Oppression:
Exploring Conceptual Potential in
Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy

by

Elizabeth Pooley

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Science

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
April 2020

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Abstract

Oppression-related concepts can deepen understandings about the ways in which occupational potential (Wicks, 2001) can become narrowed. Using these concepts incorporates philosophy and theory developed by Bourdieu, Collins, Freire, Foucault, Gramsci, and Martín-Baró alongside terms such as intersectionality and microaggressions. This critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) explores the use of this theory base in selected occupational therapy and occupational science literature. The authors of the sampled articles (n=25) use oppression-related concepts when describing everyday situations, enhancing theoretical ideas, naming occupational science and/or occupational therapy involvement, and seeking to reduce occurrences of oppression. The CIS results show congruence with Young's "faces of oppression", Collins' model of power, the occupational justice framework, and social occupational therapy. The proposed "oppression lens" may assist occupational therapists and occupational scientists to be effective allies, see permeability between the individual and the community, reimagine client-centredness, create an epistemological "openness", and increase attention to praxis.

List of Abbreviations Used

CA: Capabilities approach

CAOT: Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists

CINAHL: Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health

OJ: Occupational Justice

OS: Occupational Science

OT: Occupational Therapy

PAR: Participatory Action Research

POJF: Participatory Occupational Justice Framework

UN: United Nations

UNDHR: United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

WFOT: World Federation of Occupational Therapists

WHO: World Health Organization

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my husband Dave, children Joshua and Evan, and my parents, Gaye and Patrick for their unwavering support.

Thank you to my thesis committee for their guidance and insightful questions. Sincere thanks to my advisor Brenda Beagan for challenging me to find my voice and for valuable feedback throughout this thesis. It was a pleasure to work with you.

Thank you to everyone in my personal and professional life who helped shape my ideas and offered encouragement. I am grateful to the authors whose work and passion form the backbone of this thesis.

As I begin, I wish to acknowledge that Dalhousie University is located in Mi’kma’ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi’kmaq.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Occupational therapists have a passion for helping others and many value the creative problem solving they are able to use in their day to day work. In partnership with others, they have reduced barriers to doing since the inception of the profession when "occupational workers" helped hospital patients engage in meaningful activity (Driver, 1968). The introduction of occupational science in 1989 further encouraged attention to social and health problems with a focus on occupation (Clark et al., 1991). As the profession has developed, research and theory development in both the global north and the global south have included attention to "political engagements and social transformation" (Frank & Zemke, 2009, p. 111) through diverse means including critical inquiry and reflexivity (Beagan, 2015), examining relationships between occupation and injustice (Angell, 2014; Ramugondo, 2015) as well as using concrete initiatives such as social occupational therapy (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018) and participatory action research methods (Lauckner, Krupa, & Paterson, 2011). Perhaps the most well-known term used to explore "socially and politically engaged" approaches to occupation (Rudman, 2014, p. 373) is occupational justice (OJ) (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004) with 317 publications addressing either the topic of OJ or occupational injustices between 2011 and 2015 (Malfitano, de Sousa & Lopes, 2016). While seeking to understand the strengths and limitations of OJ and appreciate the breadth of social justice literature, I found myself attending to a concept that I encountered occasionally while reading about OJ: oppression.

Oppression can be defined as “a harm through which groups of persons are systematically and unfairly or unjustly constrained, burdened, or reduced by any of several forces” (Cudd, 2006, p. 23). In her philosophical work, Cudd notes the lack of attention given to this concept while pointing out that philosophers are rarely from oppressed groups (Cudd, 2006, p. vii). This lack of attention is mirrored in OJ literature where the use of the concept oppression (and related terms for specific forms of oppression such as racism, sexism etc.) is found significantly less often than the terms justice, equality, and rights. This thesis seeks to bring together current understandings of OJ, theoretical knowledge of oppression from outside the profession, and information gathered using a critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) to explore how the concept is used in occupational science (OS) and/or occupational therapy (OT) literature. Exploring the value of the concept of oppression may help occupational scientists and occupational therapists to see patterns in the ways that the social is influencing occupations and consider action toward reducing or eliminating social harm.

When gathering information within any naturalistic inquiry, including interpretive reviews, the investigator is involved and becomes embedded in the process of data gathering (Depoy & Gitlin, 2016). A reflexive stance is important. Therefore, let me share with you that I am one of many middle class, heterosexual, able bodied, white women who have been drawn to the profession of occupational therapy (OT). Initially seeking to respond to Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I became interested in the broader social dynamics that limit occupation. I was also motivated by the idea that understanding oppression might help create a professional climate that was more welcoming to people who had felt unwelcome (Chacala, Mccormack, Collins, &

Beagan 2014; Kirsh, Trentham, & Cole, 2006; Valavaara, 2012). This exploration is theoretical, which is ironic given the importance of the relationship between theory and action inherent in the concept of oppression. Let me share an experience that grounded for me the notion that Rachel Thibeault (2013) explains so well: that doing, without enough understanding, leads to troubles. Just before graduation, as an "almost OT", I had the chance to tour a center for children with cerebral palsy in Belarus. I remember having some toys with me, and in the process of offering them, (with my limited Russian), the receiver asked "What do you want?". In that moment, with her tone of voice, I knew that this "doing" was somehow going wrong. I knew that there was much about power relations between nation states, and between social groups, boiled down into individual interactions, that I did not fully understand. This short interaction likely influenced my decision to begin by exploring theory about justice and oppression while learning from occupational scientists and occupational therapists who have considered oppression and its relationship to occupational participation.

This thesis strives to broaden the perspectives considered when examining and influencing complex social dynamics and everyday consequences of inequality by asking, "How might an exploration of the concept of oppression within OS and OT literature shape theory development in occupational science and occupational therapy?" Through it I hope to encourage occupational scientists and occupational therapists to celebrate contributions to a just world that have been underrepresented in OS and OT theorizing. By attending to oppression, I foreground concepts not found in core OJ works such as consciousness, resistance, micro-aggressions, and intersectionality. This work may also add some of the conceptual precision called for by Hammell (2017a) and Durocher,

Rappolt, and Gibson (2014) who point out the limitations that follow from unclear and overlapping OJ concepts. Understanding oppression can also help occupational scientists and occupational therapists to consider the potential oppressive influence that assumptions can have within the discipline (Gerlach, 2008; Hammell, 2015; Hocking et al., 2014) and broaden understanding of power, thereby increasing awareness of how power shapes occupation and our profession. Studying the concept of oppression provides an opportunity to learn from other groups who have considered oppression within their contexts, and the review of literature allows consideration of the similarities and differences between OS and OT study of oppression and work in other professions.

The methodology chosen is a critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) that uses existing literature to discover how occupational scientists and occupational therapists are engaging with the concept of oppression and how it may be used to enhance theoretical understanding of justice related theory. This review process is a type of interpretive review, which, distinct from aggregative reviews, seek to develop concepts and theories using inductive and interpretive processes (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). A synthesis takes "parts" that are available in the literature and through both an analytical and innovative process, the emerging "whole" is a product that in some way is greater than its parts (Strike & Posner, as cited in Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). CIS uses a critical perspective to create a synthesizing argument or theoretical proposal, grounded logically and plausibly in data (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). The researcher begins with a tentative research question (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006) and key nonlinear processes (searching, sampling, critique, and analysis) that become "dynamic and mutually informing" (p.44). The emerging synthesizing argument links constructs and offers a "theoretically sound

and useful account that is demonstrably grounded in the evidence" (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 45).

This thesis engages with the concept of oppression and its current and potential influence on conversations in OS and OT. As occupational scientists seek to "expand the boundaries of occupational therapy" (Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011, p. 29) an understanding of oppression has the potential to positively influence practice relationships. Thus, the potential of oppression to influence both OS and OT were considered. Beginning in Chapter 2, there is an examination of the dominant concepts and models used in OS and OT to engage with societal influences and issues of social justice. Philosophical ideas and similar approaches that have influenced the development and critiques of occupational justice are explored. In Chapter 3, I focus on the concept oppression, defining the concept, providing theoretical frameworks, and considering the use of the term in OS and OT literature. In Chapter 4, the research questions and CIS methodology are introduced. In addition, the selection process for the methodology, a description and rationale for the use of critical interpretative synthesis, and an explanation of the data collection and analysis processes are provided. In Chapter 5, I present the findings of the CIS, naming specific oppressions found in the selected OS and OT literature, identifying foci, documenting use of terms related to oppression, and examining attention to power. Responses to oppression found within the articles, occupational therapy and occupational justice concepts, and recommendations are also identified. Following this summary of findings, I explore the fit of the ideas emerging from the CIS with four existing models of justice and oppression in Chapter 6. This exploration leads to the creation of an "oppression lens" and two additional models are

used to consider the lens and its usefulness for OS and OT. In the conclusion, I leave the reader with ideas for change, responding to literature that encourages occupational scientists and occupational therapists to bring “hope and a vision of possibilities” (Whiteford, Townsend, Bryanton, Wicks, & Pereira, 2017, p. 167) while enabling occupation.

The thesis seeks to add to the body of knowledge encouraging a “socially and politically engaged” discipline (Rudman, 2014, p. 373). As this introduction ends and Chapter 2 begins, I invite you to imagine an occupational justice dinner table. There are well laid places in the literature for justice, injustice, rights, deprivation, and marginalization. At this table, oppression is absent, or sitting in a small chair in a corner. Why was “oppression” not invited in the same way as the other terms? Is the word unwelcome? Too intrusive? Needed? Longed for? This thesis examines oppression, its influence, and its potential influence on conversations about justice in occupational therapy and occupational science.

Chapter 2: A Socially Engaged Discipline and Ideas about Justice

Within occupational science and occupational therapy, there is a growing appreciation of the complex influence of social and institutional environments on occupation. The profession challenges itself to move "forward in its development as a socially and politically engaged discipline" (Rudman, 2014, p. 373), both through theory development and active responses. Justice and rights discourses have significantly influenced this socially focused work. This chapter reviews some of the many ways OS and OT engage with societal influences that affect what people do. After exploring this plurality, it names occupational justice as a central concept and explores its critiques. The chapter then examines philosophical ideas and similar approaches that have influenced the development and critiques of occupational justice.

2.1. Diversity in Exploring the Social within OS and OT

Many differing methods are used within OS and OT to engage "socially and politically" in occupation, including broad terms and approaches to practice. One broad term used frequently in the literature is "social transformation", intended to encourage the profession to pay attention to the possibility of social change. Uses of this term have helped identify the relationship between occupation and social realities (Townsend, 1997), articulate a vision for occupational science, and emphasize the need for science that links knowledge and action (Rudman et al., 2008). "Social transformation" was chosen as the focus of the Social Transformational Model of Occupational Therapy which shows potential interaction between individuals, occupational therapists, and social structures (Frank & Zemke, 2009). Social transformation is also called "the core focus"

of a theory of occupational reconstruction (Frank & Muriithi, 2015) and Rudman (2014) has used the term social transformation to encourage occupational therapists and occupational scientists to see possibilities within and beyond their current professional roles. Social transformation is a useful term, inviting occupational scientists and occupational therapists to engage in work that changes opportunities for doing constrained by social environments.

"Social OT" is a practice approach within OT that requires engagement with social structures. It was developed over 20 years ago in Brazil to increase opportunities for occupation within groups experiencing social barriers. It offers "politically and ethically framed professional actions…to enable justice and social rights for people who are disadvantaged by current social conditions" (Barro, Ghirardi & Lopes, 2005 as cited in Malfitano & Lopes, 2018, p.21). Projects using this approach often include an occupational focus such as school participation, employment seeking, and youth leisure participation. Other projects may have a more indirect focus such as co-facilitating discussions of violence with teachers (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018). Therapists are encouraged to seek change while recognizing the limited power of occupational therapy to change social structures (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018). Social OT is founded on the inseparability of the individual from the collective, while retaining a focus on individual needs. It acknowledges the social and economic roots of individual occupational concerns (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018). Key concepts include social praxis (reflection and action that attempts to transform) and territory ("a geographically delimited place in which social life occurs, subject to its cultural issues and economic determinants") (Malfitano, Lopes, Magalheas & Townsend, 2014, p. 299). Within Social OT, the social perspective helps

ensure that the source of an individual's trouble is not reduced to individual causes, as can happen in a biomedical model. Social OT reminds us that "occupational needs are never only biomedical and in some circumstances are not biomedical at all" (Malfitano et al., 2014, p. 304). Social context and recognizing social inequities become the starting point of occupational therapy practice, rather than additional considerations. Social OT creates "possibilities for people to know and live in another way" (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018, p. 25).

Community development is a second approach used within OT that emphasizes empowerment with a focus on community priorities (Lauckner et al., 2011). It involves a "process of organizing or supporting community groups in their identification of important concerns and issues and their ability to plan and implement strategies to mitigate their concerns and resolve their issues" (LaBonte, 2012, p. 103). Community development requires sharing power with communities, as do similar approaches such as community-based rehabilitation, health promotion, and organizational development (Townsend, Cockburn, Letts, Thibeault, & Trentham, 2013). Interventions supporting community development may fall into one of three (potentially overlapping) modes: locality development (a local group democratically determining goals and a shared plan), social planning (a state or agency determines goals; local participation is encouraged; emphasis on outcome) and social action (leaders energize a group to act; may include conflict between those with and without power) (Rothman, 2008).

Occupational therapists using community development approaches recognize assets and capacities as well as the needs that exist within a community (Townsend et al., 2013). The "Framework for understanding community development from an occupational

therapy perspective” helps define the occupational therapy role which involves “anchoring, centering, and relinquishing” when working with community members, agencies, and health institutions/structures (Lauckner, et al., 2011, p. 265) Within this framework and other community development approaches, the need to share and/or shift power is emphasized. Community development has enabled social change in Western workplaces (Lauckner et al., 2011) and throughout the world (Renton & van Bruggen, 2015; Thibeault, 2013). For example, Rachael Thibeault received the Order of Canada for her work, which exemplifies community-based OT. She states, “From the High Arctic to South Africa by way of South East Asia, Central America, and the Middle East, I have partnered with groups faced with HIV/AIDS, war, leprosy, landmines, and extreme violence” (Thibeault, 2013, p. 247).

Within and beyond these models, critical reflexivity is an important process used within OS and OT to see connections between relationships, social structures, and power (Beagan & Chacala, 2012; Farias, Rudman, & Magalhães, 2016; Gerlach, 2015). Critical reflexivity goes beyond reflection, and can be used to examine practice partnerships (Occupational Therapy Professional Alliance of Canada, 2014). Social worker Mary Ellen Kondrat (1999) named “critical reflectivity” to describe the process of simultaneously considering the social and the personal in the reflection process. This process involves questioning oneself about “the world”, “my world” and “correspondences and contradictions between those worlds” (Kondrat, 1999, p. 465). Through this endeavor, people may “question how we are individually located historically, politically, and socially in relation to our clients; the organizational contexts in which we work; and the broader society in which we live” (Gerlach, 2015, p. 250).

Occupational scientists and occupational therapists may also identify and unlearn "worldviews and behaviours that are systematically harmful to particular groups" (Beagan, 2015, p. 277). Insights gained from questioning professional and disciplinary discourses are then used to enact transformation (Farias et al., 2016). The Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists (CAOT) advocates for continued research and theory development to support critical reflexivity and assist therapists to develop "awareness of how 'difference' is affected by and in turn affects social power relations" (Occupational Therapy Professional Alliance of Canada, 2014, para 5).

Attention to the political and social within OS and OT has grown. Whether promoting social transformation, community development, social OT, critical reflexivity, or other ways of addressing social change, attention to social influences and structures is increasingly evident in OS and OT literature. The interest and diversity of responses demonstrates a significant level of engagement within the profession. One of the most consistent ways "socially and politically engaged" has been discussed is through the concept of occupational justice (OJ), which will be explored next.

2.2. Occupational Justice

Occupational justice as a concept was introduced by Elizabeth Townsend and Ann Wilcock who brought together their ideas about justice, the importance of occupation, and well-being. Guided by a vision of an occupationally just world in which participation in occupation is possible for all, they sought to bring awareness to situations in which occupation is "barred, confined, restricted, segregated, prohibited, underdeveloped, disrupted, alienated, marginalized, exploited, excluded or otherwise restricted" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 77). In discussions with occupational

therapists, they considered the concepts of occupation, justice, social justice, and OJ (Wilcock & Townsend, 2009), gradually refining ideas until they introduced OJ as an evolving concept (Stadnyk, Townsend, & Wilcock, 2010). Occupational justice can "sensitize researchers to important inequities, assist them to understand the issues, and provide language to frame the actions necessary to make access to occupations more inclusive and improve well-being" (Hocking, 2017, p. 41). As a concept, it "currently binds together much of the thinking about OT, OS, human rights and the possibility of political and social change" (Frank & Muriithi, 2015, p. 15).

OJ has been summarized in multiple articles and book chapters. Durocher, Gibson and Rappolt (2014) in their conceptual review found that, "OJ is linked to the concept of social justice but emphasizes individuals' unique occupational needs, habits, and capacities, and that participation in meaningful occupation has an impact on individual and community health" (pp. 428-429). As OJ developed, Townsend and Wilcock named occupational rights and the outcomes of occupational injustices. OJ asserts that all people have the following rights:

> (a) Right to experience occupation as meaningful and enriching.
>
> (b) Right to develop through participation in occupations for health and social inclusion.
>
> (c) Right to exert individual or population autonomy through choice in occupations.
>
> (d) Right to benefit from fair privileges for diverse participation in occupation. (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 81).

If these rights are not met, occupational injustice ensues. Townsend and Wilcock (2004) propose four occupational injustices: occupational alienation, deprivation, marginalization and imbalance. A 5th injustice, occupational apartheid, was introduced by Kronenberg and Pollard (2005, as cited by Wilcock & Hocking, 2015).

The first occupational injustice to be introduced to the literature was occupational deprivation, described by Whiteford in 2000 as “a state of preclusion from engagement in occupations of necessity and/or meaning due to factors that stand outside of the immediate control of the individual” (Whiteford, 2000, p. 201). She emphasizes that occupational deprivation is applied to long term preclusion and does not apply to temporary situations such as preclusion secondary to an injury from which one is expected to recover. Occupational marginalization is similar, but has an increased focus on power and the ability to choose. It names how the right to choose is restricted by visible and invisible forces including normative expectations and standards (Stadnyk et al., 2010). The description emphasizes the effect of the latter to limit how, when, and where occupations are engaged in, and by whom.

Occupational alienation occurs when a lack of opportunities and/or resources lead to an “outcome when people experience daily life as meaningless or purposeless” (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 339). It can be experienced by individuals and populations when engaging in required occupations that people find meaningless such as workfare programs, or “repetitive, mind numbing” paid work (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 339). Occupational imbalance, as the name suggests, refers to situations in which too much time is spent engaged in activities related to one kind of occupation, resulting in insufficient opportunity to engage in other desired occupations. This term is applied at the

individual and population level (Stadnyk et al., 2010). Townsend and Wilcock (2004) emphasize the way that a society chooses to divide labour (deciding how employment and other work are created/divided and remunerated) contributes to imbalances in occupations and disparity in economic benefits. They ask "would occupational justice be advanced by having a system of guaranteed wages, or a communal system of resource sharing?" (Townsend and Wilcock, 2004 p. 83). It is interesting to note that this communal emphasis is less prominent in the Stadnyk, et al., (2010) chapter prepared for a major introductory textbook.

The final term, occupational apartheid, was introduced and incorporated into occupational justice theory. "Occupational apartheid occurs in situations where opportunities for occupation are afforded to some individuals and restricted to others based on personal characteristics such as race, disability, gender, age, nationality, religion, social status, sexuality and so on" (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2005 as cited in Durocher et al., 2014a, p. 421). Townsend and Wilcock do not list it as a separate occupational injustice, but indicate that situations of occupational marginalization and alienation may also meet the definition for occupational apartheid (Stadnyk et al., 2010). The idea of occupational injustices and the terms for occupational injustices (summarized most comprehensively by Durocher et al., 2014a) have been used frequently within the OS and OT literature. In addition to the terms themselves, frameworks have been developed to further explain how occupational injustices can occur and how OS and OT can respond.

The Framework of Occupational Justice names factors that influence individuals' ability to enact occupational rights or likelihood of experiencing occupational injustice

(Stadnyk, 2007). In this framework, Stadnyk (2007) lists structural factors (such as type of economy or availability of income supports) and contextual factors (such as gender or rural location) create conditions which influence participation in occupation. Structures and contexts that limit or prevent occupational outcomes either create occupational injustices or lead to "Dis-Ease" (changes in occupational patterns as a result of limiting conditions such as civic disturbance or social disintegration) (Stadnyk, 2007).

The Participatory Occupational Justice Framework (POJF) is a tool that supports action towards OJ (Whiteford et al., 2017). It is consistent with "a justice of difference" (see Young in the next section), is grounded in critical theory, and emphasizes human rights. The framework names six collaborative enabling processes that occur within broad contexts: practice, systems, local, regional, national, and global. These enabling processes are nonlinear and can guide the user to identify injustices and act with (not for) people to address them. The six processes named are: "raise consciousness of occupational injustice, engage collaboratively with partners, mediate agreement on a plan, strategize resource funding, support implementation and continuous evaluation, inspire advocacy for sustainability or closure" (Whiteford et al., 2017, p. 168).

A second tool created to help embed thinking about occupational justice into health care settings is the Occupational Justice and Health Questionnaire (Wilcock & Townsend, 2019). The questionnaire helps operationalize the first collaborative process (raise consciousness) named in the POJF within occupational therapy settings. The assessment lists determinants for well-being, (such as "shelter" and "can realize aspirations") chosen from United Nations (UN), World Health Organization (WHO), and World Federation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT) documents (Wilcock &

Townsend, 2019, p. 655). Therapists use the tool to document (including through self-report) whether their client is "able" or "unable" to meet each determinant. If the client is "unable", the therapist records whether this inability is due to one or more health, political, social, or economic reasons. Therapists then summarize whether a person's "right to health and wellbeing is decreased" secondary to 16 named social conditions (Wilcock & Townsend, 2019, p. 655). Townsend and Wilcock hope that this quick assessment will encourage therapists and teams to be more aware of the social factors that inhibit doing for individuals, communities, and/or populations. These tools help operationalize the ideas within occupational justice, supporting occupational therapists to be "socially and politically engaged". Thus, OJ with its vision and its definitions of occupational injustices and rights continues to influence the profession worldwide. Given its growing use by OS and OT, it is fitting that OJ is also the subject of thoughtful critiques.

2.3. Critique of Occupational Justice

As influential as occupational justice has been within the OS and OT literature for promoting reflection and action, theorists have also raised several critiques. This section summarizes limitations with conceptual development, challenges of an overly Western theory, and the potential for reduced opportunities that stem from a discipline-specific focus. It then highlights two alternatives that have been suggested.

Considerations of OJ introduce several new and overlapping concepts. Several reviewers suggest that these concepts are not sufficiently developed and the notion of OJ would benefit from increased conceptual clarity (Durocher et al., 2014a; Gupta, 2016; Hammell & Beagan, 2017), increased empirical evidence to support theoretical ideas

(Durocher et al., 2014a; Gupta, 2016; Hocking, 2017), and an ongoing exploration of social justice philosophy (Hocking, 2017). Conceptualizations of OJ have also been challenged as unable to account for some problematic situations such as circumstances in which justice for one group can lead to injustice for another (Bailliard, 2016). Terms found within OJ could be enhanced by increasing depth and breadth of knowledge of justice discourse (Durocher et al., 2014a; Gupta 2016; Hocking, 2017), attention to its theory base (Durocher et al., 2014; Hocking, 2017; Rudman, 2014) and attention to its underlying philosophy (Bailliard, 2016; Frank, 2012; Gupta, 2016; Hocking, 2017; Ramugondo, 2015). These critics argue that conceptual limitations exist and that insufficient rigor is applied when examining complex bodies of literature external to the profession.

While Townsend and Wilcock are transparent about elements of Western theory that are embedded in OJ as a concept, there is a lack of meaningful non-Western input into its conceptual development (Hammell & Beagan, 2017). Western ideas are situated as universal or unchallenged, "normal" ways of viewing people and the world. However, people from outside Western traditions may refute the notion that Western ideas of justice invoke fairness and equity (Hammell, 2017) and argue that occupation needs to be decolonized (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018).

One example of a Western assumption or belief that has been named as potentially limiting within OJ is the notion of individuals as "autonomous and interdependent in contexts" (Stadnyk et al., 2010). Critiques suggest that this understanding is too narrow, and may be responsible for a tendency in OJ literature to overemphasize the individual (Benjamin-Thomas & Rudman, 2018). Bailliard notes, "if

the focus is on the individual as an autonomous agent, then interventions may erroneously target individual factors when the most appropriate target may be elsewhere" (2016, p. 8). Bailliard (2016) and Galvaan (2014) name overt and internalized social/structural influences on occupation in their research, but this kind of research is only possible if one sufficiently integrates the influence of complex factors beyond the individual. The individualized focus often found in OS and OT (consistent with OJ) has been challenged as culturally specific (Iwama, 2007) and other concepts (such as transactional) present alternatives to the dualistic idea of person in an environment (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphry, 2006). Hammell (2017) argues that the predominant focus on the individual within OJ limits the profession's ability to see the social justice issues in OT practices. Thus, while Western theory influenced the development of OJ, the concept is criticized for including unexamined Western ideals that limit its conceptual development and global applicability.

The final critique noted here is OJ's limited use in multidisciplinary situations because OJ is specific to OS and OT. Durocher and Hammell both express concerns about limited potential for use by non-occupational scientists/occupational therapists thus hindering interdisciplinary collaborations (Durocher et al., 2014a; Hammell, 2017a). For example, public health researchers examining the impact of social determinants of health, may not find a paper on health consequences of occupational deprivation and then not think to include occupational therapists or occupational scientists in collaborations. If they find such a paper, they may exclude it if they assume it is narrowly focused on paid work. The dissemination of OJ and its usefulness as a concept to assist in social transformation, may be limited by its specificity to OS and OT.

Given the limitations described above, some occupational scientists and occupational therapists who critique OJ advance alternatives. Perhaps surprisingly, there has been limited direct engagement with theories of social justice, though related ideas have been taken up. Bioethics, a field that draws on interdisciplinary knowledge including philosophy and political theory, is proposed as a potential opportunity for collaboration (Durocher et al., 2014b). The capabilities approach (CA; summarized later in the chapter) is advanced as another alternative because it offers a multidisciplinary global reach and a strong conceptual base (Bailliard, 2016; Hammell, 2017a). CA may also assist OS and OT to identify socially focused (vs individual) solutions (Hammell, 2017a). Townsend explored CA by juxtaposing capabilities and occupational justice, but does not conclude that one has more potential to support OJ goals than the other. Instead, three "lessons" emerge from her efforts: (a) justice requires social accountability, (b) justice calls on societies to govern inclusive freedoms and (c) justice advances when societies organize universal rights (Townsend, 2012). Finally, human rights are proposed as a more appropriate focus for occupational therapy (further discussion about human rights is also offered in the next section) (Hammell, 2017a). Human rights provide a global framework and WFOT has an occupation-focused statement of human rights (WFOT, 2006). While recognizing that human rights are part of OJ theory, Hammell (2017a) argues that a rights-based framework could lead to a clearer focus on doing and allow occupational therapists to participate in the tradition of linking rights to policy development. In summary, CA, human rights, and a stronger relationship with bioethics are all proposed to address some of the issues identified in critiques of OJ.

This section reviewed the concepts of occupational justice and injustice and some approaches to support their use in OT and OS. I then turned to explore the limitations with conceptual development, the imposition of a Western worldview, and a discipline-specific focus before naming alternative approaches that have been proposed. In order to give context to both occupational justice and its critiques, I now examine the theoretical work that has influenced the conceptual development of OJ.

2.4. Naming and Exploring Theoretical Contributions to Occupational Justice

Development of the concept of occupational justice has incorporated philosophical and political theory into its understandings of justice, social justice, and human rights. As noted in the critique of OJ, increased attention to its conceptual foundations is recommended. Understanding how a concept has been used in the past and analyzing a concept philosophically can "assist in its transformation" (MacIntyre, 1998, p. 2). Townsend, Wilcock, and other OJ writers name theorists whose work influenced their ideas (see Table 2.1). Within works about OJ, Wilcock and Hocking (2015) offer the most comprehensive summary of the development of justice and discuss the link between human rights and justice.

This chapter explores many identified theorists including early Greek philosophers, Thomas Hobbes, John Stewart Mill, John Rawls, Iris Marion Young, Vicky Schultz, Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, and Sridhar Venkatapuram. In addition, three theorists named by John Rawls (John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant) are reviewed to give context to Rawls' theory of justice. Following this, an introduction to human rights is presented. It goes without saying that numerous historical and contemporary theorists who are not included in this review (e.g., Baruch Spinoza, David

Hume, John Dewey and Nancy Fraser to name a few) have also contributed to theory about right and wrong, fairness, and individual acts. All the theorists identified as influential in the development of OJ ideas and theory work within Western traditions, which inserts an inherent limitation. This chapter then provides a brief philosophical tour of theorists named in the OS and/or OT literature and their contributions to justice and social justice before a brief introduction to human rights.

Table 2.1. Philosophical theorists named in OJ reviews and selected literature.

Wilcock & Hocking 2015	Townsend & Wilcock 2004	Stadnyk et al., 2010	Durocher et al. 2014	Bailliard, 2016	Hocking, 2017
Aristotle Hobbes Mill Marx Rawls Tara Smith Sen Young Pelton	Locke Young Schultz	Rawls Habermas Nussbaum Sen Schultz Sen Young	Fraser Nussbaum Rawls Sen Sherwin	Rawls Nussbaum Sen Venkatapuram Young	Rawls Miller Young Sen Nussbaum Venkatapuram

Before beginning “the tour”, it should be noted that distinctions between justice and social justice are blurred. Social justice can be considered a pseudonym of distributive justice (Boucher & Kelly, 1998) or “an extended version of distributive justice pursued more systematically and with a respect to a wider range of benefits” (Miller, 1999, p. 2). These definitions are but a starting point:

> “In writing an adequate history of theories of social justice…one can impose a formal definition of the concept which results in a clearly identifiable narrative, but which will inevitably leave out much of the

contested character of the concept; or, one can… try to reflect adequately the contested character of the concept." (Boucher & Kelly, 1998, p. 3).

I wish to acknowledge the conceptual complexity as I offer a brief and simplified overview of some ideas related to justice. Yet this exploration of original texts on justice has been important to ground my examination of justice in the context of occupation.

Justice has a long history in the West. The Western development of the concept of justice begins a few centuries B.C.E. when people in Greek society began to live in city-states. Greek thinkers found that the qualities valued in a leader (as presented by Homer: courageous, cunning, aggressive) were no longer helpful in this more urban environment (MacIntyre, 1998). While they began to consider alternatives, they incorporated ideas already normalized in Greek society including land ownership, slavery, and identifying outsiders collectively as Other (Williams, 2012). These underlying ideas about human "others" and ownership influenced the development of the concept of justice.

Sophists, or teachers, within this societal framework began to teach citizens about what was "just" within a particular city state (MacIntyre, 1998). Variations in behaviour between different cities led sophists to questions such as "What am I do to [sic]? How am I to live?" (MacIntyre, 1998, p. 11). Ancient moral theory thus became interested in a just person, their character, and attitudes (Richard, 2017). At the time of the Sophists, (including Socrates), justice was named as one of four virtues, in addition to wisdom, courage and moderation (temperance) (Richard, 2017). Plato used the Greek word "*δίκη* (*dike*)" to mean how things normally are and how people usually act, but the meaning of the Greek word gradually transitioned to a meaning similar to how justice is defined today (MacIntyre, 1998). The word justice comes to English via French (justice)

and before that Latin (iūstita). The Latin (translated now as righteousness or equity) can be traced to an old Latin word meaning "sacred way" which was related in meaning to the idea of acting correctly (Philosophy Index, 2018).

2.4.1. Reviewing theoretical foundations: Selected Western philosophers.

Western philosophers have not stopped asking questions about justice since key philosophers in medieval, classical, and modern periods began writing on the subject. Philosophers consider the idea of moral judgements, how they guide actions, and what we "ought" to do (MacIntyre, 1998). The Western concept of justice has been shaped through movements of rationalism, empiricism, relativism, existentialism, socialism, and utilitarianism. Some of the theorists mentioned by occupational scientists and occupational therapists considered themselves part of these traditions. This section introduces contributions from Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, and Mill.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) is credited with founding modern philosophy (MacIntyre, 1998) and is considered to have been an empiricist. He was also a materialist, believing that people were material vs spiritual. Since people are "more or less alike in their physical and mental constitutions" (Hartz & Nielsen, 2015, p. 11), Hobbes concludes that humans are naturally equal: "Nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of the body and mind" (Hobbes, 1962/1651, p. 98). Although Hobbes believed people were naturally equal, he thought it was acceptable to treat people unequally within civil society (Slomp, 1994). He also advocated that distribution of resources is desirable: "For there is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of any thing (*sic*), than that every man is contented with his share" (Hobbes, 1962/1651, p. 98). Hobbes developed "laws of nature" that include justice and equity and believed

that some rights should be turned over to the government to promote a stable society and protect people against harm from others (Hartz & Nielsen, 2015).

John Locke (1632- 1704), a contemporary of Hobbes, was an empiricist and both men supported natural rights theory (Uzgalis, 2019). Locke believed that humans have the right to the means of survival, requiring life, liberty, health, and property. His social contract theory allows for some of these rights to be transferred to a government (Uzgalis, 2019). Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), born just following Locke's death, challenges the relationship between people and justice presented in Locke and Hobbes' work. Rousseau believed that human nature could be distorted by corrupt social institutions. For him, a just individual could only exist within a just system (MacIntyre, 1998) and his ideas are credited with influencing the French Revolution. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) further developed the idea of human dignity, a notion that existed in antiquity (Habermas, 2012). He is well known for introducing the idea that some actions are universally right (actions that ought to be taken independent of circumstances), an idea he referred to as a categorical imperative (also called moral imperative) (MacIntyre, 1998). The categorial imperative is contrasted with the hypothetical imperative, or acts that can be right or wrong depending on the circumstances. The "golden rule" of treating others as you wish to be treated is an example of a categorical imperative. The contributions of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant to ideas about social relationships, moral acts, justice, and equity all influenced the theorists that followed them.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was a utilitarian philosopher and political economist. Utilitarians believe that the goal of society is to maximize happiness for society as a whole. Mill considered how justice and ideas of right and wrong fit with the utilitarian

philosophy. Described as “impatient to rectify injustice and to further human welfare” (Spencer, 1873, chapter 3), he created a theory of justice based on the concepts of subjectivity (justice must be recognizable to citizens), objectivity (some criterion is needed to settle disputes), and being adaptive (the concept must be flexible to changing individual and social interests) (Clark & Elliott, 2001). The challenges he had while integrating these ideas paved the way for Rawls’ theory of justice.

2.4.2. Reviewing theoretical foundations: Select contemporary theorists.

Building on the foundations laid by generations of earlier philosophers, more contemporary theorists have explored and expanded thinking on moral ideas including rights, resource distribution, difference, and access to opportunities and resources among others. An introduction to the work of Rawls, Young, and Schultz is provided here and is followed by an overview of the capabilities approach and human rights.

John Rawls’ (1921-2002) theory of justice is often where theorists in OS and/or OT begin their discussions of justice. Rawls was influenced by the ideas of earlier philosophers that all humans have rights, that social structures have an important role in the creation and maintenance of justice, and that some actions are universally correct. Rawls’ theory of justice as fairness has two main principles: that people have inalienable rights, and that society can have unequal distribution of goods if the least of society stand to benefit (Rawls, 1971). In this way, he introduces the influential idea that there are standards or limits to what is acceptable for individuals or groups, even if poor conditions for a few results in better conditions for the majority. Rawls’ work has been widely influential and many later theorists explain how their ideas converge or diverge from Rawls’ ideas of justice.

