

Lecture given to the
ZANELE MBHEKI FELLOWSHIP
THABA ECO HOTEL- JOHANNESBURG
18 OCTOBER 2018

**TURNING THE IMPOSSIBLY RIGGED SPACES IN
SOCIETY TO AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE
GENERATION OF JUSTICE**

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PART 1

Let me introduce myself
and the **Chair** I hold..

South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI)

- A strategically focused knowledge and human resource intervention into the South African Higher Education system.
- **Mandate:**
 - Advance the frontiers of knowledge, create new research career pathways and stimulate strategic research.
 - Fast track leadership building through postgraduate training.

Hosted at UNISA

- It is a **mega-university**
- As you know, is the **biggest university in Africa**
- It is the **biggest in the southern hemisphere.**

SARCHI-DE Goals

1. Make **transdisciplinarity** a core facet in Leadership Building.
2. Offer robust expositions of the **constitutive rules and norms that control current thinking and practice.**
3. Represent an **epistemology of hope** - hope that **probes the future and thereby illuminates the possibilities of the present.**

Knowing that...

- Sometimes the **entities** that
- perform the **functions** and **wield the authority**
- are **actually NOT persons** like pilots and doctors,
- but **WORDS** (Richards 2009)
- **IDEAS**, therefore, **HAVE** a consequence

PART 2

- **What is my mandate here?**
- **You are gathered here to contemplate your duties as future leaders**
- **Who have embraced the feminist lens**
- **As your conviction, creed, and vocation**

- **I was invited here to share what knowledge I have gathered and put it in the altar before you**
- **To help build your collective knowledge, attitudes, skills**
- **to effect changes in women's lives in both public and private spaces in their lives.**

The background

- 8 years ago, at the 1st celebration of Women's Day on March 8th launching the Thabo Mbeki Leadership Institute, there was a conference entitled **"African Women as Agents of Change for Africans Renewal"**
- I gave a keynote there, entitled:
- **Gender: The Study of Human Failing to Understand Human Equality**

I said the following...

- In brief:
- We have also settled down comfortably to the word “integration” into whatever the men are involved in,
- rather than interrogate what are the core principles propelling those meta activities.

- **Equality of access and participation in a controversial or wicked project is still controversial and/or wicked.**
- **Development, unless otherwise explicitly elucidated, is neither about justice not equity**
- **neither is competitiveness.**

- **The African voice at the beginning of the twenty first century**
- **is one that is grappling with the pain and inhumanity of history,**
- **the arrogance of modernization**
- **and the conspiracy of silence in academic disciplines towards what is organic and alive in Africa**

- Ours is part of a struggle to create new foundations, a new basis for renewal.
- It is an invocation of the **democratic ideal of the right of all to 'be', to 'exist', to grow and live without coercion,**
- **and from that, find a point of convergence with the numerous others.**

- It requires that feminist concerns rise **above the impulse to combat with men,**
- and focus on the agenda of **engagements**
- **with the cultures,**
- **codes**
- **and constitutive rules of the systems**

...cont..

- which couch the violence
- and suppressions of the potentialities
- of half the world's people,
- and **provide alibis**
- for the **vicarious domination**
- to find **everlasting nourishment.**

- **Where women's issues were once upon a time,**
- **a subject for gossip and subdued rationalizations,**
- **it has today become a central tenet of thinking about development, politics, and institutional transformation agenda.**

- **But even when spaces are broadly opened as is the case here in this country with the new constitution,**
- **it is still a far cry from being able to play the games with constitutive and regulatory mechanisms,**
- **navigate the cataracts and rapids, scale the slippery rock faces and emerge triumphant at the top.**

- I reiterated that doing feminism and gender in the twenty first century
- requires composite competencies that combine **moral salience,**
- combined with **vigilance, research and monitoring capabilities,**
- **research leadership, effective advocacy and strategic action.**

- **How are we to bring ourselves to the combat with a determination to win?**

Part 3

Some caveats

Firstly...

- “The **wound** is the **place** where the **Light** enters **you.**”
- “Where there is **ruin**, there is **hope** for a **treasure.**”
- “Raise **your words**, not **voice**. It is **rain** that grows **flowers**, not **thunder.**” (Rumi, 13th Century)

Secondly : you are free!!!

