



# Psychology in South Africa's responses to marginalised identities and the decolonial project: A systematic narrative review

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By Lindokuhle Ubisi, University of South Africa.

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ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5228-6686> / Email: [ubisilm@unisa.ac.za](mailto:ubisilm@unisa.ac.za)

## Abstract

**M**arginalized identities have become a focal point in Psychology. Higher education institutions for example have attempted to promote diversity and inclusion through curriculum and policy changes. However, complex issues affecting marginalized identities persist, requiring transformative socio-economic and epistemic justice. This paper explores how Psychology in South Africa has responded to these challenges in the context of advancing the decolonial project. A systematic narrative review of publications (N=16) from the South African Journal of Psychology over five years (2020-2024) was conducted. The analysis examined how Psychology in South Africa has taken up the decolonial project by addressing the oppressions of three marginalized groups: (1) 'Foreigners' facing xenophobia; (2) the LGBT+ community experiencing homo-, bi-, and transphobia; and (3) disabled individuals confronting ableism. The review indicates that Psychology in South Africa is actively involved in problematizing the legacy of coloniality, however there is a need for more meaningful collaborations within the discipline.

**Keywords:** decolonial project; disabled individuals; diversity and inclusion; foreigners; marginalized identities; the LGBT+ community

## Introduction

South Africa has a racialised, socioeconomic, and political history of segregation, hate, and violence against marginalised groups, such as foreigners (Gordon 2023; Marais, Nel, and Govender 2022; Mpofu 2020), LGBT+<sup>1</sup> individuals (Epprecht 2021; Ibrahim 2015; Msibi 2011), as well as disabled<sup>2</sup> identities (Lorenzo 2024; Swartz 2012; Watermeyer et al. 2019). Despite the South African Constitution affording equal protections to all individuals despite their nationality, gender, and disability, these 'disadvantaged' identities continue to face victimisation, hate speech, as well as unfair discrimination (Gordon 2020, 2022 and 2023; Kiguwa 2020; Swartz 2012). A more recent incident is the controversy around Miss South Africa finalist, Chidimma Adetshina, a South African black female with Nigerian heritage. Namely how her competing to represent South Africa created conversation around the public's participation in hate crimes and xenophobic abuse (Yasmin 2024). Many black South Africans questioned her nationality based on her Nigerian surname. This was followed by a circulating petition for her to be taken off from the contest. The dispute intensified with many white and black South Africans making an outcry that a Nigerian cannot be the face of South Africa despite Adetshina being born in South Africa. Adetshina reported facing racism, colourism, and xenophobia during the pageant as reflected in the following comments (Seemela 2024, para 13-14):

"To be honest, I just feel that all of this is Black-on-Black hate as I'm not the only one in this competition who has a surname that's not South African."

"I just feel like the attention is on me because of my skin colour which I think is a disadvantage... it's also been something I had to overcome growing up."

As the country weighed in Adetshina's identity, the country's Minister of Sports, Art, and Culture Gayton McKenzie, also made some splitting remarks around Adetshina's suitability for the Miss SA competition stating that: "We truly cannot have Nigerians compete in our Miss SA competition. I wanna get all facts before I comment but it gives funny vibes already." (Nkadimeng 2024, para 5).

Some followers, though, pointed out that there

have been previous Miss South African contestants with foreign parents, who have not been exposed to the same retaliation as Adetshina (Yasmin 2024). For instance, Vanessa Carreira Coutroulis, a 2001 winner of Miss South Africa, with Portuguese-Angolan parents (Yasmin 2024). Like other marginalised groups in South Africa, subgroups such as LGBT+ individuals continue to also report discrimination and the violation of their basic rights, as is evidenced in one of Pillay's comments (2023, p. 76) on LGBT+-identifying participants:

Being a South African, I do not see how the Constitution has given us equal rights as my partner and I faced a lot of discrimination from the Department of Home Affairs when enquiring whether they perform same sex marriages. We had to hire a private marriage official to officiate our registration (P027).