Iris Marion Young was a feminist and political and social theorist, whose work on justice, difference, and social structure had a significant impact on theories of justice including occupational justice. Young writes that her model is grounded in experiences in solidarity with groups seeking justice and her most well-known work is *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990). Her colleague recalls that "her work on justice always had the oppression of real people at its center" (Mansbridge, 2008). Young found that contemporary philosophical theories of justice were not sufficiently representative for the marginalized groups she supported. She saw material distribution as insufficient for achieving justice because it ignores the influence of "decision making structure and procedures, division of labor, and culture" (Young, 1990, p. 22). To achieve justice, Young (1990) asserts that one must examine the social relationships that perpetuate injustice and that a conception of justice should begin with domination and oppression, not distribution.

Another contribution within Young's work, and one that is emphasized by Townsend and Wilcock (2004), is her assertion that differences must be considered when seeking equality and justice. Young argues that equal distribution of resources and equal treatment cannot overcome the effects of systemic marginalization, disadvantage, and exploitation built into social power structures. In contrast to Rawls, Young's justice of difference recognizes that groups may need differing levels of resources to have equal outcomes. Young believes that in a just society, adequate resources and just treatment allow people to a) develop and exercise capacities and b) participate in determining one's actions (Young, 1990). Her contribution to understanding oppression is addressed in Chapter 3.

American legal scholar Vicki Schultz provided Townsend and Wilcock (2004) with an example in which change in social conditions (to promote justice) can enable individual occupation. Her essay "Life's work" provides an example of "how occupational opportunities shape and have the potential to be shaped by individuals in an occupationally just society" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 333). Schultz explored paid employment from a feminist perspective. Within the occupations of paid employment, she asserts that working people need to live with "justice, equality and dignity" (Schultz, 2000, p. 1883) and that "everyone has the right to participate in the public world of work" (Schultz, 2000, p. 1885). The article offers an example of balancing the theoretical and the practical when seeking to enhance justice. Shultz identifies problematic features of an economic theory (human capital theory), reviews policy, and makes suggestions for concrete legislative changes (e.g., modifying legislative tools such as the Earned Income Tax Credit). She also offers a challenge that could be addressed within an OJ framework: "We must craft a new language that expresses ordinary people's understandings of why work matters" (Schultz, 2000, p. 1885). The alignment between Shultz's legal perspective and an occupational perspective highlights opportunities for partnership beyond traditional healthcare partners, and the value of conceptual clarity and commonality.

2.5. Human Rights

Some have advocated that occupational scientists and occupational therapists should pay greater attention to human rights, rather than justice, enhancing the possibility for finding more common ground with allies outside of OS and OT (Frank, 2012; Galheigo, 2011; Hammell, 2017). The final two sections here, discussing human rights

and capability theory, describe ideas that both contributed to the conceptual development of OJ and offer potential alternative foci for OS and OT. Nussbaum's contributions to capability theory have been called "a species of human rights approach" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 62), therefore, human rights will be reviewed first, followed by capability theory. Human rights are embedded in OJ and, as mentioned earlier, Townsend and Wilcock (2004) name four occupational rights for all people. Rooted in both the understanding of human dignity and human suffering, "Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status" (United Nations, n.d., para. 1). Rights are universal (applicable to all humans), normative (delineating some behaviour as unacceptable) and reflect underlying moral values. Rights are not limited to enforceable ideals, but can be recognized within a legal framework.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) is the statement most familiar to people in the West, and is referenced by WFOT. The United Nations considers rights within *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (United Nations, n.d.). The latter includes the right to health and the right to several determinants of health (e.g., education, housing). These United Nations (UN) documents build upon older concepts and a brief summary of the history of human rights development is provided below.

Human rights build upon the concept of human dignity, an idea that exists within most cultures and was found in writing from antiquity. The Magna Carta, created in England in 1215 is considered the first Western example of the delineation of rights. The Magna Carta limited sovereign powers, giving nobles rights against some arbitrary

actions of the King (Azmanova, 2012). Early Western ideas were further developed by philosophers including Kant, Locke, and Rousseau. In the 18th century England, USA and France, Bills of rights and Droits de l'homme et de la citizen were created, naming rights held by parliament and individual citizens. At that point in history, most people (the majority of men and all women and children; approximately 80% of the population) (Murumba, 1998) were not considered "citizens" and, as such, the protections in those documents did not apply beyond a narrow subset of people. These documents detailed how politics within a state should be organized. At the time, American thought (and 17th century England thought much the same) dictated that rights focused on claims that individuals and "natural" social groups (as family or church) could make against a state's authorities (Osiatynski, 2008). In Europe, there was more focus on rights "as a sort of grant given by an enlightened state to fulfill its obligations to society" (Osiatynski, 2008, p. 6).

In the mid-20th century, World War II demonstrated the limitations of governments to guarantee the rights of citizens (Friesen, 2015). After the war, soldiers and others, who spent the war protecting the rights of others, became less accepting of racism and other forms of discrimination in their subsequent civilian lives. Advances in media and technology also made it possible for people to see human suffering in other parts of the world (Friesen, 2015). It is at this time that the UNDHR was created. In the UNDHR, moral rights are given legal terms and mechanisms for accountability. The document can be referred to as "codified", moving from ideas of justice to a specific list or code that names how ideas about justice and dignity should be upheld. By 1950, human rights had become "the dominant mode of moral discourse in international

relations" (Baxi, 2009, p 160). Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, international politics began to concern itself with human rights (Osiatynski, 2008). As engagement with the UN and human rights grew, other rights documents were developed for other regional contexts including South Africa and Islamic regions. In addition, documents that named rights for specific marginalized groups within states were created including disability rights, children's rights, and Indigenous rights. These documents were a response to the recognition of specific ways in which a social group's human dignity was not recognized or preserved.

The above history is helpful in understanding human rights, but can be considered incomplete. Murumba (1998) cautions against a narrative that sees natural rights (rights for 20% of the world population) as part of a linear development towards contemporary human rights. Instead he recommends that cultural diversity be considered a rich foundation for understanding contemporary human rights (Murumba, 1998). Human rights have also been under-inclusive with respect to women's rights. Based on the Kantian, individualistic view of a person, human rights focus on refraining from interference, rather than protecting from threats (Radacic, 2010). Radacic argues "the central operating framework of international human rights law obscures women's interests" (2010, p. 83). Human rights can be considered "firmly entrenched in structures that are gender-biased" (Qureshi, 2012, p. 43). In addition, the gap between the existence of rights and policies to enact rights has also been criticized. Some argue that within international relations, human rights are inconsistently applied: "The human rights policy of the United Nations reveals the contradiction between the spreading rhetoric of human rights, on the one hand, and their misuse to legitimize the usual power politics, on the

other" (Habermas, 2012, p. 75). Attention to criticism is important as we recognize the ways in which human rights continue to make suffering visible and offer a "conceptual hinge" between moral ideas and legal protection (Habermas, 2010, p. 469).

Within OS and OT, WFOT uses the UNDHR to affirm the right to occupation (WFOT, 2006). Discussion of human rights can be found in OT literature by 1980 and international standards in OT education require learning about human rights (WFOT, 2016). OT leaders encourage the profession to notice "where occupational therapists are or could be actively 'doing' human rights" (Hocking et al., 2015, p. 18). It is clear that the profession values and seeks to uphold human rights. The relationship between right, occupation, and justice has been most thoroughly explored in OS and OT through the "capabilities approach" which is discussed below.

2.6. Sen's Capabilities Approach, Nussbaum, and Venkatapuram's applications.

The capabilities approach was first proposed by economist Amartya Sen. Sen was concerned with how theories of justice, in particular Rawls' justice of fairness, were able to be applied to real world situations of injustice. He recognized the contributions that Rawls made to understanding justice, while critiquing justice as fairness as being too limited (Sen, 1992). Sen centered his arguments around the concept of well-being and suggested that Rawls' idea of equality (ensuring distribution of primary goods, both tangible and intangible items) was insufficient for ensuring well-being. He explained that equally distributing goods will not lead to equal benefits in well-being because different people need different amounts of goods to have the same level of wellness (Sen, 1992). For example, if many people are given the same food resource, some will have their nutritional needs met, while others (for reasons such as pregnancy or high metabolism)

will not (Sen, 1992). Therefore, there is a distinction between equality of distribution and equality of freedom. Sen focusses on freedoms rather than achievements because, given the same ability to use resources, different people may choose different achievements based on their own goals. In this approach, equality "involves judging individual advantage by the freedom to achieve, incorporating (but going beyond) actual achievements" (Sen, 1992 p. 129). This work is "a natural extension of Rawls's concern with primary goods, shifting attention from goods to what goods do to human beings" (Sen, 1979, p. 218-219). Sen introduced the term capability which "represents a person's freedom to achieve well-being" (Sen, 1992, p. 49). Capability has a "focus on the real alternatives we have" to do and to be (Sen, 1992, p. 50). He promoted capability-based measurement to target efforts to decrease long standing inequities and improve well-being. Sen's concept of capability formed the basis for the United Nations human development index (United Nations Development Programme, n.d.). Work centered on the concept of capability is often known as the Capability Approach (CA).

The CA is concerned with the real-world options available to a person based on the availability of personal and material resources and opportunities in a particular environment (physical, social, cultural, and institutional). It has a broad research base, supported by the Human Development and Capability Association. Martha Nussbaum worked closely with Sen and significantly influenced the CA. While Sen preferred to keep the CA general so that it could be flexibly applied to local contexts and values, Nussbaum named central capabilities or basic entitlements required to exercise capabilities. She asserts that 10 basic entitlements should be upheld by societies for all people (Nussbaum, 2011). The basic entitlements include: life, bodily health, bodily

integrity, ability to use one's senses, imagination and thought (through access to education and free speech), emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment (political and material) (Nussbaum, 2011, location 371-393). For each of the 10 basic entitlements, she suggests that a "threshold" (minimally adequate) level be established (Nussbaum, 2011). Societies should then ensure that all citizens have at least access to the defined threshold amounts of these basic entitlements. With this theoretical base, Nussbaum (2011) argues that the addition of named entitlements can be more useful than rights when seeking social justice. She gives the example of a domestic assault situation in which one person claims the right to freedom in his/her own home while the other claims the right to a minimum capability to have bodily integrity. She argues that while it looks like there may be two people with competing rights, only one of the two involved has unmet basic entitlements (Nussbaum, 2011). In this case, entitlements are better able to lead to increased social justice than a rights framework. The increased specificity in the CA promoted by Nussbaum has led to increased application of this theoretical work.

The work of both Sen and Nussbaum in the CA is founded on shared values of individualism, choice, and autonomy. Nussbaum emphasizes the individual pointing out that the person is the end unit in terms of deciding whether or not the threshold amount of a capability is realized. This distinction is made in contrast to the family as an end unit, because at times only some family members have capabilities realized while others are excluded. The presence or absence of choice and autonomy can change one's subjective experience. For example, fasting and starving involve the same functioning but the

experiences of suffering are different because choice and decision-making influence the experience (Sen, 1992).

As the use of the capabilities approach has grown, other theorists have made valuable contributions. Of particular interest to occupational scientists and occupational therapists is Venkatapuram's work linking health and capabilities. Venkatapuram seeks to increase attention to the impact of social circumstances on health and introduces the concept of capabilities of health to advance "sufficient and equitable capabilities commensurate with equal human dignity" (Venkatapuram, 2011, p. 21). Within a framework of social justice, the moral right to be healthy can lead to "social arrangements, or social bases, resources, conditions, support, assistance – call it what you wish – that would produce, promote, sustain or restore a capability to be healthy" (Venkatapuram, 2011, p. 19). Venkatapuram advances threshold levels of Nussbaum's 10 capabilities as a way of defining a minimum level of health. He defines health as a "meta-capability" or an overarching capability. Health, as the meta-capability, is needed to achieve threshold amounts of the 10 basic capabilities. Capabilities of health is a dynamic approach in which health is affected by change in biological, physical, and social conditions as well as an individual's ability and agency to "convert" resources (such as commodities and social conditions) into being (Venkatapuram, 2011, p. 234). Venkatapuram's work draws attention to the impact of social circumstances on health and advances the importance of access to "sufficient and equitable capabilities commensurate with equal human dignity" (Venkatapuram, 2011, p. 21).

As attention to CA has grown, others have proposed additional theoretical ideas to enhance the approach. Terms such as "'a capability theory' or 'a capability analysis,

capability account or capability application'" can be used to describe ways that the capability approach has been used to meet practical and theoretical goals (Robeyns, 2017, p. 29). Robeyns suggests the capability "family" could be broadened to include theories that have a common core of (a) pluralism about values and (b) treating the person as an end unit (Robeyns, 2016). Additional specific concepts that have been proposed include capability security and collective capabilities. Capability security is the idea that in addition to having access to capabilities, one needs to feel that this access will continue (Nussbaum, 2011 p. 43). Named by Nussbaum, but developed by Wolff and De-shalit (Wolff & De-shalit, 2013), this concept advances the idea that it is not merely the presence of a threshold amount, but also the certainty that one will continue to have a threshold amount over time that allows for the achievement of capabilities and functionings (Wolff & De-shalit, 2013). Collective capabilities promote the idea that capabilities could also be considered at the family level (Graham, Moodley & Selipsky, 2013), with the advantage of making visible the contributions of people who are "not working" but whose daily activities provide resources to other members of the family. This process can help identify how people with disabilities, or senior citizens are contributing, as well as recognize families with fewer internal resources. CA continues to evolve to promote doing and being as a necessary part of social justice.

2.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, when occupational scientists and occupational therapists seek to be socially and politically engaged, they employ diverse terms like occupational justice and injustice, social transformation, occupational rights, and human rights. These terms have, as a foundation, concepts that have emerged from early Greek philosophers, through

more contemporary social philosophers, primarily through a Western lens. As the scope of OS and OT has broadened to better address the experiences of members of marginalized groups, we collectively continue to refine how we conceptualize equality and inequality, justice and injustice, for individuals, families, communities, and societies. The capabilities approach illustrates the benefits of work that broadens existing Western conceptions of justice. The next chapter explores the concept of oppression, asking how it has been understood, and how it may both affirm and disrupt ideas of justice, rights, and capabilities in relation to occupation.

Chapter 3: The Concept of Oppression

"…occupational therapy is both not neutral and has a theoretical and scientific praxis committed to the oppressed other, rather than to an abstract notion of occupation as an object of study". (Guajardo, 2017, p.xvi)

After exploring general ideas about justice from within and beyond OS and OT, this thesis turns to examine the concept of oppression. Occupational therapists and occupational scientists have argued that a commitment to the "oppressed other" is central to occupational therapy (Guajardo, 2017). More specifically, scholars have examined how situations of oppression change occupational engagement (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013) and how structural forces both limit and demand occupational participation (Galvaan, 2014; George & Stanley, 2018). The concept of oppression has also been used to question how occupational therapy treatment can be oppressive (Crabtree, 2005; Iwama, 2007), to acknowledge how experiences of oppression can be used to help others in therapeutic contexts (Chacala et al., 2014), and to encourage therapists to stand against oppression (Carlsson, 2009). Engaging with this concept may not come easily as oppression is a term that simultaneously "repels and attracts" (Frye, 2000, p. 10). This introduction to the concept of oppression reviews definitions, theoretical frameworks, and the use of the term in OS and OT literature.

Oppression is a word more often used by groups that have experienced suffering than by theorists (Young, 1990). It can help make sense of social experiences (Young, 1990), connect theoretical and experiential understanding of injustice (George & Stanley, 2018), and make visible the link between day to day occurrences and historical

happenings (Tomsons, 2006). Oppression becomes embodied through experiences, including disability, which lead to poorer health outcomes (Johnson, Leighton, & Caldwell, 2018; Krieger, 2016; Marks, 1999). The concept of oppression is dissimilar from other words that describe group suffering such as disenfranchised or disadvantaged because it includes a focus on causal mechanisms (Macedo, 2000). It recognizes a dialectical relationship between people who are oppressed and groups that are oppressive and/or oppressive conditions (Macedo, 2000). An important consideration for professional ethics (Clifford, 2015), oppression is a situated, experiential, and theoretical concept. The concept of oppression does not feature strongly in writing from moral philosophy. In the West, during Hobbes and Locke's time, rights were limited to a privileged subset of humans and the kinds of actions that were considered oppressive were similarly limited (Cudd, 2006). A little later, Rousseau thought about oppression as enslavement and domination (prior to the French revolution) (Cudd, 2006). In general, philosophical writing rarely considers actual or historical instances of oppression (Mills, 2004, as cited in Clifford, 2015) perhaps because "philosophers tend not to come from oppressed groups" (Cudd, 2006, p. vii). With these introductory ideas in mind, the next task is to better understand how oppression is defined, and understood theoretically, before turning to its use in OT and OS.

3.1. Defining Oppression

When considering how to define oppression, a definition is needed that is not so "stretched" or inclusive that it becomes meaningless: "We need this word, this concept, and we need it to be sharp and sure" (Frye, 1983, p. 11). When the concept of oppression is universalized (such that any experience of discomfort is labelled oppressive), one may

be unable to "appreciate the multiplicity of oppressive experiences that characterize the lived histories of individuals along race, gender, ethnic, and religious lines." (Freire & Macedo, 1993, p. 170). A normative concept, oppression includes consideration of what is morally right or wrong (Cudd 2006). Oppression involves harm based on group membership for the benefit of another group. Thus, the very presence of large, systemic inequities and injustices suggests oppression (Deutsch, 2006). These three ideas, (a) harm, (b) group membership and (c) corresponding benefit or privilege, are present in multiple definitions of oppression (Cudd, 2006; David & Derthick, 2018; Fanon, 2008/1952; Freire, 2000/1970; Frye, 1983; Young, 1990).

The first key idea presented within definitions of oppression is harm. Harm can come from actions towards a group such as violence or exploitation and from inaction such as deprivation and marginalization. This harm is considered to be unjust, in contrast to actions that hurt another but are considered justified, such as acts self-defence (Cudd, 2005). Oppression can be intentional or unintentional, overt or covert, and unconscious or conscious (David & Derthick, 2018). Harm can be external (threats to safety or basic necessities) and also internal (internalizing dominant messages about a group such as dumb or lazy) (Deutsch, 2006). The physical and emotional harm from oppression can lead to health consequences both immediate and long term (Cudd, 2005).

The second key idea is that this harm occurs because of characteristics shared with other members of a social group. "A social group is a collective of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms, practices, or way of life" (Young, 1990, p. 43.) In this definition, individuals constitute groups. Equally important, through shared language, experiences, history etc., groups constitute individuals (Young

1990). Groups may create a shared identity and/or they may have one forced upon them. Similarly, people may choose to be part of a group, and/or may feel that others define them as part of a group. The latter, the experience of being "placed" in a group by others, can be static or changing across the lifespan (Young, 1990). Over time, group membership may change (e.g., being placed in the group "elderly" as one ages) and the values attributed to and perceptions of a group may also shift. For example, Indigenous Two Spirited people were accepted as full members of many nations and later experienced exclusion as social norms from an outside culture were adopted (Cameron, 2005). Cultural norms are slowly returning to more traditional ones and acceptance is increasing as Indigenous nations reclaim their identities (Cameron, 2005). Beyond changing perceptions over time, most people's social groups are "multiple, cross-cutting, fluid and shifting" (Young, 1990, p. 48), thus encompassing constellations of privilege and oppression.

It can be helpful to think about membership in a group involving internal and external criteria (Tajfel, 1982, as cited in Vahamaa, 2013) and "identity-specific" and "identity-indifferent" characteristics (Sayer, 2011). External criteria are visible and related social identities and group memberships are often those assigned by non-group members (such as groups based on age, gender, or skin colour). Internal criteria involve the awareness of social group membership and awareness of value connotations attributed to or held within the group. This awareness usually includes an emotional connection as one identifies with a group or rejects that identity (Tajfel, as cited in Vahamaa, 2013). Groups can also be categorized as groups that share a common feature of their identity (e.g., race, sex) and groups that don't but may share a particular position

in existing social structures (e.g., class). Whether one is "placed" in a social group by others or self-selects, societal decisions such as how a society will share opportunities and resources can lead to harm for groups and their members. Identity-specific harms have also been called types of oppression (David & Derthick, 2018), part of a matrix of domination (Collins, 2002), and described using terms such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, colonialism, and ageism (Hammell, 2013). Each identity-specific form of oppression also interacts with identity-indifferent forms of oppression (such as class), to produce unique experiences and social hierarchies.

The third key idea is that while harms accrue to one social group in situations of oppression, benefits are obtained by a different group who has access to more plentiful resources and opportunities. These benefits are unearned and exist independent of whether or not the person wishes to use them. Dominant groups are more likely to acknowledge that one group is disadvantaged than to acknowledge the benefits accorded to their own group (McIntosh, 1988). Privilege is a term often used to describe the unearned benefits that one has in life secondary to membership in a dominant group. McIntosh encourages people to consider specific benefits that they have been accorded by virtue of being identified as members of preferred groups (age, race, ability etc.) and suggests privilege "confers dominance" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 9) and involves unearned power. She encourages people to consider which privileges should be altered to become an "unearned entitlement" for all, and how to use privilege (and its associated power) as "a bank account that I did not ask for, but that I can choose to spend" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 7).

The ideas of harm, a social group, and a beneficiary are the foundation of the concept of oppression, but additional criterion help define and refine the concept. Domination (Hanna, Talley, & Guindon, 2000; Prilleltensky, 1996), coercion (Cudd, 2006), systematic (Bishop, 2015; Clifford, 2015; Cudd, 2006; Deutsch, 2006; Frye, 1983; Young, 1990), structural (Bishop, 2015; Cudd, 2006; Frye, 2000; Prilleltensky, 1996; Young, 1990), dehumanization (Clatterbaugh, 1996; Fanon, 2008/1952; Freire, 2000/1970), and resistance (Prilleltensky, 2003) are concepts included in definitions to describe the processes through which one group is affected by another in situations of oppression. Situations of domination and coercion involve power (see also next section), produce systematic constraints, and lead to dehumanization. Domination, by definition, requires power. It is "the exercise of power or influence over someone or something, or the state of being so controlled" (Oxford University Press, 2019a). Young describes domination as "structural or systematic" and states that domination and oppression "should be the primary terms for conceptualizing injustice" (Young, 1990, p. 8). Domination is often accompanied by coercion, in which power is used by one person or group to limit another's choices. There may be options, but some carry harm or penalty (Cudd, 2006). Cudd (2006) gives the example of workers feeling coerced to sign an exploitive contract because the alternatives are not life sustaining. In coercion, "choice" is controlled through threat or actual force.

In many situations involving oppression (and most situations found in North America), the systematic organization of social structures rather than an identifiable oppressor is the primary "causal mechanism" of oppression, built into the mundane structures within our society (Young, 1990). Economic, political, and cultural institutions

may be socially structured to systematically reproduce oppressions (Young, 1990). More specifically, "government, legal systems, schools, banks, gender rules and norms, rules of etiquette, media outlets, stereotypical beliefs, class, caste systems, racial, or ethnic classification systems" can be involved (Cudd, 2006, p.51). Individuals choose how to act with knowledge of what is permittable and not permittable within the structures that exist in a society. When multiple social institutions prioritize the needs and privileges of one group over another those institutions (political, economic, educational, religious etc.) can become a system of interrelated barriers leaving members of oppressed social groups "trapped" (Frye, 1983, p. 12) in "an unjust order" (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 44): "One's life is confined and shaped by forces and barriers which are not accidental or occasional and hence unavoidable, but are systematically related to each other….and restrict or penalize motion in any direction" (Frye, 1983, p. 12). Systemic and structural are essential features of contexts in which power, domination, and coercion operate.

The emphasis on context in definitions of oppression highlights its situated nature. Context, including the social and historical context, impacts the norms and habits as well as formal rules and structures that influence later and ongoing oppression. In her conceptual analysis, Tomsons (2006), brings together Frye's emphasis on the interacting nature of social barriers with historical context to emphasize how these barriers are constructed over time. Social institutions and social structures continue to affect social perceptions and ways of being long after the institutions themselves may have changed. For example, residential schools in Canada may have closed in 1996, but negative perceptions of Indigenous peoples did not end with them. Attitudes and beliefs found within a social context are socially created, can be traced through history, and evolve into

current institutions and traditions (Tomsons, 2006). Historical context also changes how contemporary experiences are psychologically processed (Tomsons, 2006).

Dehumanization and resistance, the final two concepts included in the selected definitions, call attention to the experience of oppression. Resistance will be discussed later in the chapter. Freire (2000/1970), Fanon (2008/1952), and Clatterbaugh (1996) name dehumanization as a component of oppression. Dehumanization involves seeing others as subhuman creatures (Smith, 2014) often through either a mechanistic metaphor or animalistic metaphor (Oliver, 2011). Dehumanization can involve extreme acts (torture, rape, slavery) and/or can occur during interaction with everyday social, political and economic structures (marginalization) (Oliver, 2011; Yang et al., 2015). Through these metaphors and other processes, dehumanization allows one to see another without a complete range of human abilities, needs, and wants, thus making it easier to deny resources and opportunities, or impose exceptional burdens. In addition, self-dehumanization can occur in response to feeling powerless (Yang et al., 2015). People who have limited power may be seen by others as subhuman (or possessing fewer uniquely human traits) because they have limited or no opportunities to demonstrate traits associated with being fully human (Yang et al., 2015). For example, someone who has not had any opportunity to learn to read may be seen as less human, or possessing fewer human traits, than someone who can read books. For Freire and others, dehumanization happens to everyone who is involved in a situation of oppression: “The situation of oppression is a dehumanized and dehumanizing totality affecting both the oppressors and those whom they oppress” (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 47). In addition to the dehumanization of people who are oppressed, those who oppress (and those who observe) are separated

from basic human characteristics such as empathy and care when they contribute and/or do not improve an oppressive situation.

Through the process of dehumanization people can come to feel invisible. Invisibility can be used to describe both situations in which a group's concerns go unnoticed or stereotyped images come to represent a group of people so that the group and its heterogeneity become invisible (Pharr, 1997). Hypervisibility, a similar concept, can also result from dehumanization and involves "the state of being extremely visible" (Buchanan & Settles, 2019, p. 2), such as when every disabled athlete is seen as a super-hero. Hypervisibility and how others identify difference, can lead to invisibility when others "lock people inside of images" by virtue of a visible characteristic (Mitchell, 2001, p. 393). Hypervisibility and invisibility are strangely simultaneous experiences of oppression.

In summary, oppression involves harm to one group, privilege to a different group, always in the context of differences that have been structured and have a history. Power is described as dominating, coercive, systemic, and structural. These ideas point to oppression as a concept that is both a state and a process (Prilleltensky, 1996). It is a state in which one group has more access to power and privilege usually leading to a greater share of resources, greater opportunities, and better life chances; and a process through which the access to power is used to maintain the *status quo* (David & Derthick, 2018; Prilleltensky, 1996). As we move forward in this chapter let us adopt the following as the working definition of oppression: Oppression involves structural and systemic forces in which the use of power leads to one group experiencing harm while another group

experiences benefits. This definition provides a framework as we look closely at additional important ideas that influence the concept of oppression.

3.2. Power

Power is central to definitions of oppression and is inherent to understanding domination. Understanding power increases knowledge of "how relations of domination and subordination [or oppression] are maintained and normalized" (Alinia, 2015, p.2336). Power can be defined in multiple ways, to the point that (like oppression) it has been called a "fuzzy concept" (Hamilton & Sharma, 1997). Within this chapter, two models are used to develop an understanding of power. A model of "faces of power" (Digeser, 1992) introduces notions of power over, potential to enact power, and disciplinary power. Patricia Collins' "domains of power" names structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal power. In the latter, Michel Foucault's concepts of disciplinary and bio power, Antonio Gramsci's work on hegemony, and Pierre Bourdieu's work on *habitus* are foundational. In addition, Philomena Essed and Derald Wing Sue's contributions help understand Collins' fourth domain of interpersonal power. It is an understatement to say that each named theorist has made globally recognized contributions to social and political theory.

3.2.1. Faces of Power.

One way to conceptualize power is with "faces of power" (Digeser, 1992; Haugaard, 2012). This model begins with Robert Dahl's conceptualization of power as "power over" or the ability of one person to get another to do something that they would otherwise choose not to do (Digeser, 1992). The second "face" of power, proposed by

Bachrach and Baratz, is the ability to prevent someone from doing a desired act (Digeser, 1992). In this way, the second face is also a form of power over another. The third face (added by Lukes), involves power that has not been enacted. Sometimes an individual's wants and the wants of the person with power over an individual may be the same (Digeser, 1992). In this situation, power could be used in the event that the wants no longer converge. A scenario proposed by Nussbaum (2011) is illustrative of this power. She invites readers to imagine on a night of pouring rain, a woman who is not allowed to leave home unaccompanied by her husband. On this evening, she has no desire to go outside; her wants and her husband's wants converge. Thus, this third "face" is potential, but not enacted, power. Digeser (1992) names disciplinary power (as explored by Foucault; description below) as a fourth face. Within this final "face", one asks, "What kind of subject [conscious being with the capacity to act] is being produced?" (Digeser, 1992 p. 90). In disciplinary power, the wants of all members of a society are shaped and constrained as they internalize dominant messages about what is "desirable" and "good". This final face broadens the notion of who are the subjects and objects of power relations suggesting that power relationships do not have to be able to identify a discrete subject or object in order to influence actions. These four faces, power to create action, to prevent action, to have potential to act, and to change which actions are desired are helpful in beginning to consider the complexity of power and power relations.

3.2.2. Domains of power.

Similar to Digeser's (1992) faces of power, Collins' (2002) domains of power – founded within a Black feminist perspective – explains how power operates in society. The four interrelated domains, structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal

illustrate how power within society affects choices and occupations. A summary is provided before the theory within the model is reviewed in more detail.

Collins first names the structural domain of power. For Collins (2002), the structural domain consists of "large-scale, interlocking social institutions" (i.e. legal systems, labour markets) that regulate citizenship rights (p. 277). These structures dictate through laws, policies and procedures which actions and inactions are permissible (Cudd, 2006). Structural power organizes the frame within which oppression can occur. The second domain, disciplinary, involves using power to manage people (Collins, 2002). This domain includes processes and practices used to ensure compliance with laws and policies. Bureaucracy is used to control populations and can include surveillance (Collins, 2002). Like Digeser above, she cites Foucault's work as key in explicating this domain. The third domain, hegemonic, includes ideology, culture, and consciousness and is used to justify the functions of bureaucracy (Collins, 2002). These are often the "commonsense" ideas that explain how things are done and why. Influenced by Gramsci, Collins describes hegemony as a link between the other domains, justifying the structural policies/laws and the efforts to maintain them, which leads to their influence upon everyday interactions. When hegemony is operating at its best, any other way of doing or even thinking becomes unimaginable, and the *status quo* is rendered "natural" and "inevitable". The interpersonal power domain includes everyday acts that draw on and also shape social relations. It contains ideas promoted by Essed and Sue. Even micro-level interactions bear the weight of historically shaped relations of dominance and subordination, so a seemingly trivial comment or slight carries the power to challenge or reinforce. Collins explains the relationship between the four domains: "The structural

domain organizes oppression, whereas the disciplinary domain manages it. The hegemonic domain justifies oppression, and the interpersonal domain influences everyday lived experience and the individual consciousness that ensues" (Collins, 2002, p. 276). Within each domain of power, Collins points out opportunities to shift power to reduce oppression, noting that to experience oppression is not to be powerless. In the discussion of oppression above, structural power was emphasized, but disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal power are also influential both as modes of oppression and as sites for resistance.

3.2.3. Disciplinary and Bio-power.

As noted by both Digeser and Collins above, Michel Foucault made a major contribution to Western understanding of power and how it is used and maintained in neoliberal societies. His work describes how the concept of power has changed over time and he traces this change from power held by a sovereign (to determine whether a subject lived or died), to power used by governments and the state (to influence how people live) (Foucault, 1984). Within this work, Foucault addresses ways that power sustains oppression. To describe how power is used by the state, Foucault uses the overlapping concepts of disciplinary power and bio-power. Disciplinary power involves techniques used for training or coercing individuals or collectives through "hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination" (Smart, 2002, p.80). By using this power, one can manipulate, shape, and/or train another so that the subject "obeys, responds, becomes skillful and increases its forces" (Foucault, 1995/1975, p. 136). When using this power, one begins by labeling people or transforming them into subjects such as "criminals" or "good citizens" and Foucault explores this process of subjectification. Bio-power moves

beyond disciplinary power. In disciplinary power, someone in a hierarchy holds power over another. In bio-power, norms have more influence than the law (Foucault, 1984). Bio-power uses norms as a way of encouraging citizens to produce desired behaviours. Foucault suggests that science (e.g., statistics, institutions, and power/knowledge-pouvoir/savoir) all influence what we see as normal (Cadwallader, 2007). The defined normal then becomes powerful. For example, an individual will select activities (such as paying for items in a store) not because of an external power, but because this way of doing and being has been internalized as normal and now influences actions. Individuals come to govern themselves, assessing and judging our attempts (and those of others) to measure up to the normative standards. Bio-power is "rather like colour dye, diffused through the entire social structure and is embedded in daily practices" (Petersen & Bunton, 1997, p.xvi).

3.2.4. Hegemony and Internalization.

The concept hegemony encompasses the structures in our everyday lives and how they influence our interpretation of our world, feelings, and ideas (Ives, 2004). Hegemonic power relates to disciplinary power in that both concepts provide insight into how social messages become internalized. The messages found within hegemony make visible links between political power and daily life (Ives, 2004). Hegemony means both "influence or authority over others" and "the social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group" (Merriam-Webster, 2019b). This concept was advanced through the work of Antonio Gramsci who was interested in power and language. Language becomes "an element in the exercise of power" (Ives, 2004, p. 101) and can blur the line between coercion and consent (Ives, 2004, p. 101). Through

structures such as schools, and social creations such as fiction and non-fictional writing, the consciousness and ideology of groups can be shaped. For example, Shaheen offers the portrayal of Muslims in media as a location in which consciousness may have shifted. He identified over 900 English language films depicting Muslims between 1896-2000, very few of which contained positive descriptions (Shaheen, 2009). This depicts a hegemonic portrayal of Muslims, in which the media both draw on and reproduce a way of thinking that is so dominant as to be experienced as common sense, normal, and natural. The hegemonic messages that people encounter affect both dominant and non-dominant groups, influencing ideas of normal and desired behaviour. Other ways of thinking may co-exist, but they require counter-hegemonic struggle (struggle against hegemony/hegemonic messages) to gain ascendance.

The process of internalization is one way that hegemonic influences impact the interpersonal domain and influence everyday behaviour. Messages people receive as they interact with the world can “get under your skin”. Negative messages can lead to feelings of inferiority, a process Fanon termed “epidermalization” (Fanon, 2008/1952). With the internalized messages, people see themselves based on their personal experiences, and simultaneously, they see themselves as the kind of person the dominant culture says that they are. “They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized” (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 48). When people receiving such messages are also dependent on the dominant group for basic needs, reactions can include guilt, self-hatred, submission, obedience, and depression (Deutsch, 2006) which may become a barrier to action (Luque-Ribelles, Herrera-Sánchez, & García-Ramírez, 2017), including counter-hegemonic action. When feelings of shame and powerlessness

follow, increases in "addictions and mental health problems" may occur (Prilleltensky, 2003p. 197). Internalized oppression becomes cast as a psychological matter, an individual matter, obscuring the political roots of harms that lie in oppression (Prilleltensky, 2008, p. 128). When someone feels that they are like the image in the dominant culture, the influence of the culture is not visible, it's just "how they are". This influence of internalized messages of "how I am" becomes erased and subsequent reductions of opportunities are seen as the result of individual choices, minimizing attention to culture/domains of power.

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work widened understanding about how external messages and direct experiences of structural power together shape possibilities for doing, entrenching the internalization of power relations. He used the terms *habitus*, *dispositions,* and *field* to help explain the complex interaction between people and their environments. A field is a place of cultural production and social relations (such as a school or neighbourhood) within a field of power (Bourdieu, 1996/1992, p. 376). The social field forms the context within which people learn how they are to be: "Like a magnetic field, the effects of social fields on behavior can be far reaching and not always apparent to actors" (Swartz, 2016, para. 1). Dispositions are formed as people grow up and live their lives within these fields. Dispositions are tendencies to act and react in certain ways. They are acquired through a gradual process, beginning in childhood and include expressed (don't eat with your mouth open) and unexpressed (my family only buys items on sale) messages (Thompson, 1991). These messages therefore are structured by the environment including by regulations, laws, and group norms, and people who grow up in similar social contexts develop similar dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984/1979).