- **“A Bird Born in a Cage Will Think Flying Is an Illness.**
- **It stays within the cage even if the door is open”**

Thirdly,

- **Ethics is about an “OPEN” system**
- **A system without a FIXED,**
- **UNALTERABLE,**
- **INGRAINED FRAMES**

But.....

- **Norms** are frames with **rounded corners**
- And even more,
- **Laws** are frames with **sharp corners**
- Norms and laws divide the world in an **“inside”** and an **“outside”**
- In other words, **one can act inside the frames of the law OR outside of it.**

In the same light.....

- One can act in accordance with the **Norm**
- Or **outside it..**
- or for that matter, **against it.**

In other words, to be “normal”

- Is a moral concept, **NOT** an ethical one
- An ethical act can only be born
- in a moment when one forgets about “what is normal”, and goes deeper...

In other words.....

- One acts according to what the situation demands..
- **A HUMAN POINT OF VIEW**
- Not from a **moral**, or **legal** point of view!!!
- **Ethics** transcends the **normative** and the **legal frameworks..**

Fourthly

- the transition from bandit colonialism
- through the intricate systems of the modern triage society that is **wired for western cultural compliance**
- requires more than just **critique,**
- or a **prayer for the meek to inherit the earth.**

- It requires a decisive consensus that **the meek do not inherit the earth by their meekness alone.**
- **They need defenses of the mind and**
- **conceptual categories around which they can organize their thoughts and actions.**

- Turning the previously colonized into
- participants in a **new moral and cognitive venture** against oppression
- requires more than just periodic elections – significant though that process is.

- It demands the development of a **plurality of insights,**
- **of critical traditions,**
- **and deepening the tools for diagnosis**
- **and hence the quality of prognosis.**

- It may, in certain instances demand
- a **cognitive indifference to the western model**
- **and a robust engagement with tenets of the knowledge production systems themselves**
- **– the disciplines**

Fifthly,

- The path forward out of any situation is therefore about becoming **more human, not just more clever.**
- It is about **transcending our fears of vulnerability, not finding new ways of protecting ourselves.**
- It is about how to act **in the service of the whole, not just in the service of our own interests**

- Kahane cautioned that if we cannot see how what we are doing
- or not doing is contributing to things being the way they are,
- then logically we have no basis at all – **zero leverage,**
- **for changing the way things are**
- – **except from the outside, by persuasion or force.**

- This is because we can never address a problem situation from a **comfortable position of uninvolved innocence.**
- In order to solve tough problems, **we need more than shared ideas.**
- We also need **shared commitment.**
- We need a **sense of the whole and what it demands of us**

- In other words, there is not **‘a’ problem out there** that we can react to, then dash and fix.
- Rather, there is a **“problem situation”** of which each of us is a part – **the way an organ is part of the body.**

- **We affect the situation, and it affects us.**
- The best we can do is to engage with it from **multiple perspectives,**
- and try, in action-learning mode, to improve it....
- more like **unfolding a marriage**
- than it is **fixing a car.**

Sixthly,

- Lawrence Blum has argued that an agent may reason well in moral situations,
- uphold the strictest standards of impartiality for testing maxims and principles,
- and even be adept at deliberation.

- Yet, unless he/she **perceives moral situations as a moral situations**
- and unless he/she **perceives their moral character accurately,**
- their skills at deliberation will be for nought,
- and may even lead them astray.

- One of the most important moral differences between people
- is between those who miss,
- and those who see various moral features of situations confronting them.

- **Perception is the setting for action,**
- and **salience** – i.e. the **adequacy of agent's consciousness** concerning the situation,
- or ability to **grasp the contours of a problem** prior to being called upon to exercise that agency
- -- is key in this.

For example:

- The meaning given to redress from a gender perspective implies, among other things,
- the acquisition of skills to enter not just the “field of employment”,
- but the **male dominated fields of employment**, moving through the *private*, to the *intermediate* and to the *public* domains.

Seventhly,

- Nelly Stromquist warns us that often,
- a lull or absence of critical reflection
- Follows and accompanies practices which have either become over-rhetoricized, or which have stagnated.
- In other words, put every concept into action:
- **Don't just repeat it!!!**

e.g. Human Rights

- “Rights” is an especially valuable concept because it is more than a concept that almost everybody finds meaningful.
- It is a concept that almost everybody respects as having moral authority.

- It makes an inward appeal to conscience,
- in the respect that most people inwardly guide their own conduct to avoid infringing on other people's rights.

