore the life of anti-apartheid activist Albertina Sisulu, focusing on the cultural and historical influences that shaped her psychological development and contributions. By centring on African perspectives, this study challenged Eurocentric psychological narratives, emphasising the importance of indigenous knowledge systems in understanding African figures. Similarly, Swanepoel et al. (2022) examined Oliver Reginald Tambo, a prominent anti-apartheid leader, through a psychobiographical lens that highlights the cultural and socio-political forces at play in his life. This approach provided a deeper, more contextualised understanding of Tambo's character, illustrating the relevance of African-centered methodologies in psychological research. Fouché et al. (2023) found that the micro-cosmos was an important dimension to consider in the life of Zenzile Miriam Makeba, whose upbringing fostered ideals of togetherness and collectivism closely aligned with the values of *Ubuntu*. The authors emphasised the relevance of using an African psychological perspective to understand Makeba's personality development.

These studies demonstrate how broader socio-cultural contexts profoundly shape individual life narratives. These works have represented substantial commitments to the development of African-centered psychology by affirming indigenous narratives and emphasising cultural context. They offer an alternative to dominant Western frameworks, creating a platform for African histories and experiences. By embedding individual lives within their socio-cultural milieus, these studies encourage a more nuanced understanding of psychological processes and open doors for future research on influential African figures, thereby broadening the scope and enriching academic discourse in psychology (Fouché, 2023; Molutsi, 2022, Swanepoel, 2022).

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the initial development of an African perspective on well-being, shedding light on the foundational principles underpinning African-centred psychology. The chapter also explored integrated African-centred psychological theories, utilising methodological frameworks from Biko (1981), Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), and Teffo and Roux (2003). The chapter extensively discussed the Africanist view of human nature, categorising it into macro-cosmos, meso-cosmos, and micro-cosmos, offering a holistic perspective on the African well-being paradigm. The following chapter provides a theoretical overview of psychobiographical research.

CHAPTER 5

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: AN OVERVIEW

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter situates psychobiographical studies within the broader context of qualitative research, specifically as a case study method. It begins with an introduction to qualitative research, followed by a detailed focus on case study research as a distinct methodological approach. The concept of psychobiographical research is then defined and differentiated from related methodologies. The chapter offers an overview of key trends in psychobiography and traces its development within the South African context. It also discusses the advantages of employing the psychobiographical approach and concludes with a consideration of potential future directions for the field.

5.2 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a methodological approach that focuses on understanding human experiences, behaviours, and perspectives within their natural contexts. Unlike quantitative research, which is grounded in the positivist paradigm and emphasises numerical data and statistical analysis, qualitative research prioritises the richness and complexity of human experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2024). Through detailed description and interpretation, qualitative research explores the meanings individuals attribute to their actions, interactions, and environments, offering deep insights into social, cultural, and psychological phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2023).

5.2.1 Philosophical Paradigms in Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methodologies are often differentiated by the philosophical paradigms that guide them. In contrast to the positivist framework typically associated with

quantitative research, qualitative research spans multiple paradigms that recognise the complexity of human realities (Creswell & Poth, 2024). These paradigmatic frameworks are reflected in the diverse approaches employed in qualitative research, allowing researchers to select methodologies best suited to the research questions and contexts they aim to explore. They include:

1. **Post-positivism** suggests that while reality exists independently of our perceptions, it can only be imperfectly apprehended due to human fallibility. This paradigm advocates for a researcher's objective stance, aiming to minimise bias through rigorous analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 2008).
2. **Constructivist-interpretivist** approaches emphasise that reality is socially constructed. Researchers working within this paradigm view their role as collaborators with participants, striving to co-create meanings and interpretations of the phenomena under study (Ponterotto, 2010; Ponterotto, 2025). Martin (2024) explains that people actively shape their life stories by positioning themselves within their social and cultural environments, influencing how they experience and make sense of the world around them.
3. **Critical-ideological perspectives** assert that individuals' realities are shaped by power dynamics related to culture, politics, economics, and identity. Researchers in this paradigm often seek transformative change and liberation, advocating for social justice and equality through their work (Guba & Lincoln, 2008).

5.2.2 Key Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a rich and adaptable method aimed at deeply understanding human experiences and social phenomena (Creswell & Poth, 2024; Flick, 2006; Maxwell, 2012). Focusing on the context in which people live, and act offers nuanced insights into how individuals interpret and engage with their environments. Through naturalistic inquiry,

inductive reasoning, and diverse data sources, qualitative research comprehensively explores the complexities of human behaviour and social interactions (Creswell & Poth, 2024; Denzin & Lincoln, 2023). Martin (2024) highlights how people's life stories are shaped by their social and cultural environments, influencing how they act, interpret experiences, and make sense of their lives. These defining characteristics can be described as follows:

1. **Naturalistic Inquiry:** Qualitative research is rooted in the study of phenomena in their natural settings, focusing on how people make sense of their environments. Context is paramount, as it shapes understanding and interpretation (Creswell & Poth, 2024).
2. **Inductive Approach:** Qualitative research typically employs an inductive strategy, where patterns, themes, and theories emerge directly from the data rather than being tested against pre-existing hypotheses. This bottom-up approach facilitates the development of new insights and frameworks (Maxwell, 2012).
3. **Multiple Data Sources:** Researchers often gather data through diverse methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, document analysis, and digital ethnography. This multi-method approach allows for a comprehensive exploration of the research topic and ensures the richness of data (Flick, 2006).

5.2.3 Common Methodological Approaches

Key approaches within the diverse qualitative research methodologies include phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, and case study research (Byrant & Charmaz, 2019; Pink et al., 2015; Smith & Flowers, 2022; Yin, 2024). These methodologies enable researchers to uncover nuanced insights into human behaviour and the socio-cultural factors that influence it:

1. **Phenomenology:** This approach focuses on understanding lived experiences and how individuals interpret those experiences. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), for example, is particularly prominent in fields such as healthcare, where researchers seek to understand patients' experiences and perceptions (Smith & Flowers, 2022).
2. **Ethnography:** Ethnographic research involves studying cultural practices from the participants' perspective. Recent ethnographic work has expanded to include virtual spaces and digital communities, reflecting the growing influence of digital technologies on contemporary life (Pink et al., 2015).
3. **Grounded Theory:** Grounded theory involves the systematic generation of theory from data analysis. Constructivist approaches to grounded theory recognise that researchers' positions influence the research process, contributing to the development of theories that are responsive to the data (Byrant & Charmaz, 2019).
4. **Case Study Research:** This approach provides an in-depth examination of a particular unit—such as an individual, group, or organisation—emphasising developmental factors and contextual influences (Yin, 2024).

Qualitative data analysis involves various techniques, including thematic analysis, content analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, and framework analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2023). Each of these methods aims to identify patterns and themes within the data, providing insights into the experiences and perceptions of participants. Modern developments, such as Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) and artificial intelligence tools, have facilitated more efficient data management and analysis, though human interpretation remains central to qualitative inquiry (Silver & Lewis, 2007).

The five primary qualitative methods are each distinct from one another. However, each validly examines human behaviour across settings and cultures (Khan, 2014). The differing traits of the five crucial qualitative research methodologies are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1*Contrasting Characteristics of Five Qualitative Approaches*

Characteristics	Qualitative Approach				
	<i>Narrative Research</i>	<i>Phenomenology</i>	<i>Grounded Theory</i>	<i>Ethnography</i>	<i>Case Study</i>
<i>Focus</i>	Examining a person's life	Understanding the substance of the experience	Developing a hypothesis based on field facts	Describing and interpreting a group of people who share a common culture	Creating a comprehensive description and analysis of a case or a series of cases
<i>Type of problem best suited for design</i>	Need to share personal experiences through storytelling	Need to capture the core of a natural phenomenon	Base a theory on participant perceptions	Identify and explain the shared cultural patterns of a group	Give a thorough explanation of a case
<i>Discipline background</i>	Using anthropology, literature, history, psychology, and sociology, as well as other humanities disciplines	Using philosophy, psychology, and education as sources	Utilising sociology	Using anthropology and sociology as sources	Using psychology, law, political science, and medicine as sources
<i>Unit of analysis</i>	Researching one or more people	Researching several people who have discussed the experience	Researching a multi-person process, action, or interaction	Researching a population with a similar culture	Studying a situation, a plan, a project, one or more than one person
<i>Data collection forms</i>	Primarily relying on interviews and documentation	Primarily relying on in-person interviews, though records, observations, and artwork may also be considered	Primarily relying on interviews with 20-60 people	Mainly using observations and interviews, but maybe gathering additional sources while spending much time in the field	Relying on various sources, including interviews, observations, papers, and artefacts
<i>Data analysis strategies</i>	Restoration of stories from data, creating themes, and typically employing a chronology	Explaining the "essence" of the data by seeking noteworthy assertions, meaning units, textural and structural descriptions	Using open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to analyse data	Data analysis using group descriptions that share a common culture and group-related themes	Analysing data using the case's description, its themes, and related cases' themes
<i>Written report</i>	Creating a narrative based on a person's life tales	Explaining the experience's "essence"	Creating a theory with a figure to show it	Explaining how a group that shares cultures operates	Creating a thorough examination of a case or cases

Note. Adapted from "Designing a qualitative study: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approach," by J. W. Creswell, 2009, Sage Publications., pp. 78-79.

Over the past century, traditional quantitative research methodologies have dominated the research landscape at academic institutions where psychology is taught (Edwards, 1998; Flick, 2006). Much of psychological research has been shaped by logical positivism and the scientific method, leading to an imbalance in the field's body of knowledge (Hale et al.,

2007; Perry, 2012; Ponterotto, 2010; Ponterotto, 2025). However, qualitative approaches are also widely utilised across disciplines such as psychology, journalism, history, political science, and sociology. Qualitative research offers flexibility and a dynamic approach, providing depth and diversity in investigations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ponterotto, 2005; Ponterotto, 2025; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2013a, 2013b). Moreover, qualitative methods are valued for their ability to uncover detailed and rich insights into underlying or hidden aspects of the subject matter (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Nel (2013) reinterprets the definition of post-positivism as articulated by Guba and Lincoln (2008) and Ponterotto (2010):

Post-positivism entails the conviction that there is an actual reality, albeit imperfect and probabilistic, and that the researcher should maintain as much dualism and objectivity as possible by adopting the position of the disinterested scientist. (p. 148)

Numerous qualitative methods rejected the nomothetic⁸ in favour of the idiographic, asserting that the person's behaviour is influenced by their understanding of the social environment (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). Psychological inquiry recognises the value of hermeneutically informed interpretative research methods as supplementing positivist techniques (Martin & Sugarman, 2001). These methods acknowledge that insights and truths are not objectively "true" but are socially, historically, politically, and morally constructed and rooted, allowing for subjective interpretations within cultural and social contexts (Carlson & Hajikhani, 1992; Edwards, 1998; McAdams et al., 2004). While qualitative research aligns with the positivist or post-positivist research traditions (Ponterotto, 2010; Ponterotto, 2025; Van Niekerk, 2007), it utilises various empirical techniques (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Landsberg, 2019) to describe and analyse people's experiences within specific contexts (Silverman, 2000, 2013). Consequently, qualitative research falls under the

⁸ Idiographic relates to individual-level techniques, while nomothetic refers to group-level approaches (Frumkin et al., 2020).

constructivist/interpretivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010, Ponterotto, 2025). Qualitative research is operationalised by explaining how particular observations and ideas about the data contribute to the researcher's novel concepts and theoretical definitions. In other words, the description of the researcher's data collection and analysis process is called qualitative operationalisation (Neuman, 2012).

Digital technologies have revolutionised qualitative research by introducing innovative methods such as social media analysis, virtual ethnography, and online interviewing, which offer new opportunities while posing challenges related to digital privacy and ethical considerations (Pink et al., 2014). Additionally, integrating mixed methods and combining qualitative and quantitative approaches has gained prominence, enabling researchers to leverage both strengths for a more comprehensive understanding of complex phenomena (Creswell & Clark, 2017). Alongside these advancements, contemporary qualitative research must address pressing ethical concerns, including informed consent in online environments, protecting digital privacy, and ensuring fair representation of marginalised and vulnerable groups, making ethical rigour an essential component of research design (Silver & Lewis, 2007).

5.2.4 Quality Criteria in Qualitative Research

Ensuring the quality of qualitative research involves meeting key criteria such as credibility, which ensures findings accurately reflect participants' experiences; transferability, which demonstrates the applicability of findings to other contexts or groups; dependability, which ensures a consistent and replicable research process; and confirmability, which ensures findings are grounded in the data rather than researcher bias. Contemporary qualitative research also emphasises reflexivity, transparency, and ethical considerations, particularly in the context of digital data collection and the use of emerging technologies (Lincoln & Guba,

2008) (see Chapter 6 for an overview of the application of these quality criteria to this psychobiographical study).

5.3 Case Study as a Qualitative Approach

An in-depth analysis of a single unit, such as an individual, a family, a group, an organisation, or a community within a specific time and contextual setting, is known as a case study (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007) suggested that case study research can be seen as a transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that meticulously defines the phenomena for which evidence is being gathered. Transparadigmatic means that the study is relevant independent of the researcher's paradigm; as a result, it may be used with research paradigms like constructivism, critical theory, and positivism. Case study research enables the examination and comprehension of challenging problems and topics. It may be a robust approach, particularly when comprehensive, in-depth research is required (Zainal, 2007).

Psychobiography can be understood as a specialised form of case study, applying psychological theories to individual life stories to explore key events and their impact on the subject's psyche. Like traditional case studies, it focuses on unique aspects of a person's life to illuminate broader psychological phenomena (Bulut & Usman, 2021; Ponterotto, 2025; Van Niekerk, 2021). Through detailed analysis of personal experiences and motivations, psychobiography offers rich qualitative insights, providing a nuanced understanding of complex psychological landscapes (Ponterotto, 2025; Schultz, 2005).

5.4 Psychobiography and Related Concepts

Psychobiography is a distinct field that combines psychological theories with biographical analysis to explore the lives of historically significant individuals. Unlike autobiographies, which are self-written, or biographies, which provide an external account of

a person's life, psychobiographies explore specific events to uncover the psychological motivations behind actions and decisions (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2021). While life stories and narratives often highlight personal experiences without a structured psychological framework, psychobiography employs rigorous methodologies to examine how psychological factors shape significant life events (Bulut & Usman, 2021). Although psychohistory and historical psychology also investigate the interplay between psychology and history, psychobiography centres on individual lives. Historiography, by contrast, examines the methods of writing history rather than applying psychological insights to personal lives. Ultimately, psychobiography's unique value lies in its ability to use psychological theories to provide a deeper understanding of individual behaviours and motivations within their historical contexts (Elms, 1994; Roberts, 2002). The following sections discuss the differentiation between psychobiography and related concepts in greater detail.

5.4.1 Autobiography and Biography

A person's life, or a portion of it, is documented in an autobiography by the author from their subjective point of view (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Runyan, 1982). Even though the author may have referred to accurate records and facts, the possibility exists that the autobiography is a biased and selective account because the person may have chosen and presented the material in a way that would give the reader a preferred impression of themselves (Roberts, 2002; Becker, 2009). Due to this selection bias, the author's subjective perspective of what is significant or fascinating about their own lives—as well as what they want to present to the reader—is evident in all autobiographies (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Roberts, 2002), which subsequently might advance the research (Barresi & Jukes, 1997; Gough & Madill, 2012).

A biography is a structured, well-organised narrative of a person's life written by someone other than the subject (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Lee, 2009). An excellent biography draws from a variety of sources and information types, including history, art, and literature, to shed light on and chart the course of the subject's life (Howe, 1997). A biography can be distinguished from a psychobiography primarily by the apparent application of psychological theory to the subject matter. In contrast to a biography, which uses a more historical, intuitive, and subjective approach to try to make scholarly sense of the subject, a psychobiography makes explicit use of psychological theory (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988; Ponterotto, 2015a, 2025). The detailed study of a person's life and meticulous research techniques in both endeavours are significant similarities between biographies and psychobiographies as they aim to understand life (Ponterotto, 2015a). Both utilise a wide range of sources, including autobiographies, diaries, existing biographies, and personal correspondence, to gather biographical information (Chéze, 2009), although their interpretations of the information would vary (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

5.4.2 Life Stories, Life Narratives, and Life Histories

Life stories are entirely subjective since they are the accounts individuals choose to talk about their own lives and specific events in their own words (Van Niekerk & Fouché, 2005a). Life stories, often called life narratives, are biographical accounts that are only as rich as the author's information (Etherington, 2009; Hugo, 2020; McAdams, 2010). In order to analyse these autobiographical accounts, this research technique relies on gathering life narratives or stories (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Nel, 2013; Ponterotto, 2005; Ponterotto, 2025; Saccaggi, 2015). Life history studies include biographical narratives of the incidents and encounters that developed a person's personality within a particular cultural context (Runyan, 1982; Sokolovsky, 1996; Welman, 2020). The following characteristics set life histories apart from psychobiographies (Hugo, 2020; McAdams, 1994):

(a) Life histories aim to understand the similarities between various individuals, as opposed to a psychobiography, which concentrates on the singularity of single life; (b) both subjective and objective information is acquired and implemented from numerous sources within psychobiographies; and (c) life stories aim to recognise recurring traits to obtain knowledge of the group by examining repeated patterns.

5.4.3 Psychohistory, Historical Psychology, and Historiography

Psychology and history differ fundamentally in their approaches to studying human behaviour. Psychology typically relies on empirical methods and experimental designs, while history emphasises qualitative analysis and interpretative frameworks. These methodological contrasts can lead to conflicts, especially when psychological research prioritises quantifiable data over the rich, context-driven narratives valued by historians, potentially sidelining historical insights in psychological theory (Chatterjee et al., 2023).

Philosophically, psychology often debates human nature, such as free will versus determinism, shaping theories that may not align with history's focus on context, culture, and agency (Chatterjee et al., 2023). This divergence sometimes leads to disagreements, particularly as historical perspectives highlight the complexity of human behaviour within social and cultural contexts, in contrast to psychology's occasionally reductionist view. Despite these differences, interdisciplinary collaboration between psychology and history holds promise. Scholars suggest that integrating methodologies from both fields can enrich our understanding of human behaviour, although this requires challenging entrenched disciplinary boundaries and valuing each field's insights (Tileagă & Byford, 2014; Chatterjee et al., 2023). Cultural-historical psychology, for example, underscores the role of historical and cultural contexts in shaping psychological processes, offering a critique of traditional psychological models that may overlook historical influences on individual development (Hunt, 2007).

There was ambiguity over the definition and use of psychohistory before the development of psychobiography (Kőváry, 2011; Runyan, 1988b, 2005, 2019; Schultz, 2005a). Psychohistory is the use of psychological theory (such as psychological development and significant cumulative and formative influences on the life course) to interpret historical events (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Hugo, 2020; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto, 2025; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a). The study of historical, psychological occurrences and ideas about psychological development and significant consequences on the life path is known as historical psychology (Runyan, 1988b; 2003). Thus, historical psychology confirms the idea by Stephen Jay Gould (1986) that psychology is a historical science (Fouché, 1999, 2015; Runyan, 2003). Historiography refers to conceptualising historical explanations using various historical data sources (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Simonton, 2003). Additionally, it analyses this information to investigate the past and generate compelling justifications for it (Berg, 1995). Explaining that psychohistory concentrates on a scenario's psychological rather than historical elements might be another way to further differentiate between psychohistory and historical psychology (Itzkowitz & Volkan, 2003).