Taken together, this external "structuring structure" gradually becomes internalized so that it becomes a "structured structure" (Bourdieu, 1984/1979). This structure of dispositions, Bourdieu calls *habitus*: "Habitus is the mechanism by which cultural norms or models of behaviour and action particular to a group or class fraction are unconsciously internalised or incorporated in the formation of the self during the socialization process" (Browitt & Nelson, 2004, p. 1). Habitus is the internalization and subsequent enactment of the rules and ways of being in specific social groups. The impact of habitus on behaviour can be significant and resistant to change, even when the habitus developed through a lifetime no longer fits one's current social field. The fact that dispositions and habitus reveal membership in social groups which are located hierarchically in social contexts can lead to people seeking to be more like dominant groups even when their actions will contribute to harm, to themselves and others like them (Cadwallader, 2007; Fanon, 2008/1952).

3.2.5. Interpersonal Power and Microaggressions.

Operating within Collins' (2002) interpersonal domain of power in private and public spaces, are everyday experiences and "put down's[1]". The interpersonal domain makes visible the interrelated nature of the four domains, challenging traditional but misleading notions that institutional and individual processes are distinct (Essed, 1991). Within everyday situations, expression of attitudes or enacting customs are moments that lead to inequality in day-to day life (Essed & Muhr, 2018). At the same time, they are instantiations of existing power relations, bearing the weight of history and repetition, as well as their connection to the interlocking systems that constitute oppression. For

[1] The term used by Chester Pierce when describing the term microaggression in his 1970s paper.

example, a chivalrous gesture toward a woman seems harmless in itself, an innocuous move to protect, but in the context of endemic violence against women, women being paid a fraction of men's wages, women being expected to do the bulk of child care and domestic labour, and women having long been denied the right to vote or own property (still true in some places), that chivalry takes on different significance. A racist joke is "just a joke" except that it embodies centuries of race relations, as well as ongoing inequities based on race. This is where historical context matters – it clarifies when an incident is an isolated occurrence, and when it is part of an ongoing system of oppression.

Initially an incident might seem isolated, but the cumulative weight of repeated "minor" incidents oppresses. Moreover, when incidents are continually repeated, they become normalized and begin to function as systematic discrimination, reinforcing oppression and privilege (Essed & Muhr, 2018). Theorists use varying terms including everyday racism and everyday inequality (Essed, 1991), civilized oppression (Harvey, 2010), and microaggressions (Sue, 2010). They explore both instances involving action (e.g., cat calling) and inaction (e.g., being ignored) (Harvey, 2010). Sometimes people experience "double binds" during day to day interactions, or situations in which both acting and not acting will lead to negative consequences. Frye (1983) uses the example of young women who choose/do not choose to be sexually active, with negative labels applied no matter which course of action is taken. Everyday oppressions occur subtly, within accepted behaviour (Essed & Muhr, 2018).

The term microaggression was first used by Chester Pierce in 1970 and expanded by Derald Wing Sue who defines racial microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to People of Color because they belong to a racial

minority group" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). The term microaggression has since broadened beyond racism to include other minority groups. Sue further defined three subtypes: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidation, and identified nine categories of negative messages conveyed by these subtypes. Microassaults are conscious verbal or nonverbal attacks intended to harm, such as name calling (Sue et al., 2007). Microinsults and microinvalidations are usually unconscious. Microinsults convey an insulting message to the recipient such as suggesting the person is part of a second-class group, while microinvalidations exclude or negate the reality of the person, such as implying someone is foreign, or minimizing someone's experience of racism or ableism (Sue et al., 2007). These types of negative experience lead to increases in stress, anxiety, depression, and substance abuse (Blume, Lovato, Thyken, & Denny, 2012; Huynh, 2012; Nadal, 2013; Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010; as cited by Conover, Israel & Nylund-Gibson 2017). Scales exist to measure type and frequency of microaggressions related to racism, heterosexism, and ableism (Conover et al., 2017). Importantly, not all ill-treatment is microaggression; these are interpersonal mobilizations of broader power relations external to the individuals involved in that instance.

Some people (who have the option to hide difference) choose to limit exposure to everyday oppressive acts by reducing the dominant group's ability to see difference. Conversion (altering oneself to be more like the norm), passing (hiding an aspect of one's identity) and covering (downplaying difference so that it is not noticed or is rendered more palatable) (Yoshino, 2007) are three ways people reduce the frequency of microaggressions (as well as overt discrimination). Yoshino (2007) gives an example of consequences at work for an openly gay person who failed to cover by talking about his

upcoming wedding. It was okay to be gay, but not okay to "flaunt it". Yoshino (2007) also uses the term reverse cover: a demand that someone become more like a stereotyped identity (e.g., suggesting a woman should wear high heels more often at work). Yoshino's work, influenced by Goffman's research on stigmatized identity management, demonstrates how failure to cover can lead to oppressive acts, even in situations in which people are told that their identity is acceptable.

These everyday problematic interactions are a product of our social and historical environments and as such are subject to change. Essed and Muhr have recently introduced the term "entitlement racism", to describe instances in which people "seem to feel that they have the right to offend" (Essed & Muhr, 2018, p.188) and hold the apparent belief that freedom of expression entitles people to humiliate others. Essed and Muhr (2018) name these instances as a form of everyday racism. Entitlement racism shares similarities with microassaults, except that microassaults usually include an effort to keep the insult private, while entitlement racism uses insults publicly. Microaggressions operating with hegemony show some of the ways that interpersonal power operates. The domains of power, including structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal make visible the complex social environment in which oppression operates.

Thus far, this chapter has explored the concepts present in definitions of oppression with emphasis on the influence of power. Concepts including domination, coercion, and dehumanization add to the understanding of harm experienced by social groups. Models of power offer a way to articulate the complexity of power within societies, showing power as both structural and ideological, material and discursive, intentional and unintentional, external and internalized. While these theories explicate

how power operates, it is also critical to examine how oppression is experienced. Like the "four faces of power" (Digeser, 1992) discussed earlier, philosopher Iris Marion Young proposed five "faces of oppression", to foreground the impact that oppression has on everyday living.

3.3. Faces of Oppression and Intersectionality

Young's five faces of oppression are derived from the experiences of oppressed groups (Young, 1990). She emphasizes the unique qualities of different group experiences, preferring to name sufficient conditions for oppression as an alternative to a definition. Though they may co-occur, the occurrence of any of the five "faces", exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, is sufficient to warrant the label oppression (Young, 1990). The first, exploitation, occurs when one person benefits from another's resources, such as labour. Social practices and structures within relations of power determine what is considered fair work and establish limits to define how tasks and activities completed by one group/person can lead to benefits for others. When this relationship is deemed unjust, the term exploitation can be applied. The second face of oppression, marginalization, is "perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression" (Young, 1990, p. 53). In marginalization, a group is "expelled" from participating in social life. As a non-participant in the social structure, a person is usually unable to access rights, freedoms, and distributed goods leading to material deprivation. Goods that are distributed to non-participants, may be accompanied by "patronizing, punitive, demeaning and arbitrary treatment" (Young, 1990, p. 54). Even in situations in which the person is offered significant material resources (e.g., a nursing home), one can

still be blocked from exercising capacities, which may lead to feelings of uselessness, boredom, and lack of respect (Young, 1990).

Powerlessness, the third face, is described as a "lack of authority, status, and sense of self" (Young, 1990, p.57). When one is powerless, one lacks respect, or the necessary influence to shape the conditions of one's own life and actions. Within society, people who are powerless are expected to take orders, but are unable to exercise power and give orders to others. Young considers the way that professional groups are accorded power by virtue of being considered respectable, compared to non-professionals. Non-professionals find that this lack of respect influences interactions in multiple spheres of everyday living (Young, 1990). Cultural imperialism and violence are Young's fourth and fifth faces of oppression. Like hegemony, cultural imperialism exists when meanings and worldviews held by dominant social groups lead to harm for other groups. These dominant worldviews are seen as universal and normal while other meanings and worldviews are labeled as other/deviant/inferior. When these different views are not recognized or valued, they can become invisible. At the same time, people with non-dominant views can become marked with a highly visible stereotyped identity that deviates from established norms (Young 1990). Macedo (2000) describes the experience of invisibility as feeling "being present and yet not visible [and simultaneously] being visible and yet not present" (p. i).

The final face of oppression, violence, refers to acts of violence and increased risk of being subject to violence that are experienced by virtue of being a member of a particular social group. This violence may be direct, or vicarious when another member of the same social group is targeted. It has a systemic nature, in that it is sustained and

promoted by a social environment. Institutions and practices have encouraged and/or tolerated such violence and such practices are ongoing. Even in the absence of violence, people afraid of random, unprovoked attacks may alter daily activities to reduce risk (Young, 1990). In outlining the five faces of oppression, Young names the ways in which injustices cause harm, suffering, and deny people a life of human dignity. She emphasizes that an oppressed group may live with one, or all five "faces" and that people are usually members of multiple groups. The ways that multiple group identities influence the experience of oppression and privilege is the domain of intersectionality.

3.3.1. Intersectionality.

Intersectionality is a cross-disciplinary term that brings nuance to understanding oppression (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). Intersectionality refers to the ways experiences of privilege and/or oppression are distinct as a result of being part of multiple social groups. Emerging from Black Feminist efforts to advance social justice, intersectionality has grown out of a rich heritage of advocacy. Given that "race-only or gender-only solutions were unlikely to yield results", terms such as interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 2015, p. 2350) were coined to describe the importance of considering the effects of multiple intersecting sources of oppression and privilege. In 1989, Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the term intersectionality into academic literature, now a theory and "a method and a disposition, a heuristic and analytic tool" (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 312). It offers a theoretical framework with "simultaneity, complexity, irreducibility and inclusivity" (Carastathis, 2014, p. 307) and is used to describe a range of experiences of intersectionality. For example, while white able-bodied women may be socially pressured to have babies, women of colour and disabled women may be

pressured not to have children, and may even have to fight against sterilization. While a professional gay man and a working-class gay man may both face heterosexism, the income, respect and authority of the professional may render him less vulnerable. Collins (2015) welcomes how intersectionality is being used to describe the experience of oppression from multiple characteristics (e.g., racism and ableism). In addition, this theory can explain how oppression and privilege operate simultaneously. Crenshaw (1989) points to the privileges and power that white women have over other women, within the context of both groups experiencing sexism. Intersectionality can bring increased cohesion between groups advocating for change (Roberts & Jesudason, 2013).

As the theory grows, so do critiques. Critiques challenge that intersectionality (a) names differences as endless, without being clear about how to select the categories of importance, (b) gives insufficient guidance for when one category can be given attention over another, (c) is unclear whether (and when) intersectionality should be considered at a micro, meso, or macro level, and (d) with its emphasis on groups, intersectionality contributes to segregation as much as inclusion (Ludvig, Russell, Gimenez, Zack, as cited in Carastathis, 2014). Essed suggests that while intersectionality is useful for policy, conceptually it promotes the idea that two aspects of identity (e.g., race and gender) develop separately and then meet (Essed & Muhr, 2018). She challenges this notion, suggesting a "whole person approach" be considered (Essed & Muhr, 2018, p. 198). In spite of these critiques, intersectionality continues to be used to examine oppression across multidisciplinary settings and new tools, such as the intersectional discrimination index for use in population health research, are being created (Scheim & Bauer, 2019).

Intersectionality can act as a bridge between the models and concepts presented about oppression and the ideas about action to follow. Embedded in the theoretical foundation of intersectionality is the importance of linking knowledge and action. Oppression, as a normative concept, names a kind of harm morally wrong. After naming harm, many believe that a moral obligation to seek change should follow. Therefore, concepts with a focus on action against oppression are an important part of this chapter.

3.4. Action against oppression

While evidence of oppression is found throughout human history, so too are efforts to reduce oppression. Action is often seen as separate from theory and this dichotomy has been contested. "Very different kinds of 'thought' and 'theories' emerge when abstract thought is joined with pragmatic action" (Collins, 2000, p. 22). Choosing how to respond to oppression is complex and influenced by context ("national, regional, cultural, interpersonal") (Pretilletensky, 2003 p. 197). In OS and OT literature, transformation is the word used most often to think about structural change. Transformation describes solutions that change a social or political structure so that power is no longer used to harm one group while benefiting a second group (Guajardo & Kronenberg, 2015). Transformation requires a "radical sensibility" or an "enhanced awareness of contradictions distorted by the everyday, and of socio-political processes that construct and perpetuate forms of oppression and inequity" (Rudman, 2014, p. 377). In turn, "radical sensibility has to do with consciousness raising" (Rudman, 2014, p. 377). This section considers how consciousness raising enhances awareness, reviews terms and theoretical work designed to support action, and names the potential support of solidarity and allies when seeking to act against oppression.

3.4.1. Conscientizaçao.

Conscious raising is a critical process of questioning one's situation and recognizing its causes (Freire, 2000/1970). Someone who is at risk of harm may be hypersensitive to cues in their environment as a way to increase safety. This can lead the oppressed group to have more insight and knowledge into a situation than the oppressor/dominant group (Essed, 1991; Hanna et al., 2000). Often the first step towards action involves people who are oppressed coming to recognize and understand how their difficulties and limitations are caused by oppressive structures (Freire, 2000/1970). Paulo Freire named this increased awareness conscientizaçao, translated both as consciousness raising, and conscientization (Freire, 2000/1970). Conscientization is a state of understanding that precedes resistance and suggests it can also be considered part of the process of liberation (Prilleltensky 2008). "In order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 49). More simply, one must be aware of oppression and its human origins before acting against it is possible (Deutsch, 2006).

Freire developed his ideas of raising consciousness within his role in adult education in Brazil. His focus on conscientization allowed his pedagogy, created with and not for people, to become a place for critical discovery in which people begin to see dehumanization. With an understanding of larger structures, consciousness allows for praxis (described by Freire as "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.") (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 51). Research on empowerment demonstrates that individuals do not take action against oppression, until they have considerable awareness of their

situation (Prilleltensky, 2008). Such an understanding "of how everyday doing intersects with oppression is necessary at individual and collective levels in order to disrupt the cycle" (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 495).

3.4.2. Resistance and Liberation.

A number of concepts are named by theorists who seek to "disrupt the cycle" of oppression including resistance, liberation, emancipation, struggle, and revolution. Resistance can be seen as a transformative "bottom up"/grassroots act against something (Brighenti, 2011). Struggle was used by Gramsci to describe actions against hegemony. Liberation refers to both a state opposite to oppression in which one is free of oppressing power, and to forces and processes used to achieve that state (Prilleltensky, 2003). Emancipation is a process in which a person, group or population gain previously denied important rights (Valeri, 2003). Revolution involves removing parts of an oppressive social structure often by force (Fanon, 2008/1952). These terms are used variably to describe transformative actions.

When seeking transformation, one may consider choosing persuasive or power strategies (Deutsch, 2006). Persuasion involves convincing someone with power to make changes that reduce oppression. Deutsch suggests appealing to moral values, self-interest, and self-realisation (Deutsch, 2006, p. 29). Power strategies include enhancing one's own power through developing power within the group and with allies, finding ways to use the power against a system such as disrupting a system (e.g., acting within the rules of the system in such a way as to demonstrate its shortcomings) and reducing the power of the oppressor, including violent and non-violent strategies. Leaders and agents of social change exert "considerable effort to overcome self-doubts and personal adversity" (Watts

et al. 2003, as cited in Prilleltensky, 2003, p. 197). While seeking to broaden understandings of transformations, the use of two terms, resistance and liberation, will be explored in more detail.

Resistance signals opposition and is enacted by a less powerful group toward a dominant power. It can be seen as a creative act towards "transforming what is into what could be" (Brighenti, 2011, p. 74). Resistance involves "countering, subverting and ultimately undermining" (Scrambler, 2012) and is often associated with non-violent opposition. Martin Luther King described resistance as falling between acquiescence and violence (Hunt, 2004). He further emphasized that non-violent resistance should be directed towards broader forces, not people who act based on those forces. King also explained that resistance will involve suffering (Hunt, 2004). Resistance can be discursive as well as active, and can be understood through Foucault's work that examines the influence of power on knowledge creation. For example, one can resist the dominant discourse about what is true or normal, by critically examining the assumptions and expectations. Brighenti (2011) argues that cross cultural psychiatry resists the dominant model of psychiatry, providing "some of the resistance to the dominant apparatuses of mental health services that Foucault tells us we should expect" (Brighenti, 2011, p. 293). Some occupational scientists and occupational therapists draw attention to how occupation can be used to enact resistance through day to day activities that disrupt power relations (Kiepek, Beagan, Rudman, & Phelan, 2019; Ramugondo, 2015). Ramugondo (2015) suggests occupational scientists and occupational therapists examine how "individuals and communities articulate acts of resistance in everyday occupation as expressed in different languages and lived within different contexts" (p. 499).

Liberation is "the process of resisting oppressive forces and striving toward psychological and political well-being" (Prilleltensky, 2003, p. 195). The concept forms the foundation of liberation philosophy and liberation psychology, both of which originated in Latin America and emerged as a response to oppression. Conceptually, liberation integrates and critiques the work of European theorists (Mendieta, 2016). Dussel, a South American philosopher, refers to liberation philosophy as a "critical-ethical philosophy" (Dussel, 1998, as cited in Burton & Osorio, 2011) that includes a basis in critical theory. It diverges from critical theory with its deep understanding of the "negativity of colonialism" (Dussel, 2011, p. 17). For Dussel, to engage in action for liberation one must see humans as beings situated in context (physical, spiritual, cultural), communicate among equals, and maintain a feasible system of ethics (Burton & Osorio, 2011).

Liberation psychology developed in South America seeking "to facilitate breaking out of oppression by identifying processes and practices which can transform the psychological patterns associated with oppression, and facilitate taking action to bring about change in social conditions" (Moane, 1999, p. 180, as cited in Prilleltensky, 2008). It is developed with the work of Martín-Baró who critiqued psychology and social psychology (theoretical and applied) for applying a Western lens to Latin America (1994). Martín-Baró (1994) suggests that recovery of historical memory, de-ideologizing everyday experience[2], and utilizing people's virtues are important tasks to be taken up by liberation psychology. The interrelationship between people and their social system is

[2] Liberation psychology seeks to challenge hegemony: "To de-ideologize means to retrieve the original experience of groups and persona and return it to them as objective data. People can then use the data to formally articulate a consciousness of their own reality, and by so doing, verify the validity of acquired knowledge." (Martín-Baró , 1994, p. 31)

emphasized and Martín-Baró advocates that liberation psychology “has to come from a praxis that is committed to the people” (p. 23).

This brief review only touches on a few theories that help frame actions to reduce oppressive situations. Most importantly, it suggests that when coming from perspectives of oppression, theory and concepts surrounding oppression are always coupled with action. It is not always clear what actions are helpful, especially in the context of privilege. The next section explores the possible roles of those who are not members of an oppressed group but choose to work toward transformation.

3.5.3. Solidarity and Allies.

Efforts to reduce or eliminate oppression are often supported by efforts of solidarity and with the help of allies. Efforts of solidarity occur when groups or individuals work towards a common goal and may include the work of allies. Allies have a fundamental role supporting oppressed groups “fighting at their side to transform objective reality” (Freire, 2000/1970, p. 49). Allies are people outside of a particular group that experiences oppression, who take action with the people who are identified as part of the group. Allies can increase the power of the oppressed group when they choose, as members of a privileged group(s), to voice solidarity (Deutsch, 2006). Sue (2017) emphasizes the action required to be an ally with the analogy of a conveyor belt. As the dominant group is being propelled forward by the system, allies choose to exert effort to travel in the opposite direction. He emphasizes no matter how much reflection occurs within the dominant group, without action, all are propelled along (Sue, 2017). Allies share a number of characteristics such as an understanding of social structures, history, change processes, and their personal roots, an understanding of “power-with”,

and openness regarding their limitations (Bishop, 2015). In contrast, Anne Bishop names "individualism, dualism and an ahistorical world view" as barriers to work as an ally (Bishop, 2015). Ally capacities can be developed through trusting, authentic relationships with people in oppressed groups, recognizing and overcoming systemic barriers that discourage social justice, taking action to "walk the talk", and reflecting on lived experience (Sue, 2017). Sue suggests that professionals seeking to be allies need training in advocacy to expand their ability to assume system interventions roles, to use strategies that effectively change systems, and to practice strategies and techniques for dealing with the consequences of "walking backwards" (such as confronting others about microaggressions) (Sue 2017). While anyone can choose moments to "walk backward" in their workplace and community, Sue (2017) suggests there are few "true allies" or people who are identified by the group they seek to support as an ally. Becoming an ally can be an effective way to take action against oppression.

In summary, theory and action are linked in oppression through its moral foundation that identifies oppression as wrong, and stipulates that the source(s) of the harm can often be identified. In this conceptualization, harm is not an "unfortunate reality", but something located in a time and place that potentially can be modified. Actions, such as resistance and liberation, have been taken, and allies have an identifiable role, using privilege to act in solidarity. The final section of this chapter examines OS and OT literature to gain an initial sense of use of the concept of oppression within OS and OT.

3.6. The concept oppression in OS and OT.

Although occupational scientists and occupational therapists select other terms more often when writing about injustice, the term oppression has been used. The database Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL) documents articles using the word oppression in OT literature beginning in 1996 when Dickie and Frank wrote about artisan crafts within the global economy. They argued that crafts can be a site of resistance against oppression (Dickie & Frank, 1996). Use of this term continues through to the present. In a recent article, a postcolonial approach to educating rehabilitation students is suggested as a tool to reduce oppression in health care (Hojjati et al., 2018). Other professions are also concerned with understanding oppression. Nursing recognizes oppression and its effect on people seeking assistance (Van Herk, Smith, & Andrew, 2011) and on nurses, often under the subject of oppressed group behaviour (Matheson & Bobay, 2007). Psychology (particularly community psychology) identifies the influence of oppression (Burnette & Hefflinger, 2017; Kira et al., 2019). Social workers and educators include a focus on oppression and anti-oppressive practice (Chaze & George, 2013; Clifford, 2015; Mitton-Kukner, Kearns, & Tompkins, 2016). In addition, disability studies explores the impact of oppression on the lived experience of disability, and sometimes frames disabling less as a matter of individual condition and more as a result of social oppression based on differences that are part of human diversity (Cambraia Windsor, Benoit, & Dunlap, 2010; Riddle, 2013; Shakespeare, Cooper, Bezmez, & Poland, 2018). Within OS and OT, the concept of oppression is used to identify harms that happen to groups, discuss its influence on occupational engagement, to encourage the profession to challenge oppression, and to advocate action to reduce injustice.

Occupational scientists and occupational therapists use the concept of oppression to discuss harms that happen to groups and identify structures that contribute to harm. Within this literature authors name harms to specific groups using terms such as ageism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism and ableism (Horowitz, Savino, & Krauss, 1999; Ramugondo, 2015). More broadly, Ramugondo (2015) identifies that some people, due to their identification with a social group, are treated negatively and denied opportunities given to more privileged others. At times, occupational scientists and occupational therapists identify a group that benefits, such as men who end up with more caregiving services (Bywaters & Harris, 1998), and have considered the influence of power and domination on occupation (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). The word oppression is used when discussing the impact of systemic structures (Ramugondo, 2015; Rudman, 2018), and the relationship between specific structures (such as within health care) (Chacala et al., 2014). Dehumanization isn't specifically mentioned, but othering is discussed as a factor that affects entitlements (Ramugondo, 2015) and experiences in care settings (McCorquodale & Kinsella, 2015). Ramugondo's 2015 article on occupational consciousness specifically integrates the concept of oppression. She draws on the theoretical work of Fanon, Freire, Biko, and Dussel. Other occupational scientists and occupational therapists have also drawn on theoretical work discussed in this chapter (Farias et al., 2016) including the faces of oppression named by Young (Gupta & Garber, 2017; Hammell, 2008).

Occupational scientists and occupational therapists name the negative impact of oppression on occupation and the link between oppression and health outcomes is identified (Gupta & Garber, 2017). In addition, oppression has been named when

examining the occupation of graffiti (Russell, 2008), when selecting occupations for preschool children who are Indigenous (Gerlach, Browne, & Suto, 2014), and when seeking to understand classroom behavior (Angell, 2014). It has been used to name forces affecting occupational participation for migrants (Bailliard, 2013) and the impact of overprotection (van Niekerk, 2009). Scholars in OS and OT have used oppression to consider the occupation of caregiving (Bywaters & Harris, 1998) and how oppression can affect the occupation of being an OT (Chacala et al., 2014). In addition, theorists focus on exclusion from occupation secondary to membership in groups, without using the term oppression (Whiteford, 2000).

Occupational scientists and occupational therapists use the concept of oppression to challenge the profession, encourage recognition of health care structures, and encourage change. Sometimes authors are blunt, using the concept oppression to challenge therapy practices. Iwama (2007) asks if clients could see therapists as agents of oppression and others explore how people may experience powerlessness and oppression from OT services (Yalon-Chamovitz, Kraiem, & Gutman, 2017). Occupational therapists have written about hegemony and its impact on clients (Ramugondo, 2015) and on themselves (Wilding, 2011). The work of Deleuze and Guattari is explored as helpful when "disrupting oppressive hierarchies" (Barlott, Shevellar, & Turpin, 2017) and critical epistemology is named as a tool to "change existing oppressive structures" (Farias et al., 2016, p. 237). Fransen and colleagues suggest occupational therapists pay attention to participatory citizenship models to see the "continuum between liberating and oppressive relationships" (Fransen, Pollard, Kantartzis, & Viana-Moldes, 2015, p. 37).

Occupational scientists and occupational therapists also use the term oppression to encourage the profession to promote justice. Occupational therapists are encouraged to use leadership to stand against oppression and for inclusion and equity (Carlsson, 2009). Authors advocate for working in solidarity (including participatory action research) with clients, seeking justice, naming and addressing root causes, and addressing power and systemic influences (Farias et al., 2016; Gupta, 2016; Malfitano et al., 2016). OT authors recognize the limits of the profession to change existing power structures, while encouraging action: "It is important to highlight that occupational therapists may not directly influence this macrostructure however, they should try to promote more access to social participation for groups facing many challenges, including socio-economic barriers, occupational injustices, or the way to stay in the world" (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018). Occupational therapists and occupational scientists can "become catalysts for creating a society with 'a more human face'" (Kronenberg, Kathard, Rudman, & Ramugondo, 2015, p. 25). This overview establishes that occupational scientists and occupational therapists are considering the concept of oppression and what it adds to theory and practice. Given this evidence, this thesis moves to further examine OS and OT literature, seeking additional insights from authors who choose to name the specifics of oppression in their work.

3.7. Concluding Thoughts

Oppression both "repels and attracts". This concept challenges ideas about justice, names harms, seeks to understand power, and acknowledges causal factors. Oppression links theory and action, suggesting that both are intertwined. Writers in OS and OT have used oppression within the literature to explain problems and encourage solutions. With

the knowledge gained in Chapters 2 and 3, it begins to appear that using justice and rights discourse without the voices that choose the word oppression may be partial and incomplete. Thus, in subsequent chapters, I attend to people within OS and OT who choose to name oppressions. In Chapter 4, I provide the research questions, study rationale, and the critical interpretive synthesis methodology for the resulting literature review. In Chapter 5, I explore the results of that synthesis, the use of oppression and related terms within OS and OT literature.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The theoretical work describing the concept of oppression in Chapter 3 provides a foundation from which to study its use within OS and OT literature and explore any additional benefits this concept might offer the profession. Given that exploration of the concept of oppression within OS and OT is limited and given the potential benefit of more complete understandings of oppression, I strive, through this thesis, to encourage a broadening of the perspectives incorporated when considering social dynamics and everyday consequences of inequality. In this chapter, the research question, chosen methodology and data collection process are presented.

4.1. Research Questions

Guiding this thesis is an overarching research question: How might an exploration of the concept of oppression within OS and OT literature shape theory development in occupational science and occupational therapy? There are two more specific sub-questions that help to guide the research:

- How are terms for oppression and named oppressions used and clarified by occupational science and occupational therapy?
    - How are occupational therapists and occupational scientists currently using the word oppression and its derivatives (oppressed, oppressing etc.)?
    - How are occupational therapists and occupational scientists using words that express oppression related to a named group identity (e.g., racism, sexism, ableism)?

    - When using oppression or naming specific oppressions, how are occupational therapists and occupational scientists using words that help clarify aspects of oppression, an oppressive relationship, or a response to oppression (e.g., intersectionality, privilege, resistance)?
- How might insights gained through a critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) of existing literature support theory development in OS and OT?
    - Can insights gained from exploring the use of the concept “oppression”, related theory, and related concepts in OS and OT literature enhance OS and OT understanding of theoretical concepts such as justice, rights, and power?
    - Can insights gained from exploring the use of the concept of oppression, related theory, and related concepts in OS and OT literature add to concepts such as client-centred, occupational engagement, occupational justice, and occupational injustices?

4.2. Interpretive Methodology

These research questions were explored using existing OS and OT literature to discover how the profession is engaging with the concept of oppression and consider how insights gained can support theory development. An interpretive review methodology allowed for the development of concepts and theories using inductive and interpretive processes (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Critical theory, with its focus on promoting justice (Depoy & Gitlan, 2016), also shaped this review question and process. Critical theory

considers the role of power in knowledge production and considers how normative assumptions influence knowledge creation (Depoy & Gitlan, 2016).

Interpretive reviews share an assumption that all forms of data can contribute to knowledge and refine theory (Schick-Makaroff, Macdonald, Plummer, Burgess, & Neander, 2016). The intent is to synthesize available information to further understand the phenomena of interest (Schick-Makaroff et al., 2016). A synthesis takes "parts" that are available in the literature and through both an analytical and innovative process, the emerging "whole" is a product that in some way is greater than its parts (Strike & Posner, as cited in Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). This process helps researchers to consider contradictory evidence, map shifting trends, identify gaps in research, and develop conceptual frameworks among other goals (Schick-Makaroff et al., 2016). A number of different types of knowledge synthesis methods can be identified in the literature that share these features, including meta-ethnography, narrative synthesis, and concept synthesis (Kastner, Antony, Soobiah, Straus, & Tricco, 2016). During a synthesis, effort is made to ensure that methodology does not completely separate knowledge from its context. Researchers in decolonizing methodologies stress that some methods of approaching literature such as narrative interpretations are better able than "gold-standard" systematic reviews to make sure that the whole does not become irretrievably separated from its parts (Chambers et al., 2018) and acknowledge that knowledge is created within social relations (Pope, 2003).

Exploring, questioning, and analyzing words and concepts falls within the domain of analytic philosophy. Rodgers (1989), in her work in nursing theory, summarizes some of this philosophy by naming entity views of concepts (concepts defined by properties

that seek to distinguish what is or is not within a particular concept; linked to positivism), and dispositional views that focus on the use of the concept or the capabilities of a user who understands the concepts (supported by philosophers including Wittgenstein) (Rodgers, 1989). Both ways of considering concepts can help to widen understandings of oppression.

4.3. Critical Interpretive Synthesis

After consideration of the research question and its fit with interpretive review methodology, critical integrative synthesis, proposed by Dixon-Woods and others (2006), was selected as the methodology for use in this thesis. CIS uses a critical perspective to create a synthesizing argument or theoretical proposal, grounded logically and plausibly in the data (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Barnett-Page and Thomas (2009) describe CIS as a “subjective idealist” (or relativist) ontological approach. Subjective idealism describes the philosophical position that there is no single reality that people can discuss, but instead there are “a series of alternative constructions and understandings” (Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis, & Dillon, 2003, p. 45). Dixon-Woods et al. (2006) name grounded theory and meta-ethnography as influencing this method’s development. Although these authors developed CIS to help them engage with a large diverse volume of work, it has also been used on a smaller scale (Benjamin-Thomas & Rudman, 2018).

CIS begins with a tentative research question (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). The development of the final question is iterative and the question is modified in response to the research process (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Dixon-Woods and colleagues (2006) identify key nonlinear processes, instructing researchers that “searching, sampling, critique and analysis…should be seen as dynamic and mutually informing processes” (p.

44). Literature searching begins broadly to find relevant literature, and theoretical saturation can be used to determine when the literature has been sufficiently examined. Papers are generally accepted for inclusion in a CIS if they are relevant in spite of methodological weaknesses (within determined limits), though researchers must "reflect on the credibility of the evidence, to make critical judgements about how it contributes to the development of the synthesising argument" (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 40). Data may or may not be systematically extracted. Analysis processes are not prescribed but instead are to be critical, reflexive, dialogic, and creative as the information is interpreted, themes are recognized, and synthesizing arguments are formed (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). These synthesizing arguments link constructs and offer a "theoretically sound and useful account that is demonstrably grounded in the evidence" (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 45).

This CIS will be influenced by narrative processes such as asking "What is the "story" of the research/article and how is the naming of oppression part of this story?" It is also influenced by concept analysis, particularly Rodgers, (1989)'s method of analysis. Her method is designed primarily to support concept development within nursing theory. Rodgers identifies an "evolutionary view" of how concepts develop and shift over time; Rodger's evolutionary view considers significance, application, and use of concepts. Her non-linear cycle of concept development involves identifying the concept of interest, surrogate terms, relevant uses, attributes and related concepts, as well as references, antecedents, and consequences of the concept if possible. Her broad understanding of concept development influenced the design of the data collection tool, and throughout the

analysis there was always an undercurrent of attention to how concepts and their uses changed over time.

4.4. Gathering Data

With a clear understanding of the selected methodology, the initial framework for gathering data was created. This literature review focuses on literature created after the introduction of the term occupational justice, which according to Durocher et al. (2014a) was introduced by Wilcock in 1998. The databases Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health (CINAHL), PsycINFO, PubMed, and Scopus were searched for the following key terms: occupational therapy or occupational therapist or occupational therapists or occupational science combined with any of the following as keywords: oppression, oppress*, oppressed group behaviour, sexism, racism, classism, ableism, disablism, ageism, heterosexism, and colonialism. Literature published in or after 1998 until the time of the literature search (April 2019) was retained. This search resulted in 139 unique returns. After an initial review of this literature, including selected abstracts and some non-peer reviewed literature, the first exclusion criteria were identified and applied. At this stage, all returns that were not peer reviewed and written in English (e.g. book chapters, non-English articles, OT trade journals, and letters to the editor) were set aside and 104 articles remained for consideration.

For the remaining 104 articles, abstracts were reviewed and, when helpful, articles were partially read. This more detailed examination of the returns in consultation with my supervisor led to the identification of additional exclusion criteria. It was decided that articles (a) without a reference to OS or OT in the abstract or subjects *and* published in a non-OS or non-OT journal or (b) not written by people with an OT credential listed or

working at an OT school *and* not containing the word “occupational” in the text (e.g., an article about Maori women scientists and a second about community-based support workers) or (c) articles that did not contain any of the keywords in the text would be omitted. After this group of exclusion criteria were applied, 75 articles remained for inclusion.

The 75 remaining articles were divided into subject groups to aid in the final selection of articles to be included in the CIS. Subject groups included: oppression, racism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, ableism, colonialism, and intersectional[3]. The group classism does not appear in the preceding list because no articles that fit into a classism group were found within the 75 articles remaining. Reflecting Rodgers’ (1989) notion of concept development, each group was further divided into 3 time periods: early (1998-2005), mid (2006-2012), and recent (2013-2019), resulting in 24 subject/time period groups.

Three main considerations were taken into account when narrowing this group of 75 articles to those ultimately selected for inclusion in this CIS. First, when a subject/time period group contained only one article, this article was automatically selected for inclusion. Second, consideration was given to the depth with which the named oppression was discussed in the article and the extent to which the abstract focused on OS and/or OT. Third, attention to the variability within groups of articles being selected was considered including the country in which the study/reflection occurred, author, the methodology used, the aspect of OS or OT explored (professional behaviour, students,

[3] Articles that focused on the simultaneous effects of two or more oppressions were placed in a category called intersectional and articles that considered the concept of oppression more than any particular kind of oppression were grouped in a category “oppression”.

theory, practice), the practice area, and age of people discussed in the articles. This selection process was then complicated by growing insights about the articles that were gained while reviewing the full texts. When selection was difficult, an additional article in a subject/time period group was chosen if it also helped contribute to the overall diversity of the group of selected articles.