- It has moral authority in the sense that
- one is considered justified while acting within one's rights,
- and also in the sense that one is considered to be justified
- in becoming indignant when one's rights are violated.

- According to Richards, what we need is something more than respect for the rights of others for three reasons.
- Firstly, citing Hegel Richards argues that there are too many rights. And **where there is a surplus of rights, force decides.**

- Commonly in a war,
- or in a bar room brawl,
- both sides can paint with the language of rights to give their cause the colour of moral superiority,
- and to give themselves the colour of ‘knights errant’ fighting for a righteous cause.

- And where culturally recognized precepts of right gives both sides good moral arguments,
- there is a moral stalemate in which both sides are rhetorically armed with good reasons for declaring the other evil.
- **It is at this point that force becomes the final arbiter.**

- The second argument he makes drawing from Karl Marx, is that
- **the stubborn persistence of poverty, the instability of capitalist systems,**
- **and the exploitation of labour**
- **are all consistent with recognizing the rights of humanity embodied in the laws of commerce.**

- Where everything is sold at its market price,
- in a free market,
- with property rights respected,
- it is often the case that labour is sold for little or nothing.
- This is a NORM which is also endorsed by the very same societies that harp on human rights.

- The third argument drawn from Solzhenitsyn and Mahatma Gandhi, is that in principle, **rights without duties are unworkable.**
- Emphasizing rights at the expense of duties is similar to adopting Denis Diderot's 18th century definition of liberty: '**whatever the law does not forbid is allowed**'.

- Like liberty, rights-talk can easily lend itself to an irresponsible ethic.
- It authorizes everyone to say what they are supposed to be ALLOWED TO DO,
- and ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE
- and SUPPOSED TO GET.

- **But it does not make anyone responsible for contributing to the welfare of others,**
- **or to the common good**

Part 4:

Insights from the global context

The “Other”, Community and Society

- As a people, we know that **no community is complete without the other.**
- **No society is complete in itself**
- **The “Other” opens us, enlarges us;**
- **Without the otherness of the other,**
- **the self is incomplete**
- **and even vulnerable**

Knowledge and Society

- **What is true of society is true of knowledge**
- **No knowledge is complete in itself**
- **No knowledge is complete without the dreams of the other**
- **Hospitality, reciprocity, generosity, plurality—**
- **Without these, no “commons” of knowledge is possible** (Visvanathan 2016).

And yet...

**We all know that the prevailing
and dominating worldviews
that surrounds us today;
And which we are all compelled to
respond to is one that is:**

- **Narrow** in its vision
- **Exclusive** and **detached** in relating to the total environment
- **Analytical** and **deductive** in its perception and thinking
- **Linear** in its 'doing'
- **Hierarchical** and **competitive** in its management of the field of activity.

The painful facts

- The **era of the Empire**, weak and strong at the same time,
- declared Africa to have **nothing**.
- Its **knowledge systems** were irrelevant.
- We were **unsuited** for the 'modern' world.

- **The Imperial, twisted, parochial mythologies**
- **taught us in Africa**
- **that a handful of countries in Europe**
- **dominated all thoughts**
- **and actions, and**
- **naturally set the pattern for the world.**

- They mangled Darwin's theories of evolution into a **populist racist, political narrative of progress and race;**
- and they used it to **justify their untold violence on Africa**
- and the Third World saying all the while
- that is was **a manifestation of scientific destiny.**

- **So they intentionally headed everything**
- **from table manners and dress codes**
- **to economic methods,**
- **political philosophy**
- **and governmental administration,**
- **to notions of civilizational truth and destiny.**

The pen

- Thanks to the pen of Herbert Spencer's
- “survival of the fittest” in 1864,
- **SUDDENLY**
- **public debate in Europe**
- **was full of scientific truisms**
- **that were neither scientific**
- **nor true.**

By 1870...

- we had social Darwinism
- which helped to shape **more empire mythologies** than any other..
- from Europe to the US and Canada.
- **The combined narratives ruled Africa up to now.** Ralston Saul J. 2014: the Comeback. Toronto. Penguin Canada books.7-11

- Europeans insisted that **their principles**
- in particular were **universal**.
- in the words of Ralston Saul, “the details of **universality as mediocrity** are always fascinating;
- think of them as the **lingering crumbs of massive international forces**”.