5.5 Psychobiography in the South African Context

Burgers conducted the first South African psychobiography on the life of Cornelius Jacobus Langenhoven in 1939 (Fouché, 2015; Van Niekerk, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Later, in 1960, Burgers completed a second psychobiography, focusing on the South African poet Louis Leipoldt (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Welman, 2020). A psychobiographical study on another South African poet, Ingrid Jonker, was finished in 1978 as part of Van Der Merwe's doctoral research, 18 years after Burgers' second contribution (Fouché, 2015; Van Niekerk, 2007; Hugo, 2020). Psychobiographical research on the well-known South African painter Gerard Sekoto was produced by Manganyi in 1996, almost 20

years after the work on Ingrid Jonker (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Manganyi's publication occurred a year after the Nelson Mandela University⁹ in Gqeberha) formally launched psychobiography as a research project in the South African context, heralding the birth of academic psychobiography in South Africa (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

At the turn of the century, the scholarship of psychobiographical study began to grow after progressively gaining traction in South Africa. Numerous people's lives, including well-known figures internationally, were the focus of local psychobiographical investigations (Van Niekerk, 2007). Numerous regional psychobiographies concentrated on different facets of the lives of people who participated in South Africa's apartheid era, such as those on anti-apartheid campaigners Stephen Biko (Kotton, 2002), Alan Paton (Greeff, 2010) Bram Fischer (Swart, 2010), Beyers Naudé (Burnell, 2013), Helen Suzman (Nel, 2013) and Joe Slovo (Vorster, 2023). Psychobiographical studies of apartheid-era leaders like B. J. Vorster (Vorster, 2003) and Hendrik Verwoerd (Claasen, 2007) have also been conducted. South African researchers also suggested that postgraduate researchers' interests were prioritising the selection of White male subjects for psychobiographical analysis, given the rapid international growth of psychobiographical application over the second half of the 20th century (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007; Perry, 2012). Fouché et al. (2007) and Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) maintained that the initial boom in psychobiographical subjects in South Africa between 1995 and 2004 predominantly focused on White male subjects, which matches concerns from an international viewpoint, as raised by Young and Collins (2018).

⁹ formerly known as the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) or Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU)

Recent developments have, however, demonstrated that these issues have grown more important to researchers as a wider variety of psychobiographical subjects have been chosen based on gender, ethnicity, and their relevance to society (Burnell et al., 2019; Osorio, 2016). Since expanded collaboration efforts between local and international universities have been launched, there appears to be a burgeoning proliferation of subject diversity in the psychobiographical research effort globally (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019). Some of these psychobiographies written in South African institutions of higher learning about women have included Brenda Fassie (Gogo, 2011), Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton (Mayer, 2022), Emily Hobhouse (Fouché et al., 2018), Ellen Khuzwayo (Arozi, 2013), Helen Martins (Mitchelle, 2013), Charlize Theron (Prenter, 2015), Vuyiswa Mackonie (Baatjies, 2015), Helen Suzman (Nel, 2013) and Ingrid Jonker (Rust, 2019). This study on Lilian Ngoyi would be one of the few psychobiographies by a postgraduate student that profile a prominent Black woman who participated in the abolishment of apartheid in South Africa.

5.6 Value of Psychobiographical Research

Psychobiographical research has seen significant growth, garnering both national and international attention as scholars increasingly recognise its value in exploring the psychological dimensions of individual lives (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011; Mayer & Kőváry, 2019; Mayer et al., 2021; Mayer et al., 2023). This rising prominence is evidenced by the increasing number of articles on the topic, including those published in the *Journal of Psychology in Africa* (Fouché, 2015). Similarly, the *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* dedicated a special issue in August 2018 to exploring the intersections of phenomenology and psychobiography (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). Groundbreaking publications such as *New Trends in Psychobiography* (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019), *Psychobiographical Illustrations on Meaning and Identity in Socio-cultural Contexts* (Mayer et al., 2021b), and *Beyond WEIRD: Psychobiography in Times of Transcultural and*

Transdisciplinary Perspectives (Mayer et al., 2023) further highlight the dynamic growth and innovation within this field. These advancements have also attempted to change the longstanding disproportionate focus of psychobiographical research on extraordinary White male figures, often neglecting diverse subjects and perspectives (Mayer, 2022b; Mayer et al., 2022; Wegner, 2020). As such bias presents a persisting limitation, it underscores the need for broader representation in future studies.

Nevertheless, the expansion of psychobiography underlines its contributions to psychology. As a research approach, it facilitates psychological theory development, testing, and refinement (Hugo, 2020; Kőváry, 2011, 2019; Ponterotto, 2015a; Schultz, 2005a). Its comprehensive and in-depth structure offers a valuable framework for studying human lives in their complexity and individuality. Moreover, psychobiography provides psychology students a unique opportunity to bridge the gap between theory and practice. It fosters critical thinking, empathetic understanding, and self-awareness, making it a powerful educational tool (Basson, 2020; Kőváry, 2011, 2019). The case study method employed in psychobiography also enables holistic and integrative analyses, helping individuals and communities understand their roles within broader socio-historical and environmental contexts (Bulut & Usman, 2021; Coetsee, 2017; Fouché, 2015; Knight, 2019; Van Niekerk et al., 2016). This multifaceted approach enriches psychological research and enhances its practical relevance across diverse settings.

To advance the study of individuals' individuality, Gordon Allport established the distinction between nomothetic and idiographic methods in psychology in 1924 (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The idiographic approach refers to the uniqueness of cases, whereas the nomothetic process refers to generalising psychological findings to a particular group. Hurlburt and Knapp (2006) stated that Hugo Münsterberg first distinguished between nomothetic and idiographic language in 1989. Allport and Münsterberg, who advocated for a

division between the nomothetic and the idiographic, held a similar perspective regarding the link between science and the individual, regardless of who first presented this distinction to psychology (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006). More particularly, Allport was interested in how idiographic and nomothetic approaches may be used to study individuality (Runyan, 2005).

According to McAdams (2005), psychobiography is grounded in the idiographic, whereas personality psychologists tend to tilt toward the nomothetic. Carlson questioned the role of the individual in personality studies in the 1970s, which sparked criticism of the nomothetic approach (Knight, 2019; Kováry, 2011). Consequently, the term idiographic was changed to morphogenic, which refers to a methodology that emphasises the uniqueness of a person (Runyan, 1984). As a result, psychobiography is morphogenic (Elms, 1994), giving the researched topic a deep and comprehensive insight (Carlson, 1988). Studying people's lives can teach us more about various human personalities (Howe, 1997; Ponterotto, 2005).

Psychobiographers are constantly working to improve their grasp of the personality they are researching. They draw attention to the complexity, nuance, and richness of the lived life (Schultz, 2005a) across the entire lifespan. This allows the researcher to make potential connections or hypotheses between an outcome and the key variables that significantly influenced it (Alexander, 1990; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984). As a result, breakthroughs are made not only in psychobiography but also in personality psychology. They are made possible by integrating many psychological ideas (Perry, 2012). Comprehensive or "rich" descriptions of a person's life in the context of that life make it easier to identify the distinctive patterns and structures of a life that has been lived uniquely (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouche & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto et al., 2015; Runyan, 1988a).

The standard morphogenic method in psychobiography assures its primary focus is on individuals and their uniqueness (Runyan, 2005a; Schultz, 2005; Welman, 2020). However,

is also enables the researcher to perform a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the subject's life within the socio-historical setting of the study (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Kováry, 2019; Stroud, 2004). According to Perry (2012), Schultz (2005a), and Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007), this reduces the superficiality of excessive quantitative research and may raise external validity. Psychobiographers should consider having sufficient knowledge of the social and historical framework of the subject to have a solid foundation for interpreting and comprehending their lives (Runyan, 1982). Therefore, psychobiographers must also be proficient in history, sociology, anthropology, and political science (Ponterotto, 2014).

Furthermore, a deeper understanding of developmental and behavioural patterns across time can be gained through life history research, such as psychobiography (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1984), as well as a better grasp of the dynamics of the subject's personality (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). As a result, the researcher investigates the subject's complete life course rather than just some aspects of it (Carlson, 1988). This enhances personality psychology (Fouché, 1999) by comprehensively showing how personality changes through time (Alexander, 1990).

In order to communicate the interior experiences, ideas, and feelings of the individual more effectively, life history research enables the researcher to comprehend the subjective reality of the personality under investigation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1984). Köváry (2011) affirmed that the researcher needs to move past common sense to attempt and provide more than just an explanation of the subject's life, but instead offers in-depth descriptions of unearthed occurrences that allow for remarkable insight into the person's private world. This understanding broadens one's sense of how people interact with the world (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Köváry, 2011, 2019; Nortje et al., 2013).

According to Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010), few postgraduate degrees in psychology directly contribute to the growth and improvement of the theories in the field, whilst the approach of psychobiography makes it suitable for the progress and assessment of the applicability of psychological theories of personality and development (Carlson, 1988). Therefore, scholars interested in phenomena or themes may find the psychobiographical technique helpful (Nel, 2013). According to Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010), psychobiographies can explore and advance the theoretical underpinnings of several psychology subdisciplines, such as developmental, health, career, and positive psychology. Yin (2003, 2009, 2018) added that psychobiography does not seek to give a statistical generalisation of data but a somewhat analytical generalisation, which refers to the application of an existing theory with which the results of a study are evaluated. Transferring findings from the example to the idea is called analytical generalisation, also known as theoretical generalisation (Yin, 2018). A psychobiographical investigation can temporarily confirm or refute specific theory constructions if a theory cannot explain psychological occurrences (Schultz, 2005a).

5.7 Criticisms and Limitations of the Psychobiographical Research Design

Psychobiography, as a field, has faced criticism for its methodological inconsistencies and lack of rigorous standards. Ponterotto (2015) emphasised that while psychobiography provides detailed narratives about individuals, its lack of standardised frameworks often leads to subjective interpretations that compromise reliability and validity. This variability challenges the generalisability of psychobiographical findings, undermining their scientific rigour. Panelatti (2018) highlighted that elevating psychobiography to a more legitimate science requires empirically tested theories and adherence to structured methodologies, addressing these gaps.

Theoretical critiques, particularly those raised by Ponterotto (2015), focus on the risks of reductionism in psychobiography. Simplifying complex life experiences into specific psychological constructs, such as Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, can lead to misrepresenting an individual's life story. Ponterotto warned against such oversimplifications and stressed the need for a more integrative approach that respects the unique contexts of subjects. Panelatti (2018) extended this critique by advocating for a shift from reductionist practices to more comprehensive frameworks that embrace the complexity of human experiences.

Cultural bias is another significant concern that Ponterotto (2015) and Panelatti (2018) highlighted. Historically, psychobiography has predominantly focused on male figures, overlooking the experiences and contributions of women and marginalised groups. Ponterotto called for greater inclusivity in psychobiographical studies, ensuring that diverse perspectives and socio-historical contexts are considered. Panelatti added the importance of integrating female voices and addressing the systemic factors influencing behaviour and development, enriching the field's scope. Psychobiography also contributes to advancing equity and social justice by offering psychological insights into the lives of culturally diverse historical figures. Earlier approaches to psychobiography faced criticism for predominantly focusing on Western White male subjects, often overlooking individuals from international, racial or ethnic minority backgrounds, as well as women and LGBTQ+ communities (Anderson, 2025; Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2025; Young & Collins, 2018).

Psychobiography has been criticised for its methodological inconsistencies, reductionist approaches, and cultural biases, limiting its scientific reliability and inclusivity. The lack of standardised frameworks often leads to subjective interpretations, undermining the generalisability of findings. Simplifying complex life stories into narrow psychological constructs risks misrepresentation, prompting calls for integrative approaches that embrace

the uniqueness of individual experiences. Additionally, the field has historically focused on Western White male figures, neglecting women, marginalised groups, and LGBTQ+ communities. To advance equity and social justice, scholars advocate for more inclusive research that incorporates diverse perspectives, empirically tested theories, and structured methodologies.

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter contextualised the development and practice of psychobiographical research as a case study approach within the domain of qualitative research. Qualitative research was first introduced and described. After that, specific emphasis was placed on the case study research as a straightforward methodological approach. Psychobiographical research was then defined and distinguished from related concepts. The reader was provided with an overview of the development of trends in psychobiography, followed by an outline of its story within the South African context. The value of utilising the psychobiographical approach was also discussed. The criticisms of psychobiographical research design and the rules for doing so were examined. The chapter concluded with a brief discussion of potential future professional organisations and activities in psychobiography.

CHAPTER 6

METHODOLOGY

6.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter revisits the study's research goal, strategy, methods, and information on the chosen psychobiographical subject. The data collecting, extraction, and analysis techniques are also defined and detailed. The chapter ends with discussing the ethical issues raised in this research and the criteria for trustworthiness, rigour, and reflexivity.

6.2 Research Design and Methodology

The overarching approach or plan the researcher employs in building their research study is called a research design (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Case study research, such as the psychobiographical approach, provides inductive and deductive methods, reflecting the study's exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic aspects (Edwards, 1998; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009, 2018). This psychobiography can be characterised as a qualitative morphogenic¹⁰ life history investigation (Burnell, 2013; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2015; Yin, 2018). It employs a single-case, person-centred research approach that examines the subject's life events and experiences over time using a longitudinal framework (Fouché et al., 2015; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Yin, 2018).

A psychobiography is a biography published on an exemplary or controversial individual that makes extensive use of psychological theory or models (Anderson, 2025; Du Plessis, 2017; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2014, Ponterotto, 2025).

Psychobiographies are a subset of psychohistory, in which the researcher applies psychological theory and interpretations, as well as social, cultural, historical, and political

¹⁰ Morphogenic pertains to the examination of the individualised patterns and processes that shape personality, rather than focusing on distinct, isolated traits of personality (Basson, 2020).

aspects, to determine what significance each of these factors played in the person's life (Runyan, 1988, 2005; Schultz, 2005b). Ponterotto (2014) argues that the general classification of psychobiography falls under qualitative research design. The exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic nature of the study refers to the fact that it required an in-depth exploration and description of the triangulated evidence of the subject's life experience, interpersonal relationships, and socio-historical context, a process known as "thick description" (Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973; Ponterotto, 2006, 2014).

As a result of such application of psychology to life history data, one can better comprehend the life being studied (Mayer & Kováry, 2019). The primary goal of this psychobiography was to investigate and depict Lilian Ngoyi's life using her psychosocial lifespan development within the holistic wellness Model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) as well as drawing from African Psychology Perspective on holistic wellness (Biko (1981), Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), and Teffo and Roux (2003). This aim is consistent with an inductive research approach and reflects the study's exploratory-descriptive nature. As a result, pursuing this study goal entails a thorough investigation and detailed description of a specific instance within its socio-historical context (Edwards, 1998; Yin, 2009).

Qualitative-morphogenic research in psychobiography allows for a unique and holistic description and interpretation of the subject through both nomothetic (general) and idiographic (specific) considerations, allowing a unique and holistic description and interpretation of the subject within a psychobiography (Burnell et al., 2019; Elms, 1994, 2007; Runyan, 2019). This qualitative-morphogenetic approach to a single case focuses on the entire person's individuality, allowing researchers to produce comprehensive, holistic descriptions of single issues within their socio-historical context (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). To enrich the contextualised

understanding of the individual within their surroundings, psychobiography seeks a balance of both the 'nomothetic' and the 'idiographic' (Kőváry, 2019; Ponterotto et al., 2015).

A single-case study design also allows for developing theories and accurate comprehension of numerous issues (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2018). Psychobiography, as a form of life history research, has been recognised as a valuable approach to the informal testing and development of theories (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a; Runyan, 1984). The primary motivation for performing psychobiographical research should emphasise the subject's uniqueness by employing psychological theories to analyse biographical and historical facts (Minnameier, 2010). Tracy (2010) proposed eight essential criteria for excellent qualitative research, which the researcher employed to strive for a high level of quality throughout the study. Table 6.1 summarises these indicators.

Table 6.1*Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research*

Criteria	Means, Practices, and Methods
Worthy topic	The research topic is: • Relevant and timely • Significant and interesting
Rich rigour	The study uses sufficient, abundant, appropriate, and complex: • Theoretical constructs • Date and time in the field • Sample(s) and context(s) • Data collection and analysis processes
Sincerity	The study is characterised by: • Self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, and inclinations of the researcher(s) • Transparency about the methods and challenges
Credibility	The research is marked by: • Thick descriptions, concrete detail, explication of tacit (contextual) knowledge, and showing rather than telling. • Triangulation or crystallisation • Multivocality and member reflections
Resonance	The researcher influences readers or a variety of audiences through: • Aesthetic, evocative representation • Naturalistic generalisations • Transferable findings
Significant contribution	The researcher provides a significant contribution: • Conceptually/theoretically • Practically • Morally • Methodologically • Heuristically
Ethical	The research considers: • Procedural ethics (such as human subjects) • Situational and culturally specific ethics • Relational ethics • Exiting ethics (Leaving the scene and sharing the research)
Meaningful coherence	The study: • Achieves what it purports to be about. • Uses methods and procedures that fit its stated goals. • Meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings, and interpretations with each other

Note: Adapted from Tracy, S.J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Enquiry*, 16(10), p. 840.

The following section delves deeper into the researcher's decision to use Ngoyi as the psychobiographical subject.

6.3 The Psychobiographical Subject

Lilian Ngoyi was selected as the research subject via purposive sampling based on her uniqueness, life's significance, and interest value. Du Plessis (2017) argues that

psychobiographers choose their subjects carefully, considering the ethical soundness of conducting an in-depth exploration and description of their specific psychobiographical subject. Lilian Ngoyi was selected as the subject of this study based on the public recognition she received for her contribution to the fight for equality, freedom, and justice in South Africa against the Apartheid regime (Joseph, 1963; Mphahlele, 1989; Stewart, 1996; Daymond, 2015). As discussed by Burnell et al. (2019), when conducting the pilot study, the five criteria proposed by (Partington, 1980) could be used to evaluate the subject's historical significance. This includes (1) importance, referring to Lilian Ngoyi's influence on people during the era in which she lived; (2) profundity, referring to the extent to which the events of Apartheid affected people's lives during and after the subject's time; (3) quantity, referring to the number of people affected by her historical era and her personal efforts; (4) durability, referring to the subject's continued legacy and effect on people's lives; and (5) relevance, referring to the subject's continued contribution towards historical meaning-making. Lilian Ngoyi exemplifies the criteria of importance, profundity, quantity, durability, and relevance through her significant contributions to the anti-apartheid movement and her lasting impact on South African society.

6.4 Data Collection, Extraction, and Analysis

For this study, publicly available data and materials retrievable from archives will be methodically collected. This will include documents written by the subject (in this case, it will be a collection of letters and an autobiography) about the issue. Irvin Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine indicators of saliency will be utilised to guide the process of extracting and organising the data following the indicators of primacy, frequency, emphasis, distortion or error, negation, omission, isolation, uniqueness, and incompleteness (Schultz, 2005b).

Alexander (1988, 1990) further proposed (1) questioning the data and (2) letting the data reveal itself as methods to follow to extract the core-identifying units. The holistic

wellness model and concepts from African Psychology were utilised to analyse the life history data of Ngoyi, throughout her lifespan. These lenses provide the questions which the researcher posed to the data from every one of Ngoyi's historical periods, questioning if and how these concepts were represented by evidence from the historical data. Alexander's second strategy, namely the saliency indicators, assisted with further reducing the amount of data to a more manageable amount by focusing on the most salient data examples. This strategy is discussed in greater detail in the following subsection.

6.4.1 Alexander's Indicators of psychological saliency (Data reduction strategies)

The fundamental indicator of *primacy* indicates that material offered initially in a text may be psychologically significant and so warrants additional examination since it may contain essential bits of information that lay the groundwork for later interpretations (Alexander, 1990; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). Early memories, initial experiences, and introduction comments are significant to the psychobiographer in the data extraction process, even though they may appear disguised (Elms, 1994). One of Ngoyi's earliest memories was watching her mother wash and clean a big house with a big dog belonging to a white family, leaving a plate of leftover food for Ngoyi and her mother to eat (Stewart, 1996). The way therapists see the beginning conversations in a therapeutic hour as a key to what will follow demonstrates the importance of primacy (Alexander, 1990). Early memories, initial experiences, and autobiographical introduction remarks are essential to the psychobiographer. (Elms, 1994, 2007).

The repetition of information connected to communications, themes, events, patterns, obsessions, conflicts, sequences, or symbols is included in the principle of *frequency* (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). Frequency is often expressed through robust conscious value schemas, but when considered along with another indicator of salience, it may reveal less conscious sequential consistencies (Alexander, 1988,

1990; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). Elms noted that repetition might lessen a message's awareness or perceived relevance, but he cautioned that the message's value should be considered (Schultz, 2005a; Schultz, 2014). According to Schultz (2005b), psychobiographers should seek content representing their subject's obsessions, as they disclose much about the host, including the personal story the researcher seeks to uncover. When the researcher can separate numerous units of data or information, frequent or repeating sequences are emphasised (Alexander, 1990, 2005).