The selected articles were read in full one at a time. Upon reading the full text, it became clear, at times, that the article "best" fit in a group other than the one in which it had been placed. Articles shifted from one group to another during the process when full text reading helped answer questions such as "Does article *x* fit better under an identity group or under 'oppression'?" and "Is this article truly an example of intersectionality?" Thus, the relationship between article selection and data collection became iterative. As suggested by Dixon-Woods and others (2006), critical reflexivity in conjunction with discussion with the thesis supervisor were used to determine when iterative processes should be undertaken. It was decided not to delete the data already collected from articles if a different subject/time period group was determined to best fit the content. If the "best placement" of an article left an "empty" subject/time period group, then an additional article was chosen from the articles that had been placed into that subject/time period group. Attention to maximize the diversity of the articles continued to influence the selection process.

When data collection was complete, five articles written between 1998-2005, nine articles written between 2006-2012 and eleven articles written between 2013-2018 were included (see Appendix A). This group of 25 articles uses qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods, and other strategies (literature reviews, commentary) to consider situations with

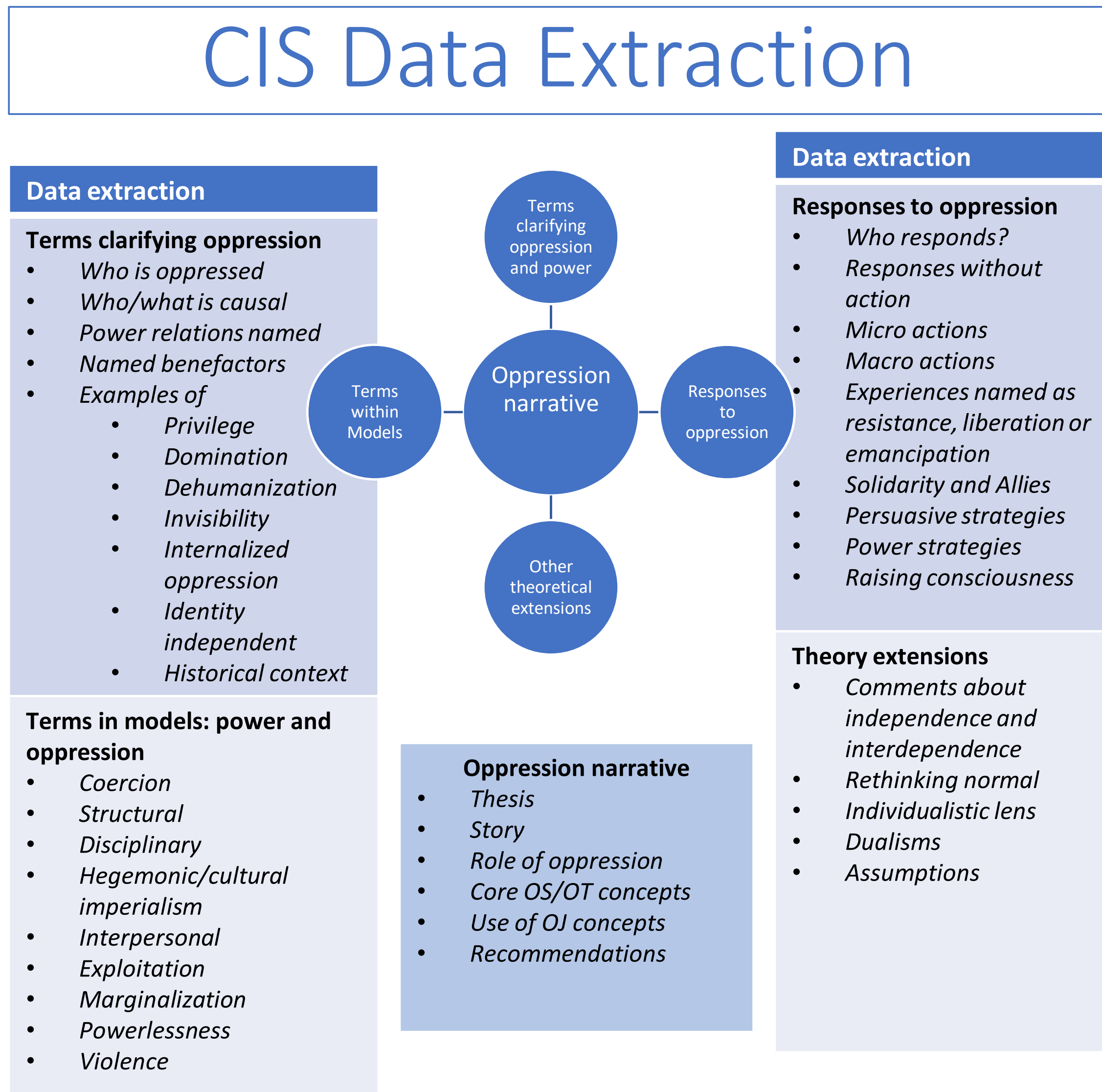
children, adults, and senior citizens. The studies included people who live with physical health and mental health challenges, and in locations in Australia, Canada, England, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Palestine, South Africa, and the United States of America sharing experiences of OT students, occupational therapists, clinical and non-clinical situations, and theoretical work.

The data collection tool was created after the initial subject/time period groups were selected. To do this, three of the selected 25 articles were read in full and the information within the articles was used to create an initial data collection tool (see Appendix B). This tool was then modified to include the concepts from oppression theory found in Chapter 3. As articles were read, information that was better suited to having its own category was used to modify the data collection tool so that this data was collected. This iterative process of modifying a data collection tool as patterns or emphasis become visible within the data is consistent with a CIS.

The data collected fit into the following broad categories: Narrative review (including the main thesis/point, the "oppression story", the role of OS and/or OT in this story & recommendations), use of ideas related to the concept of oppression and power (such as invisibility, microaggressions, hegemony, dehumanization), use of ideas from models (including Young, Cudd, and Collins), responses to oppression (such as micro actions, solidarity, persuasive strategies), and extending other theoretical ideas (such as dualism, normal, independence). Figure 4.1. provides a summary of the broad categories and subcategories used to collect data. A spreadsheet was used to organize the collection of information. Once the data extraction was completed, the data was examined for patterns and insights. As themes in the data became clearer, parts of the articles were

reviewed a second time (sometimes searching for a keyword such as power, enablement) to ensure information that confirmed or challenged the themes had not been missed.

Figure 4.1. Graphical summary of the data extraction



4.5. Determining Adequate Saturation

Considerations of saturation were left until after the initial data had been fully examined so that emerging insights could influence the process and decision. Saturation

is “the point at which an investigator has obtained sufficient information from data collection” (Depoy & Gitlin, 2016, p. 188). After the data collection tool had been completed with the 25 selected articles, three additional articles were chosen to test saturation. Reflections regarding the emerging findings led to the decision that three peer reviewed articles, in English, by authors who had not participated in any of the original studies, would be reviewed to assess saturation. Based on the quality of available peer reviewed articles, this strategy was chosen instead of broadening the scope of the project to non-peer reviewed grey literature. Two of the articles were almost included in the original group of 25 and were chosen because the authors addressed concepts found in the oppression literature, namely privilege and allies, and therefore could easily have been included in the initial group of 25 CIS articles. The third article used to test saturation was selected for its attention to complex structural and social factors and focus on poverty, to include an article that was inclusive of class (recall that no articles exploring the topic of classism had been located using the initial search terms). This study was hand selected while searching for a recent article in an OS or OT journal, that had oppression in the text and involved the idea of class (homelessness, poverty etc.).

Each of the three ‘extra’ articles was read in full and the content was organized using themes/categories that emerged from the initial articles (summarized in Table 5.4.). The additional insights gained from these articles are shared in Chapter 5. Following this process, it was determined that while the articles added insights to help respond to the research questions, they did not challenge the information arising from the initial set of articles. Nor did the topics discussed point to the need for additional categories to express

key oppression-related-content. Therefore, it was determined that theoretical saturation had been met.

4.6. Limitations

While efforts to ensure rigor have been undertaken with respect to methodology and process, there are limitations that follow from this study design:

1) This review focuses on work published in peer reviewed journals. While CIS encourages inclusion of literature from multiple sources, grey literature and book chapters are not included in this study. This omission may limit perspectives of people who cannot easily access academic venues.
2) Works examined are limited to English language materials. Non-English articles were considered, but given the challenges of achieving adequate translations, they were not formally included. This decision excludes potential insights from the global south and other non-English speaking professionals.
3) The rate that the search terms appear in the literature may be related to the number of similar terms available in English and authors' or editors' comfort with the terms. For example, OT and OS scholars use culture sometimes instead of race, but use ageism and colonialism when talking about age or limits imposed by colonial relations, where there may be no alternatives.
4) The databases include more Western/Northern journal than non-Western/Southern ones, which can limit the perspectives retrieved.
5) Database design limits the data that can be accessed. Working against, rather than with, the database design was a frustrating experience. If the author uses a key word in an abstract, the database will accurately retrieve a paper with an abstract

search of a word. However, words that acknowledge oppression (e.g., racism) may themselves may be stigmatized, leading authors (or editors, or peer reviewers) to select other words. Grouping papers by social concepts or discipline may be less of a priority for databases that prioritize quantitative research. Database decisions about whether an article was coded as occupational therapy and/or by a word related to oppression, affected what literature was retrieved in databases searches. Given this limitation, my efforts to establish rigour by creating a replicable initial review strategy may have resulted in a review that has limited the richness of the data. Examples of difficulties secondary to database use of search terms include:

a. Townsend, Birch, Langley, and Langille (2000) wrote an article using participatory action methods. However, when searching the database CINAHL for "Occupational therapy or occupational therapist or OT and participatory research" it is not retrieved. The database doesn't recognize it as an occupational therapy article. It is in the database and is retrieved when the title is searched. Townsend et al. (2000) intended for this article to be applicable to occupational therapy and uses "occupational therapy" multiple times.
b. Oppression and concepts such as classism are not standardized subject headings in all of the databases which means pertinent literature may be missed during searches. For example, one article on class and occupational therapy was written by the supervisor of this thesis, but it did not meet the

inclusion criteria which were dependent on how the database is organized and the search terms assigned to articles.

6) Time and resource constraints may limit the creative nature of the CIS process. This work is undertaken by an individual instead of the group processes described by Dixon-Woods and colleagues (2006). Creative, reflective processes take time and the length of this project was limited to several months.
7) While the data collection process was designed to maximize variability, Canada is over represented in the sample of articles included in the CIS. It is likely that a bias towards using more familiar articles to begin data collection and the decision not to eliminate articles when an article was moved from one group to another is most responsible for the disproportionate (by population) representation of Canadian literature. It is also true that Canadian occupational therapists have written detailed articles about the experience of living as a member of an oppressed group (e.g., Beagan & Etowa, 2009, Kirsh et al., 2006, Hammell, 2013, Gerlach, 2008, and Trentham & Nyesmith, 2018) and one hypothesis may be that Canadian authors are writing about oppression/oppressions more often (in English, in peer-reviewed venues) than authors studying OS or OT in other countries. There was a deliberate intention to select articles that more deeply considered the topic of oppression. In an effort to address this limitation, none of the articles used to determine saturation were written in Canada.

While all of these factors limit the analysis presented in the rest of this thesis, it is also true that OS and OT literature, especially that directly addressing oppression, is a finite volume. The analysis presented in the next few chapters captures the *gestalt* or

overall character of that body of literature, even if it has missed individual pieces. The English-language literature in peer-reviewed journals is read and used widely throughout the world. The most concerning limitation, then, remains the absence of Southern and non-English literature.

4.7. Conclusion

The initial review of the literature and theory related to justice, rights, and oppression (Chapters 2 and 3), led to an understanding of the limited amount of literature that addresses the concept of oppression within OS and OT. With this grounding, I began to ask myself more specific questions about the literature as my interest in the potential contribution of the concept oppression emerged. The CIS methodology was selected as it is well suited to seeking answers to research questions such as the ones posed here. Using the self-created data collection tool and the iterative methods of CIS, information from 25 articles was gathered. Three additional articles (for a total for 28) were examined for saturation; they include important perspectives and knowledge and their consistency with the emerging data allowed me to conclude that saturation had been met. Next, Chapter 5 presents the themes and insights that emerged from a critical interpretive synthesis of this interesting body of literature, while connections between the data and specific theoretical approaches are explored in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5: CIS Results

The research questions and critical interpretive synthesis methodology became the starting point for this exploration of the concept of oppression within OS and OT literature. The methodology was used to identify the selected terms in peer reviewed and non-peer reviewed literature, including book chapters, conference proceedings, and letters to the editor. The search strategy resulted in retrieval of 136 documents in English, plus one in Spanish, and two in Portuguese (n=139). As detailed in Chapter 4, from this group of literature, a smaller group of peer reviewed articles provided the data for this CIS analysis. In this chapter, I present a synthesis of how the concept oppression is used in peer reviewed literature. I outline the specific terms used, the focus of the selected articles, the use of terms related to oppression and include an initial exploration of power. Following this, I also identify responses to oppression found within the articles, consider the OT and OJ concepts that appear, and summarize original author recommendations. In brief, this tour of the selected literature provides insights into how oppression is considered with OS and OT, setting the stage for exploring the fit between this information and selected theoretical models/approaches in the analysis chapter, Chapter 6.

5.1. Introducing Search Results

Occupational therapists and occupational scientists do use terms that name oppression and identify groups that have experienced harm. An initial look at the returns shows that ageism was the search term located most frequently, followed by racism (see Table 5.1.). After the exclusion criteria were applied, the group of 75 remaining articles

contained the key terms used in the search strategy except for classism (the two articles initially located did not meet criteria) and oppressed group behavior. The term oppressed group behavior is used in nursing, but was not used to categorize any articles related to OS or OT. Classism returned two articles about medical students that were eliminated after applying the exclusion criteria (no mention of OS or OT and published in a non-OT journal). Most of the retrieved articles focus on one group that has experienced harm. Some authors discuss more than one group in their article, and two of the selected articles address one or more aspects of intersectionality (the non-additive experience of simultaneously belonging to more than one group, as discussed in Chapter 3). This growing body of literature suggests that using words that discuss harm to identifiable groups is increasingly relevant in OS and OT, and this language continues to be selected by occupational scientists and occupational therapists to convey meaning in their writing.

Table 5.1. Summary of retrieved articles by publication data and search term

	1998-2005	2006-2012	2013-2019	Subtotals
Ageism	6	13	14	33
Colonialism	1	4	9	14
Classism	2	0	0	2
Ableism	1	1	6	8
Heterosexism	0	3	2	5
Intersectional	0	1	1	2
Oppression	1	7	6	14
Racism	1	10	9	20
Sexism	3	1	2	6
Subtotal	15	40	49	104

As described in the previous chapter, the process of article selection was designed to give attention to different time periods and different aspects of the profession while balancing practice application and theory development. This process ended with the selection of 25 articles. In this group, 10 countries were represented (in frequency order: Canada, USA, UK, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and one each from Netherlands, Malaysia, and Palestine). Using Santos' definition of the Global South[4], four (or 16%) focused on contexts in the Global South and, of these four, two had authors living in the Global South. Articles retrieved by authors in South America were not written in English and after consideration of the abstracts, the decision was made to exclude them. (However, Chapter 6 considers the relationship of the data to the Social OT approach, developed in Brazil). Six articles included descriptions of children's occupations (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Gerlach, 2008; Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017) although the selected articles focused more frequently on adult and senior occupations. Articles covered varying aspects of occupational therapy, included people with physical and mental health diagnoses, and used a variety of methodologies. Articles discussed situations involving occupational therapy students and clinical environments with occupational therapists and enhanced occupational theory. While one can argue whether these are the "best" 25 articles for review, the emerging picture offers insights into how OS and OT are engaging with oppression.

While none of the 25 selected articles specifically explore oppression as a concept, oppression concepts do aid in communicating key messages found within this

[4] "the peripheral and semi-peripheral regions and countries of the modern world system, which were to be called, after the Second World War, the Third World" (Santos, 2007, p. 14).

body of work. Hammell (2013) defines each category of social difference and discusses why paying attention to social difference categories and multiple categories (naming intersectionality) is an important part of cultural humility. The other articles name wrongs that have happened based on shared characteristics with a group. Authors use terms for harm based on group identity to convey messages such as: "disabled therapists should not have to engage in added invisible work in order to combat **ableism** within their work contexts" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 114), "Several studies have demonstrated that HCPs [Health Care Professionals] hold **ageist** views toward older clients…" (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015, p. 2), and "similarly, no singular approach to eradicate **racism** and inequality or absolve shameful burdens exists" (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019, p. 10). In some of these areas the literature has steadily expanded over time.

5.2. A Growing Body of Literature

When the articles are considered within the three time-periods there is a noticeable broadening of subject matter and theory within the literature. This CIS identified fewer articles written between 1998-2005 than in the subsequent time periods with the most returned articles found in the third time period between 2013-2019. In the first time period, between 1998-2005, the time period in which the first articles about occupational justice were appearing in OT, the authors of the 25 selected articles describe oppression within an occupational therapy department in Malaysia (Crabtree, 2005), complete a literature review that includes an anti-racism model (Howarth & Jones, 1999), engage in participatory action research with people with mental health issues (Townsend et al., 2000), consider the benefits of the concept occupational potential (Wicks 2001),

and measure attitudes toward older people (Stewart, Giles, Paterson & Butler, 2005). Within this group, Freire's work influences one of the articles (Townsend et al., 2000).

Between 2006-2012, the range of issues discussed in the literature increased. In this time period, articles were identified that focused on racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, ageism, and colonialism. These articles explore the profession of OT (Joubert, 2010), occupations (Bergan Gander & van Kürthy, 2006; Gerlach, 2008; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011), client experiences (Kirsh et al., 2006), and an OT assessment (Jong, van Nes, & Lindeboom, 2012). One study considers a group of people who are simultaneously part of two identify groups: mental health OT clients who are also older adults (Fortune, Maguire, & Carr, 2007). There is a greater influence of theorists from outside the profession on research, with scholars examining the work of theorists such as Philomena Essed (Beagan & Etowa, 2009) and Michel Foucault (Rudman & Molke, 2009).

In the most current group of articles written between 2013 and 2019, there are further references to theoretical work including Collins, Gramsci (Angell, 2014), Bilko, Fanon, and Marx (Ramugondo, 2015). In this work, the term intersectionality is introduced and defined (Angell, 2014; Hammell, 2013). This group of articles introduces occupational scientists and occupational therapists to occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015), considers the relationship between oppression and occupation (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013; Hammell, 2013; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018; Simaan, 2017), names the influence of oppression on the profession (clinical and research) (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018; Chacala et al., 2014; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019), and discusses being (and becoming) an occupational therapist (Alden & Toth-Cohen; Steed, 2014). By

dividing the literature by time period, it is evident that interest, understanding of theory, and the breadth of situations in which occupational therapists and occupational scientists consider social difference is expanding. This expansion may also represent an evolution of how this concept and its use is shifting and developing over time (Rodgers, 1989).

5.3. Subject Matter by Identity

The articles included in the CIS display a wide range of research interests, theoretical concepts, and ideas for change. In this section, the collected data is examined by identity group and describes the content of the articles. Ageism is the focus of four of the selected articles, covering a 13-year span from 2005-2018. Authors are unanimous that ageism affects the occupations of people over 60 and the keyword search for ageism returned the largest group of articles. One of the articles in the CIS review that addresses ageism examines ageing discourse and its effects on how people (including seniors) think about ageing and the kinds of occupations one should engage in as one ages (Rudman & Molke, 2009). Studies in this group also seek to change the experiences of seniors. One focuses on attitudes of students with the eventual goal of using education to decrease ageism in occupational therapy (Stewart et al., 2005). Another focuses on change in occupational therapists already working in geriatrics to reduce the use of a type of speech known to reinforce dependency called elderspeak (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015). The final article in the group used PAR in which seniors set a research agenda and desired advocacy outcomes (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018).

Six articles were included in the CIS under the topic of racism written between 1999 and 2018, two from each time period. Howarth and Jones in 1999 clarify the distinction between racism and culture and review both an anti-racism model and the

concept of cultural safety. We learn how racism affects day to day occupations (Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009), experiences in occupational therapy (Kirsh et al., 2006), and the potential of an education program to affect racial attitude formation (Steed, 2014). These articles also describe how occupation can be a source of resistance to racism (Angell, 2014; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). Nicholls and Elliot (2019) provide personal examples of how reflecting on their research and not avoiding shame became a step towards recognizing and working to reduce racism.

Sexism as a search term yielded less than half the number of articles compared with racism. There are more articles in the literature written in 1985-1993 than in 1998-2005, the first time period included.[5] The earliest article examined in this CIS is written by a scholar interested in women's experience in general, but her detailed description of occupational therapy and the differences in experience between men and women patients met the inclusion criteria (Crabtree, 2005). The second article is the only one in the group that assesses a tool used by occupational therapists to assist with clinical decisions. After translating the Activity Card Sort into Dutch, the authors studied the tool including gender differences (Jong et al., 2012), and found that assessment bias toward male activities could lead to differences in how support and therapy resources are allocated within clinical settings. The third article challenges occupational therapists to think more deeply about gender discrepancies in the profession and consider how our society's norms and preferences favour men (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018). Readers are then

[5] A search of proquest databases using "occupational therapy" or "occupational science" or "occupational therapist" AND sexism returned 8 articles in occupational therapy journals between 1985 and 1993.

encouraged to reflect on how our society's gender preferences change occupational possibilities for both male and female occupational therapists.

In the areas of ableism, heterosexism, and colonialism, one article from each available section was selected. (This is in contrast to ageism, oppression, and racism in which some groups had additional articles, as a result of the larger number of returns and efforts to maximize variability). Two included articles explore ableism or oppression secondary to disability. The earliest study uses a participatory approach (PAR) as a way to equalize power and reduce oppressive structures in a mental health setting (Townsend et al., 2000)[6]. In the second study with a focus on ableism, two occupational therapists with disabilities name numerous challenges at work secondary to ableist attitudes (Chacala et al., 2014). While there are several articles about gender differences in the OT literature, one article on heterosexism met the inclusion criteria, describing how sexual orientation affects participants' everyday lives (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006). We also learn through a paper written in the same year, about experiences of heterosexism people encountered as occupational therapy clients (Kirsh et al., 2006) (placed in the "oppression" group). The selected literature on colonialism involves an experience of First People in Canada and the experience of a group of people in Palestine in areas being colonized by Israel (Gerlach, 2008; Simaan, 2017). Both bring up the importance of understanding different ways of knowing (as does Hammell, 2013). Gerlach (2008) calls for "inclusive epistemology" (p. 18) while Simaan (2017) names "cognitive injustice" (p. 511) and Hammel (2013) suggests the profession avoid "intellectual colonialism", or

[6] This paper is an early example of PAR within the profession. CINAHL returns 2 articles between before 2001 that use "participatory research or participation action research" and "occupational therapist or occupational therapy or OT"

“theoretical imperialism” (p. 230). In addition, Simaans (2017) and Gerlach (2008) each make visible an experience of colonization and its impact on occupations.

Two papers reviewed in the CIS were placed in the group “intersectionality”. Only one paper was returned that focuses on an aspect of the experience of groups of people who are simultaneously experiencing two kinds of oppression. In this case, the group is people who have a disability and experience stigma secondary to mental health needs who are also being served by separate programs for older adults (Fortune et al., 2007). This paper names “participation opportunities” available to adults with mental health issues, that have not been extended to older adults and documents the authors’ early efforts toward change (Fortune et al., 2007). Two papers included in other time period/identity groups focus on people who are experiencing simultaneous sources of oppression, but the focus is only on one of their identity groups. We learn about the experiences of women in a system that conforms to colonial norms (Crabtree, 2005), and the experiences of African Canadian women and how racism affects their day to day occupations (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Intersectionality as theory and the contribution of Black feminist theorists in the development of intersectionality is discussed by Hammell (2013) (the second study in the intersectional group) and Angell (2014) (placed in the oppression group).

The final five papers in this CIS were placed in a group called “oppression”, a label assigned only if one of the other categories was not a better fit. Two of the articles sought to extend theory, introducing occupational potential (Wicks, 2001) and occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015). Angell (2014) blends theory and examples grounded in occupation to demonstrate how occupation is a site in which social

difference can be both constituted and resisted. A fourth article considers the growth/evolution of OT in South Africa naming the impact of sexism and colonialism on its growth (Joubert, 2010). The final article explores the experience of being from a minority group and accessing occupational therapy (Kirsh et al., 2006). This study fit neither into a specific identity group nor intersectionality and so was included here. These studies help diversify the group of selected articles.

5.4. Exploring the Articles from a Narrative Perspective

After completing this brief overview, the exploration of the selected literature began from a narrative approach. Each article was read in full and (consistent with a narrative perspective) I created a brief summary of the article and how it addresses oppression. These brief narratives created following full text review generally ask: "What is the main purpose of the narrative within the article?" and/or "What are OTs writing about when they use the word oppression?". Four themes emerged as responses to these questions: (a) day to day experiences (describe situations); (b) related theoretical concepts (enhance [theoretical] understanding); (c) the relationship between oppression and OT (name involvement); (d) focus on reduction (reduce occurrences). Table 5.2. provides a list of these themes and a representative quote for each. Some of the articles fit well into more than one of these categories, reinforcing the idea that these themes are fundamentally connected.

Table 5.2. Documenting the foci of the articles included in this CIS

Foci	Representative quote
Describe day to day situations	As one woman said, "It impacts everything I do, everything I say, everything I wear, everything I eat, people I talk to ... most life activities. It's so pervasive." (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 288).
Enhance theory	In this paper, I have attempted to present a theoretical framework for an occupation-centred analysis of social difference, arguing that from this vantage point both resistance to and reproduction of social categories can be observed (Angell, 2014, p. 113).
Name involvement	I wish I could say that I replied 'that must have been hard,' or acknowledged that she was discounted, placed outside a group, that her subjugated knowledge was lost to the group, that her experience was valid, and that we had all contributed to that feeling of not being held in high esteem…But I didn't. I changed the subject (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019, p. 5).
Reduce occurrences	…the results suggest that care must be taken in the design of cultural competency curriculum [in order to reduce racial bias] (Steed, 2014, p. 407).

Day to day occupational experiences within a context that includes oppression are described by several authors. Within this group, Beagan and Etowa's (2009) respondents describe day to day experiences of African Canadian women. Similarly, Bailliard (2013) documents experiences of daily living for people who do not quality for government ID in a small American town. We also learn about the daily experiences of occupational therapists with disabilities, people who identify as LGBQ, and experiences of Black Americans that influence rap lyrics (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006; Chacala et al., 2014; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). Describing day to day experiences, as Hocking (2017) says following her literature review about occupational justice, makes harm "immediate

and understandable when viewed from an occupational perspective" (p. 41). Author descriptions of everyday occurrences such as an uncomfortable experience in a taxi cab (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006), or fear while driving to an appointment (Bailliard, 2013), make visible harm based on social difference, and the ways oppression and the resultant fear may shape and constrain occupations.

The second theme in the articles is a focus on contributing to theory development. This literature introduces concepts that authors think will be helpful in OS and OT when considering the relationship between the social world and occupation. Wicks (2001) encourages the visibility of social influences on occupation when she promotes the term occupational potential and similarly Ramugondo's (2015) term occupational consciousness focuses attention on how occupations perpetuate social structures. Authors consider how terms (such as resistance), bodies of knowledge (such as Black feminist thought) and models (such as capabilities approach) can support and challenge theory development (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013). This theory development will help to ground concepts and support interdisciplinary collaboration, both of which are recommended within the occupational justice literature (Durocher et al., 2014b).

Authors also examine the relationship between oppression and occupational therapy seeking to point out how occupational therapy itself can contribute to harm. Gerlach (2008) explores how one's understanding of concepts such as family and health can lead to can lead to bias if a therapist is unable to recognize when clients do not share the same interpretation. Within this group of studies, clients name frustrations when occupational therapists seem to make assumptions based on their language abilities or don't approve of their sexuality (Kirsh et al., 2006). Occupational therapists reflect on

efforts to avoid social biases influencing their practice: "If you've experienced oppression, you're very much more aware of the other groups who are also experiencing it in a different way. But sadly, we'll still oppress." (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 112-113). Similarly, in occupational science, Nicholls and Elliot (2019) reflect on recognizing bias in the research interview process and the shame that followed increased understanding. Some of these examples challenge our views of ourselves as people and occupational therapists who helpfully enable, and these examples support Iwama's concern that therapy can become "vulnerable to the larger dynamics of social injustice and oppression" (Iwama, 2007, p. 23).

In addition to naming how occupational scientists and occupational therapists might contribute to oppression, some authors name actions that can be taken or have been taken to reduce oppression. While many of the articles contain recommendations focused on reducing oppression, these articles name a harm to a group and take one or more steps towards a solution. Readers are introduced to programs for students to reduce racism and ageism (Steed, 2014; Stewart et al., 2005), education for therapists to reduce ageism (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015) and participatory action research to empower communities (Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). One study examines an assessment tool as a step to reducing bias in the therapeutic assessment process and its influence on resource allocation (Jong et al., 2012). Documenting examples of concrete change supports Collins' assertion that a link between knowledge and action matters: "Very different kinds of 'thought' and 'theories' emerge when abstract thought is joined with pragmatic action" (Collins, 2002, p. 33).

5.5. Terms Addressed in this Literature

Oppression theory, explored in Chapter 3, includes several terms that help define and understand the concept of oppression. We might think of these terms as contributing to an "oppression literacy". Examining the use of these terms can help consider the congruence between OS and OT literature and ideas that are integral to the concept of oppression. Instances of terms including privilege, invisibility, internalized oppression, historical context, consciousness, microaggressions, resistance, power, and allies, were documented with the data collection tool presented in Chapter 4. Most of the articles examined in this CIS (overall 88%) contain one or more of these terms and many contained more than one (see Table 5.3.). Looking at the group of articles as a whole, the words used most often within articles that are placed in the racism and oppression groups. Many of the terms/and or the concept they represent were used with sufficient frequency to discuss their use across studies, namely historical context, invisibility, internalized, consciousness, privilege, and microaggressions.

Historical background was frequently provided to give context to the analysis presented in the article. Half the articles in this group name a specific historical context that has contributed to or sustained oppression. Brief historical statements are used to provide the background for many articles. For example, Rudman and Molke (2008) provided context to retirement by explaining "the standard age of retirement, typically set near the age of 65 for males, was established after World War One" (p. 378). In another study the author described the impact of historical events on subsequent generations: "This model was interrupted, but never eliminated by invasions by Romans, Crusaders, Muslims, Byzantines, and Ottomans – cultures that have left their marks on the land and

people" (Simaan, 2017, p. 512). Authors also included historical information to make links between historical and current occurrences visible: "if a store clerk follows an African-Canadian customer, suspicious that she may steal something, this enacts racism in the context of a long history of African Canadians being portrayed as criminal" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 286). The fluidity between past and present may also affect therapy relationships and Gerlach (2008) draws our attention to "…a well-documented historical mistrust of non-First Nations health care professionals" (p. 20). Historical events are reviewed to explain why occupational therapy is more aligned with medical models than theory created and promoted by people with disabilities (Joubert, 2010) and Nicholls considers how her family history affects her professional behaviour (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). In the reviewed articles, historical context grounds the occupations and theory, exhibiting social patterns of behaviour, and linking history to current experiences.

Invisibility describes a key consequence of oppression. As explained in Chapter 3, invisibility refers to situations in which a group's concerns go unnoticed or stereotyped images come to represent a group of people so that the group and its heterogeneity become invisible (Pharr, 1997). The examples found in the selected body of literature focus on the first part of this definition, being unnoticed. Within the selected articles, people experiencing oppression feel invisible. In one study a participant is quoted as saying, "Our lives as citizens are rendered invisible and we battle to find the language, let alone define strategies, to delineate alternatives" (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018, p. 181). In another study a student confides "…my experiences weren't even acknowledged" (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019, p. 4) and in yet another study "women described feeling completely invisible" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 289). One article explains how

Table 5.3. Use of selected oppression concepts

First Author	Category	Privilege	Invisibility	Internal-ized	Historical context	Subtotals by topic	Subtotal as % for topic
Stewart 2005	Ageism						
Rudman 2009	Ageism		1		1		
Alden 2015	Ageism						
Trentham 2018	Ageism	1	1	1		5	31%
Simaan 2017	Colonialism				1		
Gerlach 2008	Colonialism				1	2	25%
Townsend 2000	Ableism		1				
Chacala 2014	Ableism		1	1		3	38%
Bergan-Gander 2006	Heterosexism			1		1	33%
Fortune 2007	Intersectional		1				
Hammell 2013	Intersectional	1			1	3	38%
Wicks 2001	Oppression	1					
Joubert 2010	Oppression				1		
Kirsh 2006	Oppression		1		1		
Angell 2014	Oppression		1		1		
Ramugondo 2015	Oppression	1	1	1	1	10	50%
Howarth 1999	Racism			1			
Beagan 2009	Racism	1	1		1		
Pyatak 2011	Racism		1		1		
Bailliard 2013	Racism				1		
Nicholls 2019	Racism	1	1		1		
Steed 2014	Racism	1				11	46%
Crabtree 2005	Sexism		1		1		
Jong 2012	Sexism						
Beagan 2018	Sexism			1		3	25%
		7	12	6	13		
% of Selected Articles		28%	48%	20%	52%		

aggregate data can render a group's experience invisible: "The voices of Malaysian women users being effectively silenced and their accounts subsumed under gender-blind and neutralized categories" (Crabtree, 2005, p. 87). Within occupational therapy settings, people from marginalized groups reported feeling, "A sense of 'invisibility', of being excluded from the occupational therapy process" (Kirsh et al., 2006, p. 310), and disabled occupational therapists found it a challenge to be seen by colleagues: "Equally, when disabled therapists insist on being visible not only as therapists but also as disabled, they transgress marginality" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 114). The related term, hypervisibility, is not used within the articles, but experiences of feeling extremely visible, are described. Within this group of articles, one participant felt hypervisible when taking a taxi, when the pick up location allowed the driver to deduce her sexuality and criticism followed (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006). Another participant describes being routinely followed while shopping (Beagan & Etowa, 2009), a third says "they looked at my disability, not my brain" (Joubert, 2010, p. 24). The challenges of being both invisible and extremely visible are documented within this group of articles.

The term internalized in association with oppression was mentioned in five articles. Ramugondo (2015) reinforces how influential internalized ideas can be, quoting anti-apartheid activist Stephen Biko: "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (p. 493). Internalization of oppression was discussed in articles concerning racism, heterosexism, ageism, and ableism. Authors named internalized homophobia complicating "coming out" (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006), and the influence of internalized gender roles that "have become encoded as individual self-expression and individual choice" affecting career choices (Beagan &

Fredericks, 2018, p. 141). Internalized ageism can lead to a desire to “pass” as young and an effort to appear younger “valorizes independence, and downplays a citizen’s right to services necessary to maintain autonomy and dignity” (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018, p. 186). Students also internalize messages about the reduced capabilities of students with disabilities (Brown, James, & Mackenzie, 2006, as cited in Chacala et al., 2014). When examining the patterns in the social environment, these authors discuss internalization and its influence on occupational performance. Internalization becomes part of the process through which oppression affects doing and not-doing.

Consciousness works to oppose internalization, thus is an aspect of resistance to oppression. Ramugondo (2015) argues that consciousness disrupts “the cycle through which subjectivities developed through oppressive systems and othering are sustained” (p. 493). As members of a group become conscious of historical patterns and the ways that occupational demands and expectations have been socially constructed over time, they may become more aware that social constructs can be challenged. Hegemony becomes weakened. Rap music is examined as one occupation that can be used to raise consciousness concerning racism (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2018), and raised consciousness can change occupational choices (Ramugondo, 2015). Reference to consciousness was present in the articles examined, with explicit mention of “consciousness raising” (Townsend et al., 2000, p. 18) and “raised consciousness” (Wicks, 2001, p. 33). While the term is used by Freire to refer to raising consciousness of people experiencing oppression, Joubert (2010) applies the term to health professionals arguing that politics in South Africa “necessitated conscientising of health professionals to the socio-political realities that impact upon the health of individuals, groups, communities and the country”

(Joubert, 2010, p. 26). One study uses the concept without mention of the word. In Trentham and Neysmith's (2018) study, the group's growing awareness of ageism leads the group to develop new resources: "Specifically, the four one-pagers could not have been developed without an analysis of ageism, of how ageism is internalized (e.g., the one-pager on Passing) and the societal practices that sustain it (e.g. the one-pager on Ageism)" (p. 184-185). Finally, consciousness is proposed within a theoretical framework for use in OS and OT. Ramugondo (2015) seeks to bring the language of consciousness further into core the profession, defining occupational consciousness and calling for occupational scientists and occupational therapists to create awareness of how occupation can sustain systems and structures (an idea supported by Angell, 2014). While consciousness is not a term featured in core occupational justice literature, it is found repeatedly within these articles that name oppressions.