- They make sense because behind them
- lie the **national imperial schools of philosophy** which are still anchored around the world
- In which these **'truths'** is still being taught as universal by **THEIR**
- **Oooops ... "OUR" universities...**
- ***with minor amendments up to now!!***

- **Their narrative of history,**
- **cuisine, of civilization, of fashion**
- **spread wide during the violence of
colonization –**
- **ALL apparently universal.**

Educational curricular...

- Educational curricula were filled with these absurdities.
- They then went to mount attacks
- on indigenous cultures and peoples
- and demean them by banning their languages, cultures, rituals
- and all things spiritual.

Illegal, unethical acts followed..

- **Myriad laws, regulations and administrative structures**
- **were created and amended**
- **in order to install a legal infrastructure and punishment,**
- **both social and economic.** (Ralston Saul 2014:12)

Questions for the University in the 21st Century

- At issue here is the *African university* – i.e. what does it mean to have universities in Africa?
- What are the **cultural/epistemic identities** of universities in Africa?
- What constitutes the **ecology of a university** in Africa, and how can this be **reworked** to respond to the **human question** in Africa?

Cont.....

- What is the **'moment of crisis'** in Africa?
- How can African universities give **academic and scientific dignity** to 3rd world problems without **duress**?
- What are the **conceptions of education** that should underpin these explorations?

Cont....

- As we head towards the global, we are being compelled to be more **competitive** in the international knowledge economy.
- However, as we can all see, there are serious **flaws in that economy**, flaws that **have undermined and continue to undermine** both the promotion of democracy, human rights, and any real possibilities for adoption of that **“new social contract”**.

Part 5

The Seeds of Change

- As we begin to fathom the **depths** of what actually happened to us, we have to tackle the **content of academic offerings** (in the case of teaching and learning); and
- **paradigms of knowledge production** (in the case of research); and the
- **quality of our graduates** (in the case of both under, and post-graduate training).
- **SERIOUSLY**

Transformation

- The agenda for the transformation of the academic systems that demands attention is to the **default drive of the academic system itself.**
- Here, **Transformation** is seen as distinct from **Reform and Restructuring**

In that:

- It draws attention to the **basic cultural structures** within which our systems of thought have been constructed across all the **disciplinary domains**, and
- Goes beyond the “**regulatory rules**”
- Into what Howard Richards citing Taylor, has called the “**the constitutive rules**”.

Voices, sounds, souls...

- a **VOICE**, is a **SOUND**, made by, **A SOUL**
(Richards 2013, citing Aristotle)
- Therefore the Voice of Africa is saying:
- **liberation is not enough.**
- Liberation might be a **prelude** to further **oppression**

Liberation

- Liberation needs reflexivity to become **emancipation...**
- And **EMANCIPATION** is hard work.
- **Emancipative knowledges** know that any form of knowledge can turn **oppressive!!**
- They must seek **to create epistemologies** that prevent knowledge systems from being **exploitative, extractive or violent.**

Emancipation....

- Is an attempt to confront **injustice** and **oppression**, both in the every day sense and in terms of global regimes.
- In this vision we have to picture the **democratization of democracy**
- through **cognitive justice**,
- **a new theory of non violence** which goes beyond statist dreams

Therefore my SARCHI Chair...

- Takes development and its antecedents,
- and the acute lessons drawn from it as
- *a pedagogic field*
- and human development as the goal.
- And articulates the codes and pathways
- To systemic transformation of the academy in this light.

And asks the questions:

- What kind of **transformative actions** must be brought to bear to enable both **restorative action** and **sustainable human development** to occur in Africa and elsewhere?
- How can key areas of **disciplinary knowledge production** (such as science, economics, education and law) be **reconstituted** in order to bring about a **just and human-centred development** on the continent and globally?

Introducing the underpinnings of transformation

- The transformation that is called for needs to be located within an **intellectual and political context**.
- When South Africa got its political dispensation in 1994, it silently articulated **three sets of intellectual projects** which have **global relevance**.

The intellectual projects

- The first was the **Truth Commission** as a thought experiment in **justice and healing**.
- The second was the **corruption “initiative”** working on new notions of the relations between **legality and responsibility**.
- The third was the introduction of **traditional institutions and traditional knowledge**.

- Each of these initiatives
- is tied to **AN OVERALL VISION OF THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

Cont...

- This meeting point (vision) provides a **crystal seed of a precious idea, an act of trusteeship that will carry South Africa into a future where alternatives are still possible.**
- It needs to be **nurtured, celebrated and expanded.**
- It is the domain where the *Guerilla* and the **Satyagrahi (the peacemaker) meets** (Visvanathan 2012)

Therefore ..