Informational differences in the acquired content that stand out for their unusual or exceptional nature are described by the concept of *uniqueness*, which calls for further investigation (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). As a framing for the unit of discourse, the topic emphasises its uniqueness (Alexander, 1990, 2005). Unique recollections, uncommon incidents, or new sources of knowledge designated as singular or peculiar by the subject are examples of variations (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994). The researcher must recognise more subtle evidence of distinctiveness, such as deviations from commonly accepted linguistic or cultural standards (Alexander, 1988, 1990). According to Alexander (1990), uniqueness as a sign of salience presents itself in unexpected or inexplicable results in a chain of events, which also deserves further investigation.

This Freudian principle of saliency, referred to as *negation*, involves repressed information surfacing into consciousness, which the subject emphatically dismisses as unimportant (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005b). Negation is a phenomenon that is rejected or transformed into its opposite (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). When there is no positive affirmation to the contrary, the concept encompasses the decided denial (Alexander, 1990, 2005; Schultz, 2005, 2014). Negative statements are essential because they frequently convey unconscious 'truths' about the subject they want others to believe or wish to believe about themselves (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk,

2005b). The subject's denial could confirm the opposite of their statement. It should be investigated further before assuming the exact nature of its significance (Alexander, 1990; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005a, 2005b).

The subject has drawn attention to specific events that are considered psychologically significant which is *emphasis* (Elms A., 1994; Schultz, 2005b). This principle directs the focus of the psychobiographer to facts that the subject has highlighted, stressed, or underemphasised (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). However, more significance should be given to more subtle emphasis that the subject may not expressly address but that the psychobiographer believes is signalled clearly and importantly. This might happen due to underemphasis, overemphasis, or incorrect emphasis (Alexander, 1990, 2005; Schultz, 2005, 2014). It is called overemphasis if too much focus is placed on something ordinary or commonplace. Underemphasis, on the other hand, is when too little emphasis is placed on something likely to be significant. Finally, misplaced emphasis occurs when there is no connection between the indicated methods and the declared outcome. Irrelevant aspects of an important event are emphasised with undue power due to misplaced emphasis (Elms, 1994, 2007).

The absence of expected content in the data, highlighted by the concept of *omission*, draws attention to what is missing (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Schultz, 2005a). Psychobiographers are recommended to query what is absent, often known as the "Sherlock Holmes rule" (Elms, 1994, p. 246), because it may provide crucial clues in unravelling the riddle of the subject's life. When the author prefers extensive descriptions of occurrences, a common omission is a need for more information about the subject's effect (Alexander, 1988). As a result, the reader should investigate the unique circumstances that regulate significant affective experiences and the repercussions of those experiences (Alexander, 1988, 1990).

Omissions or error, such as inaccuracies, slips, or distortions, occur in many forms (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005a) and are considered signs of vital, hidden intentions, according to Freud's study (1938, 1957). This principle is characterised by factual inaccuracies, such as time, place, misquotations, or emotional distortions. Freudian slips should not always be interpreted as a sign of hidden agendas but should also not be dismissed as helpful psychological cues (Elms, 1994, 2007).

A piece of information that stands out or seems incongruous with the rest of the content reflects the principle of *isolation* as a marker of salience (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Schultz, 2005b). Isolated data raises the question of how this data makes sense in the given context (Elms, 1994). The psychobiographer's job is to apply the isolation principle effectively. They must re-establish the link between isolated ideas and the unconscious material that the subject has suppressed (Alexander, 1990, 2005).

When a subject fails to adequately conclude a topic or narrative they have introduced, it reflects the principle of *incompletion*, which pertains to something left unfinished (Alexander, 1988; Demorest, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). Starting a storyline but stopping in the middle, starting a story, and then changing the subject, or starting and ending a story but omitting anything crucial from the middle of the story are all examples of incompleteness (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b; Panelatti, 2018). Alexander, 1988, 1990; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Schultz, 2005a describe incompletion as avoiding specific ideas or behaviours that may have resulted in unpleasant emotional consequences or pain.

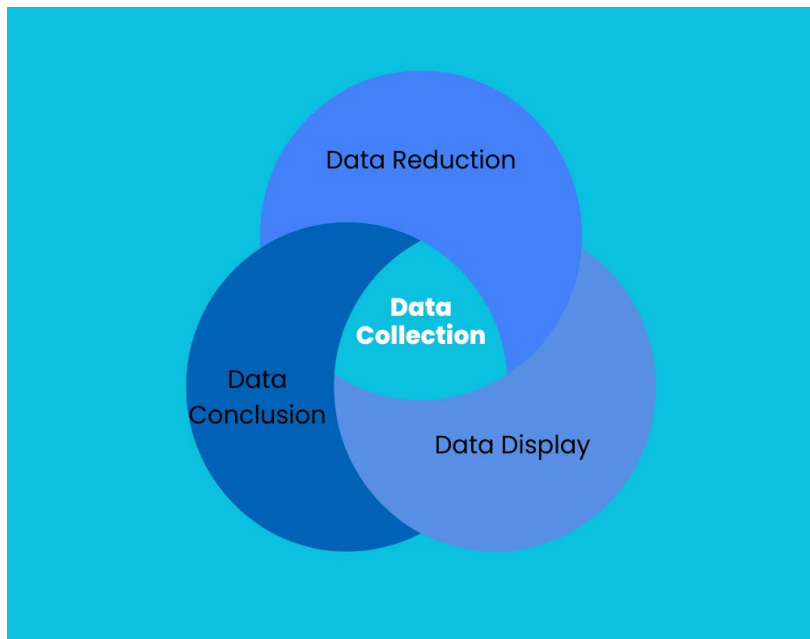
6.4.2 Miles and Huberman's three-step approach to qualitative data

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), data analysis consists of data reduction, display, and conclusion-making and verification. As illustrated in Figure 5, these three

components interact cyclically and continuously throughout the entire research process (Miles & Huberman, 2002; Punch & Oancea, 2014).

Figure 5

Miles and Huberman's (1994) Interactive Model of Data Analysis



Note. Adapted from the *Interactive Model of Data Analysis in Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.)*, by Miles and Huberman, 1994 (p. 12).

Data reduction involves selecting, focusing, reducing, abstracting, and altering data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this stage, the researcher organises and simplifies a large amount of data, eliminating useless or unclear information. Based on the project's requirements, decisions on emphasising, minimising, or ignoring certain data parts are made (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Punch and Oancea (2014) explain that data reduction occurs multiple times during analysis. It begins with actions like editing, compartmentalising, and condensing the data in the early stages of research. Researchers use data reduction techniques such as coding and identifying themes and patterns during the middle of the analysis. Finally,

data reduction occurs during conceptualisation and explanation, as abstract concepts are developed to handle a large amount of data (Punch & Oancea, 2014).

The acquired data was organised in the current study based on theory relevance and significant developmental periods in Ngoyi's life. This approach enhanced the study's credibility and prepared it for the subsequent analysis step. Alexander (1988) suggests that an effective psychological framework aids in recognising themes, patterns, and differences between sources—a data display. Data display involves organising, compressing, and assembling data, using visualisation techniques to make it practical, manageable, and accessible. Conclusions are drawn and verified, contributing to the development of valuable findings (Punch & Oancea, 2014). The first two steps of Miles and Huberman's analysis approach aim to facilitate the generation and verification of valuable conclusions from the reduced data (Punch & Oancea, 2014). During this stage, propositions are generated, interpretations are made, and meanings are derived from the modified data sets (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The ultimate objective is to create a meaningful and coherent picture of the data (Punch & Oancea, 2014).

Punch and Oancea (2014) note that drawing and verifying conclusions typically occur alongside the data reduction and display stages, as initial conclusions may be indefinite or ill-informed. Throughout the analysis process, these conclusions are refined and improved before finalization. In the last phase of the research study, the researcher gains a deeper understanding of Ngoyi's holistic wellness development by summarising and reflecting on the detailed data (De Vos et al., 2011). To ensure accurate readings and valuable findings, the researcher employed tactics such as data triangulation to explore different perspectives and reflexivity to enhance the study's trustworthiness by acknowledging research contradictions (McGivern, 2015).

In addition to the research's structural components, researchers must address methodological implications that may arise during psychobiographical research.

6.4.3 Psychohistorical Matrix

The first matrix (see Table 6.2) presents the Holistic Wellness framework developed by Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer, and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) as applied to various eras across Ngoyi's lifespan. The second matrix (see Table 6.3) examines holistic wellness from an African Psychology perspective, drawing on the works of scholars such as Biko (1981), Anyanwu (1984), Sogolo (1993), Straker (1994), and Teffo and Roux (2003), to explore the eras of Ngoyi's life.

Table 6.2*Psychohistorical Matrix of Lilian Ngoyi's Wellness: A Holistic Wellness Lens*

Historical Periods of Ngoyi's Life	Components of Holistic Wellness					
	Coping Self	Social Self	Essential Self	Physical Self	Creative Self	Contexts
Childhood and early life (1911-1933)						
Marriage, Motherhood, and Widowhood (1934-1943)						
Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)						
The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)						
Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)						

Table 6.3*Psychohistorical Matrix of Lilian Ngoyi's wellness: An African Perspective on Wellness*

Historical Periods of Ngoyi's Life	An African Psychology Perspective on Holistic Wellness Including an Africanist view of human nature, optimal development and functioning, mental health and the concept of time
Childhood and early life (1911-1933)	
Marriage, Motherhood, and Widowhood (1934-1943)	
Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)	
The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)	
Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)	

6.5 Reflexivity

A certain degree of researcher bias or subjectivity is an essential facet of the study process in qualitative research (Dodgson, 2019; Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2005). As a result, it is critical that researchers successfully regulate their subjectivity to minimise the adverse effects on the research study (Morrow, 2005). Qualitative researchers are encouraged to approach their study with a reflective and ambivalent mindset to confront any biases and preconceptions that may arise from personal life experiences or emotionally charged encounters with research respondents over time (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Burnell et al., 2019; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Kőváry, 2018; Morrow, 2005; Schultz, 2005a, 2014; Stroud, 2004). The concept of reflexivity, as acknowledged by Dodgson (2019), Kőváry (2011), Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017), and Willig (2008, 2013), involves a collaborative effort between the researcher and the study subject. This process requires critical reflection on the researcher's part and is derived from qualitative research methodologies centred on constructivist interpretivist epistemology, as posited by Guba and Lincoln (2008) and Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017)

6.6 Ensuring Trustworthiness

Although the validity and reliability of qualitative research have been widely questioned (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Du Plessis, 2017; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014), qualitative research has long been known for using traditional scientific methods, particularly those borrowed from quantitative methods of rigor. In Chapter 6, specific difficulties and limits of this research method were examined in depth.

Preliminary methodological considerations included a discussion of the researcher's techniques for improving the study's transferability, credibility, dependability, and conformability. To improve the study's credibility, the researcher implemented the following strategies:

1. Implementing many theoretical approaches (Flick, 2006; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009) to triangulate data sources, researchers, and theoretical triangulation (Flick, 2006; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009).
2. Ngoyi's biographical material was thoroughly researched over a lengthy period. An extensive literature analysis of South African history and politics at the time was conducted to consider socio-historical events (see Chapter 2 for a detailed explanation of the key political events that touched Ngoyi during each of her life's historical periods).
3. Researchers investigated her socio-historical and cultural settings to support a contextually appropriate understanding of Ngoyi's life.
4. Using a theoretical framework concentrating on holistic wellness, the study of Ngoyi's life encompassed both a longitudinal and eugraphic perspective.
5. A lifetime method was used to analyse Ngoyi's life, which spanned all historical periods from birth to death.
6. The researcher worked to improve the study's procedural rigour by using explicit operational metrics, coding schemes, and conceptual matrices to extract, categorize, and analyse the key themes found in the data.
7. The researcher used analytical rather than statistical generalisation (Yin, 2018).
8. The researcher notes that the conclusions of this study are hypothetical rather than factual or conclusive and suggests that they be viewed as adding to the corpus of knowledge about Ngoyi's life.
9. To monitor and regulate subjectivity and minimise the negative impacts of bias, the researcher engaged in reflexive analysis to uphold the study's credibility.

10. Throughout the research process, rigour was a key consideration. In addition to concerns about the study's validity (confirmability, credibility, transferability), the researcher was particularly interested in Ponterotto and Reynolds' (2017, 2019) comments on ethical considerations in psychobiography, and more specifically, the ethical considerations of this psychobiography.

6.7 Ethical Considerations

Prominent current publications in the field (Ponterotto, 2013a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018) have emphasised the necessity of excellent ethical practice throughout the study process of the previous decade. Psychobiographers must follow the same ethical regulations, standards, and guidelines as other researchers (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). Privacy concerns, shame, reputation damage, and consent issues are all ethical concerns (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Fouché, 1999; Prenter, 2015). In psychobiography, methodological and ethical practices are intertwined (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014, 2025; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1984); therefore, excellent methodological practices will lead to sound ethical practices, and vice versa.

By upholding the guidelines of Elms (1994) and Ponterotto (2014), the researcher treated all acquired information carefully throughout the investigation. The researcher attempted to uphold the general ethical responsibilities applicable to any psychologist undertaking research, as defined by the Health Professions Council of South Africa, the regulating body of the medical and allied health professions (including psychology) in South Africa (HPCSA). The concepts of (a) non-maleficence and (b) respect for research participants are among them (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2017).

Although psychobiographical subjects are frequently deceased, examining their lives raises ethical concerns (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2015b), as deceased people's

confidentiality and privacy must be respected (Ponterotto, 2017). Elms (1994) also emphasised that psychobiographical research should contribute to understanding others and us rather than simply avoiding unethical practices (Nel, 2013). Only publicly available data were used in this study, reducing the risk of revealing potentially sensitive information or breaching Ngoyi's or her family's or friends' privacy. The researcher also took extra effort to approach the data with respect, empathy, and caution to provide a transparent interpretation. Furthermore, by using data triangulation in this study, the researcher ensured that the data and conclusions were reliable. Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b, 2014) established a list of rights and obligations for psychobiologists to follow. These rights and obligations include acting correctly toward the subject's probable surviving family (if the subject is deceased) and deciding whether any potentially sensitive information discovered should be included in the psychobiography. He also stated that the potential for distress or harm is influenced by the historical figure's life's temporal space. This means that still-living or recently departed Personalities face a greater danger of injury than historical characters who may have lived a century ago (Berg, 2001).

Psychobiographical research increases awareness of ethical and legal considerations, as it differs from quantitative studies with anonymous participants or clinical case studies where identities are concealed. In psychobiography, the historical subject is explicitly named, eliminating anonymity. This approach necessitates careful navigation of ethical and legal complexities when writing and publishing psychological analyses of identified individuals, even if they are long deceased. These considerations are essential to maintaining the integrity and reputation of psychobiographers (Anderson, 2025; Ponterotto, 2025; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

It is critical to submit a research proposal to an institutional review board (IRB) to consider any potential ethical issues that may arise throughout the study (Ponterotto, 2013a;

Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The researcher followed this advice and filed a research proposal to the university's institutional review board, the Departmental Research Committee of the Department of Psychology and the Scientific Committee. The idea was accepted by these committees, which approved the study and gave the authorisation to proceed with the research. Ethical clearance was obtained from the General Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Free State. The ethical clearance number for this study is UFS-HSD2021/1217/21.

The ethical regulations, standards, and criteria relevant to other research genres also apply to psychobiographers (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). There have been various publications on the ethics and value of psychobiography (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014, 2025; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1988a). Ethical interactions and behaviours are among the main elements affecting the calibre of research (Rule & John, 2011). Failure to follow the most fundamental ethical guidelines could have major consequences for the researcher and create significant psychological harm to the subject and their family and friends (American Psychological Association [APA], 2010). According to Elms (1994), Ponterotto & Reynolds (2017), and Runyan (1988a), psychobiographers frequently encounter unusual moral conundrums. On the one hand, psychobiography's inherent nature necessitates that researchers name their subjects and divulge numerous personal facts about both them and their peers (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011). The researcher must consider any parties embarrassed or harmed due to the study. When a researcher comes across highly private or sensitive information that is not generally known, she should exercise professional judgment to consider the pros and cons of disclosing it because it could result in privacy invasion (APA, 2010; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984). The American Psychiatric Association (APA) formed a task force in 1976 to develop explicit guidelines for psychobiography, and it

was not until then that they were clearly defined (American et al., 1976; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2013, 2017a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1983, 1984, 1988b).

6.7.1 The Six-step Ethical Decision-Making Model

Unexpected ethical problems will likely develop throughout research procedures and investigations because psychobiography is a discovery-oriented field. One illustration of this is the very private and sensitive information about the subject that might be learned throughout the research process that other historians or even family members may not have known (Ponterotto, 2015a, 2017a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019). The subject's family members may feel highly hurt if this newly discovered private information is used, but it may also help us better understand the person. Based on this, Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) developed a six-step model for ethical decision-making that could help psychobiographers navigate complex moral dilemmas.

1. The researcher may become more conscious of ethical issues that must be addressed appropriately due to their professional reflexivity.
2. The researcher must examine any newly raised ethical issues based on current ethical principles and guidelines, including best practice methodological guidelines (e.g., Elms, 2007; Ponterotto, 2014b; Schultz, 2005a).
3. The researcher must choose the best course of action and, if necessary, consult with a network of academics from other fields.
4. Following decisions related to ethical issues; the researcher should put the appropriate measures into action while accepting responsibility for the results of those actions.

5. To ensure the welfare of any impacted people and places, the researcher must closely monitor the impact and consequences of the acts and conduct follow-up investigations.
6. To help other professionals and students further their education and professional growth, the researcher must conduct a debriefing session regarding the ethical decision-making process.

6.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a comprehensive overview of the study's research objectives, design, and methodology. It detailed the selection process for the psychobiographical subject, the psychological frameworks utilized, and the procedures for data collection, extraction, reduction, and analysis. Emphasis was placed on the identification and extraction of key information, guided by Alexander's (1988, 1990) strategies and Miles and Huberman's three-step approach to qualitative data analysis. Additionally, the chapter outlined the development and application of conceptual frameworks and psycho-historical matrices used to classify and analyze the extracted salient material. Finally, it addressed the ethical considerations relevant to this study, ensuring the integrity and rigor of the research process.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: NGOYI'S HOLISTIC WELLNESS

7.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter discusses the research findings addressing Lilian Ngoyi's overall wellness throughout her lifetime. The conceptual framework is described, and then the biographical results are presented and discussed following the five components of wellness as conceptualised in the Indivisible Self iteration of the holistic wellness model (see Chapter 3). This chapter also considers how Ngoyi's wellness may have been affected by life forces and world events.

7.2 Conceptual Framework for the Presentation and Discussion of the Results

The researcher employed an exploratory-descriptive approach to analyze the study's findings. Accordingly, the collection, extraction, analysis, and presentation of key biographical data about the research subject were guided by a psychological methodology. This approach facilitated the development of a psychobiographical study grounded in the holistic wellness paradigm established by Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer, and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The holistic wellness model served as the framework for investigating Lilian Ngoyi's overall wellness. In the subsequent sections, data related to Ngoyi's holistic wellness across her lifespan will be examined and analyzed through the lens of the five life tasks outlined in the model. This analysis incorporates case studies from Ngoyi's biographical narratives, exploring her overall well-being within specific historical contexts and distinct aspects of holistic wellness.

7.3 Holistic Wellness Throughout Ngoyi's Life Span

7.3.1 *Coping Self*

The *coping self* results spanning Ngoyi's five historical periods are comprehensively detailed in the subsequent sections, with an analytical focus on the four elements identified by Myers et al. (2000): (a) stress management, (b) leisure activities, (c) self-worth, and (d) realistic beliefs. The analysis extends to significant global events and their constituent parts potentially influencing the *coping self*.

7.3.1.1 *Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)*

The initial historical period encapsulates Ngoyi's formative 22 years, encompassing her birth, childhood, and a substantial portion of her adolescent life. Ngoyi's diverse geographical locations during this period, including her birth in Pretoria, serve as reference points. By examining Ngoyi's upbringing and early experiences, this section presents the insights gained into her developing social and political consciousness, shedding light on the factors that influenced her activism against apartheid.