Privilege is a term used to define the "group that benefits" from situations of oppression. These are benefits that one does not attain secondary to action or effort, but rather benefits that come simply from sharing identity characteristics with the dominant/preferred group. The word privilege is mentioned in articles from the first two time periods. It is identified as a post-modern concept that has influenced the profession (Wicks, 2001) and while articulating the difference between racism and cultural difference (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Since 2013, the term privilege appears more frequently. More recent articles in OS and OT name unearned advantages (such as access to clean water and safe communities) (Hammell, 2013), identify problems with assumptions based on privilege (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019), consider how privilege is allocated and maintained by colonialism (Simaan, 2017), and use research outcomes to

recommend that some White students may benefit from a slow introduction to the concept of White privilege (Steed, 2014). In the spirit of reflexivity, Trentham and Neysmith (2018) acknowledge the influence of privilege on their article stating that "the authors' positionality, privilege and voice did predominate in the final writing of this paper..." (p. 181). This article also points out that the term "privileged" can be used to mask diversity within a group and oppression towards a group. For example, when seniors are defined as a privileged group, it can be used to argue that resources allocated to seniors should be given to younger groups, potentially leading to reduced access to services for older adults with significant health needs as well as sparking intergenerational conflict (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). Thus, there is increasing attention to the effect of privilege in writing within OS and OT and this group of authors often considers the effect of privilege on their work.

Microaggressions are statements or acts that can be either intentional or unintentional, but over time have a significant impact of people's lives. None of the articles use the term microaggression, but they do provide examples of microaggressions. Events such as "being ignored, being followed, being treated disrespectfully, not being taken seriously" are usually small, hard to prove occurrences and as such are difficult to challenge as they occur (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 288). Participants in Beagan and Etowa's (2009) study experienced significant frustration when these "small acts" occurred: "'Oh my God, was that ever a fabulous letter!' ... You know? How degrading is that!? I've got eight years' experience and all I do at work is write and you people act like I can't write a damned letter!?" (p. 290). Participants also named the pervasiveness and intrusion of these "small acts": "You never get away from it [racism]. Just when you

think you're developing an honest relationship with somebody, they say something" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 290). Sometimes microaggressions are hard to name, but their impact is still felt: "It's just that every time you encounter the mainstream society there's a bit of a sigh... " (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 110). While Beagan and Etowa's article on everyday racism gives the clearest examples of microaggressions, other articles describe interactions that meet the definition for microaggression describing problematic interactions with strangers, other children at school, and professionally with colleagues. In particular, migrants report that strangers "look at you as if you were a cockroach" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 351), children from a lower class/increased poverty are subjected to greater amounts of teasing (Angell, 2014) and colleagues question the competence of disabled professionals (Chacala et al., 2014). Within the selected articles, a Deaf occupational therapist was asked by colleagues "Will you be able to live on your own?" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 111), health professionals shared jokes relating to one professional's cultural background (Howarth & Jones, 1999), health professionals used terms that their colleagues found uncomfortable (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006) and people sat in silence during work discussions when their sexuality was being mis-read (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006). These "small" exclusions, things done or said (or not-done and not-said) enact oppression in the midst of everyday occupations.

Occupational therapy practice situations are also a site of microaggressions. Kirsh et al.'s (2006) participants wanted occupational therapists to notice how they may make clients uncomfortable within mundane interactions such as greetings: "it's their attitude you know. And then I say it's okay I speak English" (p. 310). It may also be through omissions: "I think quite likely that people don't even realise that they're experiencing

some kind of discrimination and experience just simply the omission of having those thoughts and feelings addressed by the therapist" (p 308). Similarly, Hammell (2013) encourages therapists to notice daily frustrations of people with disabilities including the "'demands of others who lack an understanding' (Craig, Hancock, & Dickson, 1994, p. 228)" (p. 229). Within these articles there are numerous examples of microaggressions and the frustration of living with microaggression is described, including the ways it may shape occupational meaning and engagement.

Historical context, invisibility, internalization, privilege, consciousness are all terms selected and used within the articles. They add depth to the central message of the articles and help make difficult experiences visible. The terms hypervisibility and microaggressions are not used in these articles, but such experiences are described within the articles, indicating that these terms may be helpful for occupational scientists and occupational therapists. Each of these terms is related to power use within society and given the centrality of power to understanding oppression, it is important to explore how power was described in the articles.

5.6. Power

Power and discussions of power are a significant feature within this group of 25 articles. 17 articles, or 68%[7], use the word power to mean a situation that is influenced by social power dynamics (vs a powerful idea, for example). Power is named at the institutional level (Hammell, 2013; Howarth & Jones, 1999; Joubert, 2010; Pyatak &

[7] (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Beagan & Fredericks, 2018; Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006; Chacala et al., 2014; Crabtree, 2005; Gerlach, 2008; Howarth & Jones, 1999; Joubert, 2010; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Ramugondo, 2015; Rudman & Molke, 2009; Simaan, 2017; Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018; Wicks, 2001)

Muccitelli, 2011; Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017), is used to point out the unequal access to power and resources (Hammell, 2013) and gives attention to how power is used in unequal societies (Ramugondo, 2015). Within the situations described in this group of articles, examples of structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal power were located. (The fit between these articles and Collins' domains of power is examined in Chapter 6). Presented here are the methodologies used within the articles that incorporate the concept of power, influences of power on therapeutic relationships, the effects of power on occupations, and the use of similar terms (domination and coercion).

Several researchers explain how their chosen methodology or framework includes an understanding of power including PAR with the deliberate attempt to share power (e.g. Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). Some theoretical stances also require an understanding of the influence of power, such as postcolonial/decolonial theory (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Simaan, 2017), critical theory (Chacala et al., 2014), critical discourse analysis (Rudman & Molke, 2009), critical paradigm (Ramugondo, 2015), liberation philosophy (Ramugondo, 2015), Black feminist theory (Angell, 2014) and Essed's theoretical work (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). One author changed her theoretical approach as she engaged with her early ideas, changing models "in favour of theoretical lenses that were particularly focused on issues of power" (Joubert, 2010). Use of such models may be one way to respond to Beagan and Etowa's observation that "most theoretical models of occupation and occupational therapy incorporate attention to the social environment, yet this is rarely explicated with sustained attention to how systemic social power relations shape occupational meanings and engagements" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 291).

In some articles, power is examined at an immediate level within client-therapist or researcher-participant relationships. Authors remind occupational scientists and occupational therapists that they need to share power if they are to be client centred (Townsend et al., 2000). Dominant views combined with the power held by therapists can leave little space for alternative frameworks (Chacala et al., 2014). In this study, the two disabled therapists interviewed "recognized that professional beliefs about disability mirror those of the broader society, yet argued that such values matter more when coupled with professional power" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 111). Clients also commented that power in therapeutic relationships has the potential to lead to undesired outcomes: "If members didn't participate, staff would start doing research and they might start doing stuff that we didn't like!" (Townsend et al., 2000, p. 34). Power within research processes can potentially influence research findings (Gerlach, 2008; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). Authors consider reflexivity as one way to help redress power imbalances (Hammell, 2013). Reflexivity can include "educating ourselves, outside of the encounter with clients, where the therapist is likely to hold power" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 292). The authors of these articles appear comfortable naming power and encourage occupational scientists and occupational therapists to seek ways to reduce negative influences of power in therapeutic and research relationships.

When discussing specific contexts, the selected articles explore the influence of power on people and their occupations. Authors name formal structures that create or deepen power inequities through current or historical laws (for example, laws that "…made it illegal to sell property in certain areas to Black Americans" [Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011, p. 50] and policies such as "…his land had been declared a closed

military zone. They evicted the group" [Simaan, 2017, p. 516]). Authors suggest that changes to occupations made in response to power inequities (e.g., change as a result of racism) should be seen as distinct from occupational choices made based on cultural traditions (choice as a result of culture) (Angell, 2014; Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Occupational potential is introduced as a term to discuss ways in which power limits the occupations available to a person or community (Wicks, 2001). Through the examination of structures and rules, and what occupations are made possible or impossible for whom, this group of articles makes visible the connection between power and doing.

In addition to the term power, the articles use other terms including dominance and coercion when describing power relationships. Authors use terms including "White dominant society" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 291) and "postcolonial issues of power, domination and resistance" (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011, p. 58). Dominance is also used to describe how power within healthcare shapes priorities: "…other processes that arise from these dominant interests demand evidence of productivity" (Townsend et al., 2000, p. 37). Coercion, or the idea of using force or the threat of force to limit options by creating a situation in which one cannot freely choose, was not discussed in relation to the primary subjects of the articles. But there are examples of occupational choices limited by coercion. Undocumented workers describe the options of exploitative work or no work: "If you don't want it, another will come who does…you submit" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 350). Ageing workers also experience limited options when "pension systems or training opportunities…create situations in which some ageing workers have little choice not to work" (Rudman & Molke, 2009, p. 386). Joubert (2010) uses the term coercion to describe how power was wielded by medicine as a means to control the emerging

profession of occupational therapy. She describes the early days of the profession in South Africa using personification, imagining it as a girl: “Her status in the early marriage was patronised, undermined and subordinated by her husband, who put in place a series of restraints to coerce her into continuous submission” (p. 25). Within the collected occupational experiences, reflections on power, domination, and coercion emerge as infrequent but useful concepts.

These authors have considered the effects of power on clients, therapeutic relationships, and occupations, often selecting a methodology and/or theory that supports this examination. Together they make visible the influence that power can have on occupation. These authors not only name the effects of power influencing their research context, they also challenge us to be responsive to experiences of powerlessness within and outside the profession.

5.7. Responses

People who experience oppression make decisions about how to respond. Most papers named one or more actions that could be taken, ranging from small projects such as examining assessments for bias (Jong et al., 2012) to actions with global reach such as appealing to the United Nations (Simaan, 2017). People within these studies made choices that included choosing not to respond to protect themselves against harm, choosing to accommodate oppressive circumstances to ease daily living, and choosing to act locally and/or more broadly to reduce oppression. In addition, authors describe their emotional response to oppression and/or the experience of engaging in a response.

Within these studies, readers encounter examples of people who chose not to act to reduce exposure to uncomfortable and damaging situations. Participants gave explanations such as, “I held back because I didn’t want any more prejudice” (Bergan Gander 2006, p. 406), or, as another said, “Nobody did anything about it. And so I kind of just walked off” (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 111) and “I blocked out a lot of what she said” (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 112). Participants also eliminated activities to avoid negative consequences. For example, migrants avoided certain travel routes, eliminated shopping trips (when possible), and chose not to seek help until absolutely necessary to reduce opportunities for contact with law enforcement (Bailliard, 2013). Parents encouraged their children to avoid reacting to racism, advising them to “let it roll off because you’re going to have it in your everyday life, eventually, all the time”. (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 291). In other studies, people who anticipated negative reactions avoided sharing personal information such as not sharing beliefs with health professionals (Gerlach, 2008) or engaging in careful observation and “put[ting] out cues” (Kirsh et al., p. 307) before sharing personal information.

At other times, participants acted to make situations more tolerable. When faced with oppression or oppressive circumstances, people chose actions or responses that helped make the encounters less difficult and/or hurtful. In this group of studies, participants anticipating racism prepared for unwelcoming encounters by “wearing class” (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 287) and learning “skills for negotiating an environment that may be unwelcoming if not hostile” (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 290). People also reappropriated derogatory terms to undermine their hostile intent (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011) or used passing strategies to avoid being judged, such as trying to look younger

(Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). In another study, people ignored hostility and simply picked up where they left off following negative interactions with a group "finding an alternative way to access land that had been fenced or gated" and planting more trees (Simaan, 2017, p. 518). Sometimes it may not be immediately obvious how an action may reduce the negative consequences of an oppressive situation. Angell (2014) provides an example of African American boys acting disobediently during which they "were actually showing a sophisticated awareness of their situation, choosing a 'bad' path to salvage self" (p. 113). Similarly, "violent lyrics, may be interpreted as a positive outlet for Black American youth" (Clay, 2003, as cited in Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011, p. 53) providing a way to process experiences in their community.

Actions designed to influence the immediate environment found within these studies are varied. Two studies presented evidence of actions that reduce oppression, namely spending time with older adults (Stewart et al., 2005) and decreasing the use of elderspeak (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015). One concept, occupational consciousness, is introduced "as a response always available to the oppressed to disrupt occupational apartheid, through everyday doing" (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 496). The PAR model was specifically linked to creating action by and for research participants and it shifted decision-making power to clients (Townsend et al., 2000). In several studies, people challenged unfair occurrences with actions that included educating colleagues and superiors (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018), introducing discourse to challenge oppressive ideas (Chacala et al., 2014), advocating at work (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Chacala et al., 2014), trying to disrupt students therapists' beliefs (Steed, 2014; Stewart et al., 2005) and reporting racism (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Violence as a

response was mentioned in one study: one child hit another after a school took no action towards the creator of some racist graffiti; the child who struck out was the one disciplined (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Actions by allies to change the immediate environment were also described. One article reports that "when colleagues and managers did take on some responsibility for 'bridging the gap' between cultures, even small gestures were greatly appreciated" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 112). In another, allies provided support by observing interactions with authorities (when allies stand with farmers as observers, rates of violence may decrease) (Simaan, 2017). Attention to responses in people's lives was evident within the studies.

In addition to effecting change within oppressive circumstances, many broader or policy-related initiatives are suggested to reduce oppression. In clinic settings, occupational therapists are encouraged to attend to cultural influences using terms such as cultural safety (Howarth & Jones, 1999), cultural sensitivity (Joubert, 2010), cultural competency (Kirsh et al., 2006; Steed, 2014), and cultural humility (Hammell, 2013), all encourage the consideration of one's own role in creating therapeutic interactions across difference. They are also encouraged to rethink assumptions (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018; Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006; Gerlach, 2008) and to develop formal processes that seek meaningful input from client groups (Fortune et al., 2007). Chacala and colleagues (2014) participants requested that the research focus on interactions with colleagues so that the resulting article might raise awareness of reduced ableism within health care settings, perhaps leading to change. When considering the profession as a whole, authors suggest a new epistemology in Africa (Joubert, 2010) and ask the profession to resist Western masculine cultural norms to support the "men we are already attracting to the

profession [who] may be men who are resisting dominant traditional versions of masculinity" (Beagan, 2018, p. 142). Authors of these articles also identify actions in broader society that can reduce oppression such as "drawing attention to the 500 million disabled people worldwide [who] have started mobilising themselves into pressure groups" (Joubert, 2010, p. 26), identifying the UN and courts as vehicles for seeking justice (Simaan, 2017), recognizing the contribution that arts can make to change (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Simaan, 2017), developing educational and/or advocacy resources (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018), and advocating for "adopting transgressive acts to disrupt the cycle of oppression" (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 497). An example of allies shaping the broader environment was provided by Pyatak and Muccitelli (2011) who drew attention to some male rappers who "have made important contributions to addressing women's concerns through their music" (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011, p. 56). The studies included in this CIS provide examples of the variety of possible responses to oppression.

Some of the articles draw attention to the emotional toll people often endure when experiencing and/or addressing oppression. Everyday experiences of oppression were described as "very, very stressful to have to go through that" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 289) and "I found that a bit upsetting, and a bit shocking" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 111). Fear was expressed by participants in some studies. Bailliard (2013) found participants were very fearful, initially afraid to disclose details and they shared examples in which "occupations are framed by a context of incessant fear" (p. 348); Gerlach's (2008) participants shared the fear they held as children of being punished for speaking their first language. Within occupational therapy, clients were uncomfortable in some interactions when they thought an aspect of their identity was changing the therapist-client

interaction. In one study, clients shared that, "I felt that she talked down to me, I didn't feel comfortable," and "They try to be over-friendly and sort of like get into their babying mode. Feel like baby, we call it patronizing" (Kirsh et al., 2006, p. 310). These articles provide insight into the emotional experience of oppression.

Seeking change also involves emotional labour. As one PAR participant reminded her group, action requires effort, saying we "must organize and demand power: No one is going to just give it away" (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018, p. 182). Authors summarized the efforts of participants navigating differing forms of oppression as "an expenditure of untold energy" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009) and "relentless and tiring" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 112). Engaging in advocacy also carries the risk of becoming "hypervisible" while being defined narrowly by one aspect of identity: "you become The Deaf Therapist" (Chacala et al., 2014, p.112). Therapists who try to address aspects of oppression within themselves also find this to be difficult work, sharing that "it necessitated deep and sometimes painful interrogation" (Joubert, 2010, p. 21) and that the influence of oppression on actions "may well need a period of mourning" when one realizes one's actions or inactions have been hurtful (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019, p. 3).

These studies, consistent with theory concerning oppression, frequently consider responses to oppression, demonstrating the relationship between occurrences of oppression and responses. We are introduced to responses that can involve both doing and not doing. Several of these authors acknowledge the effort required by people who are oppressed to work against oppression and make visible the need for strategic decision-making when determining whether to ignore, accommodate, or act in response to an oppressive occurrence.

5. 8. Doing Occupational Therapy

Many authors of these studies are thinking deeply about the profession. In examining the articles, emphasis on values, being client centred, and contributing to the profession's understanding of occupation were all evident. Some authors made an effort to remind occupational scientists and occupational therapists about core values such as holism, enablement, empowerment (Howarth & Jones, 1999) as well as respect for others' beliefs and value systems (Joubert, 2010). Others challenged the limitations of OS and OT values as articulated in core documents including the predominance of Western values (Hammell, 2013), and the value placed on independence and normative performance of occupations (Chacala et al., 2014). Authors challenge occupational scientists and occupational therapists to consider how unacknowledged and unexamined values and beliefs can lead to ambivalence or discrimination in clinic settings (Kirsh et al., 2006; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). As a normative concept, oppression is connected to values and these authors remind us that values affect behaviour.

Authors also consider aspects of client centred care. Occupational therapists are encouraged to identify and respond to barriers that reduce client centredness within the profession. Sometimes we are encouraged to recognize barriers such as a biased assessment (Jong et al., 2012), discourse that affects ideas about ideal or appropriate occupations (Rudman & Molke, 2009), or our own thoughts and perceptions. With the latter, we might hold (overt and covert) thoughts about valuing people (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006), including stereotypes (Steed, 2014). Alden and Toth-Cohen (2015) discovered that when their participants (all occupational therapists) thought about ageing, they "realized they had different expectations for themselves than for their clients" (p.

11). The authors of the selected articles encourage further development of client centred care and, as mentioned previously, suggest occupational scientists and occupational therapists pay attention to the relationship with culture, power, and difference using terms such as cultural humility. Therapists are encouraged to remember that "client centred practice becomes a reality only when professionals share power" (Townsend, 2000, p. 21). Some authors suggest the individual focus that appears built into notions of client centred care may ignore or deny social patterns of power, failing to recognize "patterns in the ways occupations are organized by social groups" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 292). Client centredness, then, may not be sufficient.

The selected papers frequently draw attention to how "everyday doing intersects with oppression" (Ramugondo, 2015 p. 496). These authors encourage us to view occupation as something that can be both individual and collective (Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) and emphasize the importance of choice (Angell, 2014; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). They wish us to think about how not only difference but also long-standing power inequities and oppressions also influence occupation (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Beagan and Etowa (2009) remind us that "negotiating racism may be part of the meaning occupations hold for African-heritage clients, thus engagement, motivation, and experiences of occupations may contain ambivalences" (p. 192). Occupation can confront injustice (Simaan, 2017) and interact with oppression "as a site of both agency and reproduction of the social order" (Angell, 2014, p. 109). Ramugondo (2015) concurs, explaining that occupational consciousness is consistent with Angell's view of occupation, "highlighting that it is through everyday doing at individual and collective levels that systems and structures that support and

promote certain occupations to the exclusion of others, are sustained" (p. 104). Meanings of occupations were also raised as authors considered how the circumstances in their studies impacted the meanings of occupations for people. We learn that "meanings related to occupations are not always positive" and "negotiating racism may be part of the meaning occupations hold" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 292). The group of studies suggests Beagan and Etowa's observation holds for multiple groups that experience oppression (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006; Chacala et al., 2014; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). Familiar occupations that continue to have meaning can be "underscored by the malaise of persecution and oppression" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 352). Many authors choose to use "occupational terms" to clarify their ideas (including occupational participation [Bailliard, 2013], occupational possibilities [Trentham & Neysmith, 2018], occupational potential [Wicks, 2001], occupational exclusion [Angell, 2014], occupational influence [Ramugondo, 2015] occupational choice, occupational identity [Wicks, 2001]), but no specific occupational term emerged as one preferred over the others within the selected studies. Together, they emphasize attention to what one can accomplish as part of a complex shifting environment in relation to occupation.

Authors consider the models used within OT and their fit with the oppression that is their focus. Participatory Action Research is used and promoted (Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). Transformative approaches are mentioned (Angell, 2014; Bailliard, 2013; Ramugondo, 2015) as is Wilcock's (Wilcock & Hocking, 2017) approach to occupation as "'doing', 'being', 'becoming' and 'belonging'" (Simaan, 2017). Problematic elements of the rehabilitation model (with its focus on "fixing impairment") (Chacala et al., 2014) as well as the Western focus within dominant OT

models are problematized (Hammell, 2013). The capability approach is briefly explored within Bailliard's (2013) article as a model compatible with OT and his data, and Trentham and Neysmith (2018) remind readers that, "Occupation is a product of human capabilities" (p. 186). Through these models, as well as through discussions of values, client centred care, and occupations, these authors consider how their work can contribute to occupational therapy.

5.9. Use of Occupational Justice Terms

Occupational justice, as reviewed in Chapter 2, brings together foci on occupation and social justice. Seven of the 25 selected papers, or 28%, use the term occupational justice. Of the injustices named within papers that address occupational justice (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004), authors referred to occupational deprivation (Bailliard, 2013; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Rudman & Molke, 2009; Wicks, 2001), occupational imbalance (Bailliard, 2013) and occupational apartheid (Joubert, 2010; Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017). This group of studies does not use the term occupational rights.

Several of the selected authors share ideas that they believe may support the ongoing development of OJ. In particular, authors linked aspects of their work to OJ including resistive occupations (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011), hegemonic discourse (Rudman & Molke, 2009), a bidirectional relationship between occupation and justice (Angell, 2014), global ideas and cognitive justice (Simaan, 2017), and occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015). Within the selected articles, the influence of the concept of oppression appears as writers consider how ideas such as thresholds [as described in the capability approach, (Nussbaum, 2011)], resisting power, hegemony, and consciousness fit with OJ.

Only one study used Townsend and Wilcock's (2004) framework, systematically considering how occupational injustices applied to the occupational experiences named by study participants. In this study, migrants "reported experiences of fear, discrimination, and oppression during meaningful occupations." (Bailliard, 2013, p. 345). Bailliard (2013) found that "study participants experienced occupational deprivation after policies prevented their acquisition of driver's licenses" (p. 351) and "occupational imbalance after abandoning most leisure and social occupations" (p. 351). However, he also concludes that other limiting experiences did not fit the definitions for occupational deprivation, occupational marginalization, and occupational alienation as provided by Stadnyk and colleagues (2010). He notes that "it is common to limit participation in important occupations due to factors outside of one's control such as work, finances, or the obligations of caregiving" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 351) but these reductions in occupation are not well captured by the model. He uses the term threshold (Nussbaum, 2011) to suggest OJ "conceptualize a threshold for when restricted participation in occupation by external factors constitutes deprivation" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 351). Therefore, the OJ model (Stadnyk et al., 2010) was able to frame some of the experiences that met the definition of oppressive, but others were outside the model's defined categories.

In light of Baillard's (2013) conclusion that notably unjust experiences can fall outside the definitions of occupational injustice, it is perhaps worth noting that several authors did find the terms marginalize or alienate (and equivalents marginalized etc.) helpful in conveying messages within the articles. These authors tell us that power structures marginalize (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011) as do messages in society that convey the types of jobs older adults "should" do (Rudman & Molke, 2009). Minority

occupational therapists may feel marginalized by the "dominance of particular cultural assumptions and values" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 113), and Ramugondo (2014) studies occupations in a family marginalized "in terms of economic participation and growth" (p. 490). Beagan and Fredericks (2018) remind us that the experience of being pushed to the margins, while uncomfortable and troubling, is not marginalization if it is not accompanied by limiting social structures. Thus, the concept of marginalization was found within the studies even though occupational marginalization was not identified. Alienation is also used within the studies, albeit less frequently. Gerlach (2008) emphasizes that colonialism and negative stereotyping can alienate Indigenous people from public health services and clients used the term when describing occupational therapists' behaviour: "you know, too friendly or over jargon…to make you even more alienated" (Kirsh et al., 2006, p. 310). Other instances described being excluded. For example, senior citizens thought that self-monitoring for ageism could alienate them from their peers (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018).

As a group, the selected articles provide some evidence of the usefulness of OJ when discussing oppression. OJ concepts were fully integrated into one study and some authors used the occupational terms within their work. Authors also noted limits in the OJ model's ability to frame situations and often chose to describe social constraints on occupations without occupational terms. The relationship between OJ and the situations described in these articles is further explored in Chapter 6.

5.10. Recommendations to Colleagues

All of the studies had one or more recommendations for occupational scientists and occupational therapists. They ranged from specific and measurable, such as testing

all versions of the Activity Card Sort assessment (Jong et al., 2012), to general and far reaching such as encouraging occupational scientists to "engage in political arenas to advocate against oppressive policies" (Bailliard, 2013, p. 354). This section summarizes advice supporting professional relationships, suggestions to help attend to social and structural forces, and recommendations to engage with theory supporting reflection and research.

The authors of the articles included in this CIS have advice for occupational therapists. They suggest that therapists maintain a "respectful openness to difference" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 114), and take time to explain the holistic role of OT to help clients feel safe (Kirsh et al., 2006). Therapists are encouraged to share bits of their lives and shared experiences of oppression that will help clients develop trust (Kirsh et al., 2006). They should make sure that they are not reinforcing stereotypes (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Chacala et al., 2014) and welcome disabled colleagues as equals (Chacala et al., 2014; Howarth & Jones, 1999). Authors encourage therapists to raise the issue of racism (Beagan & Etowa, 2009), inquire about sexual orientation as appropriate (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006) and assume that older adults are affected by ageism (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). Reflection and learning are suggested to help create these changes. The earliest article in this group suggests education about ethnic diversity (Howarth & Jones, 1999) and a 2018 article suggests researchers create a safe network for critical reflection (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019).

Within these articles, authors frequently encourage occupational scientists and occupational therapists to attend to social and structural forces that shape our professional occupations. We are encouraged to consider the social forces that influence our decision

making and develop critical ideas (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019), challenge ableism (Chacala et al., 2014), and identify activities that are highly valued to clients (Gerlach, 2008). Those working in OS and OT are encouraged to critically examine our conceptualization of "culture" (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011) and to see culture and oppression as separate forces that shape occupational performance (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). It is suggested that we produce texts with a broader range of "productive" activities related to ageing (Rudman & Molke, 2009). In educational settings, volunteer experiences are recommended as a tool to disrupt students' normative ideas (Stewart et al., 2005) as is teaching that includes attention to justice, human rights (Bailliard, 2013), and racism (Steed, 2014).

Equally, the authors of the selected articles recommend that we examine and respond to structures and policies that limit occupational engagement. They encourage us to engage in political arenas and challenge oppressive policies (Bailliard, 2013), rethink policies and programs related to ageing (Rudman & Molke, 2009), get involved in community development programs (Wicks, 2001) and intervene on clients' behalf at a structural level (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). We are encouraged to introduce policy to reduce racism within the profession (Howarth & Jones, 1999), and the profession is encouraged to collect data that will make differences by gender visible (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018). Taken together these recommendations encourage attention to social power relations and name opportunities to increase capacity to be allies.

The recommendations found within the selected articles encourage a focus on theory including epistemology. The value of non-Western epistemology is promoted in several articles. Authors suggest occupational scientists and occupational therapists

integrate more inclusive epistemologies (Gerlach, 2008), use decolonized curricula (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019), consider Palestinian ways of knowing within a cognitive justice framework (Simaan, 2017) and recreate appropriate Africanized epistemology in Africa (Joubert, 2010). These suggestions encourage occupational scientists and occupational therapists to challenge "perceptions that there is a single objective reality" (Hocking & Whiteford, 1995, p. 173, as cited in Gerlach, 2008, p. 112). We are encouraged to challenge what we know to be true (Rudman & Molke, 2009) and reflect on the values and assumptions we hold to be true that underlie theories, concepts, and models (Hammell, 2013).

Finally, authors recommend that we attend to concepts and theorical approaches. Authors request continued exploration of two introduced concepts occupational potential (Wicks, 2001) and occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015), as well as attention to disability theory (Chacala et al., 2014), human capabilities (Bailliard, 2013), post-colonial theory, and liberation philosophy (Ramugondo, 2015). In the latter, Ramugondo (2015) suggests we "outline the complex nature of relationships between the cluster of concepts" that she introduces (p. 498). Authors of a paper on ageism (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) and one focused on heterosexism (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006) encourage intersectional work to increase understanding of the diversity of experiences within the identity groups they have studied. Angell (2014) advocates that occupational scientists and occupational therapists use the interdisciplinary contributions of Black feminist thought to see "the interlocking nature of oppression and its often-invisible influence on occupational opportunities (p. 114). Authors also encourage occupational

scientists and occupational therapists to broaden our understanding of occupation to include collective doing (Simaan, 2017) and resistive acts (Ramugondo, 2015).

The above recommendations encourage attention to how occupational therapists practice and how both occupational scientists and occupational therapists engage theory. We are encouraged to challenge our assumptions about who "we" are, as a prerequisite to making sure all experience belonging within the profession and that our commitment to client centred care is upheld. We are equally encouraged to see the relationship between power, social structures, and occupation as well as opportunities for further theoretical development. These recommendations bring together many of the ideas discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. The foci that emerged from these articles is summarized in Table 5.4. As a group, these studies focus attention on justice and unfairness, with terms, ideas, and concepts that can advance theory, research, and practice.

5.11. Assessing Theoretical Saturation

As described in Chapter 4, three additional articles were reviewed to determine whether the project had reached theoretical saturation. Saturation "refers to the point at which an investigator has obtained sufficient information from data collection" (Depoy & Gitlin, 2016, p. 188). In the first selected article, the author reflects on a research project in which interviews were conducted with Indigenous children about health and well-being (Nelson, 2007). She explores the effect of her privileged position

Table 5.4. Summary of Results

Purposes within the articles	Describe situations Enhance understanding Name OS and OT involvement Reduce occurrences
Terms noted across articles	Historical context Invisibility Internalization Consciousness Privilege Descriptions of microaggressions Power
Power	Incorporated in methodologies Influences therapeutic relationships Impacts occupations
Responses	Respond with non-action Respond to reduce harm Responses for change (in micro and macro environments)
Oppression and OT	Focus on values Focus on client centred care Focus on occupation
Oppression and occupational injustices	Limited use within articles Potential additions (thresholds, responses, consciousness)
Recommendations to occupational scientists and occupational therapists	Advice supporting professional relationships Suggestions to help attend to social and structural forces A focus on theory including epistemology

as researcher on both the research questions and process. The second article is a keynote presentation by Indigenous occupational therapists reflecting on the decolonialization of occupation in New Zealand (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). The third article focuses on homelessness from a critical perspective and explores the influences on homelessness at macro, meso, and micro levels (Boland & Cunningham, 2019). It provides one article related to class, as no papers were located in the database searches

using the keyword classism. These articles were examined for convergence and divergence with the key areas and foci summarized in Table 5.4.

The purposes of these three articles fit within the categories established using the initial group of 25 studies and highlighted the overlapping nature of the categories. Within a single article for example, it is possible to provide a detailed description of a situation while also enhancing theoretical understandings. However, each of the articles "fit best" into one of the categories and none of the three articles introduced a new primary purpose. The authors named and described the influence of privilege on research (Nelson, 2007) (name OS and OT involvement), described experiences and ally behavior with the aim to decolonize OT (reduce occurrences of oppression) (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018) and suggested research ideas for occupational science and critical concepts that can be applied to improve lives of people who are homeless (enhance theoretical understanding) (Boland & Cunningham, 2019).

5.11.1. Saturation and oppression related theory.

Several of the terms and ideas related to oppression were located within these three articles. The terms found included historical context ["Historically, charity focuses on giving to the needy, and culturally, charities are perceived as valued providers of support beyond the remit of statutory services" (Borland & Cunningham, 2019 p. 311)], internalization ["Inevitably, racism becomes internalised when the colonised begin to agree with, and in, the 'rightness' of their oppression (Memmi, 1965, p. 14)" as cited in Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018], privilege ["I still have the choice to enter into the process of critical self-reflection as my privileged position means that I do not have to" (Nelson, 2007, p. 251)], consciousness ["Scaffolding my emerging conscientisation were

concepts such as privilege….” (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018, p. 17)] and ally ["A good kind ally is as obvious as a light in a dark alley making each step surer" (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018, p.14) and "Thank you [ally] for cautioning the colleague who is tempted to write about us, or talk about us, without us". (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018, p. 14)]. These authors also provide examples of microaggressions. Nelson (2007) questions how bias may have affected a child when she showed surprise when an Indigenous child shared a dream of being a doctor. Emery-Whittington and Te Maro (2018) also share examples specifying, "the cafe server who won't serve you, the security guard who surveils you, or the colleague who holds the pen for you" (p. 18). Emery-Whittington and Te Maro (2018) used the greatest number of terms and shared that the work of others (Indigenous critical theorists, Black theorists and comedians) introduced Emery-Whittington to "universalism, colour blindness, communication derailment techniques, reverse racism and historical trauma" (p. 18). Oppression theory can assist in thinking about these additional concepts, and these concepts can enrich understanding of oppression. Yet the addition of these three articles does not add substantively new concepts to the oppression lexicon that emerged from the initial 25 articles selected for the CIS.

Power is discussed in all three articles and all are influenced by critical theory. Freire's understanding of power was helpful to the authors (Boland & Cunningham, 2019; Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018), as were Foucault's theoretical contributions (Boland & Cunningham, 2019) and critical race theory (Nelson, 2007). Emery-Whittington and Te Maro (2018) consider anti-racism which had also emerged in Howarth and Jones's 1999 paper. Power imbalance within relationships is discussed

including colonial relationships (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018), researcher-participant relationships (Nelson, 2007) and client-staff relationships (Boland & Cunningham, 2019). The articles also provide additional examples of power impacting occupations including reflecting on the influence of power on the research process (Nelson, 2007) and the power staff have over client occupations (Boland & Cunningham, 2019). Within the articles, neither domination nor coercion was mentioned. Boland and Cunningham (2019) do discuss limited choice when (similar to situations involving coercion) one must select something undesirable, because within a structure, no desirable choices exist. One of their participants shared an "awful choice" of selecting between sleeping outside or in a shelter. This choice was awful because "the hostel was experienced as physically threatening while rough sleeping, although less secure, provided a greater sense of personal control" (Boland & Cunningham, 2019, p. 311). In summary, attention to power and power structure is evident in all three articles.

These authors also provide further examples of responding to oppressive circumstances. Examples were located of "not doing" including "choosing not to engage with key working meetings, not attending planned group activities" and this non-doing became a way that participants "demonstrated agency and identity against the oppressive rules" (Boland & Cunningham, 2019, p. 312). Other examples of responding to oppression include both doing and not doing: "you forgive fast and move on. Sometimes I call out the racism, sometimes I sit back and hope my allies will" (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, p. 18). One article describes a personal response as the author seeks to reduce the influence of privilege on client therapist/researcher interactions (Nelson, 2007). These examples of responses to oppression as well as the attention to power and

selected terms supporting oppression theory are sufficiently similar to the group of 25 articles selected for the CIS to suggest saturation was reached.