From a psychological standpoint, the experiences of and responses to xenophobia, homophobia, or ableism are not only negative but long-standing for the individual (e.g., trauma, isolation, and suicidal ideation). Psychology in South Africa has committed itself to the decolonial project (i.e., unmasking the effects of coloniality while reimaging possibilities of hope and healing) (Duncan and Bowman 2009; Pillay 2020; Suffla and Seedat 2020). As such, the paper conducts a systematic literature review of Psychology in South Africa's responses to three marginalized groups based on papers appearing in the last 5 years (2020-2024) in the South African Journal of Psychology (SAJP). These groups include: (1) 'Foreigners' or 'non-nationals' dealing with racism, colourism, and xenophobia; (2) the LGBT+ community facing heterosexism, cisnormativity, and various forms of phobia; and (3) individuals with disabilities encountering ableism and corponormativity.

## The Decolonial Project

The decolonial project is an evolving, subversive, and interdisciplinary movement that intends to disrupt the unbalanced relationship of dominance and subordination and/or resistance between the Euro-American World and the Third World (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). The movement calls for an emancipation and re-interrogation of imposed ideologies by the West to the Third World given

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*(Ibrahim 2015; Gordon*

*2020; Suffla and*

*Seedat 2020).*

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that the Third World did not only become exploited in the political and economic spheres of life, but also witnessed a colonial domination in the spheres of history culture, identity, languages, power, education, intelligence, race, gender and sexuality,

self-image, knowledge production, amongst others (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). In terms of knowledge production, Ndlovu (2013) argues that revisiting the processes of knowledge production is important to address the aspirations and needs of previously colonised people of the Third World as a vehicle for political, economic, and social reclamation, self-determination, as well as other “concrete manifestations of freedom” (Gordon 2011, p. 101). For Psychology in South Africa, the decolonial project presents an opportunity for psychology professionals, researchers, students, and bodies to grapple with the enduring effects of colonialism by challenging systemic inequalities and cultural dominance particularly both in knowledge as well as the potential for a national common identity (Duncan and Bowman 2009; Pillay 2020; Suffla and Seedat 2020). As Ndlovu (2013) maintains, the decolonial project strives towards nation-building and belonging by uniting diverse languages, cultures, ethnicities, and identities that might seemingly present as competing to develop a cohesive identity. As such, continued investment in the decolonial project presents many possibilities for Psychology in South Africa for promoting social justice, equity, as well as cultural revitalization to provide redress and empowerment to marginalized and indigenous communities to equally represent them within multiple spheres (Ndlovu 2013).

### **Marginalised Identities**

Marginalised identities refer to people who have been historically disempowered and discriminated against due to characteristics such as their race, sex, gender, class, culture, ethnicity, nationality, heritage, disability, or a multiple of these categories, generally by another influential group (Ibrahim 2015; Gordon 2020; Suffla and Seedat 2020). These people include Indigenous peoples, black and brown people, trans women, intersexed bodies, migrants, or individuals with disabilities (Duncan and Bowman 2009; Msibi 2012; Watermeyer et al. 2019). Being marginalised carries a disadvantaging condition of being outside of them centre, and in the periphery (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). In this study, the paper focuses on three prominent marginalised identities and how they have been discrimination based on race, nationality, and colorism (i.e., ‘foreigners’ or

'non-nationals'), gender and sexuality (i.e., LGBT+ individuals), as well as disability (i.e., people with disabilities).