Ngoyi's upbringing was characterised by considerable social and economic challenges, as evidenced by Daymond (2015) and Bickford-Smith and Nasson (2018). Hailing from a working-class background, Ngoyi witnessed first-hand the struggles endured by her mother as a domestic worker and seamstress within the context of pervasive racial discrimination perpetuated by the apartheid regime. These adversities likely instilled in Ngoyi a deep-seated sense of social injustice, fuelling her determination to combat the systemic inequalities prevalent in South African society.

Additionally, Ngoyi faced formidable gender-based limitations that hindered her educational aspirations, as elucidated by Bickford-Smith and Nasson (2018) and Daymond (2015). Her father's adherence to traditional gender roles, which prioritised marriage over academic and professional pursuits for his daughter, underscored the patriarchal constraints

endemic to Ngoyi's environment. Nevertheless, Ngoyi's resilience and defiance of societal expectations exemplify her steadfast pursuit of nursing training, a field predominantly dominated by White men during that era (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

During this historical period, Ngoyi's early life experiences served as a vessel of adversity, shaping her well-being and laying the foundation for her future activism. Despite her formidable obstacles, Ngoyi exhibited an unwavering commitment to challenging injustice and a keen awareness of social inequities, propelling her to become a formidable advocate against apartheid in South Africa.

7.3.1.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

During this time in Lilian Ngoyi's life, she is portrayed as a resilient and strong individual who faced adversity with determination (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). However, it also suggests that she might have experienced emotional challenges, such as grief after the loss of her husband in a car accident (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). The literature does not delve into the emotional impact of these events. However, it is reasonable to assume that she experienced emotional turmoil during these difficult times.

Despite the challenging circumstances, Lilian's emotional wellness appears to have been influenced by her relationships and sense of purpose. Her happy marriage and close bond with her biological and adopted children (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015) likely provided emotional support and fulfilment. However, the loss of her husband in a car accident would have undoubtedly been a traumatic experience, potentially impacting her emotional well-being and resilience.

7.3.1.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

During this historical period, the data shows that Ngoyi found moments of respite through leisure activities, such as her visits to the theatre during her travels abroad (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). These moments provided her with temporary relief from the pressures of political activism and apartheid oppression. Such experiences offered a semblance of normalcy and joy, which was vital for her psychological well-being (Daymond, 2015). Engaging in enjoyable activities contributed significantly to her resilience and ability to manage stress.

Ngoyi demonstrated exceptional stress management skills by channelling her stress into activism and community organising. Despite facing arrest and imprisonment, she focused her energy on her work with the ANC and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). By participating in protests like the 1956 Women's March (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018), she transformed her stress into collective action against the apartheid regime. It is proposed that this proactive approach served as a crucial coping mechanism.

Ngoyi's self-worth was deeply connected to her role as a leader in the anti-apartheid movement. She recognised her value and importance in the struggle for justice, which fortified her self-esteem. Her famous statement, "A worker is a worker despite his or her colour" (p.274), reflects her belief in equality and her dedication to advocating for the oppressed (Daymond, 2015). This strong sense of self-worth enabled her to endure the pressures of apartheid.

Ngoyi maintained realistic beliefs about her situation and the broader anti-apartheid struggle. Aware of the risks, she remained steadfast in her commitment, fueled by a rational belief in eventual change. Her statement, "My spirits have not been dampened... I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa",

illustrates her optimism and resilience (Stewart, 1996, p.51). This belief helped her navigate personal challenges and inspired others in the movement.

7.3.1.4 The Banning and Arrests (1963-1971)

The data on this historical period provided insights into the emotional toll of the restrictions and oppression faced by Lilian Ngoyi. Daymond (2015) described her experience of solitary confinement as “devilish” (p. 283), and the ordeal of counting her fingers until she fainted highlights the emotional distress and trauma she experienced. Additionally, the sense of isolation and confinement imposed by the banning orders likely had a significant impact on her emotional well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The restrictions and solitary confinement likely caused significant emotional distress, including feelings of isolation and frustration. Furthermore, Lilian’s restricted movement severely limited her ability to live a normal life and pursue her work.

Despite these limitations, Ngoyi’s continued correspondence suggests a desire to stay intellectually engaged. Lilian displayed remarkable resilience and optimism in the face of adversity. Her ability to maintain a positive outlook and indomitable spirit, as evidenced by her declaration that “the government cannot confine my spirit to Orlando, (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; p.121)”, highlight her emotional fortitude and positive outlook despite the challenges she faced.

7.3.1.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

Ngoyi’s correspondence with Belinda Allan allowed her to express her personal thoughts and feelings (Daymond, 2015), fostering emotional well-being through this connection.

Lilian displayed remarkable emotional resilience and strength despite facing significant challenges and adversity. Her ability to maintain a positive outlook and

indomitable spirit, as evidenced by her continued correspondence with Belinda Allan and her unwavering commitment to the struggle for freedom and justice, speaks to her emotional well-being and inner strength.

7.3.2 Social Self

This consists of two components: (a) friendship and (b) love. Both have positive effects on longevity and quality of life. During the analysis of the data, emphasis was also placed on the contexts that, at the right times in Ngoyi's life, showed a reciprocal influence on her *social self*.

7.3.2.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

Lilian's social well-being was shaped by her family's socio-economic status, racial discrimination, and gender-based obstacles. Despite facing numerous barriers, she maintained a strong sense of community and solidarity with others who shared her experiences of oppression and marginalisation.

The data revealed the social inequalities and discrimination faced by Lilian Ngoyi's family due to their race and socio-economic status (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her mother's experiences of being relegated to using the back door and being prohibited from breastfeeding indoors (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996) reflect the social challenges they encountered. "Mother always had to use the back door of her White employers' houses. I used to think that, compared to White people, we were made of second-hand stuff" (p.8). This statement reveals the deep psychological effects of apartheid's racial discrimination, where practices like a Black domestic worker's required use of a back door symbolised her inferior status. This experience instilled in the speaker a sense of "second-hand" identity, reflecting the internalised shame and diminished self-worth that systemic racism fostered. In apartheid South Africa, these everyday indignities created a

pervasive, intergenerational trauma, impacting both personal identity and collective self-concept. The back door represents not just physical exclusion but a broader societal boundary meant to control and psychologically oppress Black South Africans, shaping individual and communal identity across generations. This may have impacted Lilian's sense of social inclusion and acceptance.

Lilian's early experiences were marked by racial and gender-based discrimination. Witnessing her mother's struggles and the limitations placed on her education due to her gender likely impacted her sense of belonging and fostered an early commitment to social justice.

7.3.2.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

Lilian's social wellness was influenced by her connections within her family and community. Her close-knit family, including her biological and adopted children and her parents, played a crucial role in her life. The data also emphasises her role as a caregiver for her daughters and parents after her husband's death (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), suggesting a strong sense of familial responsibility and support. Additionally, her involvement in activities like ballroom dancing and local competitions indicates a social network and opportunities for social interaction and recreation, which are important aspects of social wellness (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). The data further highlights Lilian's happy marriage with John, suggesting a strong spousal relationship (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Additionally, raising three daughters (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996) (biological and adopted) indicates a fulfilling family life and a high degree of wellness in the domain of the *social self* (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

However, John's tragic death during this historical period would have significantly impacted Lilian's social support system. John's low salary as a teacher could have put

financial strain on the family, which might have intensified after his death, forcing Lilian to support her parents.

7.3.2.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

Ngoyi's capacity for trust and building deep, meaningful relationships during this historical period is exemplified by her bonds with both fellow activists and family. Lilian and her daughter Edith joined the protest, which ended on the steps of the City Hall. Lilian Ngoyi's participation in a protest with her daughter Edith symbolises her dedication to activism and her role in transmitting resistance values across generations. By bringing Edith, Ngoyi demonstrated personal commitment and highlighted the importance of involving future generations. The protest's culmination at City Hall underscores its symbolic challenge to state authority. As one of the few female leaders in a male-dominated movement, Ngoyi's presence amplified the gendered nature of resistance in apartheid South Africa, emphasising both community solidarity and the personal risk involved in publicly opposing an oppressive regime.

Ngoyi formed stable, enduring relationships with activists like Helen Joseph and Rahima Moosa throughout her journey. These relationships were crucial in building a mutual support network, enabling sustained activism amidst the oppressive apartheid regime (Beukes, 2004). Another significant example is her friendship with Belinda Allan, who provided emotional and financial aid during some of Ngoyi's most challenging times (Dayomnd, 2015). This relationship highlights her openness to sharing personal fears and hopes, reflecting her reliance on intimate relationships as a coping mechanism during apartheid oppression (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Ngoyi extended her affection not only to her family but also to her comrades in the anti-apartheid movement. Her leadership was marked by encouragement and warmth, nurturing solidarity among those she led (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015;

Stewart, 1996). This was evident in her famous speech during the 1956 Women's March, where she connected emotionally with the crowd, promoting collective resistance through passion and empathy (Daymond, 2015). Furthermore, Ngoyi's non-possessive care manifested in her respect for the uniqueness of her fellow activists. As a leader in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), she fought relentlessly for the rights of women and workers, acknowledging the interconnectivity of their struggles. Her leadership showed genuine care for others' growth and well-being without controlling their individual narratives (Beukes, 2004).

Ngoyi's dedication to community empowerment is evident in her involvement with the African National Congress (ANC) and her advocacy for women's rights. Her tireless efforts in organising protests, such as the anti-pass campaigns, highlighted her deep commitment to her community's growth and well-being, particularly women's empowerment (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Ngoyi's sense of fulfilment came from her unwavering commitment to the cause of anti-apartheid. Despite facing personal sacrifices like imprisonment and arrest, her dedication to her mission and its impact on others fueled her sense of purpose. This deep sense of fulfilment, anchored in her advocacy for justice and equality, underscores the critical role healthy, loving relationships played in fostering her resilience (Daymond, 2015).

In conclusion, data suggested that Lilian Ngoyi's life epitomised wellness in the *social self* domain, showcasing how trust, affection, non-possessive care, concern for others, lasting relationships, and fulfilment were central to her resilience and activism. These deep connections supported both her personal well-being and the broader anti-apartheid movement.

7.3.2.4 *The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)*

The restrictions placed on Lilian Ngoyi's movement and participation in social events severely impacted her social wellness. The data highlights her inability to engage with her social circles and networks, which were essential sources of support and connection. However, her active correspondence with friends and supporters, both locally and internationally (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), demonstrates her efforts to maintain social connections despite the challenges.

Ngoyi's continued correspondence with friends like Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander highlights the importance of social connection in maintaining her well-being. Her network of international supporters also provided emotional and material support, facilitating some degree of wellness of the *social self*.

The imposition of banning orders (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996) would have significantly impacted her social wellness, as they restricted her ability to engage in political, social, and intellectual pursuits. The isolation and confinement she experienced limited her interactions with others, impeding her capacity to maintain meaningful social connections and relationships.

7.3.2.5 *Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)*

The data suggested that Lilian's social wellness continued to be profoundly impacted by the imposition of banning orders during this historical period, which still restricted her ability to engage in meaningful social interactions and activities. Despite these constraints, she maintained connections with friends and supporters, both locally and internationally, through written correspondence (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). This provided her with emotional support and companionship during difficult times. Despite the physical challenges, her wellness was characterised by unwavering optimism, resilience, and the ability to maintain meaningful connections.

The continued correspondence with Belinda Allan, the Riverside group of Amnesty International and the reunion with comrades during her travels (Daymond, 2015) highlights the importance of social connection in her life. The data emphasises the importance of social connections and support systems in Lilian Ngoyi's life. Her correspondence likely gave her a sense of connection and community, even during periods of isolation. Furthermore, her travels after the upliftment of her banning order (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996) allowed her to reconnect with her social circles and engage in meaningful interactions. Social connections and support systems played a crucial role in her overall well-being, providing a sense of community and opportunities for engagement after the upliftment of her banning order.

7.3.3 Essential Self

Four aspects of the *essential self* (spirituality, self-care, gender identity, and cultural identification) positively correlate with enduring meaning, hope, and a feeling of purpose. These components present opportunities for intrinsic fulfilment (Myers et al., 2000). Where appropriate, emphasis is given to the contextual factors and holistic wellness elements that may have affected Lillian Ngoyi's *essential self*.

7.3.3.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

The account of Lilian Ngoyi's grandfather, a member of the Mphahlele royal family in the Transvaal region, offers insight into the deep influence missionaries had on Indigenous identity and traditions. His choice to renounce his heritage—labelled “primitive” (Daymond, 2015, p.271) by missionary teachings—reflects the colonial pressures that sought to replace African customs with Western beliefs. This shift in worldview for a person of royal lineage represents not only a personal transformation but also the broader erosion of indigenous practices and community values under colonial influence.

Missionaries often promoted Christianity and Western ideals as markers of “civilisation” (Daymond, 2015, p.271), leading many Africans to view their traditions as inferior. For Ngoyi, seeing this transformation within her own family likely heightened her awareness of colonialism’s role in reshaping African identity. Her grandfather’s experience illustrates the complex cultural tensions of the time: missionary influence frequently disrupted the transmission of cultural knowledge and redefined personal and collective identities, laying the groundwork for Ngoyi’s later activism against forces that marginalised African ways of life.

Ngoyi faced gender-based challenges in her early years that affected her educational opportunities. A significant turning point occurred when her parents disagreed about her education. Ngoyi’s father initially argued against educating her, citing the belief that girls would eventually get married, and education would be wasted on them. However, her mother convinced him, leading to Ngoyi’s enrolment in a boarding school (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). This episode exemplifies the determination and support within Ngoyi’s family that would shape her future trajectory.

Lilian found the missionaries hypocritical, as they preached the Gospel, but seemed to neglect the principle of loving thy neighbour regarding the Black community (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). This critique reflects her perception of the contradictions between religious ideals and colonial practices, particularly how the church’s failure to embody principles of universal love and justice reinforced racial segregation. Ngoyi’s scepticism toward missionary work highlights her understanding of the complex, often oppressive role of religious institutions within apartheid, which appeared to legitimise and uphold systemic racial inequities despite professed Christian ethics. Her perspective aligns with an anti-colonial stance, recognising the church’s potential to contribute to moral and social exclusion while underscoring her demand for a more authentic, equitable vision of social justice.

In 1928, Ngoyi boldly moved to Johannesburg to pursue training as a nurse at City Deep Mine Hospital. However, her career choice was met with disapproval from her mother, who believed that Ngoyi would be better off pursuing a more financially lucrative path as a dressmaker. Despite her mother's reservations, Ngoyi followed her nursing training, demonstrating her commitment to personal and professional growth.

These early experiences highlight Ngoyi's resilience and ability to navigate societal expectations and obstacles in pursuing her aspirations, offering insights into the factors that shaped Ngoyi's sense of self, determination, and, ultimately, her pursuit of holistic wellness within her socio-historical context.

7.3.3.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

Ngoyi's spirituality is subtly interwoven throughout her life, especially in her formative years and her family's strong religious foundation. The data suggest that Ngoyi often related her personal experiences to biblical stories (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018), indicating that her spiritual connection gave her hope and a sense of purpose. This likely helped her navigate the injustices she encountered. Initially, she believed that "the Black man was made second by God" (Daymond, 2015, p.272), highlighting her struggle to reconcile faith with racial discrimination. However, her eventual rejection of this belief marks a spiritual transformation, shifting from passive acceptance to active pursuit of justice and equality.

Ngoyi's practice of self-care is reflected in her ability to balance her family responsibilities with personal growth. After her father's health deteriorated, she assumed the role of caregiver for her siblings and later pursued nursing to support her family financially (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Despite facing socio-economic challenges, Ngoyi demonstrated resilience and a commitment to self-improvement. Her decision to train as a

nurse underscores her understanding of the importance of self-care, not just for herself but also for her family and the broader community.

Ngoyi's gender identity is pivotal to her story, particularly in the face of societal expectations for women at the time. As the only daughter among five sons, she encountered specific challenges, including her father's belief that girls did not need education (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). This reflects the gender-based obstacles she had to overcome. Nevertheless, despite her father's views, Ngoyi's determination to pursue her goals highlights her strength and resilience as a woman. Her leadership in the labour movement and later in the African National Congress (ANC) (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015) reflects her commitment to women's rights and her role as a pioneering figure in challenging gender norms during the liberation struggle.

Ngoyi's cultural identity is deeply rooted in her experiences as a Black woman living under apartheid. She was aware of the stark disparities between Black and White communities, particularly in terms of access to resources and opportunities (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Her father's staunch opposition to White dominance and her own observations of the injustices her mother endured at work shaped her strong sense of cultural identity and solidarity with her community. Ngoyi's advocacy for the rights of Black South Africans was driven by this cultural identification and her commitment to uplift her people.

Viewing Ngoyi's historical period of Marriage, Motherhood, and Widowhood through the lens of the holistic wellness model reveals the interconnected roles of spirituality, self-care, gender identity, and cultural identification in shaping her activism. Her spiritual beliefs offered her hope and purpose, while her commitment to self-care helped her overcome personal challenges. Her gender identity and cultural awareness fuelled her drive to advocate for justice and equality, cementing her legacy in the anti-apartheid movement. Her story

exemplifies how these aspects of the *essential self* can contribute to overall well-being and purpose, inspiring future generations to continue the pursuit of social justice.

7.3.3.3 *Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)*

Ngoyi's spirituality served as a crucial source of strength throughout her activism. During moments of distress, she frequently turned to prayer (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996), finding comfort and resilience in the face of adversity. This spiritual practice brought her solace and deepened her commitment to the fight against apartheid, as she believed her activism was driven by a higher purpose (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). Her faith in a just future for South Africa fuelled her determination to continue advocating for her people's rights, reflecting the profound connection between spirituality and the *essential self* as a source of hope and purpose (Beukes, 2004; Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Ngoyi also understood the importance of self-care in sustaining her well-being amid her tireless activism. Engaging in activities that brought her joy, such as attending the theatre during her travels abroad (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), allowed her to recharge and maintain her mental health. These leisure moments were essential for preserving her energy and focus on the fight against apartheid. By prioritising her well-being, Ngoyi demonstrated a keen awareness of balancing her personal life with her political commitments, recognising that this equilibrium was critical to her continued resilience.

Ngoyi's gender identity played a significant role in shaping her activism and leadership style. As a leading female figure in the anti-apartheid movement, she challenged traditional gender roles and advocated for women's rights within the broader liberation struggle. Her leadership in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and her involvement in the historic 1956 Women's March (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018;

Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996) underscored her dedication to addressing the specific challenges faced by women in a patriarchal society. Her ability to highlight the intersection of race and gender in her speeches resonated with many, empowering women to assert their role in the struggle for equality. This focus on gender identity further reinforced her sense of purpose within the movement (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Ngoyi's strong cultural identity as a Black South African was deeply intertwined with her activism and sense of community. She viewed her advocacy for workers' rights as inseparable from the broader fight for the liberation of all Black South Africans, emphasising the power of collective action to dismantle systemic oppression. Her participation in protests and leadership roles within the ANC and FEDSAW reflected her dedication to fostering unity and cultural pride among Black South Africans. By embracing her cultural identity, Ngoyi not only bolstered her own resolve but also inspired others to join the struggle for justice and equality, illustrating how cultural identification can serve as a source of strength and purpose (Daymond, 2015; Beukes, 2004).

During this historical period, data on Lilian Ngoyi's life and activism demonstrated that she embodied the elements of the *essential self* model, illustrating how spirituality, self-care, gender identity, and cultural identification contributed to her resilience and sense of purpose. Her ability to navigate the challenges of her era while maintaining a strong sense of self and community underscores her lasting legacy as a champion of justice and equality in South Africa. Through her activism, Ngoyi fought for her rights and inspired countless others to pursue their own journeys toward liberation and empowerment.

7.3.3.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962-1972)

While the data does not explicitly mention Lilian Ngoyi's spiritual beliefs or practices during this historical period, her unwavering optimism and resilience in the face of adversity could be interpreted as a form of spiritual strength or resilience. Her declaration that "the

government cannot confine my spirit to Orlando” (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.121) reflects her inner fortitude and an aspect of spiritual wellness.