5.11.2. Saturation and OS and OT theory and practice.

When reflecting on the profession of occupational therapy, these authors share thoughts about values, client centred care, and occupation. The authors encourage us to reflect critically on the values that influence therapeutic encounters and question their universality (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018; Nelson, 2007). Emery-Whittington and Te Maro (2018) suggest a value "reverence for doing" for the profession. They do not explain this value in detail but it involves respect for the connection between doing and its impact on others and on the earth. Nelson (2007) relates values to client centred care suggesting that client centred approaches encourage therapists to accept values that differ from their own. Nelson (2007) also invites therapists to be aware of how "our position of privilege and power" and bias in assessments and therapeutic tools can impede our ability to be client centred (p. 252).

In discussing occupation, these articles encourage attending to survival occupations and "connection enabling activities", examining the meaning of occupations, and creating occupationally informed environments (Boland & Cunningham, 2019; Emery-Whittington & Te Maro). Boland and Cunningham (2019) emphasize the connection between systems and occupation noting that "systems constrain or facilitate the development of meaningful occupational lives" (p. 312). Emery-Whittington and Te Maro (2018) name activities that encourage connections with others including shared discourse, theorizing, and gathering together. Similar to the authors of the initial 25 papers, these authors also discussed relationships between structures, power, occupation,

and practice. They also invite occupational therapists to consider which values we hold, why we hold them, and how they influence therapy.

The term occupational justice is found within two of the three articles. Boland and Cunningham (2018) use the framework of occupational justice to help organize reflections. They share that occupational deprivation makes the transition into housing more difficult and that occupational alienation is perpetuated by dependence on services that can lead to "boredom and feeling disempowered to take action" (Boland & Cunningham, 2018, p. 311). Boland and Cunningham (2018) also suggest occupational scientists and occupational therapists explore the relationship between charity and injustice, as charity "may disempower occupational aspirations and reinforce occupational injustices" (p. 311). Nelson (2007) mentions occupational justice when she encourages occupational therapists to critically reflect on what it means to be client centred. The term occupational rights is used by Boland and Cunningham (2019) who invite occupational therapists to "work against occupational inequities at all levels of homelessness, including advocating for occupational rights and opportunities." (p. 313). These three articles use terms from occupational justice and provide a second example of the use of specific occupational injustices (Bailliard, 2013, also uses these terms) when describing situations in which structural barriers prevent occupation.

Recommendations found within these articles encourage growth in the profession. Authors invite occupational scientists and occupational therapists to critically reflect on othering and saming, to become closer to "culturally safe" (Nelson, 2007), to work toward relationships within which the therapist is the "learner", and to see "assumptions based on white 'ways of knowing' and being" (p. 251). Models and/or approaches based

on inclusive epistemology are identified namely the Kawa model (Nelson, 2007) and whanau ora philosophy (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018) as well using PAR (Boland & Cunningham, 2019). In addition, the development of occupationally informed service and a praxis-oriented approach is suggested specifically related to homelessness (Boland & Cunningham, 2019). Boland and Cunningham (2019) also recommend research on the impact of charity on occupational aspirations, and on the value of non-sanctioned occupations. These recommendations encourage openness to inclusive models and epistemology and changes in social structures to support occupational performance.

Therefore, these additional articles contribute to our understanding of oppression as it intersects with OS and OT and offer some additional insights beyond those found in the initial group of 25 articles selected for the CIS. They also affirm the framework that emerged from the initial analysis, contributing to our understanding of oppression, power, occupation, client centred care, and occupational justice as well as offering recommendations to the profession. Given that the insights from the three additional studies are consistent with the messages in the other articles and fit into the categories in Table 5.4., it was determined that saturation had been achieved.

5.12. Conclusion

Spending time learning from authors and their participants has been a privilege. Together they have much to teach us about how oppression operates and its effects on people and occupations. This chapter has considered the central purposes of the 25 articles sampled for the Critical Interpretive Synthesis, the terms authors use, their thoughts on power, opportunities to respond to oppression, and the fit with OS and OT. These authors also have many recommendations suggesting attention to underused

concepts and actions to support efforts to become a socially and politically engaged professional community. In Chapter 6, I take up these messages and consider their fit within several models/approaches used within OS and OT. Taken as a whole, the analysis in Chapter 5 suggests that oppression is a good fit with critical work already underway in OS and OT, while adding theoretically robust conceptual tools that may enhance theory development and application.

Chapter 6: Exploring the potential of oppression

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the authors of the literature explored in this thesis have much to share with the profession. In Chapter 6, the analysis, I move to examine the congruence between the insights learned through this CIS and select models and/or approaches. To support this task, the reviewed articles are examined for their fit with occupational justice, Young's faces of oppression, Collins' domains of power, and social OT. This process leads to the proposal of an "oppression lens". While considering the potential value of the proposed lens, the anti-oppressive practice approach and the idea of readiness for change help explore the potential utility of this lens. The chapter ends by naming opportunities to influence theory development and practice relationships.

6.1. Occupational Justice: Fit with the CIS

Occupational justice as a concept brings together ideas about justice, the importance of occupation, and well-being (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). As noted in Chapter 2, it "currently binds together much of the thinking about occupational therapy, occupational science, human rights and the possibility of political and social change" (Frank & Muriithi, 2015). With OJ, "we look at diverse occupational needs, strengths, and potential of individuals and groups while at the same time considering issues of rights, fairness, empowerment, and enablement of occupational opportunities" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 331). While considering the fit between OJ and the articles reviewed in this CIS, first the fit between the model and the articles is explored, followed by an exploration of how identified terms from the CIS align with the OJ.

6.1.1. Occupational Justice key ideas and relationships.

In the examination of both OJ work and the results of this CIS, Townsend and Wilcock's (2019) and Stadnyk and Colleagues 2010 chapters explaining OJ are valuable. As the work of these theorists accounts for most of the theoretical development about OJ (Durocher et al., 2014a), the descriptions of OJ in these chapters and a figure that explains relationships in OJ (Stadnyk et al., 2010) were chosen for further analysis of the conceptual fit between the selected articles and OJ. The figure has not been modified over time but its description has evolved from "A framework exploring the creation and outcomes of occupational justices and injustices" in 2010 to "An exploratory theory of occupational justice: intersecting ideas" in 2019. While it is a concern that OJ as a concept has been widely used, without significant theoretical development beyond Townsend and Wilcock's (2019) and Stadnyk and colleagues' 2010 chapters (Hammell, 2017a), this nonetheless suggests those sources currently capture the state of theorizing concerning OJ. The congruence between the articles selected for the CIS and core OJ ideas is reviewed below, followed by discussion of two prominent concepts, collectivity and enablement.

It is clear that the authors of the 25 selected articles offer support for several key elements of OJ. As a concept, occupational justice emphasizes the "centrality of occupation to people's survival, health, and well-being" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 643) and positions disruption in occupations that allow for "survival, health, and well-being as a human rights issue" (p. 643). Focused both on occupation and social justice, OJ attends to "the effects of societal pressure and governance that limits options in doing, being, belonging, and becoming that can affect health and well-being" (Townsend &

Wilcock, 2019, p. 464). Within the selected articles, authors lend support to these statements with examples of disruption in doing leading to negative health and economic consequences in the US, Canada, and Palestine (Bailliard, 2013; Gerlach, 2008; Simaan, 2017), and challenges to well-being (Angell, 2014; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Chacala et al., 2014). These authors link altered doing secondary to unjust circumstances to diminished social, emotional, and physical health (Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). In addition, examples of social pressure and laws influencing occupation include the pressure to age well (Rudman & Molke, 2009), the influence of driver's licensing regulations (Bailliard, 2013) and the challenges of navigating architectural barriers (Hammell, 2013).

After establishing the elements of occupation and justice, Townsend and Wilcock (2019) remind the profession that if therapists accept unjust conditions, they "are part of the 'system' that perpetuates injustice" (p. 643). In addition, they challenge therapists to "reduce occupational injustice and advance occupational rights" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 643) with (particularly in their 2019 chapter) a focus on change at the population level. The authors of the selected articles appear to take up their challenge, providing feedback that occupational therapy interactions can feel oppressive (Kirsch, et al., 2006), working to increase insight regarding racial attitudes (Steed, 2014), and describing the potential for assessment tools to limit our ability to provide just interventions (Jong et al., 2012). Some authors do take action to reduce injustice such as initiating a program to reduce elderspeak (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015), providing educational tools that counter ageism (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018), and using active reflection to minimize oppression in practice (Chacala et al., 2014; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). Within the selected

articles there are also several examples of "macro" or population level change, noting the success of people with disabilities to promote justice (Joubert, 2010), the role of the arts (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011) as well as opportunities to link with the United Nations organizations (Simaan, 2017). Overall, there appears to be a good fit between the core ideas regarding occupational justice and examples found in the selected literature.

Given this congruence, a closer examination of fit with specific aspects of the OJ framework was undertaken. The visual depiction of "An exploratory theory of occupational justice" (Christiansen & Townsend, 2016 as cited in Townsend & Wilcock, 2019) was examined and will be referred to here as "the OJ model" to distinguish it from the general theorizing and conceptualizing surrounding occupational justice (Stadnyk et al., 2010). The OJ model is a visual depiction of key elements in OJ and the relationships involved. It connects individuals (described as occupational and social beings with differing needs), cultures, and social conditions, to occupational justice and its enablement (Stadnyk et al., 2010). Two aspects of the model "people as social beings" and "enablement of individual and communal occupational needs, strengths and potential" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 335) will be examined for congruence with the 25 selected articles through discussions of collectivity, enablement, and empowerment.

The articles examined provide examples of people and relationships that show people as occupational and social beings who are influenced by social values, rules, and constraints. Within the idea of "social beings", is the idea of collectivity, which can be thought of as "involving all members of a group as distinct from its individuals" (Merriam-Webster, 2019a) and this concept is found both in the 2019 description of OJ and the CIS articles. Townsend and Wilcock (2019) assert that "occupational justice

requires consideration of collectives of people and collective occupations" (p. 644). Similarly, the authors included in this CIS find collectivity to be a useful concept. Gerlach (2008) names children as a collective group. Other authors refer to "individual and collective" which can emphasize simultaneously that "individuals are different" and "people are social beings" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 335). In particular, these authors in all three time periods refer to "individual and collective" levels (Howarth & Jones, 1999; Pyatak, 2011, Ramugondo, 2015) when considering occupations. In addition, authors refer to individual and collective history (Chacala et al., 2014), empowerment (Townsend et al., 2000), health and wellbeing (Rudman & Molke, 2009), and action (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). Collectivity can also help explain processes through which "social values, rules and constraints" (Stadnynk et al., 2010, p. 335) are created and maintained. Authors name social norms and rules that are produced collectively and underpin "who is entitled to do what", such as gender (Angell, 2014), ageing (Rudman & Molke, 2009), and people with disabilities (Chacala et al., 2014). Both the selected articles and the OJ model use collectivity as one way to think about people as social beings.

Collective occupations are identified as part of the domain of OJ (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019), a notion helpful to some of the authors. Townsend and Wilcock, (2019), Ramugondo (2015), Simaan, (2017), and Trentham and Neysmith (2018) all cite Ramugondo and Kronenberg's (2015) definition of collective occupations: "occupations that are engaged in by individuals, groups, communities and/or societies in everyday contexts; these may reflect an intention towards social cohesion or dysfunction, and/or advancement of or aversion to a common good" (p. 10). Olive growing (Simaan 2018), and advocacy occupations (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) are both identified by their

authors as collective occupations. Collective problems experienced by a group while seeking to obtain employment (Rudman & Molke, 2009), and the influence of "collectively shared notions" of how to engage in an occupation (play) (Ramugondo, 2015) are also discussed. Discussion of the term collective within the selected articles suggests a fit with the notion of collective occupations as posed by Townsend and Wilcock (2019). The examples found within this study point toward the value of considering collective occupations, and raise the question of whether the term collective should be taken up more fully and consistently in theorizing about occupational justice.

Enablement is the second term from the OJ model examined in this chapter. The model includes the "enablement of individual and communal occupational needs, strengths, and potential" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 335) and conveys a bidirectional relationship between enablement and OJ. Townsend and Wilcock (2019) articulate that OJ involves "individual and collective enablement of the diverse occupational potential of each occupational being individually and as members of populations" (p. 646). Similarly, they assert that "human empowerment is achieved or not through occupation, that empowerment is highly dependent on the power relations that shape the context for occupational engagement" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 646). Within the selected articles, enabling is often used along with the term empowerment, with both considered foundational within OS and OT. Authors acknowledge the relationship occupational therapy has to "philosophical principles of empowerment" (Fortune et al., 2007), emphasize the profession's focus "on holism, empowerment and enablement" (Howarth & Jones, 1999) and remind us that empowerment is implicit in the client-centred process of enabling occupation (Townsend et al., 2000).

The authors of the articles selected for this CIS also use "enablement" and "empowerment" to describe therapeutic and research relationships. Sometimes, these articles describe small shifts of power within an established power dynamic. Actions described as enabling or empowering included inquiring about identity during occupational therapy interviews (Bergan-Gander & van Kürthy, 2006), creating opportunities to provide input into institutional processes (Fortune et al., 2007), enabling client-centred treatment planning (Jong et al., 2012), assisting people to access resources and knowledge (Joubert, 2010), using qualitative methods (Nelson, 2007), and giving interviewees room to direct the flow of conversation in research interviews (Bailliard, 2013). Each of these actions were described as enabling or empowering. When looking at these examples and the OJ model, it is not clear if actions with such limited reach should be held up as examples of acts that contribute to occupational justice.

The articles examined here provide a few examples of enablement/empowerment that have the potential to shift power dynamics. Trentham and Neysmith (2018) point out that participants "felt empowered by activist roles" (p. 177) and Boland and Cunningham, (2019) advocate for "occupationally informed" environments that empower users. Chacala and colleagues (2014) provide an example of an occupational therapist who shifts how disability is viewed (from abnormal to different), creating an awareness in clients and a corresponding opportunity to assume greater power when deciding if/how they would like support from their health care team. Some authors mentioned enabling/empowering more generally, suggesting they wished to enable "occupational justice, where everyone…is enabled to participate in meaningful occupations" (Bergan-Gander & van Kürthy, 2006), or enable occupational choices (Hammell, 2013). These

examples of enabling/empowering and recognition of context fit more clearly into the OJ framework.

One author of an article read during the process of determining saturation provides an example of empowering that potentially challenges the OJ framework. Nelson (2007) advocates that “we need to empower Indigenous Australian young people to use their knowledge, values and culture, and to see these qualities as a strength and resource in facilitating control over their lives” (p. 240). While this example could fit into the OJ model, it is perhaps a better example of agency leading to occupational justice. The agency of people who are without power is often emphasized within the theoretical work examined in Chapter 3. Other examples of agency within the selected articles include advocacy by senior citizens (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018), children behaving badly to maintain a sense of self (Angell, 2014), replanting trees (Simaan, 2017) and advocating after being passed over for a promotion (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Nelson (2007) appears believe that agency could have a place in the OJ model beyond an implied idea that “people as social beings” can create situations of occupational justice. She asks whether “occupational justice [is] possible only because we, the white privileged occupational therapists, ‘enable’ it for those ‘lacking’?” (Nelson, 2007). In Chapter 3, Collins’ (2002) work reminds readers that when responses to oppression are not included or valued in oppression theory, people tend to be seen as victims. The examples in these articles raise the question of whether “agency” ought to be put forward as an equally important concern for occupational justice.

The framework of occupational justice (Stadnyk et al., 2010) names factors that influence the potential for enabling/empowering to occur. In this framework, structural

and contextual factors (see also Chapter 2) influence individual experiences of OJ or injustice. Naming broader structures both assists in understanding the individual experience as well as suggesting that addressing disempowering structures can lead to increased occupational justice. The authors of the studies reviewed in this CIS named structural factors that can be considered "underlying occupational determinants" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 336) including capitalism (Crabtree, 2005), the medical model (Joubert, 2010), pension systems (Rudman & Molke, 2009) and the REAL ID Act demanding specific forms of identification in the U.S. (Bailliard, 2013). Other structural factors mentioned fit within Stadnyk and colleague's "occupational instruments or programs" including educational policies (Angell, 2014) and health policy (Fortune et al., 2007). In contrast with the framework of occupational justice, these authors also name historical structures. Their work demonstrates that while a structure may have been removed or replaced, it still influences current structural, ideological, and contextual factors. Historical structures such as the Indian Act (Gerlach, 2008), redlining practices (Pyatak & Miccitelli, 2011) and employment structures that banned women from some professions (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018) continue to influence occupational outcomes. While many of these authors used occupational justice and injustice as concepts in their work, their limited use of specific occupational injustices may suggest authors use the terms to connect their content to the profession, as opposed to choosing the terms because they hold strong analytic value.

Clearly there are many areas of convergence between the analyses in the 25 selected articles and the core tenets of occupational justice theorizing. It is possible that collectivity and collective occupations deserve a more central place within OJ theory.

While enabling and empowering are clear points of convergence, it may be helpful to consider what kinds of enabling lead to OJ and also whether the idea of agency is underrepresented in OJ theory. The profession can be encouraged to use the term empowerment to mean a shift in power and limit its use when describing very small acts. The influence of historical structures on current occupation may also be underrepresented within the OJ model, figuring more prominently in these articles reviewed for the CIS. The next section considers how oppression-related terms ("oppression terms") and themes found in this body of literature (summarized in Table 5.4.) converge with or diverge from occupational justice as conceptualized and employed in existing frameworks and models.

6.1.2. Oppression Terms and Occupational Justice.

A number of terms were both identified in theoretical literature related to oppression and found in the articles selected for review. History, consciousness, invisibility, internalization, privilege, and microaggressions and their use within the selected literature was discussed in Chapter 5. In this section, the use and usefulness of these terms for considering OJ (Stadnyk et al., 2010; Townsend & Wilcock, 2019) is interrogated. Again, while Stadnyk et al. (2010) and Townsend and Wilcock (2019) are only two of the sources explicitly conceptualizing and theorizing occupational justice, they have been documented as having the only comprehensive theory development – while also noting that very few scholars have been contributing to conceptual literature on OJ (Durocher et al., 2014a).

One term in the oppression literature, microaggressions, is not used by Stadnyk and colleagues (2010) or Townsend and Wilcock (2019). Microaggressions is related to

"social constraints" within the OJ framework, but the influence of repeated small interpersonal acts is not discussed. Microaggressions is a term that occupational scientists and occupational therapists may find helpful when naming social constraints in everyday occupations. History is referenced in the framework of occupational justice (Stadnyk et al., 2010) as one of several contextual factors. Townsend and Wilcock (2019) note "an apparent need for occupational justice throughout human time" (p. 645) and explain some historical background about social and occupational justice. However, in these articles there is no discussion of how history influences current occupational contexts. Consciousness, is used to describe a change in therapists saying that "occupational therapists need consciousness raising experiences" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 652). In contrast, Freire's (2000/1970) theoretical work uses consciousness to refer to how people experiencing oppression (or the effects of power imbalance) envision their situation. Therefore, the term appears within the OJ framework and model, but is used slightly differently from the predominant use in oppression theory.

The term privilege and the idea that privilege for some limits occupational potential for others is discussed in OJ theorizing. Stadnyk et al., (2010) point out the "injustice in the discrepancies of pay, privilege, and status" (p. 345) allocated to occupations in different contexts, and the relationship between privilege and power, asking "who has control and privilege, who is expected to comply" (p. 344). Stadnyk et al., (2010) are clear that privilege is linked to situations involving deprivation, such as in the prioritization of health care resources: "societies expend so many financial and social resources on fixing the body and mind of a select few people that there are insufficient resources to enable these same and other people to do something in life" (p. 339). While

the concept of privilege is clearly addressed by Stadnyk et al. (2010), it does not receive the same attention by Townsend and Wilcock (2019).

The final two terms from the oppression literature to be discussed are invisibility and internalization. As discussed earlier, invisibility refers to situations in which a group's concerns go unnoticed or stereotyped images come to represent a group of people so that the group and its heterogeneity become invisible (Pharr, 1997). Participants in the studies described in the selected articles provided several examples of feeling invisible and how these experiences can limit occupation (see Chapter 5). Stadnyk et al., (2010) refer to unvalued and economically invisible occupations, naming prostitution and scavenging for food. Invisible is also used to discuss how power operates within invisible structures such as "invisible occupational determinants" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 342). Much of the use of the term invisibility refers to the influence of hegemony on occupations and occupational potential. Therefore, the feeling of invisibility, as the term is used in oppression theory to mark a characteristic of oppression, was not found in OJ theorizing. The idea of internalization is found within Townsend and Wilcock (2019) but not labeled directly. They note that negative labeling by others can affect one's internal state, highlighting the relationships among injustice, stigma, and mental and physical health.

The terms in this section all expand understandings of how injustice changes everyday living. They present ideas that are consistent with the OJ theory reviewed here, but are not key terms within that theory. Some of the terms were used in ways that are somewhat different than their uses in the oppression literature and this may be an area for critical reflection about how a term might best be used in OS and/or OT. This review

suggests that contributions from oppression theory have not been fully integrated into the ways OJ is being conceptualized and employed, but general congruence supports the idea of further exploration, investigating how ideas and terms from oppression theory might be helpful.

6.2. Collins' Domains of Power: Fit with the CIS Results

As mentioned in Chapter 5, two thirds of the selected articles introduce the idea of power and many discuss power with a depth beyond that found in OJ. In the analysis for this CIS, it became clear that Collins' domains of power provide an effective tool for organizing the examples of power within the articles. Collins labels "four interrelated domains of power, namely the structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains" (Collins, 2002, p. 276). Collins (2002) values the concept of empowerment and rhetorically asks, "how does one develop a politics of empowerment without understanding how power is organized and operates?" (p. 274). The selected articles provide examples that illustrate the domains of power and how they relate to occupation. Here their fit with Collins' domains of power is examined.

The structural domain regulates the rights of citizens through rules, systems, and institutions. Often the authors of the included literature refer to the structural generally using phrases such as "social structures" (Nicholls & Ellliot, 2019, p. 226; Rudman & Molke, 2009), "power structures" (Pyatak & Miccitelli, 2011, p. 58), "systems and structures" (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 492) and "systemic power differences" (Beagan & Etowa, 2009, p. 285). Specific structures that influenced the context of an article were named including historical (Canada's Indian Act and USA's redlining policies) (Gerlach,

2008; Pyatak & Miccitelli, 2011). Authors give specific examples of structures that influenced people's occupational choices.

The disciplinary domain is based on Foucault's assertion that disciplinary power manages social relations through the ways that organizations are run. In this domain, "bureaucracies, regardless of the policies they promote, remain dedicated to disciplining and controlling their workforces and clientele" (Collins, 2002, p. 281). Within Collins' model, it isn't clear when policy documents are part of the structure itself (structural domain) or when they are guiding processes implemented by workers within a bureaucracy (disciplinary domain). The included authors provide examples of the latter naming policy documents that provide guidance to those in bureaucracies including policies that define training opportunities and funding (Rudman & Molke, 2009), home care policies (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) and polices that affect workplace success for women (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018). These authors also describe people enacting policy including school employees who enforced policy using punishment (Angell, 2014; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Gerlach, 2008) and officials who enacted legislation (Bailliard, 2013), implemented official declarations (Simaans, 2017) and issued a warning letter (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). Within the articles, specific examples illustrate several ways in which enacted policies can reproduce hierarchies or power structures.

Disciplinary power has also shaped the occupations of therapists. Joubert (2010) points out that in South Africa, a counsel of doctors and dentists approved all OT curriculum changes until 1994. Health care policies, such as mental health policy (Fortune et al., 2007); community care policy (Howarth & Jones, 1999) and home care policy (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) shape occupational therapy service delivery. Such

policies may define program mandates, eligibility criteria, and policies that define service parameters (such as wait lists and number of visits), affecting the experience of receiving therapy. Disciplinary power has been investigated within rehabilitation units with people who have had strokes (Sadler et al., 2018), suggesting there is potential to further explore the relationship between organizational structures, their implementation through disciplinary power, and the profession.

Hegemony is Collins' third domain of power and involves "deep-rooted, internalized and taken-for-granted ideas" that become "common sense" (Alinia, 2015, p. 2336). Often "the culturally dominant group are able to assert their ways of being as 'normal' and good, while the ways of other groups are constructed as deviant, abnormal, or lesser" (Chacala et al., 2014, p. 109). Ramugondo (2015) tells us that "the dynamics of hegemony…are sustained through what people do every day" (p. 488) and shares that ideas can be maintained "in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243 as cited in Ramugondo, 2015). Some authors of the selected articles found the term hegemony useful in their writing. Hegemony was used to describe "cultural notions of what girls and boys could and could not do" (Angell, 2014 p. 111) and how society understands "the problems of disabled people" (Joubert, 2010 p. 22). Many examples of dominant messages are discussed in the selected articles including messages about people who live in inner cities (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011), older adults and what constitutes success (Rudman & Molke, 2009), and whose behavior is dismissed as "boys will be boys" (Angell, 2014, p.112). With a focus on the profession, Hammell (2013) problematizes

how professionalism “legitimizes class divisions in the social world” (p. 228) and Beagan and Fredericks (2018) challenge the messages occupational therapists hold about gender expectations and how they affect the profession’s recruitment decisions. Hegemony, “common sense” messages that have become part of society, and the impact these messages have on occupational potential, were addressed within the selected literature.

The final domain, interpersonal, describes everyday interactions that are shaped and influenced by the other three domains of power. (This links to the concept of microaggressions, discussed above.) In this domain, the influence of power is so recurrent, and familiar that its impact on interpersonal interactions often goes unnoticed (Collins, 1990). This domain focuses on interactions between people, as influenced by broader power dynamics. For example, Angell points out that when an individual teacher interacted with an individual child, “punitive policies did not simply come from individual teachers’ teaching styles or preferences” (Angell, 2014 p. 122). In another example, while hiring decisions are made by an individual, the decisions are made within a context of power in which “men are perceived…as more competent and more like leaders, and they are promoted faster” (Beagan & Fredericks, 2018, p. 141). Occupational therapy interactions have been influenced when “normalization processes shape how occupational therapists limit their clients’ occupational possibilities by presuming a decline in function as a natural process of ageing” (Njelesani et al., 2015, as cited in Trentham and Neysmith, 2018, p. 177). Occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015) can work in partnership with the interpersonal domain of power. It is the process of examining an everyday occurrence in which one is making a choice (individual or

collective) to engage in occupation (or not), where upon greater reflection, one becomes aware that the decision making has been influenced by larger power dynamics.

Collins' domains of power offer a simple model while exposing many of the larger dynamics that limit occupation. It has the potential to complement discussions of power within OS and OT by encouraging therapists (and scholars) to consider the influence of power more clearly and explicitly across all four domains. Collins' model can be used in conjunction with other occupational therapy models deepening how occupational scientists and occupational therapists understand social factors that can limit or enhance occupation. In addition, the relationship between occupational potential or possibilities and occupational engagement or performance may be under-represented in OJ theorizing. Collins' model of power can be used to help explain why an occupational possibility (such as a child's wish to be a doctor; an example from Nelson, 2007) may or may not become an occupation the child performs in the future. This model can be a useful addition to occupational science and occupational therapy and makes visible connections between structures, power, and everyday doing.

6.3. Young's Faces of Oppression and this CIS: Instances of Oppression

In Iris Marion Young's (1990) five faces of oppression, exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence each represent a sufficient condition to label an occurrence of oppression. These faces often occur simultaneously as they impact upon human lives and occupations. In this section, the fit between Young's faces of oppression and 43 occupational experiences described in the selected articles is considered. Within these articles that name one or more oppressions ("isms"), it was possible to identify experiences that fit all five of Young's faces.

The face of oppression identified most often was marginalization, with experiences of marginalization described in over 75% of the selected articles. Young (1990) defines marginalization as “material deprivation” (when she writes about distributive justice) and says that “it also involves the deprivation of cultural, practical and institutionalized conditions for exercising capacities” (p. 55). Marginalization “expels” people from “exercising of capacities in socially recognized ways” (Young 1990, p. 53) and being part of a community’s social life. In this sample of experiences, several authors mention a reduction in opportunity including limited access to meaningful roles and occupational engagement. Authors described reduced opportunities for employment, and/or advancement (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Rudman & Molke, 2009; Simaan, 2017; Wicks, 2001), within the role of student (Angell, 2014; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019), to engage in advocacy (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018), to seek parenting support (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006), and to participate in social and belonging occupations (Townsend et al., 2000). In addition, shopping (Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009), recreation activities (Bailliard, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Townsend et al., 2000), and play (Ramugondo, 2015; Gerlach, 2008) were disrupted by marginalizing experiences. Within occupational therapy relationships, people described marginalizing experiences while accessing therapy (Kirsh et al., 2006), clinical placements, and professional development (Chacala et al., 2014) as well as while engaging in research (Nicholls & Elliot 2019).

Exploitation is the second of Young’s faces and three experiences of occupation named situations in which work was being done for the benefit of others. Crabtree (2005) observed a hospital in which patients on female wards were expected to help fellow

patients (resulting in fewer women than men requiring a higher level of nursing services) and Howarth and Jones (1999) report that occupational therapists who are able to translate are often expected to provide this service in addition to other duties. Bailliard (2013) documents the experience of migrants who found themselves agreeing to work for "exploitative employers" (p. 230) including an example of how an employer circumvented the law while demanding hours in excess of employment legislation.

Cultural imperialism, the third face, establishes the dominant group's experience as the norm. Thus, it connects to the notion of hegemonic power. It also involves the silencing of non-dominant group cultural values (Young, 1990). The selected articles include reference to norms about appropriate activities for women (Crabtree, 2005; Beagan & Fredericks, 2018), non-dominant cultural norms (such as kinship systems) that are deemed to be inferior (Howarth & Jones, 1999), and norms about who should be parents (Bergan-Gander & von Kürthy, 2006). Norms influence what people see as desirable child characteristics (Angell, 2014), and who makes a good employee (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Rudman & Molke, 2009) or a good customer (Beagan & Etowa, 2009). Through quotes from the selected studies, the influence of sociocultural norms on occupation becomes visible.

Powerlessness, for Young, is related to the idea of class, and frequently co-occurs in conjunction with the other "faces". In the selected articles, examples of powerlessness within institutions that hold the decision making power including hospitals/health care (Crabtree, 2005; Hammell, 2013; Joubert, 2010) governments (and their agents) (Bailliard, 2013; Trenham, 2018; Wicks, 2001), and schools (Angell, 2013; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Gerlach, 2008). In the above situations, people are required to comply with

authority and are limited in what they can do. The studies reviewed in this CIS required occupations such as a requirement to speak English (Gerlach, 2008), to make religious accommodations without support (Chacala et al., 2014), and to complete caregiving tasks while hospitalized (Crabtree, 2005). Powerlessness also leads to limits on and prevention of occupations such as driving (in a location in which it is difficult or impossible to walk to community services) (Bailliard, 2013), purchasing (Crabtree, 2005), providing non-medical model occupational therapy (Joubert, 2010), and engaging in daily routines (Wicks, 2001)

Finally, these collected experiences of occupation touch on the idea of violence. For Young, violence is defined as either physical harm, or the threat of physical harm. Young's conception of violence includes the possibility of violence and its effects on people and their quality of life. Within the selected papers, one respondent says that she was punished for speaking her first language (Gerlach, 2008). In addition, Wicks (2001) names prohibitions placed on occupational engagement for women under the Taliban, and the challenges of fleeing war but does not mention violence specifically. When discussing rap music Pyatak and Muccitelli (2011) name the misogynistic lyrics and descriptions of violent acts within rap songs. These examples may also limit the behaviour of people who have not directly experienced violent acts such as parents who chose not to teach their first language to their children and women whose alter travel patterns to maximize safety. While violence is not a prominent theme in the selected articles, its impact on people and occupation is addressed. Young's conception of violence, including the possibility of violence, was present in the selected literature.

With all five faces of oppression found within the 25 selected articles, this model does appear to be relevant in terms of helping label the kinds of problematic situations and occupational challenges that occupational scientists and occupational therapists wish to discuss. Marginalization is explored far more than the other faces, and it may be useful to consider which other "faces" may be occurring simultaneously. Marginalization appears to be of particular interest to OS and OT and the profession began by helping people excluded from occupation while in residential settings. When comparing Young's model to conceptualizations of occupational justice and injustice, one notices that marginalization and deprivation are linked for Young but separate in OJ theorizing. In addition, cultural imperialism is considered to be central, in contrast to brief descriptions of invisible influences found in OJ theory. Young's model, its fit with the selected articles, and Hammell and Beagan's 2017 critique of occupational injustices might raise questions concerning whether separate categories of deprivation and marginalization are useful. Young's faces of oppression prove to be a valuable organizing structure for the experiences discussed by the authors in the included articles.

6.4. Social Occupational Therapy

Social occupational therapy (Social OT), a Brazilian model of practice, was introduced in Chapter 2. Pushing OT to focus beyond matters of disability, it seeks to address situations of social inequity including "poverty, homelessness, immigration, drug use, unemployment, under-employment, culturally marginalized groups, prostitution" and others (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018, p. 21). Thus, there is a focus on enabling occupations for all people "who are disadvantaged by current social conditions (Barros, Ghirardi, & Lopes, 2005)" (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018, p. 21). Social OT recognizes a causal link

between social conditions and being disadvantaged. "Disadvantaged by social conditions" names a relationship in which the conditions created by one group has led to disadvantage for another (thus linking to the concept of privilege). While Social OT and the selected articles share many foundational concepts, the literature search used within this CIS, with its reliance on Western databases and English language materials, did not return an article using the Social OT model. To consider the congruence between Social OT and the selected articles, parts of the model are explored: the main principle, two components, and vocabulary recommendations for occupational therapists.

The notion of territory is the main principle of Social OT (Malfitano et al., 2014). Territory is "a geographically [and historically] delimited place in which social life occurs, subject to its cultural issues and economic determinants" (p. 299). The notion of territory may connect historical decisions (defining territory often happens through specific historical events) with the kind of occupations available within a particular location. Territory draws attention to the idea that Social OT happens throughout a community, rather than in one aspect of the community such as organized health care. It also helps delineate a starting point regarding the places in which Social OT might begin to build partnerships. Malfitano et al. (2014) provide an example of creating territorial strategies in a sport and leisure center and in public schools within a single geographic area. Territory is not a concept that was identified in the selected literature, but some authors do address the relevance of space. Baillaird (2013) and Simaan (2017) both describe daily living and disruptions to daily living within a particular geographic area. Similarly, Gerlach's (2008) and Beagan and Etowa's (2009) participants describe

interactions with multiple institutions within a geographic area. In these works, geography intersects with history, particularly through histories of colonialism.

There are two "components" also specified as part of the core of Social OT: "The inseparability of the collective dimension and individual needs…and the necessity of specific social approaches" (Malfitano et al., 2014). The first component fits well with the discussion of collectivity earlier in this chapter, in which the use of "individual and collective" are noted. In Social OT, the inseparability of individual and collective is emphasized. Social OT provides examples that demonstrate how "the why" of occupational choices become clearer when seen within a collective dimension (Lopes & Malfitano, 2017). There are examples of this inseparability in the reviewed articles as well (Bergan Gander & von Kürthy, 2006; Ramugondo, 2015). Lopes and Malfitano, (2017) use the term "the collective individual" and it may be worth considering this concept, and its potential to give further attention to the inseparable individual and collective.

The second component, "using specific social approaches", introduces four "technologies" used in social OT (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018, p. 22). Table 6.1. lists the technologies and provides examples of their use within the selected articles. These articles provide examples of group driven priorities, identifying formal and informal networks and supports, and policy level actions. While there wasn't a concrete/solid example of a territorial follow-up (or community level intervention within the role of an occupational therapist), one might consider that some actions within the PAR studies (Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) meet the definition of a territorial follow-up. The use of strategies named in the technologies by some of the authors

suggest the social OT approach might provide valuable techniques for therapists seeking to move beyond understanding situations of injustice to practice-based action.