### **'Foreigners' or 'Non-nationals'**

From 2015 to 2024, albeit other studies trace it back to 1994 (Ityonzughul and Gbamwuan 2024), there has been a resurfacing of xenophobic sentiments across the country (Gordon 2020, 2022 and 2023; Marais et al. 2022; Mujinga 2024). The public, political, and media's promotion of xenophobia, Afrophobia, and xenophilia has resulted in the horrific killing, torture, lynching, looting, rape, aggravated assault, continuous harassment of 'foreigners' or 'non-nationals' (Chiumbu and Moyo 2018; Mujinga 2024; Ogunnoiki and Adeyemi 2019). Chiumbu and Moyo (2018), Gordon (2023), and Mamabolo (2015) implicate politicians and media representations of immigrants depicted as a nuisance, criminals, and competition for nations for jobs, food, shelter, basic healthcare, sexual partners, higher education, and business opportunities as some of the origins of xenophobic attacks. However, other scholars, such as Mujinga (2024), Ityonzughul and Gbamwuan (2024), and Mpofo (2020) propose more complicated explanations for xenophobia, ascribing to internalised racism, self-hatred, and displaced black rage as a product of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history. As for the consequences of xenophobia, Marais et al. (2022) further suggest that xenophobic attacks can have far reaching economical, emotional, and psychological consequences following the incident (e.g., repeated flashback episodes of post-traumatic stress disorder). Literature suggests that the local populace may not necessarily feel the effect caused by their xenophobic actions but individuals such as businessmen and women, artists, humanitarian organisations who want to have foreign relations may be adversely affected by xenophobic actions (Chiumbu and Moyo 2018; Mujinga 2024; Ogunnoiki and Adeyemi 2019). Further foreign companies who may want to invest in South Africa may be put off by xenophobia, creating a snowball effect on the economy (Mamabolo 2015).

### **Gender and Sexuality Diverse Identities**

Despite the dawn of a democracy, the LGBT+ community continues to face constant oppression in realising fair and equal treatment from their

heterosexual counterparts (Epprecht 2021; Ibrahim 2015; Msibi 2011). This includes both overt (the police brutality on the iconic Stonewall riots in 1969) and covert forms of discrimination such as microaggressions and stereotypes (gay bashing on the internet) (Braun 2018; Kiguwa 2020; Moagi and Mavhandu-Mudzusi 2021), to unfavourable treatment in the form of structural oppressions like heterosexism, cisnormativity, homo-, bi-, and transphobia (Nel and Judge 2008; Pillay 2023; Wilks et al. 2022). Religious morality, compulsory heterosexuality, and cisheteronormativity contribute to the over-preference of male and female heterosexual by demonising, marginalising, and making LGBT+ identities un-African (Francis 2023, 2024a and 2024b; Ibrahim 2015; Kaighobadi et al. 2020). Then again, key texts such as Msibi's (2011) paper entitled, *"The lies we have been told: On (homo) sexuality in Africa"* as well as Epprecht's (2021) book, *"Boy-wives and female husbands: Studies in African homosexuality"* have unearthed evidence that homosexuality has been present and practiced in the African continent. These include documented accounts before White colonial settlers used sodomy laws to entrench patriarchy and heteronormativity in pre-colonial African societies (Murray and Roscoe 1998). This evidence acknowledges how pre-colonial and earlier African communities coexisted with "institutionalised marriages between women, same-sex relations between men and boys in colonial work settings, [as well as] mixed gender roles in East and West Africa" (Murray and Roscoe 1998, commentary section).

### **Disabled Identities**

Much like the LGBT+ community, people with disabilities collectively have been fighting for equal representation and access to the rights and privileges enjoyed by abled-bodied individuals (Lorenzo 2024; Swartz 2012; Watermeyer et al. 2019). Through movements such as the Disability Rights of the 1960s (Stikler 2019), people with disabilities have been active in protesting against barriers imposed by such as ableism (i.e., prejudice based on disability), compulsory able-bodiedness (the over-representation of able-bodied individuals), as well as corponormativity (ableist construction of the able body as the idealized body type) (Davis 2006; Kumar 2014; McRuer 2006). Through

this disability-related discriminations, people with disabilities have been excluded in many areas of life, including employment, education, leadership, beauty, sexuality material, as well as the entertainment industry (Author-Anonymous 2021; Nguse 2023; Venter 2024). However, the definitions and experiences of disability have undergone several shifts from the religious and charity approaches in the pre-colonial, to the welfare and social models in major post-colonial both in the Global North and South contexts (Kumar 2014). This includes the adaptation of the “Nothing about us, without us” slogan within disability advocacy spaces. A more transformational, inclusive, and responsive definition of disability amongst healthcare providers is that disability should be seen as ‘an evolving concept that results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full participation in society on an equal basis with others’ (United Nations 2009, p. 5).