Despite the challenges she faced, Lilian found solace and support in her network of friends and correspondents, both locally and internationally. Her continued correspondence with individuals like Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander, as well as her reliance on a network of supporters in the United States and Europe, provided her with emotional and spiritual sustenance during difficult times. Lilian Ngoyi’s reliance on a network of supportive friends and correspondents embodies this essential aspect of well-being, as these relationships provided her with emotional strength and resilience. Her international correspondents, such as Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander, served as sources of solace and connection, reinforcing her sense of purpose. By engaging in this supportive network, Ngoyi nurtured her *Essential self*, fostering the emotional and spiritual sustenance needed to persevere through personal and political challenges.

7.3.3.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

Historical data on this period in her life provided no information specific to Lilian’s spiritual beliefs or practices during this time. Lilian remained spiritually resilient and committed to her values and beliefs despite her challenges. Her unwavering dedication to the struggle for justice and equality and her enduring faith in the eventual liberation of South Africa served as sources of spiritual strength and resilience throughout her life.

Lifting the banning order allowed Lilian to travel and reconnect with her country, fostering a sense of liberation. While the text does not explicitly mention Lilian Ngoyi’s spiritual beliefs or practices, her resilience, determination, and unwavering spirit in the face of adversity could be interpreted as a form of spiritual strength or resilience. Her visits to significant places, such as the grave of Chief Albert Luthuli, where she offered a prayer, suggest a connection to spiritual or cultural practices.

7.3.4 Physical Self

The *physical self* encompasses actions important for overall physical well-being, such as healthy eating and exercise. The significant world events that may have impacted the *Physical self* are discussed where appropriate.

7.3.4.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

Lilian Ngoyi's life was marked by enduring socio-economic challenges that shaped her resilience and activism. Ngoyi's living conditions in Soweto, where her family resided in cramped, one-room shacks (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), exemplified the socio-economic marginalisation endured by Black South Africans under apartheid. These informal dwellings lacked basic amenities such as lighting, proper ventilation, clean water, and sanitation facilities, exposing Ngoyi and her family to significant health risks (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Nutritional limitations were also a constant concern, as impoverished conditions often meant limited access to nutritious food, compromising overall well-being.

Furthermore, the theme of food scarcity often took centre stage in Ngoyi's recollections (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Their diet was limited to mostly maize, with meat once a month and very few opportunities to consume milk, rice, and cheese, which were considered luxuries (Daymond, 2015).

7.3.4.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

Ngoyi's living conditions, particularly her relocation to "The Shelters" in Orlando, were marked by inadequate physical infrastructure. The one-room shacks, lacking essential amenities such as lighting, windows, and proper sanitation (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), profoundly impacted the physical health and well-being of Ngoyi and her family. The family's later relocation to a modest brick home in Soweto

signifies improved living conditions, which are crucial for physical wellness. This move likely provided Ngoyi and her family with a more stable and healthier environment, positively affecting their overall well-being. The contrast between the inadequate conditions of “The Shelters” and their new home underscores the importance of a supportive physical environment in enhancing health and wellness (Daymond, 2015). However, her socio-economic context continued to significantly restrict her access to optimal nutrition (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

The emotional and physical demands of caring for her family under adverse socio-economic conditions would have required Ngoyi to manage her responsibilities carefully, which could impact her physical health (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Ngoyi’s role as a caregiver for her daughters and her parents following her husband’s death underscores the significance of family dynamics in her physical and emotional well-being. The narrative notes that she adopted children and treated them as her own (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015), selflessly sharing limited resources within her family. This reflects her deep commitment to family and community. This nurturing aspect highlights the importance of supportive relationships in maintaining wellness.

The data includes examples of Ngoyi’s physical activity. Apart from the physical nature of her work, she and her husband engaged in ballroom dancing and local competitions, indicating that they participated in physical activities that benefited their well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). These activities provided opportunities for exercise and fostered social connections and emotional satisfaction. Such enjoyable activities are crucial for physical wellness, as they aid relaxation and stress relief, which are essential for maintaining overall health (Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi's activism and experiences during apartheid, including her arrest and imprisonment, highlight the influence of socio-political factors on her physical wellness. The stress of political repression and the physical demands of activism significantly affected her health. The physical and emotional strain from these experiences likely had long-term health implications, especially due to the adverse physical conditions she endured during periods of detention (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). The data further revealed how Ngoyi managed these challenges while maintaining her dedication to her family and community, underscoring her resilience.

In conclusion, examining the text through the *physical self*, revealed the complex interplay between Lilian Ngoyi's physical environment, family dynamics, social engagement, and socio-political factors in shaping her overall wellness. The challenges she faced with her living conditions, combined with her roles as a caregiver and activist, illustrate the difficulties of maintaining physical well-being in the face of systemic oppression. Understanding these factors is crucial for appreciating Ngoyi's resilience and the broader implications of her life experiences on her health and wellness.

7.3.4.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

Ngoyi's dedication to health-promoting behaviours likely supported her role as a leader in the anti-apartheid movement where her participation in protests and demonstrations, including the Women's March of 1956 (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), demanded both physical endurance and bodily resilience. Marching alongside thousands of women symbolised more than just a political act; it also represented a form of physical exertion that contributed to her well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Though specific details about Ngoyi's diet are scarce, her work in the garment industry and involvement in labour unions likely afforded her some financial stability, a key factor in increasing her access to more nutritious food. Her compassionate employer, an Austrian refugee, understood the difficulties faced by Black workers and provided Ngoyi with a supportive work environment. This relationship helped her achieve economic independence and contributed to her emotional well-being, as steady employment plays a vital role in maintaining both nutritional health and overall wellness (Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi's activism was also a significant stress management strategy during her challenging life. By engaging in collective actions and fighting for her community's rights, she was able to channel her frustrations and stress into purposeful work. This proactive method of addressing stress is central to health-promoting behaviours, fostering a sense of belonging and purpose. Her leadership in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and her efforts in organising protests underscored her commitment to addressing systemic injustices, which, in turn, gave her a sense of fulfilment and inner strength (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

7.3.4.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)

The data does not explicitly mention any physical health issues or challenges faced by Ngoyi during this historical period. However, the restrictions imposed on her movement, confining her to a one-mile radius around her residence and prohibiting her from participating in social events (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 1996; Stewart, 1996), could have indirectly impacted her physical well-being by limiting her access to resources, exercise, and other activities that contribute to physical wellness. Significantly, periods of solitary confinement and the harsh conditions during imprisonment and confinement may have negatively impacted Lilian's physical health. The data indicated that she suffered from fainting spells and difficulty concentrating as a result (Bickford-Smith &

Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 1996; Stewart, 1996). Therefore, Lilian's physical wellness was compromised by the oppressive conditions she endured during her periods of confinement and banning, including solitary confinement. The prolonged periods of isolation, lack of access to adequate nutrition, and the psychological toll of confinement would have taken a toll on her physical health and well-being, likely contributing to her declining health and eventual development of physical ailments.

7.3.4.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

The data directly refers to Lilian Ngoyi's declining physical health as she aged. In her letter to Belinda, dated April 21, 1972, she acknowledged that she was no longer physically strong at the age of 61 (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 1996; Stewart, 1996). Data indicated that her health continued to deteriorate, ultimately leading to her passing in March 1980 at the age of 68, primarily due to heart-related ailments.

7.3.5 Creative Self

The *creative self* consists of several aspects, such as thinking, feelings, restraint, good humour, and work (Myers & Sweeney, 2005b; Myers et al., 2004). These encompass characteristics that form a person's unique overall intrapersonal and interpersonal traits. The individual components of the *creative self* that were observed from the collected data on Ngoyi's life, including the significant world events that may have impacted her *creative self* during a particular period, are reported in the following sections.

7.3.5.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

Ngoyi's early life experiences significantly influenced her critical thinking and worldview. Growing up in a family facing socio-economic hardships, she became acutely aware of the racial injustices around her. Initially, she internalised the belief that "the Black man was made second by God" (Daymond, 2015, p. 272), reflecting her internal struggles with identity and societal norms. However, as she grew older, she rejected this notion along

with her parents' explanations for their suffering, demonstrating her capacity for independent thought and reflection. This evolution in her thinking showcases her ability to challenge dominant narratives, an essential element of the *Creative self* (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Her childhood and early life data recount Ngoyi's emotional experiences and vividly illustrate her deep emotional sensitivity. Described as "the most prolific crier in the neighbourhood" (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.106), this emotional responsiveness indicates her strong connection to both her feelings and the injustices she observed. Her resentment towards her mother's treatment and the scarcity of food in their household highlighted (Daymond, 2015) her emotional challenges. However, despite these difficulties, Ngoyi's ability to process her emotions and channel them into activism highlights her resilience, another key characteristic of the *creative self*.

Ngoyi's life story demonstrates her desire for control over her circumstances. After leaving school early due to financial difficulties, she took the initiative to train as a nurse at City Deep Mine Hospital to support her family (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). This proactive step illustrates her determination to overcome obstacles and her commitment to both personal and professional development. Despite her mother's opposition (Daymond, 2015), her decision to pursue nursing underscores her desire and capacity for personal agency and her determination to take charge of her future.

Ngoyi's work in the garment factory and her involvement with the Garment Workers' Union reflect (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 1996; Stewart, 1996) her strong dedication to labour rights and social justice. She saw her advocacy for workers' rights as inseparable from her broader commitment to fighting for the Black South African community (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). Her dedication to

her work and her ability to inspire others through her leadership exemplify the *Creative self's* emphasis on the role of work in shaping identity and purpose.

7.3.5.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

While the literature does not explicitly mention Lilian's educational or intellectual pursuits during this historical period, her growing political awareness and involvement in activism suggest a commitment to lifelong learning and intellectual engagement, critical thinking skills, and a desire to effect positive change through knowledge and activism. Balancing the demands of her professional and personal responsibilities, especially after becoming a single parent, would have required resilience, adaptability, and the ability to navigate challenging circumstances.

7.3.5.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

Ngoyi's ability to think critically and express her emotions was reflected in her compelling oratory and her skill in articulating the struggles of Black South Africans. Her speeches often carried a profound emotional depth, allowing her to connect personally with her audience. For example, during the 1956 Women's March, she boldly addressed the crowd, stressing the importance of unity among women and the need for collective action against unjust laws. This emotionally powerful expression of her thoughts not only inspired those around her but also established her as a prominent leader in the anti-apartheid movement (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Ngoyi also demonstrated remarkable resilience and control in the face of adversity. Despite enduring arrests and restrictive banning orders, she remained steadfast in her advocacy for her community. Her involvement in the African National Congress (ANC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) highlighted her determination to pursue justice, even at great personal risk. Her ability to navigate these challenges illustrates her

strength and control over her life's direction, as she continually sought to uplift others while advancing her goals (Beukes, 2004; Stewart, 1996).

Historical data from this period indicate that Lilian possessed a well-developed ability to connect with others and inspire them, suggesting that she possessed warmth and charisma. Numerous instances in the data that describe her collaboration with fellow activists and her ability to engage audiences during speeches (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 1996; Stewart, 1996) indicate that she likely cultivated a relatable and approachable demeanour. This capacity to foster connections through social engagement is a key feature of the *Creative self*, as it underscores the importance of interpersonal relationships in promoting well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Ngoyi's light-hearted humour was essential in her interactions and in keeping up morale within the movement. She often used humour to bring levity to serious discussions, and her charismatic presence made her a beloved figure among her peers. Her speeches frequently incorporated light-hearted anecdotes, making complex issues more relatable and engaging. This approach endeared her to her audience and fostered a sense of unity and optimism among activists, demonstrating that joy could coexist with the fight for justice (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Additionally, her involvement in activism and community organising can be seen as a further form of occupational wellness, providing a sense of purpose and fulfilment beyond traditional employment roles. Ngoyi's commitment to her work as a union leader and activist was central to her identity. She tirelessly advocated for the rights of workers and women, seeing her efforts as part of the larger fight for liberation. Her dedication to the Garment Workers' Union and leadership within FEDSAW reflected her belief that advocating for workers' rights was intertwined with the struggle for the rights of all Black South Africans.

This unwavering dedication set her apart as a leader, underscoring her deep motivation to bring about meaningful change in her community (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

7.3.5.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)

The banning orders and restrictions likely impeded Lilian Ngoyi's intellectual pursuits and ability to earn a decent livelihood. Her confinement and limited mobility hindered her access to resources and opportunities for intellectual growth and self-actualisation. Despite limitations, Ngoyi's continued correspondence (Daymond, 2015) suggests a desire to stay intellectually engaged. Therefore, her resilience and determination to maintain communication with her network of supporters could be seen as an attempt to maintain intellectual wellness. In addition, the restrictions and solitary confinement likely caused significant emotional distress, including feelings of isolation and frustration.

The banning orders imposed on Lilian severely curtailed her intellectual pursuits and capacity for personal and professional growth. The banning orders also had significant implications for Lilian's occupational wellness, as they impeded her capacity to earn a decent livelihood and pursue her professional activities. The restrictions on her movement impeded her ability to procure materials for her work and hindered her engagement and creativity. The restrictions on her ability to engage in political activism and community organising further limited her occupational opportunities and fulfilment.

7.3.5.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

Lilian Ngoyi's drive for intellectual engagement is reflected in her passion for reading and her consistent correspondence with Belinda Allan (Daymond, 2015). Belinda's recognition of Lilian's love for reading and the exchange of books between them (Daymond, 2015) nurtured their unique connection. Additionally, Lilian's reflections on national developments and her aspirations for a non-discriminatory university demonstrate her intellectual engagement and critical thinking.

The banning orders severely curtailed Lilian's intellectual pursuits and capacity for personal and professional growth. The restrictions on her movement, as evident from the historical data, would have also restricted her ability to engage in political activism, potentially limiting her opportunities for intellectual engagement and creativity.

7.6 Conclusion

Lilian Ngoyi's life reflects the core elements of the Wellness model, encompassing the *coping*, *social*, *essential*, *physical*, and *creative self*. Ngoyi demonstrated remarkable stress management skills through the *coping self*, by channelling her frustration with apartheid into activism. Her commitment to justice became a form of emotional resilience, as she used her role in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) to address systemic inequalities, cultivating a strong sense of self-worth and realistic beliefs about the difficult road ahead. This proactive approach also brought her fulfilment and inner strength, allowing her to sustain her commitment even during challenging times (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Ngoyi's activism was integral to her *social self*, as she found strength in her community and fostered a sense of belonging through her leadership. By organising protests and mobilising others, Ngoyi not only fought for her community but also cultivated a support network that offered her companionship and collective purpose. Her intellectual wellness was nurtured through her critical thinking and reflections on national developments, which aligned with her *essential self* and her vision for a non-discriminatory society. These beliefs sustained her commitment to equality and fuelled her dedication to her life's mission.

Ngoyi's engagement in activism also underscored the *physical self*, where health-promoting behaviours supported her physical well-being. Despite limited resources, she maintained her stamina through active involvement in marches and protests, demonstrating

the connection between physical resilience and purpose-driven action. Her public life became an example of how activism and well-being intersect, inspiring others to see the importance of physical health in sustaining social justice work.

Ngoyi's *creative self*, marked by critical thinking, humour, and emotional expression, played a central role in her resilience and leadership. She embodied personal agency, using creativity and passion to advance her activism and influence future generations. Her journey reveals the transformative power of creativity and resilience in the pursuit of social change. Through her enduring legacy, Ngoyi's story highlights how integrating internal and external strengths can shape a legacy of empowerment and resistance, leaving an inspirational model for others to follow.

7.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a contextualized analysis of the research findings on Lilian Ngoyi's holistic wellness throughout her life, framed within the five components of the Indivisible Self model, which correspond to the five life tasks outlined in the original holistic wellness model. The discussion examined the life forces and global events that may have shaped Ngoyi's overall wellness. The chapter concluded with a summary of her wellness across her lifespan. The subsequent chapter, Chapter 8, will present a comparative analysis of Ngoyi's wellness through an African psychological lens, exploring her experiences from this perspective over the course of her life.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:

AN AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE ON NGOYI

8.1 Introduction

As the aim of this study was not only to describe Lilian Ngoyi's wellness through a Western lens, the researcher employed the perspective of African psychology to develop a more culturally sensitive and relevant understanding of how wellness is presented throughout her lifespan and by which factors it would have been influenced. An African psychology perspective on well-being described in Chapter 4 was utilised to analyse, interpret, and discuss the outcomes of Ngoyi's life. Fundamental aspects related to the three cosmic orders of the African worldview and its view of human nature were integral to this perspective. The related propositions and tenets were integrated with the data extracted from Lilian Ngoyi's life history to examine and reconstruct her life and wellness holistically. This chapter presents the findings from this Africanist analysis of her life story data.

8.2 Conceptual Framework for the Presentation and Discussion of the Results

Using the concepts from the African perspective on wellness described in Chapter 4, the biographical data of Ngoyi were analysed through an exploratory-descriptive approach. In the following sections, the data pertaining to Ngoyi's holistic wellness over her life are provided and analysed in relation to the African psychology concepts relevant to the *macro-cosmos*, the *meso-cosmos* and the *micro-cosmos* levels of understanding. This is achieved by drawing on examples and descriptions from Ngoyi's biographical data that pertain to these concepts during a specific life period.

8.3 An Africanist Perspective on Wellness Throughout Ngoyi's Life Span

8.3.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911-1933)

Lilian Ngoyi's upbringing in Pretoria was deeply shaped by the socio-political climate of apartheid South Africa, a world marked by racial segregation and economic disparity (Daymond, 2015). Her family's heritage as royal descendants, combined with the influence of Christian missionaries, exposed her to the complex interplay of Indigenous cultural values and colonial pressures (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015). The data analysis suggests that this background nurtured her sense of identity and belonging and aligned with African values, emphasising empathic reasoning and social intelligence—qualities that value understanding and addressing the human dimensions of discrimination.

Ngoyi's critique of missionary hypocrisy, as they failed to treat Black South Africans with the Christian principle, is that they “preach the Gospel but failing to love thy neighbour when it came to the Black man” (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018, p.107), reflected her profound ethical engagement with these issues. Her scepticism highlights a broader African psychological approach that intertwines spirituality with justice and equality. This perspective resonates with the communal ethos in African cultures, where social harmony and collective well-being are paramount. Ngoyi saw the dissonance between Christian ideals and colonial actions as a call for a spirituality rooted in accountability and justice, aligning with the African emphasis on empathic reasoning as a means to confront systemic injustice (Nsamenang & Dawes, 1998; Nwoye, 2017a, 2017b).

Growing up in a financially struggling family, Ngoyi bore witness to gender-based expectations as the only daughter among five brothers. Her mother's hardships as a domestic worker and her father's declining health further complicated their economic situation (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). This environment demanded resilience and adaptability—qualities integral to social intelligence. Despite

familial resistance (Daymond, 2015), Ngoyi's pursuit of education showcased her determination to challenge traditional gender roles, illustrating how personal agency can be deeply rooted in an empathic understanding of one's environment.

Ngoyi's choice to train as a nurse in Johannesburg was more than personal ambition; it was an act of agency and a practical way to support her family financially (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Stewart, 1996). This decision reflects Ubuntu, the African philosophy of interconnectedness and mutual support within communities. Her experiences nurtured her awareness of systemic injustice and reinforced her commitment to improving her community's welfare. Navigating poverty and discrimination, the data indicates that she developed coping mechanisms that allowed her to maintain a future-oriented vision amidst immediate hardships.

Her early experiences with poverty and discrimination honed her understanding of racial and economic inequalities. Witnessing the treatment of her family compared to White households ((Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018) fuelled her drive for change and aligned her with African traditions of empathic reasoning that seek not just to observe injustice but to oppose it actively. Therefore, the data from her childhood illustrate how personal struggle can foster social intelligence, empowering individuals to empathise with others' challenges and strengthening solidarity against oppression.

8.3.2 Marriage, Motherhood and Widowhood (1934-1943)

The marriage of Lilian and John Gerard Ngoyi provided her with emotional support and stability. Their marriage was characterised as happy and content despite financial challenges (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), and they shared interests, such as ballroom dancing. Within the micro cosmos of the family

unit, interpersonal relationships and emotional connections are seen as crucial from an African perspective (Holdstock, 2000; Nwoye, 2006; 2015b, 2017a).