Both Social OT and this CIS suggest that occupational therapists augment some vocabulary and terms they use when seeking to support occupational engagement. Social OT advocates for “context, social inclusion, social participation, autonomy and interdependency, culture, politics, and others” (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018). The theory review and exploration of concept use within this CIS resulted in discussions of other concepts, namely: historical context, invisibility, internalization, consciousness, privilege, and microaggressions. When comparing these two lists, the focus on context, including culture and politics is shared. Interdependency is also shared under the umbrella of collectivity. Some of the concepts highlighted by this CIS (invisibility, internalization, and microaggressions) influence social inclusion and social participation. While the lists do not fully overlap, both point to the idea that a broad view of occupational engagement necessitates further understanding of social concepts.

Social OT is an approach that is becoming more prominent and has a core focus on reducing injustice and upholding citizenship rights. This approach suggests that “even in the face of oppression” occupational therapy can “promote new discourses, practices, and devices at the microstructural level” (Silva, Silvestrini, Von Poellnitz, Prado, & Leite, 2018, p. 497). The principles, components, and vocabulary suggestions fit fairly well with some of the situations and actions in the included articles, suggesting it may be an underused theory base and approach in OS and OT.

Table 6.1. Social OT technologies and CIS examples

Social OT technology (Malfitano & Lopes, 2018)	**Focus** (Maliftano & Lopes, 2018)	**Fit with the 25 articles reviewed in this CIS**
Activities, dynamics and project workshops	Meeting with the group, identifying priorities	A core function of PAR (Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018)
Singular territorial followup	Actions involving occupational therapists that help individuals and the group (facing social challenges) increase occupational engagement. Assistance included resume writing, access to health care and mediating with justice agencies.	• These articles give attention to qualities in an occupational therapist that would make them more effective in this process (i.e. Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015; Kirsh et al., 2006; Steed, 2014; Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). • Specific examples of communities who might be interested in this model exist (Bailliard, 2013; Gerlach, 2008; Beagan & Etowa, 2009). • Actions related to supporting the PAR process may fit within this section. (One needs to reflect on whether the group was assisted beyond the creation and analysis of data and whether the group member were the recipients of therapists' support beyond group facilitation).
Articulating resources in the social field	Understand the formal and informal networks that are available to help individuals.	• The articles name networks that can help individuals including arts communities (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011), formal health programs (Bailliard, 2013; Townsend et al., 2000) & collegial allies (Chacala et al., 2014).
Network enhancement	Actions involving "discussing policies and trying to get the subject onto the public and policy agenda" (p. 25).	Actions at the policy level found in the selected articles (and one article used in the process of seeking saturation) included: • Providing input into government initiatives and educating government staff (Trentham & Neysmith, 2018). • Creating avenues for input into hospital policy (Fortune et al., 2007). • Recommendations for future network enhancement including advocating for homeless policies that support occupational engagement (Boland & Cunningham, 2019).

6.5. Considering the Value of an Oppression Lens.

This chapter has examined the fit between oppression concepts, the articles selected for inclusion in this CIS, dominant theorizing around occupational justice, an approach to OT emerging from the Global South, and two interdisciplinary models concerning power and oppression. While both OJ and Social OT address areas of importance within oppression theory, neither model encompasses all the oppression concepts evident within the selected articles. The two interdisciplinary models, Young's faces of oppression and Collins' model of power, both widen understanding of ways in which occupation is "barred, confined, restricted, segregated, prohibited, underdeveloped, disrupted, alienated, marginalized, exploited, excluded or otherwise restricted" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 77). Some of Young's ideas, particularly her focus on difference, were incorporated into the foundations of occupational justice, while other ideas have not been included. Collins' model of power is a particularly consistent fit with the ideas found in the selected articles, suggesting that it may be a useful addition to support theory development in OS and OT concerning justice and injustice.

After review of these four models and the extent to which they adopt the core ideas found in this thesis, I would like to suggest that an oppression lens can offer additional concepts to be considered alongside the OJ, Social OT, and other models in OS and/or OT. Framed in terms of statements that can comprise or contribute to an oppression lens, a list of the ideas that shape this lens can be found in Figure 6.1. Many of the concepts from Young and Collins have been incorporated into this lens. An oppression lens can focus attention within situations that meet the definition of oppression, increasing understanding of complex dynamics and efforts to support change.

Viewing occupation through the lens of oppression can further our understanding of experiences in which limits on occupations and expected occupations are unjust and morally wrong. An oppression lens offers a framework to move from seeing events/actions as isolated instances to recognizing broader patterns within social contexts. My suggested description of an oppression lens is the result of the theory and CIS results presented in this thesis. This oppression lens requires an "oppression literacy". In the next section, I consider the potential of an oppression lens to influence clinical decision making, enhance fluidity with social concepts, advance theory, and respond to critiques of occupational justice.

6.5.1. Oppression literacy and clinical practice.

Adopting an oppression lens begins with the definition of oppression and includes a cluster of ideas and terms associated with oppression, which can shift how we see and respond to people. Many of the ideas and terms addressed within this thesis can be considered "oppression literacy", or a vocabulary and concept base that helps identify and describe situations that meet the definition of oppression (see suggested list in Figure 6.2.). Oppression vocabulary encourages consideration of words like ageism and ableism, which in the framework of occupational justice are positioned as the "contextual factors" of age and ability/disability (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 336). The distinction contrasts the experience of living with a characteristic and the experience of living in a particular social environment under particular power relations.

Figure 6.1 An Oppression Lens

This oppression lens suggested for occupational science and occupational therapy accepts:

- People in society are harmed while others benefit.
- People experience racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, colonialism, and ageism alone and in combinations (which can be understood using the concept intersectionality).
- It is possible to identify macro and micro causes for acts of harm secondary to identity. Social harm to people and their ability to engage in occupations can be described using models such as occupational justice and Young's (1990) faces of oppression.
- People are inseparable from their physical, social, cultural, interpersonal, and historical contexts.
- Power can be understood in multiple ways and models can help people visualize a link between how power operates in society and everyday occupations. The terms structural, disciplinary, hegemony, and interpersonal as proposed by Collins (2002) help express how power operates in society.
- Awareness of terms that assist in the recognition of the effects of oppression include domination, coercion, exploitation, marginalization, deprivation, microaggression, internalization, and invisibility.
- People who experience oppression are not simply victims, but make strategic and often difficult choices about how to respond. Concepts that help understand responding to oppression include agency, conscious raising, resistance, and solidarity.
- Theory and practice should co-occur and action against oppression and action to change social structures can lead to increased occupational opportunities.
- People who use an oppression lens and can choose to work in solidarity with others and act as allies.
- People who wish to help and/or be recognized as allies are also affected by power and social structures that can facilitate and/or limit their choices and actions. The concepts of ally, privilege, and reflexivity can increase understanding of supporting relationships.

An oppression lens recognizes (as evident in several of the selected studies) that occupational inequity pertains, for example, to racism, not race (Beagan & Etowa, 2009), heterosexism not homosexuality (Bergan Gander & von Kürthy, 2006) and ableism not disability (Chacala et al., 2014). Oppression rather than human difference created the

most challenges for people in the situations described. It is worth noting that this distinction shares its foundational idea with the social model of disability; that more than physiological differences, social experiences determine options and limitations in daily life. Other words found in oppression literacy, such as hegemony, exploitation, ally, and resistance, provide terms and concepts that can be used to describe the complexities of occupational engagement. An occupational lens is a way to bring interdisciplinary social concepts more centrally into OS and OT as well as support diverse professional efforts to be "socially and politically engaged" (Rudman, 2014, p. 373).

Figure 6.2. Terms for inclusion in oppression literacy proposed for OS and OT

Terms for inclusion in oppression literacy

- Oppression
- Ageism, Ableism/Disablism, Classism, Colonialism, Heterosexism, Racism, Sexism
- Intersectionality
- Privilege
- Hegemony/Cultural imperialism
- Disciplinary
- Exploitation
- Deprivation/Marginalization
- Historical context
- Structure
- Power
- Internalization
- Invisibility/hypervisibility
- Solidarity/Ally
- Consciousness/conscious raising
- Microaggression
- Agency/Response
- Resistance
- Reflexivity

An oppression literacy may enhance clinical skills and relationships. An understanding of oppression can affect the questions therapists ask and the likelihood of "hearing" or recognizing the influence of social contexts and structured power relations during interactions. For example, therapists may be more likely to inquire about and discern the impact of living in poverty or previous experiences of poverty on the achievement of client goals. Oppression literacy may also provide terms that are useful to therapists when navigating policy expectations when workplace practices don't align with what therapists perceive is best for clients (Durocher, Kinsella, McCorquodale & Phelan, 2016) (and perhaps "your gut" is uneasy). A more robust conceptual vocabulary may help therapists think about and explain why someone with a record of non-attendance warrants "another chance" or the program should bend or change the rules. For example, it might help therapists recognize (as McNamara, Rosenwax, Lee and Same note in 2016), that non-attendance may be explained by structural factors such as difficulties securing transportation. Perhaps it will also help therapists who recognize one or more structural barriers (such as transport, or juggling multiple part-time jobs) to identify additional structural barriers their clients may be facing. In addition, such literacy may help therapists reframe "non-compliance" as a complex interaction between social and personal factors, rather than an individual and willful choice to ignore clinical advice. An oppression literacy suggests a number of social factors and/or power dynamics that may affect how a person interacts with the health care system and ways that the system may be less supportive of one person's needs compared to another (Allen & Smylie, 2015). It may also help occupational therapists identify opportunities to be allies in support of clients and/or staff. In contrast, ignoring the language of oppression may limit our

understanding of social environments, reducing those factors in explanatory models to demographics, with little sense of social processes operating to produce particular outcomes or processes amenable to intervention and change.

6.5.2. Potential contributions of an oppression lens to critiques of OJ theorizing.

An oppression lens has the potential to support efforts in OS and OT to reduce unequal experiences of occupation. In particular, this lens may be able to address some of the critiques of OJ, add concepts that can widen the OJ theory base, contribute to conceptual clarity, and support nuanced understandings of injustice. Using this lens, we can consider opportunities to support access to everyday occupations.

Several critiques of OJ call for attention to its underlying philosophy (Bailliard, 2016; Frank, 2012; Gupta, 2016; Hocking, 2017; Ramugondo, 2015). Using oppression-related concepts adds to the theory base by integrating philosophy and theory developed by Gramsci, Foucault, Bourdieu, Collins, Freire, Fanon, and Martín Baró, among others. The work of these theorists both contributed to and can add depth to scholarship in OJ that discusses power and identifies power dynamics. Collins' model of power helps integrate the work of several philosophers connecting structural power to everyday interactions. An oppression lens, that encompasses Collins' model of power, adds value when incorporating the work of respected theorists who chose oppression instead of justice when expressing ideas about unequal human interactions.

An oppression lens also has the potential to decenter theoretical traditions that have held dominance (Iwama, 2007), widening the traditional theory base. Hammell

(2017b) problematizes a theory base that relies on Western thought, excluding contributions from most of the world's population. Here, with the word oppression as a starting point, the work of Freire and Martín Baró (Brazil), Fanon (Algeria) and Collins (United States: the Black feminist perspective is usually considered to be outside the Western tradition), becomes important and relevant, as well as contributions of other non-Western theorists whose work is not summarized in this thesis. Critically reflecting on oppression theory can draws attention to the strengths and limitations of the Western tradition of moral philosophy. As Young (1990) notes, oppression discourse arises more from oppressed communities than from philosophers. Some occupational therapists and scientists are creating innovative theory using non-Western work as part of their theoretical foundation (Maliftano et al., 2014; Ramugondo, 2015), a practice potentially encouraged through explicit attention to oppression, which has strong roots in post-colonial communities.

An oppression lens may also contribute to efforts toward conceptual clarity called for within the literature. In this section, I consider how we might think about the goal of conceptual clarity before exploring how using this lens encourages occupational scientists to challenge the idea of occupational marginalization and occupational deprivation as distinct concepts. I also consider ways an oppression lens may respond to critiques made by Durocher and colleagues (2017a) who suggest additional clarity is needed to determine "which occupations should be prevented and compelled for which individuals" (p. 423) and whether injustice should be assessed or addressed from an individualistic or collectivistic viewpoint.

When seeking conceptual clarity in OJ, theorists are often advocating for more discrete boundaries between the different types of occupational injustices. However, Durocher at al. (2014a) also suggest that "the more nuanced argument may be less about defining and identifying occupational injustices than whether or not the injustice obligates a response" (p. 423). This comment aligns with Sen's (2009) thoughts as he explains that difference in understanding of a situation/problem should not prevent action that could be agreed upon. Similarly, an oppression lens – rather than seeking to define an ideal situation of justice – prioritizes the need to connect identifying harm to action, thereby suggesting that challenges in naming categories should not serve to limit efforts to ameliorate an inequitable situation and reduce oppression. The authors of the selected literature appear to have found the notion of injustice and the ability to label doing as harmful, unfair, or unequal more useful than naming specific types of injustices. An oppression lens might help us to see the proliferation of terms related to occupational injustice (marginalization, deprivation, alienation, imbalance, apartheid, possibilities, potential) as aspects of oppression evident in occupation, rather than distinct forms or types of injustice.

An oppression lens may offer some clarity when responding to the critique that the distinction between occupational deprivation and occupational marginalization is blurred (Hammell and Beagan, 2017). Both concepts involve the idea that occupation is not occurring because "engagement…in occupations of necessity and/or meaning are limited due to external factors that are generally outside of their control" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 338.) Occupational marginalization also involves 'non-doing' for "people [who] are not afforded the opportunity to participate in occupations and to exert choices and

decision making" …[and] often operates invisibly, though expectations of how, when, where and which persons should participate in occupations" (Stadnyk et al., 2010 p. 339). With an oppression lens, power is present influencing OJ "structural factors" and ways that "contextual factors" are expressed. When an oppression lens includes Collins' understanding of power, "invisible forces" are expected and anticipated. An oppression lens may encourage attention to the internalization of oppression, and to micro-level enactments of oppression in everyday interactions as mechanisms through which hegemony, disciplinary power, and normative standards result in the doing or non-doing of occupations. With this understanding, the separation between occupational deprivation and occupational marginalization seems artificial.

Theory about occupational injustice also remains unclear about if and how occupation should be prevented or compelled (Durocher et al., 2014a). Durocher et al. (2014a) give the example of a child being compelled to go to bed and how this limitation prevents doing but is not an injustice. Adding an oppression lens may help distinguish between the setting of helpful limits within a social relationship and imposing limits based in and contributing to systemic differences in privilege and disadvantage. Within the context of oppression, limitations are of concern when one party has the opportunity to limit choices for another party and harm is involved. By definition, oppression also involves harm based on shared characteristics with a social group. If we consider children to be a social group, then "early bedtime" can be considered a shared characteristic for members of this social group (in Western cultures; in other cultures we might find an association with late bedtimes and afternoon naps, or other traditions). A child going to bed in the context of a supportive parenting relationship, after a day in which the child's

needs were met, is not being harmed. With its emphasis on collective harm, or individual harm resulting from the social positioning of the collective, an oppression lens may help clarify which situations are problematic and focus attention on "non-doing" that can also be considered morally wrong. An oppression lens may also contribute to the discussion of whether injustice should be assessed or addressed from an individualistic or collectivistic viewpoint (as recommended by Durocher et al., 2014a). From an oppression frame of reference, the notion of separation between individual and collective is problematic. With an oppression lens, the harm is not situated at either the individual or collective level. Harm may be embodied at an individual level, but it is identified as the result of (usually complex) social interactions. In this case, an oppression lens suggests that rather than a problem of clarity within occupational justice/injustice, a more pressing concern might be the problem of integration or how to effectively communicate complex ever-present relationships between society and individual. An oppression lens supports the use of a term like "the collective individual" (found in the Social OT literature) (Lopes & Malfitano, 2017), encouraging the global North to learn from well-established theorizing in the global South.

It is reasonable to conclude that an oppression lens then can add depth and breadth to OJ theory and make a potential contribution to OS and/or OT. Moving beyond responding to these critiques, it is engaging to consider the possibilities this lens can provide. For example, a term like microaggressions can help broaden understanding of how meanings of occupation are formed and altered (i.e., visits to a business may be infused with different meanings and therefore engagement, if one is routinely followed, receives needed but rudely provided help to enter, is ignored while attention is focused on

one's partner, is patronized etc.). While policies and rules are one way of governing occupational engagement, considering the impact of microaggressions, hegemony and normative standards helps illuminate how the social bleeds into micro-level actions, inactions, and interactions. A broader social view may also help therapists identify the benefits of using a tool like Townsend and Wilcock's (2019) occupational justice and health questionnaire to track and appreciate the social realities that limit or expand the client ability to meet basic determinants of wellbeing/human rights (determinants as described by WHO, UN, and WFOT). Before further consideration of the utility of an "oppression lens" for OS and OT, I turn to examining an established oppression lens, social work's Anti Oppressive Practice Approach (AOP).

6.6. Anti-Oppressive Practice Approach

Anti-oppressive practice (AOP) is an approach that developed in social work to move beyond interventions that "place leaky band aids on deeply rooted social problems" (Baines, 2011, p. 2). Early work on AOP developed from work in critical theory in England and the approach has significant use in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and more recently Europe (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Now considered a dominant, socially just framework, AOP was in widespread use in the 1990's (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Zhang, 2018). In social work, "Anti-oppressive practice seeks particularly to combat the exclusion of some social groups from social equality, from full participation as citizens and from social justice" (Payne, 2014, p. 372) and offers a model for "understanding the multiplicity of oppression, privilege and power dynamics at a structural level" (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005, p. 437). This approach is rooted in the belief that, "it is mistaken to separate structural oppression from the experience of individuals in their personal lives

and inter-personal relationships" (Clifford & Burke, 2001, p. 19). AOP is critical in its epistemology and maintains a difference-centred focus (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Its theoretical base can be found in poststructuralist, postmodernism, Marxist, critical constructionist, feminist, Black feminist, anti-colonial and anti-racist work (Baines, 2011; Payne, 2014). Baines (2011) suggests critical realism could also support AOP. AOP values human rights (Payne, 2014) and acknowledges both the strong connection with social justice and challenges involved with ensuring rights lead to justice[8].

AOP can be seen as part of critical practice that is informed by social justice values and the experiences and views of oppressed people. It usually includes a focus on structure, power, and change (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006). Both critical perspectives and transformational perspectives can be considered to be encompassed within AOP. Critical social work and AOP have "an emphasis on the structural origins of the issues faced by clients; social change as an important aspect of practice; the critical analysis of practice relationships; and trying to transform those relationships accordingly." (Payne, 2014, p. 393). Anti-Discriminatory practice (perhaps best defined by Neil Thompson's text *Anti-Discriminatory Practice,* now in its 6th edition), is also seen as similar to and/or interchangeable with AOP (Payne, 2014). Some theorists consider AOP to be synonymous with radical social work whereas others assert AOP can also be used to describe practice that uses "empowerment approaches" during practitioner-client interactions. In addition, traditional binaries of direct service vs structural action and

[8] Cocker and Hafford (2014) provide an example of the challenges of ensuring human rights lead to justice: "Far from being benign, as its language suggests, a recently passed United Nations Human Rights Council resolution 'promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms' via 'a better understanding of traditional values of humankind' tramples over diversity, and fails to acknowledge just how fluid traditional practice and customary law can be." (p. 9)

oppression vs liberation can be challenged within this approach (Zhang, 2018) and it can be used as a framework for ethical decision-making (Clifford & Burke, p. 690). AOP with its focus on both structure and professional interactions has become a key framework in social work education, practice, and research.

AOP introduces the idea of an AOP practitioner, someone who does not address individual therapy concerns "without concurrently considering issues of the societal contexts that co-construct negative experiences for clients" (Hines, 2012 p. 32) and is "political, reflective, reflexive and committed to promoting change" (Dalrymple & Burke, 2000, as cited by Dalrymple & Burke, 2006, p. 48). AOP practitioners consider "who is benefitting from this problem or issue, who is harmed, who may be on the same side or provide support" (Baines, 2011, p. 23). They are also encouraged to see structural change as a group activity and "form collaborations with other anti-oppressive practitioners … to facilitate change" (Hines, 2012, p. 33). Rather than being an approach with a single agreed on set of principles, AOP has room for plurality in articulating "how and when" one focuses on "social structures, and sociopolitical and structural problems" (Hines, 2012, p. 32).

AOP is not without critics. Limitations of AOP include confusion about which concepts are included in AOP, overlap between AOP and anti-discriminatory practice, and the potential for AOP to inadvertently contribute to a "hierarchy" of oppression (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Similar to occupational justice critiques, critics of AOP complain, "How can we approach practice, teaching, and research from an AOP perspective if we do not have a consensus on the concept?" (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005, p. 438). Within the profession, people question – given the top down nature of helping

professions – “Is anti-oppressive social work ever truly anti-oppressive? (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005, p. 438), while simultaneously criticizing AOP for its lack of focus at a micro and individual level (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Some suggest that AOP does not go far enough in its focus on social structures arguing that, “It needs to inform itself of theories of power that go beyond individualistic models, and to struggle with the challenges that come from engaging with debates within the social sciences” (Humphries, 2004, p. 105). These challenges may contribute to “potential reluctance of practitioners to engage in anti-oppressive work” (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005, p. 438).

When describing AOP in detail, several authors summarize key features of the concepts (Clifford & Burke, 2001; Dominelli, 1996; Payne, 2014). Figure 6.3. lists key concepts, ideas, or principles offered to enhance understanding of AOP. Some of these principles are shared by OS and OT within the concepts of client-centred, cultural humility, and occupational justice. After looking at the key features and combining similar items, a list of AOP features to compare to OJ theory was created. Key features of AOP (framed to be inclusive of OS and OT) include:

1. Client/professional relationships include empowerment, working in partnership, and helping clients overcome barriers.
2. Professionals use reflexivity, critically analyzing practice relationships using this process to improve partnerships.
3. Focus on the link between individuals and society, paying attention to social divisions and their intersections.
4. Personal and organizational social histories are part of assessment processes.

5. Professionals should select interventions that minimize disempowering (and/or oppressive) interventions.
6. Social structures and structural origins of client problems are a focus including legal, formal, and informal social systems.
7. Power and social differentials in power within social situations are evaluated.
8. Social change is an important aspect of practice.

Most of these ideas or principles are also addressed within the selected articles. To consider the congruence between AOP, the literature reviewed in this CIS, and occupational justice, the AOP key features were compared to statements in OJ literature and the selected articles (see Appendix C). The first two ideas are part of key occupational therapy practice documents (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). OJ theorizing does not specifically examine the client-therapist relationship, but does discuss client-centred practice. The third idea focuses on social divisions. Like AOP, OJ discusses social justice and names social divisions and their impact on doing. The authors of the selected literature each found it important to name harm secondary to a social division. Hammell (2013) uses social work literature to name her desire to talk about social divisions and their relevance to occupational therapy. Kirsh et al., (2006) discuss how social divisions may operate in therapy relationships. In the fourth key idea, assessments are to be inclusive of social and organizational histories. As mentioned above, Townsend and Wilcock's (2019) occupational justice and health questionnaire has potential to name ways that social histories and social determinants of health are influencing desired occupations. In this CIS, naming historical context, or the influence of broader forces

over time on current occupation, was one of the most consistent commonalities among the selected studies. Disempowering interventions, the fifth idea, is mentioned in OJ theory, but not in significant detail. Yet, empowering client choice is a core idea in occupational therapy. While occupational therapists are less involved than social workers in acting on behalf of the state, they can (depending on the jurisdiction), assess eligibility for parking permits, request a person's driver's license be revoked, determine capability to make financial decisions, influence a person's living arrangements as well as other potentially disempowering interventions. This role as agents of the state was rarely discussed by the authors of the selected articles. Thus, many of the key ideas in AOP are meant to directly inform therapy interactions and are often discussed in more depth in the AOP literature than in the OJ literature and articles reviewed in this CIS.

The remaining key ideas relate to understanding the broader social environment in which professional interactions occur. The focus on structures (idea 6) is discussed in OJ, and understanding could be enhanced by accessing the AOP literature that includes social structures as a core focus of the model. Many of the selected articles have as their primary goal a desire to make visible the link between structures and occupation. The next idea, evaluating power and social differentials (idea 7) also moves beyond what is found in OJ. In OJ, the ability of one/or one group to affect another's doing is raised, and the OJ model names relationships between social rules and constraints and occupational justice. As discussed in Chapter 5, the authors whose work was reviewed in this CIS have thought deeply about the relationship between social structures, power, and occupation. Social change, the final key idea, is a core idea in AOP and advocated for in OJ and the selected articles. Yet, even among the authors of the selected articles who were often

thinking about structures and power, there was not significant preparation or action toward social changes.

Congruence between the key ideas in both AOP and OJ is documented in Appendix C. What is less well displayed, but equally important, is the difference in depth between the attention these topics have as “key ideas” in AOP and the attention given within OJ theorizing. There is greater depth provided within the AOP literature to appreciate the effects of social structures and power on people’s options and opportunities as well as greater emphasis on the professional role including social change. The authors of the literature reviewed in this CIS call attention to problematic professional behaviours and advocate greater attention to social structures and power, all of which is central to AOP. Of the eight “key ideas” discussed, several are well represented within understanding of client centred practice in occupational therapy. Other ideas are expressed more clearly in AOP than in OJ and differently from the oppression lens emerging from this thesis. Therefore, AOP theory has the capacity to bring greater understanding of social structures and power, but its overlap with established models and an insufficient focus on occupation could not replace existing OS or OT models. What is of value is the focus on oppression – advocated here through promoting adoption of an oppression lens – and the explicit attention to action for transforming oppression, inherent in the title “anti-oppressive practice”. These are elements OS and/or OT could valuably glean from AOP.

Figure 6.3. Key concepts in Anti-Oppressive Practice as articulated by selecting theorists

- Lena Dominelli
    - It counters the fragmentation this engenders through holistic approaches which link individuals to society; insists that the various forms of oppression which structure 'clients" lives be kept at the centre of the social work task; and demands that professionalism be redefined to empower users (1996, p. 172)
    - Holistic approaches with link individuals to society
    - The various forms of oppression which structure 'client's' lives be kept at the center of the social work task
    - Professionalism be defined to empower others.

- Derek Clifford & Beverley Burke: Anti-oppressive values
    - Thorough analysis of social difference, with particular attention to all the major and also other significant social divisions, and their intersection in individuals' lives;
    - Assessment of the implications of the mutual interaction between the worker and the service user(s), (reflexivity)
    - Evaluation of the differing kinds of power dimensions in social situations;
    - Assessment of the different effects and differing levels of interacting systems, including legal and formal organizational, and informal social systems
    - Investigation of the personal and organizational social histories which have led to and continue to mould actors' understanding and behavior (2001, p. 20)

- Derek Clifford & Beverly Burke: Anti-oppressive principles:
    - Principle 1. "Social Difference: gender, race, class hegemony and subjectivity are not optional aspects of moral theory but necessary elements of any account of morality". (Hekman, 1995, p.48) (as cited in 2005, p. 683)
    - Principle 2. Reflexivity "… asking the oppressed to reverse perspectives with the privileged … may itself be an injustice and an insult". (Young, 1997, p.48) (as cited in 2005, p. 684)
    - Principle 3. The Historical Dimension: "A feminist ethics has to resist… any attempt to abstract away from the relevance of a person's life experiences". (Koehn, 1998, p.161) (as cited in 2005, p. 684)
    - Principle 4. "Interacting Social Systems… what we need in order to understand specifically moral judgements or principles goes beyond specifically moral matters. We need to understand a social world." (Walker, 1998, p.203) (as cited in 2005, p. 685)
    - Principle 5. Power "… *all* significant differentials in power are critical hot spots in social-moral order". (Walker, 1998, p.218, our emphasis) (as cited in 2005, p. 685)

- Malcolm Payne: aims of anti-oppressive practice
    - overcoming barriers to clients achieving greater control of their lives
    - working in partnership with clients and including them in decision-making
    - minimal intervention, to reduce the impact of the oppressive and disempowering aspects of social work
    - critical reflection and reflexivity of our self to understand how our values and biographies affect our practice relationships. (2014, p. 393)

6.7. Reflecting on AOP and an Oppression Lens.

Oppression is a complicated and emotionally laden concept, which may feel too "radical" for many. Yet occupational scientists and occupational therapists, whose work is represented within this CIS, use terms related to oppression to give precision to their analysis of complex social interactions and environments that lead to doing or non-doing and subsequent reductions in health and well-being. Oppression doesn't hide the pain of being "barred, confined, restricted, segregated, prohibited, underdeveloped, disrupted, alienated, marginalized, exploited, excluded or otherwise restricted" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 77). Instead it begins there, defining experiences while seeking to understand root causes and change "what is".

With AOP, social workers consider oppression and address the question of how to reduce it, balancing a clinical and societal focus. Several of the ideas in AOP can provide additional depth to occupational scientists and occupational therapists naming interactions between structure, power, oppression, and occupation. It could offer a common theoretical base for authors who feature ideas about structure more centrally in their work than is typical in occupational justice. Anti-oppression names the goal within the term itself; movement away from oppression, providing directionality that the proposed oppression lens does not. The approach also includes some "oppression literacy" advancing comfort and familiarity with many of the terms found therein. After reflecting on AOP, oppression, client centred, and empowerment, I found myself summarizing AOP clinical applicability as a "seam", that can join people together. This seam brings together:

S: Social; seeing the social (structures and power) in everyday lives

E: Empowerment of clients in part through therapeutic partnerships

A: Action; recognizing and using potential change mechanisms

M: Minimizing professional disempowering behaviour.

This SEAM brings together several of the key AOP ideas that focus on practice.

An oppression lens, in contrast to AOP, focuses more on integrating concepts and terms into existing models. Unlike AOP, an oppression lens doesn't seek to integrate a practice approach, but assumes that understanding power, structures, and terms will lead to actions through use with other models and approaches. Within OS and/or OT, we could consider either an "anti-oppression" lens or an approach. With either of these, caution must be taken to ensure that they are used to address social concerns, not simply new language to describe token shifts such as the way the term "empowerment" was used in an article included in this CIS describing the choice of open ended instead of close ended interview questions. An anti-oppressive lens or approach could help occupational scientists and occupational therapists focus on non-harmful relationships and desired actions directed toward reducing or eliminating social harm.

If "oppression" is a term that repels and attracts (Frye, 1983), then "anti-oppression" might even be more divisive. With its roots in "radical social work", labeling AOP as radical, may encourage some to dismiss the model's content as "minor" or only shared by a limited number of people with extreme views. Radical is not a word I would use to describe the everyday situations and ideas shared in the selected literature reviewed in this CIS. The terms that we choose should be secondary to the desired action of encouraging the profession to further recognize the social in the occupational and, by

reducing oppression, increase opportunities for occupation. Moving forward with the concept oppression could involve developing an AOP model for OS and/or OT, an anti-oppressive lens, an oppression lens, or none or all of the above. What is the potential of these approaches to link and amplify existing conversations about the social, change, and oppression? Readiness is one concepts found within descriptions of change processes that can be considered when we engage with this question.

6.8. Readiness for Change

Readiness for change and/or change readiness is a concept used when seeking to understand and create change at both an individual and collective/organizational level. It has been conceptualized as a change message, stages, commitment, openness, capacity, and a multidimensional state (Stevens, 2013). Providing an example of the latter, Holt and colleagues (2007) define readiness as "a comprehensive attitude that is influenced simultaneously by the content, process, context, and individuals involved and collectively reflects the extent to which an individual or a collection of individuals is cognitively and emotionally inclined to accept, embrace, and adopt a particular plan" (p. 326).

If we consider readiness for change in relation to incorporating oppression into OS and OT approaches to justice and injustice, the studies included in this CIS and their recommendations might offer an indication of the profession's engagement in change processes. Within this group of articles, seven of them contained descriptions of actions they plan to take or described actions taken to improve an oppressive situation. These articles describe preparations such as collecting baseline student perceptions taken prior to implementing a curriculum change (Stewart et al., 2005), evaluating the metrics of an assessment as a first step to considering modifications (Jung et al., 2012) and preparing a

framework to increase consumer participation (Fortune et al., 2007). The authors of the selected articles focused on action use the PAR model (Townsend et al., 2000; Trentham & Neysmith, 2018) and education (Alden & Toth-Cohen 2015; Steed, 2014). It is perhaps worth noting that 3 of the 4 studies describing changes that are being undertaken are from the most recent time period and arguably all the changes are relatively minor.

Most of the remaining articles (N=16; the remaining two articles were focused on theory) contributed problem descriptions and ideas towards change. Two can be described as having a primary purpose of encouraging the profession to consider an unexamined problem. Rudman and Molke (2009) problematize messages about ageing in the dominant culture and promote the idea that they may impact occupational therapy relationships. In a second study, Beagan and Fredericks (2018) suggest that the profession's interpretation of a gender imbalance may be leading the profession to implement changes that can do more harm than good. The other articles add information, perspectives, and arguments to promote movement of our profession towards change, a kind of moral suasion. In this way, they may be considered to also be working to create allies within the profession who will work within professional settings to create change. Authors make visible the influence of an oppression on daily living and describe oppression in occupational therapy settings (Chacala et al., 2014; Crabtree, 2005; Howarth & Jones, 1999; Kirsh et al., 2006). Other papers recommend and demonstrate the usefulness of theoretical ideas that support change such as cognitive justice (Simaans, 2017), cultural safety (Hammell, 2013), disrupting universal ideas (Gerlach, 2008; Joubert, 2010), occupational analysis as a tool for justice (Angell, 2014), and occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015). These articles offer analysis, problem

identification, and consideration of causal factors. Therefore, it seems fair to say that some of the selected literature is focused on creating a climate for change and/or change commitment, "bringing readers along" in their understanding of the named oppression.

This brief consideration of the articles and their relationship to creating change suggests that more of the selected articles are focused on delineating problems and challenges rather than actively seeking solutions. Exploring the presence of action and/or encouragement toward change within the 25 selected articles suggests that strategies to enhance critical reflexivity, awareness, analysis, and contemplation may be increasingly common in the literature, but strategies for action may remain scant. If one also considers the low frequency with which the word oppression is used in the literature, one might conclude that the profession is not ready as a whole to embrace the social action focus of anti-oppressive practice. The group of occupational scientists and occupational therapists who are ready to act at a level beyond the individual to reduce situations of oppression may be larger in certain countries or be focused on particular areas of practice (i.e., challenging ageism). Scientists and therapists who do contribute to social efforts to reduce oppression appear to represent a smaller group within the field and the skills required to operate at a structural level may not be widespread. This consideration of the concept of change readiness along with the consideration of fit between OJ, the CIS results, Social OT, and the anti-oppressive practice model contributed to my decision to maintain the proposed oppression lens as outlined in this chapter without expanding to an anti-oppression focus.

Before this thesis draws to a close, it is important to return to the research questions. The next section summarizes ways that the understanding of oppression gained

in this thesis might be used to enhance OS and OT understanding of theoretical concepts. The concepts named in the research questions and discussed here include justice, rights, and power as well as client-centred, occupational engagement, occupational justice, and occupational injustices.

6.9. Oppression and Insights for Theory Development

This thesis began with a desire to explore theory and asked how understanding oppression can support theory development in OS and OT. Examining the literature guided by the research questions and CIS process gathered insights from authors who name oppressions. The analysis has provided ideas that can influence our understanding of concepts from within and beyond OS and OT. The results of this CIS and the fit with selected models suggests that there are potential benefits from integrating these concepts and terms more fully into OS and OT. This section brings together ideas from this thesis to suggest the concept oppression could positively influence understandings of injustice, rights, client centred practice, empowerment, occupation, and the relationship between theory and practice within OS and OT.

6.9.1. Injustice and rights.

Oppression theory challenges an idea shared by many Western justice theorists: that the goal of theory should be to describe an ideal vision of justice. Instead, it names inequity, seeking to understand it and create change. Oppression theory adds concepts and vocabulary that make it easier to "spot" unjust phenomena as they occur. Framed here as oppression literacy supporting an oppression lens, the terms contained within help explain the social harms that authors describe in situations from occupational therapy practice settings to difficult political environments. Additional research on how these

concepts fit within OS and/or OT may help readiness for engaging with oppression(s). For example, while a term like microaggressions fits within oppression, it could equally fit within social transformation or be a focus within a community development approach. In addition, an increased understanding of power provides a framework for understanding unequal relationships and ways that power imbalances can lead to harm. Oppression theory helps make the complexity of causes and reactions within unjust situations more visible. This lens also contributes an understanding of social limitations on occupation and collective individuals. If this knowledge base, together with critical reflexivity, becomes further integrated into OS and OT, it may make it easier for occupational scientists and occupational therapists to identify oppressive behaviour or situations, propose actions, and work to become allies.