## Methodology

Ethical clearance for the work was provided by the University of South Africa’s Research Ethics Committee (reference number: 22/04/13/90352025/02/AM). A combined systematic and narrative review strategy was carried out to strengthen the research methodology with the assistance of a librarian. According to Grant and Booth (2009), a systematic review endeavours to “systematically search for, appraise and synthesis research evidence, often adhering to guidelines on the conduct of a review” (95). This paper follows the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines for a systematic review (Grant and Booth 2009). This framework offers a standardized set of criteria for reporting systematic reviews and meta-analyses, helping authors to improve the transparency and rigor of their analyses and reviews. The review aimed to inform the situational analysis of the collected publications. Rother’s (2007) describes the aim of narrative reviews as intending to “... describe and discuss the state of the science of a specific topic or theme from a theoretical and contextual point of view” (vii). In this study, the selected and theoretical and contextual orientation is decoloniality within the South African context. Narrative reviews remain crucial

in the social sciences as they provide readers with an overview without going in-depth but instead give a rapid, up-to-date survey about a topic or theme. This approach remains useful especially when the reader wants to synthesis the situation around a broad topic. It narrates the situation such as in this case, Psychology in South Africa’s responses to marginalised identities rather than going into critical engagements of discourses, interpretations, or the combined efforts of the two approaches (Rother 2007).

## Data Extraction and Quality Assessment

The search began with visiting the SAJP and scrolling for all volumes and issues published within the last 5 years (2020 to 2024, Issue 3) as shown in Figure 1. A Boolean search with keywords like ‘marginalised identities’, ‘othered identities’, ‘decoloniality’, ‘foreigners’, ‘non-nationals’, ‘xenophobia’, ‘hate’, ‘hate crimes’, ‘hate speech’, ‘racism’, ‘colorism’, ‘LGBT+’, ‘gender and sexuality diverse identities’, ‘homophobia’, ‘transphobia’, ‘disabled identities’, ‘people/individuals with disabilities’, ‘disabled genders and sexualities’, ‘ableism’, and ‘corponormativity’ was used to find both qualitative and quantitative studies. This approach aimed to address the research question on how Psychology in South Africa has responded to these challenges of three marginalised identities in the context of advancing the decolonial project. Reference lists from reviewed publications were also used to locate additional relevant works, including ‘grey literature’ not captured by the SAJP’s search engine.

## Information Sources, Search, and Selection

The review excluded publications limited to abstracts, published before 2020, not in English, or conducted outside South Africa. This search strategy, illustrated in Figure 1, was carefully documented, and stored online. Data were synthesized using the Joanna Briggs Institute’s Quality Assessment Research Instrument (QARI) and the Population, Concept, and Context (PCC) framework, as detailed in Table 1. The search included English-language sources from 2020 to 2024, covering journal issues, articles, editorials, and book reviewers related to the three marginalized identities and the decolonial project. Of 23 retrieved publications, 16 were selected for review based on relevance to the study’s key terms and research aim.