Lilian adopted Mphahlele (Memory) and Nomathamsanqa (Eggart) after their mother passed away. Lilian's role as a parent thus extended beyond biological ties. Lilian's passion for caring for and loving them made them feel like her own children despite the lack of biological connection between them (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). This exemplifies the African concept of Ubuntu, emphasising the interconnectedness and communal responsibility within familial relationships.

After her husband's tragic death, Lilian displayed resilience, taking on full responsibility for her daughter, Edith, and supporting her parents (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Despite economic hardships and living in Soweto's informal settlements, she sought ways to improve her family's stability and well-being. The Ngoyi family had several difficulties, including poor living conditions in the Orlando township and financial difficulties. Their ability to adapt and cope was tested by living in cramped, poor housing with little access to necessities (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Nevertheless, despite these hardships, Lilian showed tenacity by supporting her parents and her daughter Edith following her husband's untimely death in an automobile accident (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The Ngoyi family's experience in Orlando reflects the broader socio-economic challenges faced by many African families during apartheid-era South Africa. However, within the micro cosmos of the community, there existed a sense of solidarity and mutual support. Despite the harsh living conditions, neighbours relied on each other for assistance and solidarity, exemplifying the African value of Ubuntu – the interconnectedness and shared humanity among individuals (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond,

2015; Stewart, 1996). Social support from family, friends, and neighbours bolstered Lilian, offering practical assistance, emotional support, and a sense of belonging (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), enhancing her mental resilience. Her adaptability in navigating challenging conditions, such as relocating to Soweto, reflects her resourcefulness in creating stability amid adversity. Throughout this historical period, Lilian maintained purpose and resilience in her role as wife, mother, and caregiver, driven by her love for her family. Her cognitive strength is evident in her ability to balance responsibilities and nurture both her biological and adopted daughters. Living in Soweto's "Shelters" (Daymond, 2015, p249) and modest homes highlighted her understanding of impermanence. However, she viewed these hardships as steps toward future stability. Decades later, writing from the same "matchbox house" (Daymond, 2015, p.250) to Belinda Allan, Lilian demonstrated her capacity to reflect on her journey with resilience, finding continuity and strength in her experiences despite adversity.

8.3.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944-1961)

At the macro cosmos level, Ngoyi's activism was deeply rooted in the broader socio-political realities of apartheid South Africa. The systemic oppression endured by Black South Africans shaped her perspective and drove her to participate in collective resistance. Her involvement in key protests, like the 1956 Women's March, demonstrated her commitment to challenging the oppressive laws that governed her society. This march, where about 20,000 women gathered at the Union Buildings, was not only a landmark in the fight against apartheid but also a powerful example of how collective action can confront systemic injustice (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi's leadership in the African National Congress (ANC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) underscored her belief in the connection between individual and collective well-being in the pursuit of social justice.

At the micro-cosmos level, Ngoyi's activism thrived through her involvement with community organisations and labour unions. Her work with the Garment Workers' Union gave her a platform to advocate for workers' rights, which she saw as integral to the broader struggle for Black liberation. Ngoyi's ability to rally support and build solidarity within the labour movement highlighted the vital role of community in fostering well-being. Her connections with fellow activists, like Helen Joseph and Rahima Moosa, created a support network crucial for enduring the challenges posed by apartheid (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her activism was fuelled by a desire to challenge apartheid's systemic oppression, as seen in her leadership of the 1956 Women's March. The African Psychology Perspective underscores how societal structures impact individual well-being, recognising the need for systemic change to support development. These shared experiences of hardship and resistance strengthened their resolve and reinforced their collective identity as agents of change.

At the micro level, Ngoyi's personal experiences were key to shaping her resilience and sense of purpose. Growing up with her father's hardships working in the platinum mines (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), she gained a deep awareness of the injustices confronting Black workers. This background fueled her passion for advocating labour rights and gender equality. Ngoyi's speeches transcended racial and cultural divisions, demonstrating her profound understanding of shared human experiences. She often emphasised her identity as a woman and mother, placing it above racial distinctions, reflecting, "I was a woman and a mother; my colour was not my problem" (Daymond, 2015, p. 279). This empathetic approach enabled her to unite people across diverse backgrounds under a common vision of freedom and equality. Ngoyi exemplified how empathy can enhance cognitive processes by fostering understanding and collaboration, encouraging solidarity across communities.

Beyond her activism, Ngoyi recognised the significance of self-care in sustaining her work. She valued leisure and nurturing relationships as essential components of her well-being amidst the demands of her political life. This perspective aligns with African philosophies prioritising holistic wellness, where emotional health is closely connected to community bonds and personal care. By prioritising her own well-being, Ngoyi remained resilient and effective in her leadership, even during the most challenging times (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Lilian Ngoyi's life and activism during this historical period can be understood through the lens of African Psychology, which emphasises the interplay between the macro-, meso-, and micro-cosmos of her experiences. Ngoyi's involvement with the Garment Workers' Union and the ANC provided her with a supportive network that strengthened her well-being. The solidarity she shared with fellow activists, particularly during the Treason Trial (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), highlights the African Psychology Perspective's emphasis on community and collective identity in fostering personal growth. Her dedication to social justice at the societal level, her active involvement in community organisations, and her personal resilience all contributed to her enduring legacy as a leading figure in the anti-apartheid movement. Ngoyi's journey highlights the essential link between individual well-being and collective action in fighting for justice and equality.

While not always explicitly stated, spirituality played a role in sustaining Ngoyi's resilience, helping her endure adversity. Her cognitive strength, shown in her critical thinking, empathy, and emotional intelligence, allowed her to navigate apartheid's socio-political complexities. Her speeches inspired hope and mobilised women, demonstrating her ability to connect with diverse audiences (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

8.3.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962-1971)

The imposition of restrictive measures during this tumultuous period in South Africa's history, such as banning orders and curtailment of freedom of movement, was part of the broader apartheid regime's efforts to suppress dissent, maintain White minority rule, and uphold apartheid-era policies that systematically oppressed Black South Africans (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). These macro cosmos structures of oppression significantly impacted Ngoyi's life, limiting her political, social, and economic agency.

Ngoyi demonstrated resilience and resourcefulness in maintaining connections and support systems despite the constraints imposed by the apartheid regime. Her correspondence with friends like Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander, who were also subjected to banning orders, provided emotional solidarity and mutual encouragement (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Additionally, Ngoyi's ability to cultivate relationships with individuals in the United States and Europe highlights her adaptive coping strategies and capacity to draw on external support networks for resilience (Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi exhibited remarkable resilience and determination in the face of adversity. Despite enduring solitary confinement and the psychological toll of isolation, she maintained an indomitable spirit and optimism (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi's ability to find solace in correspondence and sustain her activism through written communication underscores her agency and capacity to find meaning and connection amidst confinement (Daymond, 2015).

Despite oppressive restrictions, Ngoyi displayed remarkable resilience and agency. Choosing to remain in South Africa rather than seek exile highlighted her dedication to positive change in her homeland. Her involvement in activism and the support she received

from organisations like Amnesty International provided her with a sense of purpose and bolstered her mental well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

The data on this historical period suggested that Ngoyi's cognitive resilience allowed her to withstand the psychological impact of solitary confinement, even as it took a toll on her concentration and cognitive abilities. Her confinement also disrupted her sense of time, as repeated banning orders created a sense of indefinite uncertainty that likely led to psychological distress. Nevertheless, she used her correspondence with figures like Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015) to create a sense of continuity in her restricted existence, maintaining her identity and agency despite the temporal oppression imposed by apartheid policies (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Ngoyi's correspondence with Belinda Allan provided vital social support, offering her a sense of connection and belonging despite isolation (Daymond, 2015). These letters helped her navigate feelings of loneliness and frustration, contributing to her emotional resilience. Her interactions with leaders like Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, as well as her travels within South Africa (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996), deepened her commitment to the liberation struggle and reinforced her identity and sense of purpose. Through her active written correspondence (Daymond, 2015), Ngoyi maintained intellectual engagement, reflecting a resilient spirit that transcended the physical confines of her banning order.

Ngoyi's enduring spirit in the face of temporal and physical confinement exemplifies her resilience and commitment to the anti-apartheid cause. Her ability to find strength through social connections, even in isolation, highlights the importance of social support and a sense of purpose in overcoming adversity.

8.3.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972-1980)

Lilian Ngoyi's life unfolded against the backdrop of apartheid, a system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination. The macro-level structures of oppression, including banning orders and surveillance by the apartheid regime, severely restricted Ngoyi's freedom of movement, expression, and political activism. These systemic injustices shaped her experiences and influenced her pursuit of well-being within a society marked by inequality and racial injustice.

Ngoyi forged connections with individuals like Belinda Allan, whose support and solidarity provided emotional sustenance and material assistance. The correspondence between Ngoyi and Allan, facilitated by Amnesty International's Riverside group, offered Ngoyi a lifeline amidst confinement, enabling her to maintain a sense of connection and agency despite the isolation imposed by the apartheid regime. Additionally, Ngoyi's interactions with other activists and her engagement with her community in Soweto reflect her commitment to collective resistance and solidarity in the face of oppression (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi demonstrated remarkable resilience, determination, and agency. Despite facing prolonged periods of confinement, surveillance, and deteriorating health (Daymond, 2015), the data suggested that Ngoyi remained steadfast in her pursuit of justice and liberation. Her correspondence with Allan and her reflections on her experiences reveal her unwavering spirit, sense of purpose, and commitment to social change (Daymond, 2015). Ngoyi's decision to remain in South Africa rather than seek exile (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015) underscores her resilience and dedication to the struggle for freedom and equality.

Despite restrictions imposed by apartheid policies and the surveillance of her correspondence, Lilian Ngoyi actively engaged with Belinda Allan, showcasing her resilience

and determination to maintain connections beyond South Africa (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). These exchanges provided her with emotional support, intellectual stimulation, and solidarity, contributing to her well-being.

After her banning order expired, Ngoyi embraced new opportunities, travelling to Durban and Cape Town and meeting Nelson Mandela (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). These experiences reflect her pursuit of personal growth and cultural enrichment, as well as her engagement with national liberation movements, fostering her sense of empowerment and agency.

Throughout this period in her life, Ngoyi stayed committed to her beliefs, actively participating in political activism and nurturing connections with fellow activists. Despite adversities, such as confinement and declining health, she maintained resilience and purpose, exemplifying her adaptability and positive outlook (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her ability to find joy in simple pleasures, like gardening, and her continued correspondence with Allan's family highlights her coping strategies and emotional resilience.

Ngoyi's correspondence with Allan provided vital social support, bridging isolation and fostering belonging. This meaningful connection transcended political and geographic boundaries, and Ngoyi's legacy endures despite her passing. Her posthumous recognition with the Isithwalandwe award and burial alongside Helen Joseph reflect her lasting impact on the liberation movement. Ngoyi's life exemplifies how resilience, social support, and purpose can promote well-being despite immense challenges.

8.4 Conclusion

Ngoyi's early experiences underscore the interconnectedness between individual well-being and socio-cultural factors within the micro cosmos of family and community.

Despite facing adversity and systemic oppression, she exhibited resilience, agency, and determination to navigate challenges and pursue her aspirations. Facing socio-economic hardship, discrimination, and gender-based obstacles, Ngoyi showed remarkable resilience. Though societal norms and her father's discouragement favoured male education, she persisted, driven by a strong sense of purpose and agency.

Ngoyi's development of exemplary skills of combining emotion, empathy and social insight in the formulation of her arguments, as well as her pro-social use of humour, further contributed to her success as an activist leader, fostering camaraderie within the movement. Her strategic decision-making and emotional resilience in the face of imprisonment and personal risk reveal her commitment to justice. Ngoyi's life exemplifies African Psychology's perspectives on resilience, emotional intelligence, agency, and the power of community, leaving a lasting legacy in the fight for human rights in South Africa.

Lilian Ngoyi's life story exemplifies the intricate interplay between individual resilience, familial dynamics, and community support within the micro cosmos of her lived experience. Through adversity and challenges, she demonstrated the enduring strength of the human spirit and the importance of interpersonal connections in navigating life's complexities. Her story highlights the importance of cultural identity, familial support, and personal agency in fostering holistic well-being within African contexts.

8.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined Ngoyi's wellness throughout her lifespan through the framework of African psychology, focusing on the holistic and anthropocentric African worldview and its conception regarding human nature and optimal development. The African viewpoint underscores the deep interconnection between individuals, the universe, their communities, and their ancestors. Ngoyi exhibited significant critical thinking, emotional

intelligence, and adaptability while facing various challenges. Ngoyi's resilience, sense of agency, and dedication to social justice were key factors in her personal development and mental well-being. The chapter delves into Ngoyi's experiences during apartheid, including imposed bans, surveillance, and isolation. Despite these adversities, she showcased remarkable resilience and maintained a hopeful outlook. In summary, this chapter provided a detailed analysis of Lilian Ngoyi's life from an African psychological perspective, highlighting the importance of cultural context, community connections, and individual agency in understanding her experiences and her contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle. The following and concluding chapter discusses the Western holistic wellness perspective and the African perspective on wellness throughout Ngoyi's life.

CHAPTER 9

INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Chapter Preview

This concluding chapter revisits the research aim and provides a concise summary of the key findings. It focuses on synthesizing the research results presented in Chapter 7, which analyzed Ngoyi's positive psychology through the lens of holistic wellness, and Chapter 8, which examined her wellness from an African psychological perspective. The chapter critically discusses the similarities and differences between these two theoretical frameworks within the context of this psychobiographical study. Subsequently, it presents a comparative analysis of the findings across all five historical periods of Ngoyi's life as interpreted through each framework, emphasizing the areas of synergy and divergence in relation to her lived experiences. The chapter also evaluates the study's contributions, significance, and limitations, offering recommendations for future research in similar fields. Finally, the researcher concludes with personal reflections and insights, providing a thoughtful closing to this exploration of Lilian Ngoyi's life and legacy.

9.2 Recapping the Study's Aim and Objective

This research study provides a comprehensive account of Lilian Masediba Ngoyi's life (1911–1980). By applying a psychological framework to the analysis of biographical data, the study seeks to offer a psychologically informed exploration and description of her life within the socio-historical context of the struggles faced in 20th-century South Africa. Its primary objective is to assess and describe Ngoyi's overall wellness through an integrated, holistic, and culturally sensitive lens.

In alignment with Edwards (1998) and Yin (2018), the study adopts an exploratory-descriptive approach and utilizes an inductive research methodology. This methodological choice enables the researcher to conceptualize Ngoyi's life through the lens of the Wellness model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), offering nuanced insights into her psychological well-being and resilience.

The development of positive psychology, specifically into its third wave (PP 3.0), has moved the field towards a more contextually grounded, interconnected, and interdisciplinary approach to psychological well-being, which aligns closely with African psychological perspectives (Wissing et al., 2022; Appiah, 2023). African worldviews emphasize communal values, spirituality, and the interconnectedness of individuals with their environment (Wissing et al., 2022). PP 3.0 advocates for considering cultural, social, and environmental factors in understanding well-being, resonating with Africa's collectivist values, community focus and relational ontology (Wissing et al., 2022). Positive Psychology has come to encourage multi- and interdisciplinary research to address Africa's unique socioeconomic and cultural challenges, integrating insights from fields like sociology and anthropology (Wissing, 2022). The incorporation of African proverbs into interventions, for example, illustrates how cultural wisdom can enhance positive psychology, promoting values like kindness and empathy within a culturally relevant framework (Wissing, 2022). This research, through the aim of examining and describing Lilian Ngoyi's overall wellness throughout her lifespan, followed the call to integrate a structured wellness model with indigenous concepts.

9.3 Comparing and Contrasting the Theoretical Frameworks

This study employs two primary theoretical frameworks: the holistic wellness model and an African perspective on wellness. While these frameworks share common ground, they also diverge in key areas. Understanding these similarities and differences is essential for

interpreting the biographical data on Ngoyi's life. The following section explores the commonalities between these two theoretical approaches.

9.3.1 Overlapping Concepts across the Theoretical Frameworks

9.3.1.1 Holistic Approach

A holistic framework for understanding well-being is central to both the holistic wellness model through the iteration of the Indivisible Self Wellness Model, as well as the African perspective on wellness. Both paradigms emphasize the multifaceted nature of human existence, incorporating physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions, rather than a reductionist focus on isolated components (Myers & Sweeney, 2005; Biko, 1981).

9.3.1.2 Interconnectedness

Both frameworks stress the importance of interconnectedness among different aspects of wellness. The Indivisible Self model highlights the interaction between different components of wellness, both between the different 'selves' of the individual, as well as between the individual and the environmental forces they are exposed to (Myers & Sweeney, 2005), while the African perspective often emphasises the interconnectedness of individuals with their community and environment, both tangible and intangible (Teffo & Roux, 2003).

9.3.1.3 Community and Relationships

The importance of community and relationships is a key aspect of both models. The Indivisible Self model includes *social self* and friendship as components (Myers & Sweeney, 2005), while the African perspective underscores communal relationships and social harmony as vital to an individual's well-being (Anyanwu, 1984). The holistic wellness model proposes that social bonds through love and friendship form important tasks required of all individuals (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), while the African

perspective extends this interconnectedness into an ethic of shared humanity through the concept of Ubuntu (Mbiti, 1969; Nsamenang, 1992; Magesa, 1998; Nwoye, 2004).

9.3.1.4 A Spiritual Dimension

Both models acknowledge the significance of spirituality in wellness. The Indivisible Self model includes spirituality as one of its components (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), and the African perspective views spiritual well-being as integral to overall health (Straker, 1994). Within the African views of spirituality, a dynamic interaction between the physical and spiritual realms is conceptualised through the integration of the macro-, meso- and micro-cosmos as central to the understanding of human nature (Fouché et al., 2022; Holdstock, 2000; Mbiti, 1999; Molutsi, 2022).

9.3.2 Contrasts Between the Theoretical Frameworks

9.3.2.1 Cultural Context

The holistic wellness model is primarily grounded in Western psychological theories and practices, which may not fully incorporate the cultural nuances present in the African perspective (Myers et al., 2000). In contrast, the African perspective is deeply rooted in indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices (Teffo & Roux, 2003).

9.3.2.2 Individual vs. Collective Focus

The holistic wellness model tends to focus more on individual wellness and personal development, emphasising self-direction and personal responsibility (Myers & Sweeney, 2005). The African perspective, however, strongly emphasises collective well-being and the role of the community in an individual's health (Sogolo, 1993).

9.3.2.3 Conceptualisation of Self

In the holistic wellness model, the self is often viewed as an autonomous entity striving for balance among different life domains. The African perspective, on the other hand,

often views the self as part of a larger collective, with identity and wellness being defined in relation to community and ancestry (Biko, 1981; Straker, 1994).

9.3.2.4 Role of Nature and Environment

While the holistic wellness model includes aspects of environmental wellness, the African perspective places a greater emphasis on the harmony between humans and the natural world, viewing wellness as interconnected with the health of the environment (Anyanwu, 1984; Teffo & Roux, 2003).

9.4 Summary of Integrated Findings

The main research findings on Ngoyi's Wellness using the holistic wellness model developed by Thomas J. Sweeney, J. Melvin Witmer, and Jane E. Myers (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), were discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.3. These are revisited in this section and presented with the main research findings pertaining to the African Psychology perspective on holistic wellness (Biko, 1981; Anyanwu, 1984; Sogolo, 1993; Straker, 1994; Teffo & Roux, 2003), which were discussed in Chapter 8.

9.4.1 Childhood and Early Life (1911–1933)

During her formative years, Lilian Ngoyi faced significant socio-economic challenges and the harsh realities of racial discrimination, which nurtured her deep sense of social justice and propelled her activism. Despite societal expectations and gender-based constraints, she pursued nursing training, demonstrating resilience and determination to transcend these limitations.

Ngoyi's early life was shaped by her family's struggles with poverty and their experiences of racial discrimination, fostering a sense of solidarity with others facing similar oppression. Cultural and colonial influences also played a critical role in her upbringing. Her grandfather's rejection of indigenous traditions, shaped by missionary teachings, exemplifies

the profound impact of colonialism on African identity. While her father initially resisted her education, her mother strongly advocated for her schooling, highlighting the familial support that later fueled her activism. Ngoyi was critical of missionaries, whom she perceived as hypocritical for failing to extend the love they preached to Black communities. This critique significantly informed her understanding of justice and inequality.