- the first level of the **revolution**
- is not a revolution in **technology, machinery, techniques, software, or speed,**
- but a revolution in **CONCEPTS**, and
- **thus**
- **THE WAY WE THINK** about issues (Unesco 2005, Odora Hoppers 2009)



- Emerging societies cannot make do just with **mere components of a global information society.**
- **To remain human and liveable,** knowledge societies will have to be societies of **shared knowledge in which a solid 's' is attached at the end of the word knowledge itself.**

To give a voice to the voiceless

- The plural here sanctions the need for **accepted diversity**.
- The emergence of **new concepts**
- and **approaches to theorization** such as those outlined above
- that **capture the lived realities and experiences of those long triaged from the arena of citizenship....**

Cont...

- ...turns the billions of the world's population from **simple-hearted victims of modernity**
- and its armed wing – **colonialism**–
- to **PARTICIPANTS**
- **in a moral and cognitive** venture against oppression.

Part 6:

Pragmatic Responses from the Chair

1. The need for ethical capacity building

In his contribution to the discussions on **critical approaches to culture, communications and hypermedia**, Ron Burnett states that

- “We have to focus on social and cultural conditions for the *creation and communication of ideas, artefacts, knowledge and information* **that have been completely altered**” by the violence of the past..

2. QUESTIONING KNOWLEDGE LEGITIMATION PROCESSES

- The Chair tackles the **knowledge generation**
- **and legitimation processes,**
- **And asks:**
- **what type of knowledge is being generated in our universities**
- **and “scientific” institutions?** (Odora Hoppers 2002)

3. THE CONSTITUTIVE AND SYSTEMIC QUESTIONS

- **What type of research questions are being asked, and**
- **What are the existing rules and regulations**
- **governing legitimation**
- **and accreditation of scientific knowledge?**
(Odora Hoppers 2002)

4. Create a framework for “Rethink Thinking” itself

- In other words we have to **Rethink** key areas of knowledge production, such as law, economics, science, and education
- Call for transformations in the **way we think** about issues..

(see our publication: “Rethinking Thinking: Modernity’s “Other” and the Transformation of the University” 2012, 2017)

5. We have to **Transform** by **Enlargement**

- Introducing **bicultural experts** at the epistemological level in the academy
- Introducing key topics as **“Innovation from Below”– not from the labs, but by common people”** (Prof Mashelkar and Prof Gupta)
- Working with Law faculties to strengthen the paradigmatic imperatives surrounding **“Restorative Justice”** not only stuck in **“Retributive Justice”**

Cont...

- Transformation by **enlargement** leading to **restorative action**
- Link **African metaphysics (Ubuntu)** and **paradigms of livelihood**

6. Facing the “New”-- in other words:

- Go beyond **post-colonial theorizations to transformative interventions** in knowledge production, post-graduate training, and community engagement

7. Articulating the “New” Indigenization

- Differs from **post-independence** “indigenization” which focussed on the inclusion of “black” people into the game or drama
- Questions the **rules of the game**
- Engages the **paradigmatic frames**
- Engages the **constitutive rules of systems**

8. Tying together Epistemology, Diversity, and Democracy

- The need to explore deeper into the interface
- between epistemology, diversity and democracy,
- and of the potentials for true exchange
- and the “*reciprocal valorization among knowledge systems*”.

9. Transformation of the academy: creating space

- **Ethical space imperatives and dialogues on epistemological and cultural jurisdictions**
(Ermine and Poole)
- **The Ethical space is that tension riddled enterprise of cultural border crossing the West had monopolized**

- ...without any ambition to **dialogue**,
- or **reciprocity**,
- or **respect**,
- or **courtesy**,
- or **valorization**,
- or recognition of the **“Other”**.

Cont...

- It is a space in which **values, motivation and assumptions**
- are brought to bear, and at last, **dialogue on issues of plurality and diversity of knowledge,**
- as well as dialogue around **ownership, control, and benefit of those knowledges can be undertaken.** (Ermine & Poole)

10. Duress and Humiliation

- In Africa, and most of the colonized world, **Duress and humiliation** particularly in research and policy work (leave alone life itself)
- are the “single” and most important **weapons of mass destruction** (Lindner 2013)

- **Humiliation is the:**
- **enforced lowering of a person**
- **that damages their pride, honour or dignity..**
- **It is defined as a “Nuclear Bomb of Emotions”**
(Lindner 2013)

Cognitive Justice..