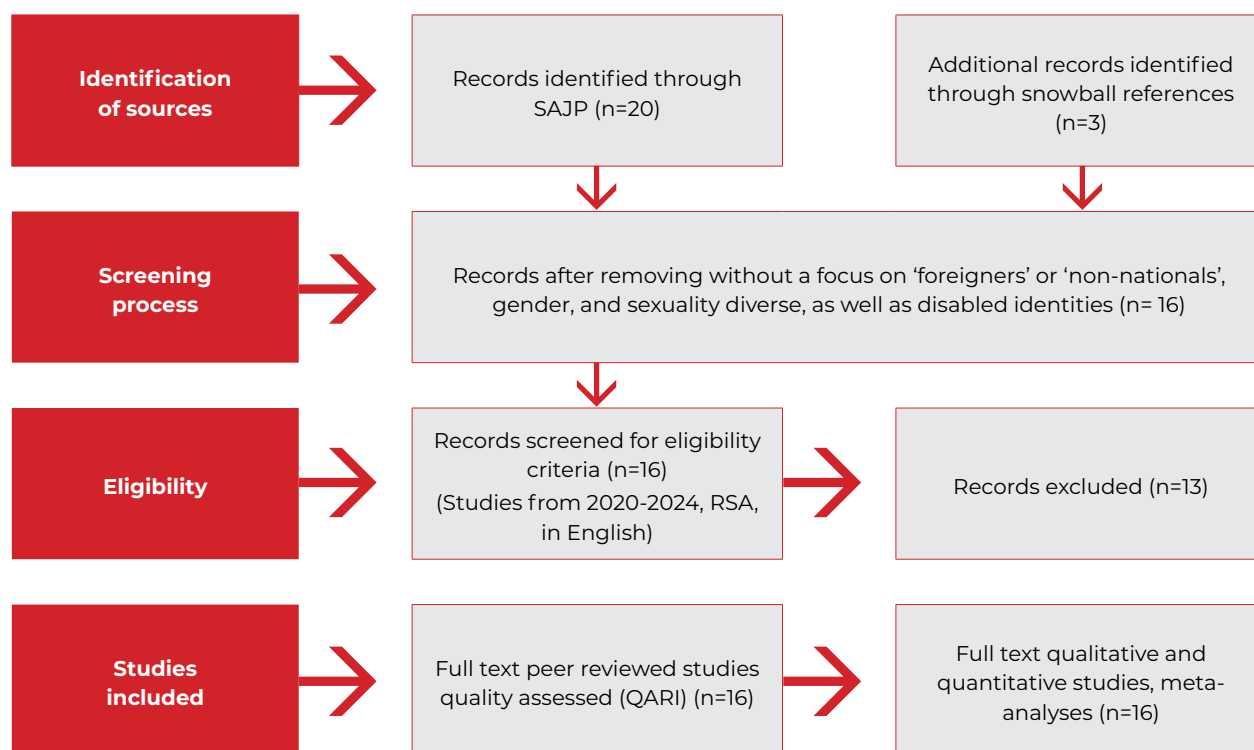


Figure 1: Systematic narrative review flow chart adapted from preferred reporting items for systematic review-PRISMA (author's own work)

Table 1: How the population, concept, and context framework was applied during the data analysis process

PCC element	Definition (per JBI Reviewer's Manual Ch.11)	Example
<b>Population</b>	<p>"Important characteristics of participants, including age, and other qualifying criteria". (11.2.4)</p> <p>You may not need to include this element unless your question focuses on a specific condition or cohort).</p>	The responses of Psychology in South Africa to challenges faced by marginalised identities and the advancement of the decolonial project.
<b>Concept</b>	<p>"The core concept examined by the review should be clearly articulated to guide the scope and breadth of the inquiry. This may include details that pertain to elements that would be detailed in a standard systematic review, such as the 'interventions' and/or 'phenomena of interest' and/or 'outcomes'". (11.2.4)</p>	Marginalised identities, namely 'foreigners' or 'non-nationals', gender and sexuality diverse individuals, as well as disabled identities.
<b>Context</b>	<p>"May include cultural factors such as geographic location and/or specific racial or gender-based interests. In some cases, context may also encompass details about the specific settings." (11.2.4)</p>	South Africa.

### Data synthesis and analysis

From the search, a total of 16 relevant articles were analysed based on the selection criteria: n = 8 describing the challenges faced by 'foreigners' or non-nationals, n = 6 for LGBT+ individuals, as well as n = 2 for disabled persons. All 16 studies

were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step inductive thematic analysis framework, as shown in Table 2. The process involved: (1) repeated reading of the retrieved publications, (2) coding and identifying initial categories, (3) organizing these into themes, (4) examining and defining the themes, (5) consulting with three Psychology

in South Africa experts (including two mixed methods specialists) to achieve consensus, and (6) documenting the findings. This approach was supplemented by relevant literature in the field.