With the influence of an oppression lens on occupational justice theory, the separation of individual and collective as well as the distinction between occupational deprivation and occupational marginalization are challenged. The emphasis on empowering without a similar emphasis on agency is also problematic. In addition, Young's faces of oppression suggest that exploitation and changed patterns of occupation based on threats of violence may be underrepresented within the occupational justice model. Collins' model of power and Young's ideas about cultural imperialism can help occupational scientists and occupational therapists to understand and name how power operates within OJ's "structural factors" and everyday interactions. Naming racism and other "isms" as contextual factors emphasizes social responses rather than human difference, as well as the impact of social responses rather than their intent, as primary in situations of occupational injustice.

Rights are suggested within the OS and OT literature as an alternative to OJ. Oppression theory and theorists expose some of the challenges behind rights as a primary focus without a broader theory base. Rights offer clear guidelines and agreed upon ideas about what people can and should expect from their society. This codified approach has led to significant improvements in quality of life. Occupational therapists can and do advocate for rights to enable occupation. However, the understanding of rights and oppression theory gained in this thesis leads me to suggest that encouraging the profession to use rights without also supporting a broader theory base (i.e., justice and oppression) could be problematic. When rights-based approaches are adopted, people tend to focus on meeting the rights and entitlements of individuals, rather than attending to social relations of power that shape collective access to those entitlements. Rights based approaches tend to leave social relations of power intact, failing to take up actual differences in power and opportunity. As a powerful tool, rights should remain connected to theory because both oppression and justice theory provide understandings that help people articulate the limits of rights. Rights without critical thinking can (and has) led to rights dialogue that advances the rights of one group while creating or ignoring harm for other people.

6.9.2. Client centred, and empowerment.

Client centred practice was developed to replace and resist more paternalistic styles of interaction. Oppression theory can encourage us to consider when biases and privilege complicate this relationship. Oppression theory moves critical reflexivity and cultural humility from "nice to do" to a core component of client centred practice. People engaged in client centred practice can also benefit from understanding how it is

complicated by social power such as hegemony. While supporting client choice is a key part of being client centred, choices are shaped by the messages in our culture. An understanding of hegemony can remind therapists that by taking time to challenge dominant societal messages (e.g., the importance of being independent), clients may develop an awareness that they have a wider range of choices. In addition, an oppression lens might help occupational scientists and occupational therapists discuss clinical relationships as occurring between two (or more) collective individuals. Oppression theory can push us towards more "radical" power sharing and complicate token "empowerment". The authors of the reviewed literature encourage us to identify and respond to barriers that reduce client centredness, including bias inherent in tools, ideas about ideal occupation, and biased thoughts and perceptions. They include reflecting on power as well as recognizing and responding to power differentials as part of client centred care. An oppression lens requires attention to "our position of privilege and power, and the ways in which this shapes our attitudes to, and interactions with, clients" (Nelson, 2007, p. 252).

Empowerment is a concept well developed in OT literature and oppression theory aligns with Townsend and others' (2000) reminder that empowerment involves change in both personal experiences of power and structural power. To realize our potential to empower, I propose that clinicians should be familiar with one or more models of power to enable them to consider the dynamics within an empowering relationship and consider whether actions are having their intended effect. This understanding might cause occupational scientists and occupational therapists to hesitate before using empowerment

to describe acts with minimal shifts in power. It may also help us to recognize how power affects the research process from question generation through interpretation.

Using Collins' model of power may help occupational scientists and occupational therapists to discuss matrices of power and their effect on empowerment in and beyond therapy situations. With this understanding, we can consider how empowerment in therapeutic relationships is affected by intersectional power. Consider, for example, the power dynamics at play when an Indigenous woman therapist is working with a white, upper class male client. This more complex view of empowerment may also help us consider not only clinical and research dynamics but also empowerment and the profession within broader health care and social power structures. Collins also challenges the use of the word empowerment without a corresponding discussion of agency. The examples in the selected articles raise the question of whether the term agency should be used more often alongside empowerment or enablement to emphasize the skills and abilities people bring to successfully making changes without the need for a "helper". We need to recognize that sometimes instead of helping, we need to take up less "room" so that people can use their own agency.

6.9.3. Understanding occupation, pluralistic epistemology, and integrating action.

Oppression theory highlights some complexity in understanding engagement in occupation. In this thesis I have highlighted how occupation can be "a site of both agency and reproduction of the social order" (Angell, 2014, p. 109), can shift meaning when it includes oppression (Beagan & Etowa, 2009), can be a resistive act (Chacala et al., 2014; Ramugondo 2015) and can include collective occupation (Simaan, 2019; Trentham &

Neysmith, 2018). Using an oppression lens can complicate our understanding of how or why some occupations are not valued or are unsanctioned. Knowledge of the underlying oppression theory allows researchers and therapists to better appreciate related contributions within OS and OT such as occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015), helping to integrate these ideas into our understanding of occupation.

Oppression theorists contribute an epistemological openness and challenge separation of theory and actions. This work provides a way for discussing how some ways of knowing have become dominant over others so that non-dominant epistemologies become "alternate" and can be more easily dismissed. Santos (2007) uses the term cognitive justice to describe a need for "recognition of the existence of a plurality of knowledges beyond scientific knowledge" (p. 28) and Simaans (2017) asserts that "there will be no global social justice – including occupational justice – without cognitive justice" (p. 521). Employing an oppression lens may make occupational scientists and occupational therapists more attentive to epistemological diversity and therefore more able to hear diverse ideas even when they don't fit with our understanding of how the world works.

Oppression theory also problematizes the separation and duality of theory and action and the results of this CIS suggest efforts to increase a focus on action in work addressing one or more oppressions could be helpful. For theorists who focus on oppression, once situations are identified as morally wrong, reflecting, and taking action to reduce oppression (praxis) should always follow. When examining the selected articles, greater attention to theory was found in articles describing problems related to oppression than in articles describing actions to reduce the effects of oppression. This

difference may be attributable to publishing constraints or the state of general understanding at the time of publication. Perhaps as a profession we should seek to make the impact of contemplative work on future action explicit, examining the uptake of recommendations made within articles and considering how the profession can create a greater link between this work and action. PAR was used by some authors of the selected articles to effectively integrate theory and action in community settings. Taking time to listen so that occupational challenges are framed by the people experiencing them is also an important step towards future change. When proposing change, theoretical grounding can help inform decision making about the kinds of actions and processes that lead to more sustainable solutions.

As this is a theoretical thesis, the importance of a close link between theory and action complicates its very existence. In response, I suggest that while this work has made me more attentive to the need to link theory and action, I could not have understood the theory in this depth within the context of an action-oriented thesis. While the flaws of thinking without action are well noted in oppression literature, so is the challenge of working with "allies" who act without enough appreciation of the complex power and social dynamics within situations they hope to improve. Taking time to understand oppression and oppression theory before acting can help those of us in OS and OT be more effective practitioners, researchers, and allies.

6.10. Conclusion

Oppression theory has provided insights that have the potential to impact OS and OT. It fits within our growing body of literature concerned with understanding and reducing inequity and transformative actions so that people can engage in meaningful

occupation. Oppression theory is a body of literature with a non-Western centre that has much to teach. It fits with existing models of occupational justice and helps us recognize complex social challenges, encouraging the profession to move towards a vibrant coexistence between theory and action. When accompanied by models that enhance understanding of structures and power, we can move past problems at the individual level, to see patterns in the ways that the social is influencing occupations. While an oppression lens is proposed, the concepts, terms, and ideas can be used without reference to oppression to help move the profession towards change. When occupational scientists or occupational therapists identify situations that are morally wrong, this theoretical grounding will help identify root causes, as well as inform decision making about the kinds of actions and processes that lead to more sustained change.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis began with queries about the word oppression and a desire to better understand when, where, and why it is used to name injustice. The theoretical topic allowed for a more in-depth conceptual focus and the resulting CIS review examined engagement with these concepts within OS and OT. This chapter provides a summary of the thesis before proposing future directions.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed occupational justice and its critiques including limited depth in theoretical foundations, lack of conceptual clarity, and over reliance on Western philosophical history. Subsequently, as a first step to responding to these critiques, the work of selected philosophers from ancient Greece to Rawls' justice of fairness was reviewed. More recent theorists both incorporate and challenge this earlier work. Young disputes some of Rawls' ideas about justice proposing a justice of difference because equal distribution of resources often provides some people with a lower quality of life than others. Sen also considers equal distribution of resources an inadequate measure of justice and emphasizes that a just society must instead consider what people are able to "do and to be". Notions of human rights support justice efforts and have become powerful tools to ensure human dignity. Documents delineating rights include those focused on rights of specific groups of people (e.g., rights of people with disabilities, rights of children). Rights name a society's responsibilities to its citizens and are often, but not always, used to promote justice.

I then turned in Chapter 3 to explore the term oppression and what it can contribute to understandings of justice and rights. Townsend and Wilcock have encouraged

occupational scientists and occupational therapists to pay attention to the ways in which structures and context contribute to what people can do, and the resulting influence that this doing and/or non-doing has on health. Oppression, with its focus on harm to one social group while providing benefits to another, emphasizes the effect of power on relations. This concept makes visible systemic and structural forces in which power relations operate. Both historical power structures and the way that power operates in contemporary society (examined in part through Collins' model) influence everyday occupation. This chapter introduces concepts such as hegemony, the work of theorists such as Foucault and Fanon, and terminology not found in the selected justice literature, such as internalization, and microaggressions. Young's five faces of oppression make visible the effects of oppression and intersectionality names the non-additive experience of living with oppression secondary to two or more personal characteristics. Action against oppression is part of oppression theory, underscoring the idea that when morally wrong acts are identified, efforts towards improvement should follow. Consciousness raising, resistance, and the support of allies are all named as efforts supporting change. The concept of oppression has been used in OS and OT literature to identify harms that happen to groups, to discuss its influence on occupational engagement, to encourage the profession to challenge oppression, and to advocate action to reduce injustice.

With this background in place, a critical interpretive synthesis of selected occupational therapy and occupational science literature was conducted, seeking to answer the central research question: How might an exploration of the concept of oppression within OS and OT literature shape theory development in occupational science and occupational therapy? Application of the search strategy led to the selection

of 25 articles, across three time periods, that use a word for an oppression (racism, sexism etc.). The data collection tool gathered information about how oppression, occupational justice, OS concepts, and OT concepts appeared in the articles as well as recommendations the articles shared. After this data was analyzed, three additional articles were chosen and used to determine that saturation of the major themes had occurred.

This group of articles described situations involving oppression, enhanced understanding of an aspect of oppression, named OS and/or OT involvement, and sought to reduce occurrences of oppression. Across these articles reference to historical context and use of the terms invisibility, internalization, consciousness, and privilege were noted. Power was named and incorporated into methodological decisions. Authors also discussed the influence power has on therapeutic relationships and occupational performance. The articles documented ways that people respond to oppression occupationally, at times choosing not to act while in other situations responding to reduce harm, and/or respond with the hopes of creating change in the micro or macro environment.

The authors of the articles used within this CIS frequently name values of the profession, add nuance to client centred care, and consider oppression and its relationship with daily occupation. Occupational justice and injustice were named by some authors, but OJ terms had limited use within this group of articles. Authors did suggest potential terms that would add to our ability to discuss injustice including thresholds and consciousness. Their recommendations to the profession included a focus on enhancing

therapeutic relationships, staying open to diverse epistemologies, attending to forces that shape occupation, and ongoing attention to theory.

With the insights from this CIS, in Chapter 6, I selected four models/approaches and analyzed their fit with the selected articles. This exploration found convergence between occupational justice and the articles reviewed, and suggested greater emphasis on collectivity, while cautioning the profession against overuse of empowerment and underuse of agency. Social OT also shares similarities with the CIS results particularly the inseparability of the individual and the collective as well as the use of focused social vocabulary that can support occupational engagement. Young's five faces of oppression were each represented within the selected articles suggesting this model can be help label the kinds of problematic situations and occupational challenges being researched and discussed within OS and OT. The final model, Collins' domains of power, fit well with the way that authors discussed power within the articles reviewed. It has the potential to complement discussions of power by encouraging occupational scientists and occupational therapists who address power, to consider all four domains identified by Collins.

With the insights gained from the CIS and the models, the value of an oppression lens and oppression literacy was proposed to enhance current work around occupational justice and social transformation. This occupational lens is a way to bring interdisciplinary social concepts more centrally into OS and OT as well as support diverse professional efforts to be "socially and politically engaged" (Rudman, 2014, p. 373), a thrust that seems to motivate many within OS and OT. Among other possible benefits, an oppression lens may encourage attention to the internalization of oppression,

micro-level enactments of oppression, help clarify how and when "non-doing" is problematic, and decenter dominant theoretical traditions. The oppression lens shares similarities with the anti-oppressive practice approach used in social work, as explored in Chapter 6. What is of value is the focus on oppression – advocated here through promoting adoption of an oppression lens – and the explicit attention to action for transforming oppression.

When considering moving forward with the concept of oppression, the idea of change readiness is emphasized. Suggesting change and enacting change are complicated processes as occupational therapists are well aware. Based on the literature explored within the CIS, it appears OS and OT remain more focused on analysis and understanding, and less focused on action, and making change. With this in mind, potential benefits of integrating oppression theory into OS and OT include integrating concepts and vocabulary to help notice, label, and respond to unjust phenomenon, increasing understanding of concepts that can help us become effective allies and/or offer support to allies, incorporating Collins' understanding of power in our understanding of occupational engagement, bringing attention to empowerment and its limitations, reimaging client centredness, creating an epistemological "openness", and increasing attention to praxis.

7.1. Future Directions: Wishes for Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy

Reflecting on this thesis led me to several wishes for the profession. While these could be framed as recommendations, wishes contain an affective component of desire or longing for something to come to fruition. It seems appropriate to focus on wishes, making hopefulness explicit and simultaneously pushing back against the separation of

emotion and cognition within traditional research. While popular narratives have suggested that asking for three wishes is appropriate, I have six wishes for OS and OT.

1) Wish one: That power and social structure have greater prominence in OS and OT offering increased depth with which to discuss power and social.

    The influence of power and structure needs more prominence in thinking within OS and OT about occupation and enabling occupation. Power can be featured more strongly in social models and discourse. In addition, attention to the combined individual and collective, a pluralistic approach to epistemology, critical reflexivity, and reconsidering uses of the term empowerment can all contribute to an improved focus on interactions between structures and everyday doing. We can pay more attention to how limits and constraints in our power compared to other professionals and decision makers limits our ability to act and advance goals. While doing so, we can help each other cope with the systemic constraints that limit the recognition of OT contributions, as well as take advantage of opportunities for resistance and agency.

2) Wish two: That key concepts from oppression theory be used more frequently within Western OS and Western OT and to name ways that power and structure influence occupation.

    Increasing the profession's "social vocabulary" and/or oppression literacy will help occupational scientists and occupational therapists discern and respond to social constraints on occupation including microaggressions, invisibility, internalization, consciousness, resistance, and privilege. The term collective individual can be considered for wider use, as well as the inclusion of historical

events/background when discussing the social environment. Attention to oppression literacy will help promote discussions across professional groups and recognition of an oppression lens, whether or not the term oppression is included. There are additional theoretical directions that can be explored including further consideration of how occupation affects oppression, and how the occupations of "bystanders" maintain oppressive social conditions within health care.

3) Wish three: That occupational scientists and occupational therapists further develop models or theories that make visible the complexities that arise as occupational possibilities/potential become chosen occupational engagement.

   Using the findings of this CIS, I suggest that contributions from oppression theory have not been fully integrated into theorizing around OJ, suggesting that future work could make these concepts more visible. Some theorists from the global South are already offering approaches that share a theoretical foundation with this oppression lens and have expertise to support further conceptual integration. Collins' model of power is recommended as a model that could benefit professional understanding of power. The OJ model, "An exploratory theory of occupational justice" (Christiansen & Townsend, 2016 as cited in Townsend & Wilcock, 2019) could potentially be modified to include ideas such as the collective individual, agency, allies, power imbalances, and plural epistemologies. Alternatively, perhaps the concepts central to an oppression lens can form the basis of an occupation centred model. Theoretical efforts should be

mindful of supporting knowledge transfer and creating tangible connections between theory and practice.

4) Wish four: That scholars and practitioners consistently separate the experience of living with a difference based on an identity characteristic and the experience of living with society's reaction to that person or group secondary to that characteristic.

   The authors of the articles in this CIS acknowledge the effort required by people to work against oppression. Therapists and researchers should feel able to name this effort during clinical interactions. For example, in an assessment, the question "how does your chronic illness affect your daily activities?" could be followed by "how do people's reactions to you, (as an older person, or person living with limited mobility) affect your day?" We can name "isms" and respond to their influence on occupation. When our efforts are deemed helpful by others, we may be recognized as allies.

5) Wish five: A robust, critical, notion of client centred that fully integrates critical reflexivity and is capable of integrating an oppression lens.

   Client centred care has been promoted in Canada since before CAOT began work to create client centred guidelines in 1979 (Townsend, Brintnell & Staisey, 1990). Perhaps adopting an oppression lens can encourage our vision of client centred occupational therapy to continue to broaden. Client centred practice can embrace concepts found in oppression literacy, helping us to more fully understand social contexts that "co-construct negative experiences for clients" (Hines, 2012, p. 32). This knowledge can help limit the negative influences of power on therapeutic

relationships. We can use the concept of hegemony or cultural imperialism to reflect upon the norms that are influencing the goals of the client and the therapist, based on cultural ideas about what is "broken" and/or needs "fixing". As we form collaborations with occupational therapists, coworkers, and clients, informed consistently by interrogation of how power is operating, opportunities to create change and become allies increase.

6) Wish six: An umbrella term that people who are incorporating the effects of structures and power use to create a searchable (but plural) body of literature.

   Occupational scientists and occupational therapists use many terms to discuss "socially and politically engaged". The social, the transformational, work addressing racism or ageism etc. is siloed, limiting the potential for theoretical development that intersects across social categories of difference.

   There are many benefits to the pluralistic approach to this area, but lack of a common search term makes it difficult to bring together articles that share this common goal. Three studies in this CIS can illustrate this problem. While all focused on "the social", there is no common search term. As article key words, Bailliard (2013) selected "Policy, Justice, Migration, Occupational deprivation, Occupational imbalance" (p. 342), Ramugondo (2015) selected "Post-colonial theory, Coloniality, Oppression, Philosophy of liberation, Politics of human occupations" (p. 488) while Gerlach (2008) chose "First Nations, children, family, occupational therapy practice" as keywords. Collective efforts to promote "socially and politically engaged" will be assisted by an umbrella term the profession is willing to use. While oppression is specific enough to link many

articles, justice, social justice, social transformation, transformative scholarship, critical occupational science, occupational justice, politics of human occupation are also potential options. The use of a common term that can be accepted globally is pragmatically of greater importance than the particular term selected.

7.2. Concluding thoughts

This thesis explores the concept of oppression and its use in the selected studies before suggesting the benefits of adopting an oppression lens in research and practice. As OS and OT continue to grow the profession's ability to promote social and occupational justice, the concept oppression can add to this work. An oppression lens may enhance the profession's ability to hear when others call out oppressive actions, the ability to identify causes of injustice, the ability to consider one's role in maintaining oppression, and the ability to enact our potential to reduce oppression. Collaborations within teams, with clients, and across disciplines and professions will all assist efforts to use an oppression lens. When we recognize and respond to structures and power, let us remember to ask "How well are we doing, together?"[9]

I began this thesis by imagining a justice dinner, with places set for justice, injustice, rights, deprivation, and marginalization. The thesis asked what the concept of oppression could add to the discussion. After examining oppression and its potential contributions to OS and OT, I wouldn't want to discuss justice or rights without this understanding. Let's find oppression a seat at the "OJ dinner", embrace potential new directions, and see where the conversation leads.

[9] translation of ubuntu (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015).

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Appendix A

Selected Articles for Inclusion in the CIS

1998-2005	2006-2012	2013-2019
Ableism		
Townsend, E., Birch, D. E., Langley, J., & Langille, L. (2000). Participatory research in a mental health clubhouse. *Occupational Therapy Journal of Research,* 20(1), 18–44.		Chacala, A., Mccormack, C., Collins, B. & Beagan, B. (2014) "My view that disability is okay sometimes clashes": experiences of two disabled occupational therapists*, Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 21(2), 107-115
Ageism		
Stewart, J.J., Giles, L., Paterson, J.E., Butler, S.J. (2005). Knowledge New Zealand students entering health professional degrees. *Physical and Occupational Therapy in Geriatrics* 23(4), 25-36	Rudman, D.L., & Molke, D. (2009). Forever productive: the discursive shaping of later life workers in contemporary Canadian newspapers. *Work*, 32(4), 377–389.	Alden, J., & Toth-Cohen, S. (2015). Impact of an educational module on occupational therapists' use of elderspeak and attitudes toward older adults. *Physical & Occupational Therapy in Geriatrics*, 33(1), 1–16.
		Trentham, B.L., Neysmith, S.M. (2018). Exercising senior citizenship in an ageist society through participatory action research: A critical occupational perspective. *Journal of Occupational Science,* 25(2), 174-190.
Colonialism		
	Gerlach, A. (2008). "Circle of caring": A First Nations worldview of child rearing. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 75(1), 18–25.	Simaan, J. (2017). Olive growing in Palestine: A decolonial ethnographic study of collective daily-forms-of-resistance. *Journal of Occupational Science, 24*(4), 510-523.
Heterosexism		
	Bergan-Gander, R., & von Kürthy, H. (2006). Sexual orientation and occupation: Gay men and women's lived experiences of occupational participation. The *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 69(9), 402–408.	

1998-2005	2006-2012	2013-2019
Racism		
Howarth, A., & Jones, D. (1999). Transcultural occupational therapy in the United Kingdom: Concepts and research. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 62(10), 451–458.	Beagan, B. L., & Etowa, J. (2009). The impact of everyday racism on the occupations of African Canadian women. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 76(4), 285–293.	Nicholls, L., Elliot, M. L. (2019). In the shadow of occupation: Racism, shame and grief. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 26, 354-365.
	Pyatak, E., & Muccitelli, L. (2011). Rap music as resistive occupation: Constructions of Black American identity and culture for performers and their audiences. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 18(1), 48–61.	Steed, R. (2014). The effects of an instructional intervention on racial attitude formation in occupational therapy students. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 25(4), 403–409.
		Bailliard, A. (2013). Laying low: Fear and injustice for Latino migrants to Smalltown, USA. *Journal of Occupational Science, 20*(4), 342-356.
Sexism		
Crabtree, S. A. (2005). Malaysian women service users and the economics of the psychiatric asylum system. *Feminism & Psychology*, 15(1), 87–97.	Jong, A. M., van Nes, F. A., & Lindeboom, R. (2012). The Dutch Activity Card Sort institutional version was reproducible, but biased against women. *Disability and Rehabilitation: An International, Multidisciplinary Journal*, 34(18), 1550–1555.	Beagan, B. L., Fredericks, E. What about the men? Gender parity in occupational therapy: Qu'en est-il des hommes? La parité hommes-femmes en ergothérapie (2018) *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 85 (2), pp. 137-145.
Intersectional		
	Fortune, T., Maguire, N., & Carr, L. (2007). Older consumers' participation in the planning and delivery of mental health care: a collaborative service development project. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 54(1), 70–74.	Hammell, K. R. W. (2013). Occupation, well-being, and culture: Theory and cultural humility / Occupation, bien-être et culture : la théorie et l'humilité culturelle. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 80(4), 224–234.

1998-2005	2006-2012	2013-2019
Oppression (oppress*)		
Wicks A. (2001). Comment. Occupational potential: a topic worthy of exploration. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 8(3), 32–35.	Kirsh, B., Trentham, B., & Cole, S. (2006). Diversity in occupational therapy: Experiences of consumers who identify themselves as minority group members. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 53(4), 302–313.	Angell, A. M. (2014). Occupation-centered analysis of social difference: Contributions to a socially responsive occupational science. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 21(2), 104–116.
	Joubert, R. (2010). Exploring the history of occupational therapy's development in South Africa to reveal the flaws in our knowledge base. *South African Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 40(3), 21–26.	Ramugondo, E. L. (2015). Occupational consciousness. *Journal of Occupational Science,* 22(4), 488–501.
Articles used to assess saturation		
Nelson, A. (2007). Seeing white: A critical exploration of occupational therapy with Indigenous Australian people. *Occupational Therapy International, 14*(4), 237-255.	Emery-Whittington, I., & Te Maro, B. (2018). Decolonising occupation: Causing social change to help our ancestors rest and our descendants thrive. *New Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy, 65*(1), 12-19.	Boland, L., & Cunningham, M. (2019). Homelessness: Critical reflections and observations from an occupational perspective. *Journal of Occupational Science, 26*(2), 308-315.

Appendix B

CIS Initial Data Collection Tool

Item	Test article
Basics	(Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015) Alden, J., & Toth-Cohen, S. (2015). Impact of an educational module on Occupational Therapists' use of elderspeak and attitudes toward older adults. *Physical & Occupational Therapy in Geriatrics, 33*(1), 1-16.
What keyword was identified by the database	Ageism
What search term keywords are in the title, abstract and keywords listed by the author in the paper.	None
In which country was the article written?	USA
What research method or style of article is this? (Qualitative, quantitative, literature review, opinion piece etc.)	Quantitative (Survey)
Analysis of the "whole"	
What is the main thesis or goal of the article?	This article provides results of a program designed to reduce the use of elderspeak (identified as an ageist behavior) by OTs. Following an education session and online modules, OTs were scored pre/post on the RASD and Elderspeak Measurement Tool. Lower post RASD scores may indicate insight gained in their attitudes toward older adults. Slight improvements on the EMT noted (with caveats for small data set).
What is the story in this article?	Ageism can be a problem in care settings with older adults even when therapists think that they have positive attitudes towards aging and older adults. The article labels elderspeak as harmful and part of ageism. Training modules can reduce oppression both by reducing occurrences by participants and because they become more effective bystanders and mentor others when they hear elderspeak. It may be more important to educate younger clinicians. "How therapists and other HCPs communicate with older persons is another important way that ageist attitudes can affect clinical interactions and outcomes" (p. 2).
How are oppression/isms used with this paper's context?	This paper labels a behavior as oppressive/ageist and provides training that focuses on its elimination.

Item	Test article
	Studies show HCP have ageist views. “Rosowky (1995) suggests that therapists may anticipate poor prognosis and diminished gains from therapy for older persons because their expectations are not as high for older persons as for younger ones.” (p.2). “Also, many therapists place high values on their own conceptions of ‘independence’ and ‘rehab’ that may be different from older persons’ views.” (p. 2). “Therapists may also have less respect for the roles that older adults assume, presuming those roles have less significance than roles assumed by younger persons (Woodrow,1998).” (p.2). “Elderspeak is a form of communication that infantilizes older persons and has a negative impact upon an elder’s self-respect and sense of identity (Baillie,2007; Baillie, 2008; Davies, 2000; Matiti & Trorey, 2008; Webster & Bryan, 2009).” (p. 2).
Analysis of situation of oppression:	
Who is identified as oppressed?	Older adults (when seen by OTs)
Who or what is seen as causal to the oppression?	Ageist attitudes in society reflected in elderspeak Younger vs older clinicians “…participants felt that there was a generational divide within their group… This generational gap has been identified in the literature… Younger clinicians may be more likely to have ageist views and may need additional educational and learning opportunities” (p. 11).
Any other comments about subject and object, and power.	
What suggestions are made to reduce oppression? (macro/micro)	“…they [study participants] also reported an increased confidence in correcting elderspeak and educating colleagues not to use elderspeak” (p. 9). “Future research might possibly build upon these initial strategies to create more robust ways of implementing system-wide change.” (p. 12). Perhaps more training a) longer modules and b) facility specific Education on ageism in entry level OT programs
Other comments about oppression	“One assumption that may potentially be made from the data is that persons who perceive themselves to have very positive views toward older persons may still use elderspeak, an ageist behavior, when working with older clients. This may be due to many persons perceiving

Item	Test article
	elderspeak as a positive and caring way to speak with older persons." (p. 12).
References to references, antecedents, and consequences (from Rodgers)	
Oppression language/Oppression theory use:	
Which "search term" words (or ideas) appear in the article?	Ageism Activities included a culturally layered case study.
Does the situation in the article contain all 4 parts of Cudd's definition? Which ones remain unclear? Harm Group Benefit Coercion/violence (direct or indirect) (material or psychological)	Elderspeak Harm-yes (leads to decreased self esteem, depression and dependent behavior) (Williams, Kemper, & Hummert, 2004) and others. Group-yes Benefit-Not addressed Coercion-Not addressed
How does the situation(s) described in the article fit with Young's faces of oppression?	Marginalization "Negative effects on physical health may result from reinforcing ideas of dependency and social isolation, which in turn may contribute to functional decline (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986)." (p. 3). Powerlessness decreased self esteem, depression and dependent behavior
List any surrogate terms (very similar or identical meaning)	
List any close or related terms used.	"Participants may have demonstrated **positive ageist** attitudes toward older persons (e.g., "older ladies are very generous" and after participating in the educational module, they may have gained a more realistic understanding of their views toward older adults." (p. 10).
List any concepts also found in oppression theory literature.	
Do the authors use an oppression theorist to support their arguments/in literature reviews? Which ones?	
OJ terminology	
List OJ terms found in the article.	None
Examine/extract use if developed or note that term is used but not developed.	

Item	Test article
Core OT concepts	
Does/How does the article comment on enabling, client centred, empowering, or role of OT	Role of OT: During the discussion, participants reported that they would begin to look at their patients with a more open mind, ask more questions, and stop assuming that the patients are not very active. Some participant made comments that suggested they held different expectations for themselves than for their clients. This is an important shift in perspective, as when HCPs focus on the continual physical and cognitive decline of their clients, their intervention tends to lean toward disease management rather than prevention (Nelson,2005). Thus, a focus on the continual physical and cognitive decline of their clients could also cause therapists to focus more on basic activities of daily living and foster a disregard for meaningful instrumental activities of daily living (p. 11).
Does/How does the author link comments about oppression and comments about the profession?	
Extension	
Does/How does the article talk about the relationship between an individual and the environment.	Defining Independence: "Also, many therapists place high values on their own conceptions of 'independence' and 'rehab' that may be different from older persons' views. This may be problematic, especially because older persons tend to see independence within a context of interdependence (Finlay, 2001; Padilla, Byers, Connon, & Lohman, 2011). Thus, older persons may not achieve goals set by therapists, which then reinforces ageist thoughts held by therapists (Klein & Liu, 2010). Additionally, therapists may overlook that older persons may view independence in terms of their ability to function independently within a social network (p. 2). Can't separate therapists and training from complex social environment: However, it can be difficult to interpret the impact of this type of educational module, since the topic is complex and stems from a complex societal context (p. 12).
Does the article address assumptions? Knowledge?	

Appendix C

Congruence between AOP, OJ and CIS Articles

AOP key features	Similar idea from OJ theory (Stadnyk et al., 2010; Townsend & Wilcock 2019)	Example from CIS article that shows it's occurring or not occurring in OS and OT
1. Client/professional relationship includes empowerment, working in partnership and helping clients overcome barriers	"human empowerment is achieved or not through occupation, that empowerment is highly dependent on the power relations that shape the context for occupational engagement" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 464). "enablement of individual and communal occupational needs, strengths and potential" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 335).	"A project related to enabling the participation of older people within a mental health service, beyond the mere receipt of services, was felt to possess a 'goodness of fit' with philosophical principles of empowerment, often espoused by the occupational therapy profession." (Fortune et al., 2007, p. 72). "All PAR participants brought a strong social justice value perspective to their work, sharing a belief that the status quo does not serve the needs of all senior citizens and must be changed." (Trentham et al., 2018, p. 179).
2. Professionals use reflexivity, critically analyzing practice relationships using this process to improve partnerships	*There is little focus within this model to practice relationships, however this content is found in OS or OT, particularly within cultural humility.*	"This analysis demonstrates why it is vital for researchers, work practitioners and health care professionals to critically reflect on the ways they have come to understand 'later life workers' and how this influences the questions they ask…" (Rudman & Molke, 2010, p. 387). "It is suggested that approaching both theory and practice from a stance of cultural humility will enhance the relevance and inclusiveness of both." (Hammell, 2013, p. 231).

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3. Focus on the link between individuals and society, paying attention to social divisions and their intersections	"[SJ] is assessed for differences according to wealth and social privilege, racial and gender equality…" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 645). The framework of occupational justice, contextual factors name: Age, Gender, Ethnicity. (Stadnyk et al., 2010). OJ examines "the effects of societal pressure and governance that limits options "in 'doing, being, belonging and becoming that can affect health and well-being" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 464).	"We live in an unequal world structured along the relational divisions of class, race, gender, sexuality and other social divisions (Pease, 2010, p. 3)". (Hammell, 2013, p. 225) (Pease is a professor of social work) The issue of who the therapist is, how he or she locates him/herself socially, and whether he or she is 'inside' or 'outside' the client's minority group appears to have an impact on the process of occupational therapy. (Kirsh et al., 2006, p. 310). "In the New directions for Victoria's mental health services: The next five years (Metropolitan Health and Aged Care Services Division, Department of Human Services, 2002) one of the five principles includes: The Government is strongly committed to consumer and carer participation in the development and review of mental health services…(p. 13)" (Fortune et al., 2007, p. 70).
4. Personal and organizational social histories are part of assessment processes	OJ considers the influence of "contextual factors" named in the framework of occupational justice as "Personal, historical, and spatial contexts" (Stadnyk et al., 2010).	"Understanding the historical context that shaped the experience of Black Americans and the development of rap music is important to analyzing it as a resistive occupation" (Pyatak & Muccitelli, p. 49).

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5. Select interventions that minimize disempowering (and/or oppressive) interventions	"In enabling occupational justice, rehabilitation practitioners would watch for individuals who have experienced long-term discrimination on the basis of disability or old age." (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019, p. 654) Stadnyk et al., (2010) include a case study in which a client is in long term care, because the resources are not sufficient for her to live independently.	"Overall, our findings suggested that a brief educational module, such as this pilot project, may help promote awareness of elderspeak at the workplace and insight into participants' own attitudes toward older adults, including ageism." (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015, p. 12)
6. Social structures and structural origins of client problems are a focus including legal, formal, and informal social systems	"[OJ] exposes the everyday individual, group and population experiences within broad social conditions and structures that shape options for and against justice in the lives of people in different cultures around the world." (Townsend & Wilcock, 2019 p. 646)	"A failure to critique clinical encounters with First Nations people in relation to their sociopolitical context risks perpetuating a legacy of colonialism" (Gerlach, 2008, p. 24)

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7. Power and social differentials in power within social situations is evaluated	[*There is little focus within the OJ model on considering power differentials, other than within the client/therapist relationship*] "Governments, agencies, businesses or organizations regulate what a population can and cannot do beyond the interpersonal decisions one makes in private life." (Stadnyk et al., 2010 p. 332)	"As a product of the post-modem era, occupational science has evolved during a time in which there is raised consciousness about power relations, privilege and marginalisation, domination and subordination (Giroux, 1988)" (Wicks, 2001) "There has been little effort within the occupational therapy profession to investigate critically how occupational therapy as a profession reinforces, is shaped by, and responds to social class (Beagan, 2007)." (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019, p228) "Entrenched social structures confer unequal access to opportunities, power, and resources for those in different social positions; thus positioning is an issue not just of cultural values and assumptions but of occupational opportunities, privilege, and power." (Hammell, 2013, p. 226)
8. Social change as an important aspect of practice	Townsend and Wilcock (2019) challenge the profession to "reduce occupational injustice and advance occupational rights" (p. 643).	"Future research might possibly build upon these initial strategies to create more robust ways of implementing system-wide change". (Alden & Toth-Cohen, 2015, p. 12) "Conceptualizing justice with a critical occupational perspective offers a potential change mechanism to promote just societies." (Bailliard, 2013, p. 354)