- In rethinking **knowledge systems** therefore,
- **Cognitive Justice** stands out...
- **Cognitive Justice** is the right of *all forms or traditions of knowledge to co-exist* (Visvanathan 2000), **in PUBLIC, without duress** (Odora Hoppers 2009)

Cognitive Justice: its Imperatives

- **Democratic** imperative
- **Pragmatic** imperative
- **Epistemological** imperative
- **Ethical** imperative
- **Livelihood** imperative

But

- **what does it mean?????????**

To cut it short: The Imperatives

- Thus all **theory** must be linked with its **epistemological** locus and anchored in **ethics**.
- The link with the “**other**” through the democratic imperative prevents **duress** from setting in.
- This is the meaning and task of **cognitive justice**.

Part 7

- **CONCLUSIONS**

A caveat from Zinn

- There are several paths available to the historian.
- One can **lie outright** about the past.
- Or one can **omit facts which might lead to unacceptable conclusions.**
- Or, one can take what has become a fairly **“safe”** way: i.e. mention the **truth quickly**, then **proceed to bury it** in a mass of other **information.** (Zinn, A People’s History of the United States)

Cont...

- This third option, is the way to say to the reader with **a certain infectious calm:**
- yes, mass murder took place,
- but it is **not that important - -**
- it should weigh **very little in our final judgements;**
- it should affect **very little what we do in the world.**

He argues that...

- While it is a useless scholarly exercise to indulge in **accusations, judgements and condemnations,**
- *the easy acceptance of atrocities as a deplorable but necessary price to pay for progress* (imperialism, colonialism, Hiroshima, and Vietnam – to save Western civilization; Kronstadt and Hungary to save socialism; nuclear proliferation to save us all)
- **IS STILL WITH US.**

Cont...

- One reason why these atrocities are still with us, is that we have learned how **to bury them in a mass of other facts**
- This kind of **calculated indifference**, coming from the apparent **objectivity of the scholar**,
- or **development expert**, or the economist is easily **accepted and ingested**.
- It is therefore **more deadly**.

The rummage of the victims...

- The rummage of the victims,
- tainted with the **culture that oppresses them,**
- as they seek to find **some way out of the impasse**
- of the **dehumanisation that surrounds them,**



- May, at times lead to **divergent facts**
- surrounding the aspect of history;
- OR, be witnessed in the **victims turning on other victims.**
- **THIS CANNOT BE CONDONED.**

The cry of the poor...

- *the cry of the poor is **not always just**, but if you **do not listen to it**, you will never know **what justice is**.*
- And in such a world rummaging for sources **of life and hope**,
- a world of apparently **never-ending conflicts**, a world of **victims** and **executioners**,



- ***it is the job of right thinking people, as Albert Camus suggested,***
- ***not to be on the side***
- ***of the executioners*** (Zinn H. 1999. A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present. New York. Colin Harper).

Jackson...and... Plato

- **As Samuel Jackson's cautioned that: An injustice anywhere is an injustice everywhere.**
- **And from Plato: Justice will only exist where those not affected by injustice are filled with the same amount of indignation as those affected by it.**

In other words, BE A WARRIOR!

- **A warrior is not a soldier.**
- **A soldier is but a node, in a chain of command.**
- **A soldier obeys orders and regulations, and is loyal to his superiors.**
- **A warrior is not loyal to anyone.**
- **S/He is his own authority.**
- **S/He has a total trust in his own understanding.**

- **A warrior is fearless, he moves into the unknown with courage,**
- **borne from a sense of dignity and self-respect.**
- **And maybe, from a desire to explore the unknown.**

- **The ethos of the warrior,**
- **is permeated with “the subtle beauty of the irregular”,**
- **and seeped through by an “un-orderly grace.”**
- **A warrior is not foreseeable in his actions.**
- **A warrior responds, s/he never reacts.**
- **A warrior is totally in the present**

A NEW, EQUAL, MORE RESPECTFUL RELATIONSHIP

- In other words by thinking, and acting so,
- it means that we create a UNIQUE MOMENT when the inner voice of disenfranchisement meets the outer voice of empowerment...
- When the inner cry for self-determination meets the warm embrace of co-determination. (Odora Hoppers 2007-2017)

THANK YOU