## Findings and Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out how Psychology in South Africa has responded to the oppressions of three marginalized groups (i.e., 'foreigners', LGBT+, and disabled individuals), and by so doing contributed to the decolonial project. Findings from the retrieved publications (n = 16) in the SAJP revealed a complicated history of oppressions experienced by the above marginalised identities, including racism, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, as well as ableism. The following is a discussion of the findings under the following headings: (1) Responses to 'foreigners' or 'non-nationals'; (2) Responses to gender and sexuality diverse identities; as well as (3) Responses to disabled identities.

### Responses to 'foreigners' or 'non-nationals'

In the SAJP, Gordon's (2022) study tracked the incidents of xenophobia through public data indicating that there have been a recorded 602 violent xenophobic incidents from 1994 to 2019. Gordon (2022) however maintains that most incidents are not reported based on fear of retribution and apathy towards the criminal justice system. More recently, though, in the SAJP, there has been growing literature exploring the nuances of how people of colour experience of anti-immigrant violence (Gordon 2020, 2022 and 2023; Marais et al. 2022; Pillay 2020). Pillay (2020) for example reported an incident in Singh (2020) of a physiotherapist from Sudan who could not speak isiZulu and was harassed, assaulted, and even throttled to the point of unconsciousness by several black Tshwane Metro Police Department officers. This included one of the officers emphatically stating after harassing the Sudanese physiotherapist that, 'I am going to kill you like George Floyd' (Singh 2020). Pillay (2020) contends that South African police, citing another study (Katsere 2019), in metropolitan cities use vernacular dialect like isiZulu as a way to detect 'foreigners'. Gordon's (2023) sociological and psychological data around xenophobia further suggests that hostility towards 'foreigners' usually intensifies

as per location (e.g., more incidents occurring in township areas), political climate (e.g., during national elections), as well as perceived difference causing competing goals (i.e., perpetrator attacks the individual based on a characteristic that is unchangeable in the 'foreigner' or 'non-national' but seen as a threat). Gordon (2023) and Pillay (2020) have further reported on the consequences of these hate incidents and victimisation for both the victims (e.g., feeling dehumanised) and country's international relations (loss of favourable relations). For instance, South African higher institutions pride themselves on the attraction of international student bodies. But with the constant looming of xenophobia across the country, these discriminating attitudes could deter international students from finding interest in studying in South Africa or failing to create a safe and welcoming environment. Gordon's (2020) decolonial critique has been in emphasising the effect of the country's colonial history with nationalism, anti-Blackness, and the resulting township politics which have ignited group entitlements.

### Responses to gender and sexuality diverse identities

The right to love and the freedom to convey one's gender expression through dress, embodiment, and expression has been at the hallmark of LGBT+ advocacy (Wilks et al. 2022). However, ridicule, rejection, and active discouragement from immediate family members, workplaces, and other surrounding social contexts are part of everyday experiences of LGBT+ individuals (Kaighobadi et al. 2020; Pillay 2023; Pitcher and Boonzaier 2023). Pillay's (2023) exploration for example of the 'hidden' experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual South Africans of Indian descent revealed how there is still an under-representation of literature of LGBT+ sub-groups. According to Pillay (2023), groups with intersectional identities such as bisexuals of Indian descent reported being further excluded within the LGBT+ community, creating an experience of being the 'double othered'. Kiguwa (2020), Pillay (2023), and Wilks et al. (2022) draw from an intersectionality theory to explore the intersectional oppressions of homo-, bi-, and transphobia from several social institutions further complicated by the multiple social categories one may espouse (race, religion, ethnicity, education level, socioeconomic status).

They highlight how subjectivity and social relations form subjects and create consequences such as the differences in treatment for example of whiteness versus blackness within the LGBT+ community. They problematise positions of privilege and disadvantage created by LGBT+ identities which have been represented versus those which have been made invisible through this intersectional lens (Kiguwa 2020; Pillay 2023; Wilks et al. 2022). At the same time, scholars such as Pitcher and Boonzaier (2023) and have attempted to re-imagine LGBT+ advocacy through feminist and decolonial approaches such as photo-narrative research with transgender youth. Pitcher and Boonzaier (2023) point out the importance of methods such as photo-narrative for marginalised communities such as young transgender individuals to own and represent their own stories, thereby disrupting issues of hierarchy, legitimacy, and epistemological justice during knowledge production.