Living in Soweto during apartheid, Ngoyi endured overcrowded conditions in informal settlements that lacked essential amenities such as lighting, ventilation, clean water, and sanitation. These circumstances exposed her family to significant health risks (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Food scarcity compounded these hardships; their diet primarily consisted of maize, with meat being a rare luxury consumed monthly. Limited access to other nutritious foods underscored the broader nutritional deficiencies faced by impoverished communities during this period (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Ngoyi's upbringing unfolded against the backdrop of apartheid—a system defined by racial segregation and economic disparity. This oppressive environment profoundly influenced her worldview, instilling in her a strong identity rooted in African values such as empathy and social intelligence. Raised in a family of royal lineage and exposed to Christian missionary teachings, she navigated a complex intersection of Indigenous cultural values and colonial influences. This dual heritage fostered a keen sense of justice and ethical engagement while enabling her to critique the hypocrisy of missionaries who preached love yet disregarded the dignity of Black South Africans (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

As the only daughter among five brothers in a financially strained household, Ngoyi faced significant gender-based expectations. Her mother's role as a domestic worker and her father's declining health further complicated their struggles. Nevertheless, Ngoyi defied

traditional gender roles by pursuing education as a pathway to empowerment and change (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

Her decision to train as a nurse in Johannesburg was both a personal ambition and a practical means to alleviate her family's financial burdens. This choice exemplified the African philosophy of Ubuntu, emphasising communal support and interconnectedness. Growing up in poverty while witnessing pervasive racial discrimination heightened Ngoyi's awareness of systemic inequalities. These early experiences laid the foundation for her resolve to advocate for justice and equality, aligning with African traditions that emphasize resistance against oppression (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

9.4.2 Marriage, Motherhood, and Widowhood (1934–1943)

This phase of Lilian Ngoyi's life underscores her remarkable emotional fortitude as she navigated the profound loss of her husband. Strong familial bonds provided essential support and fulfillment, significantly contributing to her well-being during this period of personal grief. Close-knit family relationships were especially vital during times of hardship, while her active participation in social activities further bolstered her emotional stability.

Ngoyi drew strength from her spirituality, which offered hope and purpose amid both personal and racial challenges. Her work as a nurse reflected her dedication to self-care—not only for herself and her family but also for the broader community. Living in a patriarchal society that imposed numerous obstacles, Ngoyi's determination to pursue education and leadership roles established her as a formidable advocate for women's rights and equality.

Her marriage to John Gerard Ngoyi brought emotional support and stability, marked by shared joys such as ballroom dancing. This partnership reflects the cultural importance of interpersonal relationships in African society, where emotional bonds are integral to well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Following her sister's death, Ngoyi adopted two children, Mphahlele (Memory) and Nomathamsanqa (Eggart), exemplifying the African philosophy of Ubuntu. By extending her parental role beyond biological ties, she embodied the interconnectedness and communal responsibility that characterize African family structures (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004). This act underscored her unwavering dedication to nurturing and supporting her family.

After the sudden death of her husband in a car accident, Ngoyi exhibited extraordinary resilience, becoming the primary caregiver for her daughter Edith and her aging parents while managing the economic hardships of life in Soweto's informal settlements. Despite these challenges, she worked tirelessly to create stability for her family, demonstrating strength and determination in the face of adversity (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Ngoyi's family endured significant socio-economic challenges, including overcrowded living conditions and limited access to basic resources (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). However, their community offered practical assistance and emotional solidarity, reflecting the African value of mutual support. Her adaptability in relocating to Soweto and balancing multiple responsibilities as a wife, mother, and caregiver further highlighted her resourcefulness. Decades later, reflecting from her modest Soweto home, Ngoyi remained a symbol of resilience, drawing strength from her journey despite the systemic challenges she faced (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004).

9.4.3 Mother of the Black Resistance (1944–1961)

Lilian Ngoyi engaged in leisure activities to alleviate the pressures of her political work, skilfully managing stress through her activism. Her sense of self-worth was deeply tied

to her influential role in the anti-apartheid movement, where she transformed personal adversity into collective empowerment.

Ngoyi cultivated strong connections with fellow activists and family members, demonstrating a commitment to passing on the values of resistance to future generations. Her leadership style emphasised unity and solidarity, inspiring those she led. Central to her activism was her spirituality, which provided resilience during challenging times. Ngoyi's pivotal role in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and her leadership in organising the historic 1956 Women's March solidified her status as a champion of gender equality. Her strong cultural identity further reinforced her dedication to collective action and the liberation of Black South Africans.

Ngoyi's activism was deeply rooted in the harsh socio-political realities of apartheid South Africa. She played a central role in landmark protests, including the 1956 Women's March against oppressive pass laws, reflecting her unwavering commitment to dismantling systemic oppression and advocating for justice and equality (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996). Her prominent positions in organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and FEDSAW highlighted her belief in the interconnectedness of individual and collective well-being. Through her work with the Garment Workers' Union, she championed workers' rights, which were integral to the broader liberation struggle. Her ability to foster solidarity within labour movements and build networks with fellow activists like Helen Joseph and Rahima Moosa exemplified her commitment to community support as a cornerstone of activism (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004).

Ngoyi's personal experiences, particularly her father's struggles as a miner, shaped her keen awareness of the systemic injustices faced by Black workers. These experiences inspired her relentless advocacy for labour rights and gender equality. Known for her

empathetic approach, Ngoyi often emphasised shared human experiences in her speeches, focusing on her identity as a woman and mother rather than racial differences. This inclusive strategy allowed her to unify diverse groups under a common vision of freedom and equality (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004).

Amidst her tireless activism, Ngoyi recognised the importance of self-care, valuing leisure and nurturing relationships as essential for maintaining resilience. This perspective aligned with African philosophies of holistic wellness, enabling her to sustain her well-being while continuing her leadership roles. Her profound spirituality remained a source of strength and inspiration throughout her journey. Ultimately, Ngoyi's life is a testament to the enduring impact of personal resilience on collective action for justice, leaving a significant legacy in South Africa's fight for democracy and equality.

9.4.4 The Banning and Arrests (1962–1972)

During the apartheid era, Lilian Ngoyi faced immense challenges to her emotional resilience due to oppressive measures such as bans and solitary confinement. Despite these hardships, she remained optimistic and unwavering in her commitment to the struggle for justice. The apartheid government's restrictions severely curtailed her political, social, and economic agency, creating a difficult environment for both her activism and personal life. Nonetheless, Ngoyi demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of systemic oppression (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Although her physical social interactions were limited, Ngoyi maintained meaningful connections through correspondence with fellow activists such as Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander. These exchanges offered mutual encouragement and emotional solidarity, enabling her to sustain her social wellness amidst adversity. Furthermore, she fostered relationships with supporters in the United States and Europe, effectively utilising these

external networks to bolster her resilience against the psychological toll of isolation (Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996; Beukes, 2004).

Even under the pressures of solitary confinement and frequent banning orders, Ngoyi preserved her sense of identity and purpose through written communication and support from organizations like Amnesty International. Her decision to remain in South Africa rather than seek exile underscored her steadfast dedication to achieving change in her homeland. Interactions with prominent leaders, including Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, further reinforced her resolve. Ngoyi's enduring legacy highlights the transformative power of social support, cognitive resilience, and an unwavering commitment to justice in overcoming systemic adversity (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

In summary, despite enduring bans, arrests, and prolonged isolation under apartheid laws, Ngoyi displayed extraordinary resilience. She drew strength from her supportive network of friends and maintained her activism through correspondence, ensuring her voice remained a vital part of the anti-apartheid movement even in the direst circumstances.

9.4.5 Final Freedom: Death (1972–1980)

In her final years, Lilian Ngoyi sustained her emotional well-being through correspondence, which became a vital channel for her enduring pursuit of justice and a reflection of her steadfast spirit. Her unwavering commitment to justice persisted as she visited significant cultural and historical sites, underscoring her deep connection to her spiritual beliefs. Even as her health deteriorated, Ngoyi's dedication to the ideals of freedom and equality remained resolute, reflecting her lifelong advocacy for the oppressed.

Ngoyi's life was profoundly shaped by the oppressive apartheid system, which was defined by institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination. The regime imposed harsh measures such as banning orders and constant surveillance, which severely limited her

freedom of movement, expression, and political activism. These restrictions posed immense challenges to her efforts as a liberation leader and symbolised the broader struggles faced by Black South Africans under apartheid (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Beukes, 2004; Daymond, 2015; Stewart, 1996).

Despite these adversities, Ngoyi demonstrated extraordinary resilience, sustained by crucial emotional connections, such as her correspondence with Belinda Allan. Facilitated by Amnesty International's Riverside group, these exchanges provided material aid, emotional support, and intellectual stimulation, helping her maintain a sense of agency during periods of isolation. Her dedication to collective resistance was evident in her engagement with fellow activists and ongoing involvement in the Soweto community. Even during confinement and declining health, she remained committed to justice, choosing to stay in South Africa rather than seek exile, thereby reaffirming her devotion to liberation in her homeland (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018; Daymond, 2015).

After the expiration of her banning orders, Ngoyi embraced new opportunities for personal growth and deepened her engagement with national liberation movements. Her enduring commitment to activism in the face of adversity highlighted her ability to find joy in small moments while inspiring others with her resilience. Posthumously honoured with the *Isithwalandwe* award and laid to rest alongside prominent figures in the liberation struggle, Ngoyi's legacy stands as a testament to the power of determination, social support, and purpose in overcoming systemic oppression (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

9.6 Value and Contribution of the Study

This study's main contribution is its Psychohistorical examination and account of the life of a significant individual who, despite being a widowed Black woman in Apartheid South Africa, living in poverty, and lacking access to higher education, managed to exercise

the kind of power and influence that earned her the moniker "Mother of the Black Resistance" (handwritten: Times: March 12, 1980) as one of the most powerful and influential women in South African history.

Lilian Ngoyi's life epitomises the intersectionality of various identities, including race, gender, class, and socio-political status, within the context of apartheid South Africa. A psychobiographical study can delve into how these intersecting identities influenced her sense of self, well-being, and resilience. Ngoyi's journey as an anti-apartheid activist highlights her unwavering dedication to social justice and equality. Her experiences as a political leader and grassroots organizer provide invaluable insights into the psychological processes involved in activism, resilience, and collective well-being.

Despite facing systemic oppression and personal hardships, Ngoyi demonstrated remarkable resilience and determination in pursuing her goals. A psychobiographical study can explore the psychological factors that contributed to her resilience, coping strategies, and ability to maintain agency and purpose in challenging circumstances. Ngoyi's cultural and spiritual beliefs deeply influenced her identity, values, and worldview, underscoring the importance of examining how these factors contributed to her well-being and sense of connectedness within her community.

As a leader and activist, Ngoyi empowered herself and others to challenge oppressive systems and advocate for social change. Her experiences highlight the significance of agency, self-determination, and collective action in promoting well-being and resilience, particularly within marginalised communities. Ngoyi's legacy inspires individuals globally to stand up against injustice and oppression, serving as a testament to the power of individual agency and solidarity in effecting positive social change.

Ngoyi's story also provides valuable insights into the psychological impact of apartheid-era oppression on individuals and communities. By examining her experiences within the broader socio-political context of South Africa, psychologists can gain a deeper understanding of the psychological effects of systemic racism, discrimination, and social injustice. Moreover, Ngoyi's life challenges Western-centric models of well-being, highlighting the importance of cultural specificity and collective well-being within the African context.

In South Africa, Ngoyi's story holds particular significance for reclaiming indigenous narratives and establishing a more culturally relevant psychology centred on African concepts of well-being. Her role as a resilient activist and community leader serves as a powerful role model for Black South Africans, inspiring hope and empowerment amidst adversity.

In conclusion, a psychobiographical study of Lilian Ngoyi, centred on the indivisible self and an African perspective on well-being, promises to enrich psychology on multiple levels. It has the potential to transform mental health interventions in South Africa, contribute to the decolonization of psychology globally, and offer a valuable model for understanding well-being that is both culturally informed and socially engaged.

9.6 Limitations

This section provides an in-depth psychobiographical analysis of Lilian Ngoyi, a key figure in the anti-apartheid movement, examining her life through Western and African perspectives of wellness. It addresses the methodological and interpretative challenges researchers encounter when exploring Ngoyi's distinct narrative, especially in relation to the intersection of race, gender, and class within the socio-political backdrop of apartheid South Africa. The analysis highlights the limitations posed by the lack of personal records and the potential biases in available accounts, stressing the need for a more nuanced understanding of

her psychological well-being. Additionally, it critiques the application of various wellness models, including the Holistic wellness model and African perspectives on wellness, noting how these frameworks may fail to fully capture Ngoyi's individual agency and the complexity of her experiences. By tackling these challenges, the analysis seeks to honour Ngoyi's legacy and contribute to a more profound understanding of wellness from an African perspective.

9.6.1 The Choice of Psychobiographical Subject

A psychobiographical analysis of Lilian Ngoyi provides an opportunity to gain valuable insights into well-being from an African perspective, but it also presents several methodological and interpretative challenges that researchers must carefully consider. One key limitation is that Ngoyi's experiences, while powerful, are unique and not easily generalizable to the broader South African population, given the country's diverse ethnicities, socioeconomic backgrounds, and gender dynamics. Ngoyi's life, particularly as a Black woman in a racially and patriarchally divided society, exemplifies the intersectionality of race, gender, and class, which must be considered in any analysis of her psychological well-being (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018).

Another significant challenge is the scarcity of personal records. While Ngoyi was a prominent figure in the anti-apartheid movement, her personal reflections and written correspondence are not well-documented, partly due to her own insecurities about writing. The limited availability of primary sources makes it difficult to construct a nuanced psychological profile, as much of the analysis would depend on secondary accounts that may be influenced by hindsight bias or the agendas of those documenting her life. The potential for bias is especially significant, as accounts of her life tend to emphasize her leadership role, often overshadowing her struggles and vulnerabilities (Bickford-Smith & Nasson, 2018). Thus, accessing her subjective experiences of well-being and the internal world remains a challenge that requires careful source evaluation.

Additionally, the socio-political context in which Ngoyi operated complicates the interpretation of her psychological state. The apartheid regime imposed severe restrictions on political activities, creating an environment of fear and repression that influenced her decisions and actions. Therefore, distinguishing between her motivations and actions driven by external pressures is challenging. Understanding the interplay between her agency and the broader socio-political context is crucial for an accurate psychobiographical analysis.

Moreover, while focusing on Ngoyi as a single case study offers depth, it may obscure the collective nature of well-being as understood in African worldviews. African philosophies often emphasize communal well-being, and limiting the analysis to Ngoyi alone could inadvertently neglect this collective dimension. Thus, incorporating the experiences of others involved in the anti-apartheid struggle alongside Ngoyi may provide a more holistic understanding of well-being from an African perspective. Another limitation is the tendency to idealise historical figures. Researchers must guard against this by maintaining a balanced portrayal that acknowledges not only Ngoyi's strengths but also her struggles and complexities. Overemphasising her heroism risks oversimplifying her identity and psychological experience, which are shaped by a combination of internal and external factors.

Lastly, it is essential to avoid essentialising the concept of African well-being, as Africa is a vast continent with diverse cultures and philosophies. Ngoyi's experience must be contextualised within her specific cultural and socio-political background rather than being used to represent the entire African continent. Furthermore, ethical considerations, such as informed consent and the potential impact on Ngoyi's descendants and legacy, must be addressed to ensure the integrity of the research and the validity of its findings. In conclusion, while the psychobiography of Lilian Ngoyi presents valuable insights, researchers must navigate several limitations—scarcity of personal records, the complexity of socio-political contexts, intersectionality, potential biases in sources, and the risk of essentialising well-

being across a diverse continent. By addressing these challenges and adopting a nuanced methodological approach, a psychobiography of Ngoyi can honour her legacy as a remarkable activist while contributing to a deeper understanding of well-being from an African perspective.

9.6.2 The Theoretical Frameworks

9.6.2.1 Holistic Wellness Model

The holistic wellness model, while beneficial in certain contexts, has notable limitations when applied across various cultural and socio-political environments. A primary concern is its inherent Western bias. This model, grounded in Western cultural values, tends to prioritize individualism and personal success (Myers et al., 2000), making it less applicable in cultures that emphasize collectivism and community interdependence, which are common in many non-Western societies (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Consequently, its focus on individual wellness may not resonate in contexts where social relationships and communal well-being are fundamental to health.

Additionally, the model fails to fully incorporate the relational aspects of well-being that are often critical in non-Western cultures. While it addresses physical, emotional, and mental health, it inadequately reflects the significance of family, community, and broader social relationships that are vital for wellness in various cultural frameworks (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This limited perspective suggests a narrow view of well-being that overlooks the collective and relational dimensions central to other cultural understandings.

Another limitation is the model's standardization, which risks ignoring important cultural, social, and environmental factors that influence wellness (Myers et al., 2000). As a result, interventions based on this model may be ineffective or even detrimental in contexts where its assumptions do not align with local realities, highlighting the need for culturally

sensitive approaches that acknowledge the distinctiveness of different socio-political and cultural environments.

Moreover, the model's emphasis on psychological and emotional well-being can lead to the neglect of other essential dimensions, such as spiritual, environmental, or existential aspects, which are often central to wellness in non-Western contexts (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These dimensions are crucial for a more comprehensive understanding of health, especially in societies where spirituality and environmental connections significantly shape personal and collective well-being.

Applying the holistic wellness model to Lilian Ngoyi's life further illustrates these limitations. The model's tendency to oversimplify complex experiences is a major concern, as Ngoyi's life, characterised by socio-political challenges like imprisonment and political repression, cannot be easily categorised into the discrete dimensions proposed by the model. The compartmentalization of well-being into physical, emotional, and spiritual categories fails to capture the intricacies of her experiences and obscures the nuanced interactions of external societal forces on her overall well-being.

The model also neglects the historical context of Ngoyi's life. Her activism was deeply intertwined with the broader anti-apartheid struggle, and any assessment of her well-being that does not consider the institutionalised racism of apartheid would be incomplete. Focusing solely on individual wellness without situating it within the oppressive socio-political landscape overlooks how systemic violence affected her mental health, resilience, and coping strategies.

Another significant gap in the holistic wellness model is its insufficient emphasis on intersectionality. Ngoyi's experiences as a Black woman in a racially segregated and patriarchal society highlight the intersections of race, gender, and class in shaping her life and

activism. However, the model does not adequately account for these overlapping identities, which are essential for understanding her struggles and achievements. Without an intersectional framework, the model provides a limited and incomplete analysis of her well-being.

Additionally, by emphasising individual wellness, the model risks promoting a narrative of individual blame. In Ngoyi's case, this could imply that her challenges stemmed from personal choices or shortcomings, rather than recognising the systemic and structural forces that shaped her life. Such an interpretation diminishes the impact of external oppression and diverts attention from the collective nature of resistance and the importance of community support in fostering resilience.

Finally, the model's focus on the positive aspects of well-being leads to a narrow scope of analysis. While it is essential to acknowledge Ngoyi's strengths and contributions, a more thorough understanding requires addressing the emotional toll of her activism, her mental health struggles, and periods of isolation. By concentrating solely on wellness, the model risks presenting a one-dimensional portrayal of Ngoyi, neglecting the complexity of her psychological landscape.

In conclusion, while the holistic wellness model offers valuable insights into well-being, its application to Lilian Ngoyi's life reveals several shortcomings, including Western bias, oversimplification of complex experiences, neglect of historical context, insufficient emphasis on intersectionality, potential for individual blame, and a limited analytical scope. A more nuanced and culturally sensitive approach is essential for a comprehensive understanding of Ngoyi's life and her contributions to the anti-apartheid movement.

Through the lens of the Indivisible Self Wellness Model, this study elucidates the profound impact of social and economic factors on Ngoyi's development, offering valuable insights into the interplay between personal experiences and socio-political consciousness.