### Responses to disabled identities

In terms of its responses to disabled identities, the SAJP has published less ( $n=2$ ) articles addressing disability-related discrimination since 2000. Nguse (2023), for example, maintained that the burden and experience of disability in South Africa is exacerbated by race, gender, socio-economic circumstances, as well as access to basic services. It was further pointed out that disabled Black females located in rural and township areas face the most disability-related discrimination. These disadvantaging characteristics contributed to the under-utilisation or the inability to access basic services not because of the individual disability. But because of the built environment (e.g., lack of ramps or interpreters in hospitals and police stations), ableist attitudes (healthcare providers talking down at disabled individuals), as well as the lack of full inclusion in most spheres of society (negotiation of their sexual reproductive health rights). Nguse (2023) further asserted that the COVID-19 pandemic further negatively affected the already subpar living conditions, quality of life, and access to basic care of most disabled individuals in poverty-stricken areas. My article (Author-Anonymous 2021) in the SAJP addressed how society tends to strip individuals with disabilities off any gender or sexual characteristics. We tend to not see them as sexual beings. But instead, as sexless,

genderless, and as individuals disinterested in sex. As a result of compulsory able-bodiedness (e.g., lack of disabled individuals in sexuality material) and compulsory heterosexuality (lack of disabled queer individuals), people with disabilities are falsely thought of not engaging in sexual relationships, that they cannot have children, or that they all identify as heterosexual. I (Ubisi 2021) encouraged scholars to move towards a social, decolonial model of disability that is critical of earlier constructions of disability, including African epistemologies of disability which promoted corponormativity by using condescending terms to describe the disabled body.

### Conclusion

The study was conducted to find out how Psychology in South Africa has responded to the oppressions faced by marginalized identities, particularly migrants, gender-diverse individuals, and people with disabilities, as part of contributing to the decolonial project. Given the history of discrimination and oppression with these groups, the findings of this study show that Psychology in South Africa has shown increasing commitment to responses of inclusivity, critical analysis, and social relevance to these marginalised identities. However, what the study further showed is the missing collaborations or linkages between psychology professionals and researchers in engaging in entangled or compounded dimensions of oppressions such as those faced by migrant or LGBT+ disabled identities. The implication of this study presents a call for Psychology in higher education, research, and practice in South Africa to continue to promote equity, inclusivity, and cultural revitalization towards marginalized identities. The study recommends therapy, teaching, research, evaluation, and community interventions which are sensitive to trauma and multi-systems approaches to race, migrant, gender, sexuality, resilience, self-advocacy, healing, and national building to bring about restorative justice, psychosocial care, legislative frameworks for affected victims and communities of marginalisation. A limitation of this study is the number of articles analysed as drawn from the SAJP. It should also be pointed out that that not all authors who publish in the SAJP are psychologists or have an affiliation to the psychology profession,

albeit the SAJP welcomes manuscript with an aim and scope of addressing psychology related issues in therapy, assessment, research, community engagement, and training amongst others. Future studies are encouraged to take this opportunity to explore comparison of findings through other psychology related journals in South Africa.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> LGBT+ refers to lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, queer/questioning, intersexed, asexual, and other gender non-conforming individuals (Francis, 2024).
- <sup>2</sup> There are many debates about appropriate terminology for disability and disabled people. In keeping with social model conventions, South Africans have tended to use the term “disabled people” because according to the social model, people are disabled by society. Hence the term “Office on the Status of Disabled Persons”. Other legislation such as the Employment Equity Act uses the term “persons with disabilities”. By the time the Ministry was established, the term used was “persons with disabilities” (Ministry for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities), in contrast to OSDP usage. ... The argument is that people are more than their disabilities, and that the term “disabled people” totalises their experiences and reduces them to nothing more than products of disablement. There is no consensus on use of the terms “disabled people” or “people with disabilities”; both usages reflect concern with the rights of disabled people. In South Africa, in activist circles the term “disabled people” continues to be used extensively despite the official terminology in the Ministry moving to “persons with disabilities” (Swartz, 2012, p. 35).

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