9.6.2.2 African Perspective to Wellness

The African conceptualization of wellness predominantly emphasises collectivism, focusing on community bonds and social relationships rather than individual experiences. While this approach is instrumental in understanding the communal nature of Ngoyi's activism, it may inadvertently overlook her personal struggles, emotional experiences, and individual psychological development. Such a focus on the collective could result in a diminished recognition of how her unique personal experiences shaped her identity and motivations.

Additionally, the African perspective may at times underemphasize the role of personal agency in the context of individual well-being. Ngoyi's life was marked by critical personal choices and acts of defiance against the apartheid regime. A framework that prioritises communal factors may fail to fully capture the depth of her personal agency and the conscious decisions she made in the course of her activism. This limitation risks creating a narrative that focuses predominantly on external influences, neglecting the internal motivations that fuelled her actions.

Although the African perspective is rooted in cultural understanding, it may not fully engage with the specific historical context in which Ngoyi lived. The unique challenges posed by apartheid, including systemic oppression and institutional violence, require a more nuanced analysis that takes these factors into account. A broad cultural lens may overlook the intricate socio-political dynamics that shaped her well-being and activism.

Ngoyi's identity as a Black woman within a patriarchal and racially segregated society introduces complexities that may not be fully addressed within traditional African perspectives. Such perspectives may inadequately explore the intersectionality of race, gender, and class in shaping her experiences. Neglecting these intersections can result in an incomplete understanding of the specific challenges Ngoyi faced and the ways in which her identity influenced both her life and activism.

The African perspective on wellness often seeks to offer broad insights applicable across various cultural contexts. However, applying a generalised framework to Ngoyi's life risks overlooking the specificities of her experiences and the distinctive cultural factors that influenced her journey. This generalization could lead to oversimplified interpretations that fail to capture the full complexity and individuality of her life.

In summary, while the African perspective on wellness provides valuable insights into communal and cultural dimensions, its application to Lilian Ngoyi's life reveals several limitations. These include an overemphasis on collectivism at the expense of individualism, insufficient exploration of personal agency, inadequate attention to the historical context, potential overshadowing of intersectionality, and the risk of generalization. A more nuanced and integrative approach that incorporates these factors is essential for a comprehensive understanding of Ngoyi's life and her significant contributions to the anti-apartheid movement.

9.6.3 Single-Case Study Designs in Psychobiography

This study has limitations regarding external validity and transferability (Ashworth, 2003), as the findings related to Ngoyi's holistic wellness and an African perspective on wellness cannot be widely generalized to a larger population. This limitation primarily stems from the specific socio-historical context, gender, race, socio-economic status, identity, and

other personal factors unique to Ngoyi. Nevertheless, the aim of this psychobiographical study was to generalize its findings to the theoretical propositions of the holistic wellness model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and an African perspective on wellness (Anyanwu, 1984; Biko, 1981; Sogolo, 1993; Straker, 1994; Teffo & Roux, 2003) through analytical rather than statistical generalization (Yin, 2009, 2018). This approach allowed the researcher to (a) evaluate the relevance of elements from these two psychological frameworks in relation to Ngoyi's holistic wellness and African perspective on wellness, and (b) identify areas for refinement in the theory and model due to conceptual gaps (Anyanwu, 1984; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Biko, 1981; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005b; Martin, 1996; McLeod, 1994; Nsamenang & Dawes, 1998; Nwoye, 2017a, 2017b; Sogolo, 1993; Straker, 1994; Ratele, 2017; Ratele et al., 2018; Teffo & Roux, 2003; Yin, 2009, 2018).

9.7 Recommendations for Future Research

As scholars continue to study the life and legacy of Lilian Ngoyi, a pivotal figure in the anti-apartheid movement, it is crucial to adopt a holistic and nuanced approach to her narrative. This section outlines key recommendations for researchers seeking to enhance their understanding of Ngoyi's experiences and impact. It stresses the importance of expanding access to primary sources, framing research through an intersectional lens, critically evaluating existing literature, and integrating interdisciplinary perspectives. Additionally, it underscores the need to capture the full complexity of Ngoyi's life, acknowledging both her triumphs and challenges. By exploring these dimensions, future research can offer a more authentic and comprehensive portrayal of Ngoyi, deepening our understanding of her contributions to the anti-apartheid movement and enriching the study of well-being through an African perspective.

9.7.1 Broaden Access to Primary Sources

Due to the limited availability of personal records and autobiographical material, researchers should prioritize efforts to identify and digitize any existing primary sources related to Lilian Ngoyi. This could involve searching through archives, libraries, and private collections for letters, diaries, photographs, and other documents that offer direct insight into her personal thoughts and experiences. Conducting oral history interviews with individuals who knew her personally could also help bridge gaps in the historical record.

9.7.2 Frame Research within an Intersectional Lens

It is essential to examine Ngoyi's life through an intersectional framework, considering how her identity as a Black woman influenced her activism and experiences. Researchers should explore how race, gender, class, and the political context combined to present both challenges and opportunities for Ngoyi. This approach will result in a deeper and more nuanced understanding of her contributions and legacy.

9.7.3 Critically Assess Secondary Literature

Given the potential biases in existing secondary sources, scholars must carefully evaluate the perspectives and intentions of authors who have written about Ngoyi. It is important to consider multiple viewpoints and construct a balanced narrative that avoids simplification or glorification. Drawing on a broad range of sources, including those from different disciplines, will contribute to a more thorough understanding of Ngoyi's life.

9.7.4 Incorporate a Multidisciplinary Approach

Studying Ngoyi's life would benefit from a multidisciplinary perspective that integrates history, political science, sociology, psychology, and gender studies. Insights from these various fields can illuminate the complex factors that shaped her worldview and experiences. Collaboration between scholars from different disciplines could lead to particularly valuable contributions.

9.7.5 Highlight Complexity and Nuance

When recounting Ngoyi's life, it is important for researchers to capture the full complexity of her experiences. This involves acknowledging not only her strengths and achievements but also her vulnerabilities, struggles, and contradictions. Portraying her as a flawless hero risks oversimplifying her story. Recognising ambiguity and uncertainty where relevant can lead to more compelling and authentic narratives.

By following these recommendations, future research on Lilian Ngoyi can address the limitations of current scholarship and offer a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of her life and contributions. Her story, with all its intricacies, provides critical insights into the intersections of race, gender, and political struggle in 20th-century South Africa.

9.8 Researchers Final Reflections

As I delved into my study of Lilian Ngoyi's life, I found that the holistic wellness model offered a valuable framework for understanding her multifaceted existence. By examining various dimensions of well-being—physical, emotional, social, and spiritual—I was able to explore the complex interplay between her activism and personal experiences as a Black woman in apartheid-era South Africa. This model allowed me to highlight the interconnectedness of her struggles and triumphs. However, I remained cognizant of the limitations inherent in this model, particularly its tendency to oversimplify the profound socio-political challenges that Ngoyi faced. Recognising these limitations was essential for ensuring that I presented a nuanced and comprehensive narrative that reflected the full scope of her life and legacy.

The African perspective on wellness, which emphasised community, cultural identity, and social relationships, also resonated deeply with my analysis of Ngoyi's activism. Her commitment to the collective struggle against apartheid was intricately tied to her cultural

roots and her role within the broader community. Yet, while this approach was invaluable for understanding her connection to the collective, I had to ensure that it did not obscure her individual agency. Ngoyi's personal struggles and choices were equally significant in shaping her identity and activism. Striking a balance between the communal focus of the African perspective and the recognition of her personal experiences was crucial for a holistic analysis of her contributions.

An intersectional approach was indispensable as I examined Ngoyi's life. Understanding how her identity as a Black woman was shaped by race, gender, and class allowed me to delve deeper into the unique challenges she faced. Intersectionality enriched my analysis by illuminating the complex layers of her experience, helping me avoid oversimplification and ensuring a more authentic representation of her narrative. By applying this lens, I was better able to capture the ways in which Ngoyi navigated the intersections of multiple identities within the harsh realities of apartheid South Africa.

Given the limited availability of primary sources on Ngoyi's life, I recognised the importance of actively seeking out oral histories, archival materials, and interviews. Consulting with the work of various scholars and activists familiar with her legacy significantly enriched my research, helping to fill in the gaps left by conventional historical records.

As I embarked on this dissertation journey, I was deeply aware of the need to balance academic rigour with my personal connection to Ngoyi's story. As a young Black South African woman born at the dawn of a new democratic South Africa, I was inspired by her resilience and strength, and I found myself relating to aspects of her struggles and triumphs. However, it was essential that I approached this subject with critical analysis and maintained objectivity. My personal reflections could not overshadow the academic integrity of my

work. By grounding my study in rigorous research while also acknowledging my personal connection, I hoped to honour both the intellectual and emotional dimensions of this endeavour.

In conclusion, writing a master's dissertation on Lilian Ngoyi through the lenses of the holistic wellness model and the African perspective on wellness presented a unique opportunity to explore her life in depth. By emphasising interconnectedness, cultural context, intersectionality, and actively engaging with primary sources, I aimed to construct a nuanced and comprehensive analysis that honoured Ngoyi's legacy. This research not only fulfilled my academic aspirations but also served as a personal journey of discovery. It allowed me to engage with the complexities of identity, resilience, and social justice while contributing to the broader discourse on wellness, the African Psychology perspective of wellness and activism in South Africa. The legacies of Ngoyi and other prominent women like Sophie De Bruin, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Francis Baard, Ray Simons, Rahima Moosa, Florence Matomela, Helen Suzman, Amina Cachalia, Ruth Mompati, Dora Tamana were testaments to the resilience of women of colour who played pivotal roles in the anti-apartheid struggle. Recognising and honouring their contributions was essential in drawing inspiration from their enduring fight for equality and justice, a pursuit that continues to resonate today.

9.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter offers a focused summary of the study's objectives and key findings, presenting a comparative analysis of the holistic wellness model and an African perspective on wellness. It examines the parallels and divergences between these theoretical frameworks, emphasizing their shared concepts as well as their unique approaches to understanding well-being. A table synthesizing the comparative findings is included, illustrating the combined relevance of these frameworks in interpreting Ngoyi's life experiences.

The chapter also addresses the study's contributions to the field of psychology, particularly its examination of well-being through an African lens and its potential implications for mental health interventions in South Africa. The study's limitations are acknowledged, such as the constraints of single-case study designs, restricted access to primary sources, and the potential biases inherent in secondary literature. Recommendations for future research are proposed, including expanding access to primary sources, utilising an intersectional approach, critically evaluating secondary sources, adopting a multidisciplinary perspective, and emphasising the complexity and nuance of future analyses. Additionally, the researcher reflects on their personal experiences with the study, discussing their motivations, challenges encountered, and the insights gained throughout the research process.

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APPENDIX A

Chronological list of master's and Doctoral degree psychobiographical outputs at South African Universities between 1939 and 2021¹¹

No.	Subject	Researcher	Degree	Year	Institution	Gender
1	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Burgers, M P O	MA	1939	University of Witwatersrand (Wits)	M
2	Louis Leipoldt Burgers	Burgers M P O	DLitt	1960	Wits	M
3	Ingrid Jonker	Van der Merwe, L M	PhD	1978	University of the Free State (UFS)	F
4	Ingrid Jonker	Buys, J. C.	MA	1995	University of Pretoria (UP)	F
5	Jan Christiaan Smuts	Fouché, J P	DPhil	1999	University of Port Elizabeth (UPE)	M
6	Helen Martins	Bareira, L	MA	2001	UPE	F
7	Bantu Stephen Biko	Kotton, D	MA	2002	UPE	M
8	Balthazar John Vorster	Vorster, M S	MA	2003	UPE	M
9	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A	MA	2004	UPE	M
10	Mother Teresa	Stroud, L	DPhil	2004	UPE	F
11	Albert Schweitzer	Edwards, M J	MA	2004	UPE	M
12	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Jacobs, A	MA	2005	UPE	M
13	Karen Horney	Green, S	MA	2006	Rhodes University (RU)	F
14	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A	PhD	2006	RU	M
15	Christiaan Neethling Barnard	Van Niekerk, R	MA	2007	Stellenbosch University (SU)	M
16	Ray Charles	Biggs, I	MA	2007	RU	M
17	Hendrik Verwoerd	Claasen, M	MA	2007	Nelson Mandela University (NMU)	M
18	Melanie Klein	Espinosa, M	MA	2008	RU	F
19	Herman Mashaba	McWalter, M A	MA	2008	University of Johannesburg (UJ)	M
20	Isie Smuts	Smuts, C	MA	2009	NMU	F
21	Helen Keller	Van Genechten, D	MA	2009	NMU	F
22	Jeffrey Dahmer	Chéze, E	MA	2009	NMU	M
23	Emily Hobhouse	Welman, C	MA	2009	UFS	F
24	Mahatma Gandhi	Pillay, K	MA	2009	NMU	M
25	Kurt Cobain	Pieterse, C	MA	2009	NMU	M
26	Vincent van Gogh	Muller, R	MA	2009	NMU	M
27	Ralph John Rabie	Uys, H M G	MA	2010	NMU	M
28	Ernesto 'Che' Guevara	Kolesky, C	MA	2010	NMU	M
29	Frans Martin Claerhout	Roets, M	MA	2010	UFS	M
30	Alan Paton	Greeff, M	MA	2010	UFS	M
31	Paul Jackson Pollock	Muller, T	MA	2010	NMU	M
32	Christiaan de Wet	Henning, R	PhD	2010	RU	M
33	Bram Fischer	Swart, D K	MA	2010	UFS	M
34	Desmond Tutu	Eliastam, L M	MSocSci	2010	University of Fort Hare (UFH)	M
35	Brenda Fassie	Gogo, O	MA	2011	UFS	F

¹¹ Note that this list stops at the time of the commencement of this study as it was drawn up to inform sampling.

36	Olive Schreiner	Perry, M	PhD	2012	UFS	F
37	Winston Churchill	Moolman, B A	MA	2012	NMU	M
38	Friedrich Nietzsche	Booyesen, D D	MA	2012	NMU	M
39	John Wayne Gacy	Pieterse, J	MA	2012	NMU	M
40	John Winston Lennon	Kitching, P H	MA	2012	NMU	M
41	Francis Bacon	Kerr, N	MA	2012	NMU	M
42	Josephine Baker	Eckley, S	MA	2012	NMU	F
43	Rev James Warren 'Jim' Jones	Baldwin, G A	MA	2013	NMU	M
44	Martin Luther King	Twaku, U	MA	2013	NMU	M
45	Ellen Kuzwayo	Arosi, Z	MA	2013	NMU	F
46	Helen Martins	Mitchell, D	MA	2013	RU	F
47	William Wilberforce	Daubermann, BP	MA	2013	NMU	M
48	Helen Suzman	Nel, C	PhD	2013	UFS	F
49	Beyers Naudé	Burnell, B	PhD	2013	UFS	M
50	Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T	MBA	2013	RU	M
51	Antwone Fisher	Wannenburg, N	MA	2013	RU	M
52	Ian Kevin Curtis	Baldwin, G A	PhD	2013	NMU	M
53	Michael Jackson	Ruiters, J	MA	2014	RU	M
54	Richard Trenton Chase	Nel, H	MA	2014	UFS	M
55	Martin Luther King	Pietersen, S	MA	2014	NMU	M
56	Steve Jobs	Moore, N	MA	2014	NMU	M
57	Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T T R	MA	2014	RU	M
58	John Henry Newman	Mitchell, G P	MA	2014	NMU	M
59	Dambudzo Marechera	Muchena, K C	MA	2014	NMU	M
60	Christiaan Neethling Barnard	Lekhelebana, V A	MA	2014	NMU	M
61	Roald Dahl	Holz, T	PhD	2014	UFS	M
62	Pope John Paul II	Navsaria, K	PhD	2014	NMU	M
63	Glenda Watson Kahlenberg	Connelly, R E	PhD	2014	NMU	F
64	Wilford Woodruff and Gordon Bitner Hinckley	Saccaggi, C F	DLitt et Phil	2015	UJ	M
65	Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill	Human, S C	MA	2015	University of South Africa	M
66	Charlize Theron	Printer, T	MA	2015	RU	F
67	Marie Curie	Roets, E	MA	2015	RU	F
68	Bashar al-Assad	Kerrin, C K	MA	2015	UJ	M
69	Vuyiswa Mackonie	Baatjies, V P	MSocSci	2015	University of KwaZulu-Natal	F
70	Margaret Hilda Thatcher	Marx, M	MA	2015	NMU	F
71	Brand Pretorius	Harwood, C S	MComm	2016	NMU	M
72	Steve Jobs	Du Plessis, R	MA	2016	UFS	M
73	John Lennon	Osorio, D	MA	2016	UFS	M
74	Maya Angelou	Harisunker, N	MA	2016	UJ	F
75	Sybrand Gerhardus Pretorius	Harwood, C S	MCom	2016		M
76	Temple Grandin	Wannenburg, N	PhD	2016	RU	F
77	Paulo Coelho	Mayer, C H	PhD	2016	UP	M
78	Milton Hyland Erickson	Ramasamy, K	PhD	2017	NMU	M
79	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Manana, S	MComm	2017	NMU	F
80	Coco Chanel	Verwey, L	MA	2017	UJ	F
81	Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Hoque, A	MA	2017	UJ	M
82	Steve Jobs	Van Staden, D	MA	2017	NMU	M
83	Gary Player	Futter, T	MA	2017	NMU	M
84	Theodore Robert Bundy	McGivern, KB	MA	2017	NMU	M
85	Robert Nesta 'Bob' Marley	Willis, L S	MA	2017	NMU	M
86	John Wayne Gacy	Coetsee, E E	PhD	2017	UFS	M
87	Richard Charles Nicholas Branson	Preston, A. L.	PhD	2017	UFH	M
88	Ian Kevin Curtis	Kitching, P H	PhD	2017	NMU	M
89	Freddy Mercury	Louw, D	MA	2018	UFS	M
90	Clive Staples Lewis	Oosthuizen, G	MA	2018	UFS	M

91	Sylvia Plath	Panelatti, A F	PhD	2018	UFS	F
93	Arnold Schoenberg	De Bruin, G	MMus	2018	UFS	M
94	Amy Jade Winehouse	Hoque, A	MA	2018	UJ	F
95	Howard Hughes	Sandison, A	DPhil	2018	NMU	M
96	Joan Rivers	Nell, W	MA	2019	UFS	F
97	Michel Foucault	Subramoney, N	MA	2019	UJ	M
98	Robert Gabriel Mugabe	De Jager, E A	MA	2019	UJ	M
99	Corrie ten Boom	Counihan, D J	MA	2019	UJ	F
100	Ingrid Jonker	Rust, B.	MSocSc	2019	UFS	F
101	Margaret Hilda Thatcher	Winter, R	MA	2019	UFS	F
102	Joseph Stalin	Matsolo, V.	MA	2019	NMU	M
103	Theodore Robert Bundy	Landsberg, M.	MA	2019	NMU	M
104	Martin Luther King, Jr.	Perils, C M	MA	2019	NMU	M
105	Nkosi Johnson	Ntlangu, S. T.	MA	2019	NMU	M
106	Noel Chabani Manganyi	Ngcobo, Q.	A	2019	NMU	M
107	Oprah Winfrey	Oosthuysen, Y	MA	2019	NMU	F
108	Eugène Nielen Marais	Hugo, Q	MPsych	2020	UFS	M
109	Sol Plaatje	Welman, C	PhD	2020	UFS	M
110	Maya Angelou	De Waal, L	MA	2020	NMU	F
111	Victor Emil Frankl	Bushkin, H.	PhD	2020	NMU	M
112	Charles Manson	Flatela, S	MA	2021	NMU	M
113	Harvey Milk	Pretorius, N Z	MA	2021	NMU	M
114	Gavin Maxwell	Walters, J A	MA	2021	NMU	M

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, as well as the following: “The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography” by M. J. Perry, 2012, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 130, “The life of Beyers Naude: A Psychobiographical Study” by B. Burnell, 2013, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 28, “A Psychobiographical Study of Theodore Robert Bundy: An Object Relations Approach,” by M. Landsberg, 2019, Unpublished masters dissertation, p.30, “Sol Plaatje: A Psychobiographical Study” by C. A. Welman, 2020, Unpublished doctoral dissertation p. 253.