

**TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ARTICLES FROM “THE THINKER”  
MAGAZINE (2010-2016)**

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements for  
the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

in the subject

**COMMUNICATION**

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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July 2019

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**Professor Karam**, for the supervision, guidance, continuous support and for the engaged mentorship. I am grateful for the commitment you have shown for this project from its inception up until its completion. Thank you for always going an extra mile to make sure that I remained focused; inspired and motivated to continue with this journey. I am also thankful for always believing in me even if I doubted myself sometimes.

**Dr Mukhudwana**, my co-supervisor, thank you for the invaluable feedback and for always stressing that I should be bold in my writing and that my voice should permeate throughout the text.

**Mr Simphiwe Rens**, thank you for proof reading my work in such a short notice despite your busy schedule.

**Dr Essop Pahad**, former editor of *The Thinker*, for allowing me access to the archived materials of the magazine.

**Mr Zain Dindar and Ms Liesel van der Schyf**, from *The Thinker*, for the patience and ensuring that I receive all the relevant data needed for my study.

**Reviewers of this dissertation**, for the insightful constructive feedback they provided on this project. It was invaluable for this dissertation.

**UNISA M and D Bursary**, for assisting me with the funds for my studies.

**My family and friends**, thank you for the love and support you have shown me throughout this journey. I love and appreciate every single one of you! Ke a leboga.

## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the representation of post-apartheid discourses and decolonial messages of *The Thinker* magazine. It further examines how the magazine in question confronts and negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and coloniality. Particularly, the nature of these discourses and narratives in the context of a new dispensation in South Africa. South Africa experienced the brunt of apartheid and it is currently still grappling with the condition of coloniality. The latter manifests itself into the dimensions of power, knowledge and *being*. For this reason, a de-linking option from coloniality and apartheid becomes imperative if a new consciousness, liberatory trajectory and social justice are to be attained. Accordingly, the study sought to determine whether African Renaissance could be used as a de-linking tool/option. Taking into account *The Thinker's* messages from the year 2010 to 2016, the study examines whether the magazine promotes a decolonisation narrative. The study sought to provide a contribution to knowledge insofar as discourses of decoloniality and social justice in South Africa are concerned. The study employs a cultural studies lens, in particular, the principle of radical contextualism and Steward Hall's model of articulation. Cultural studies was used because of its transdisciplinary/interdisciplinary and flexible approach to social phenomenon under study. A mixed-methods approach in the form of a sequential transformative design was employed, however, the qualitative aspect (thematic analysis) was prioritised as dictated by the research question and objectives. It was proven in this study that quantitative elements can be applied successfully within a decolonial inquiry. Hence, the methodological contribution of the study in that regard. The study found that *The Thinker* highlights the continuation of the atrocities of coloniality and apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa. It is thus suggested by the text that a decolonial trajectory and thinking is needed given the aftermath of apartheid and the condition of coloniality. Furthermore, African Renaissance can be used to reaffirm and repudiate the dominant discourses of coloniality and apartheid if employed authentically by its proponents. However, the text points out the challenges that may hinder the processes of decolonisation

and liberation such as the self-serving and corrupt leadership that perpetuate the status quo at the expense of the interests of the people.

Key terms: Afrocentricity, African Renaissance, apartheid, articulation, colonialism, coloniality, decoloniality, decolonial turn, de-linking, ubuntu

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### List of acronyms

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| AU     | African Union                                   |
| APM    | African Progressive movement                    |
| APRM   | African Peer Review Mechanism                   |
| ANC    | African National Congress                       |
| IFC    | International Finance Corporation               |
| IKC    | Indigenous Knowledge Systems                    |
| IMF    | International Monetary Fund                     |
| LPA    | Lagos Plan of Action                            |
| LGBTQI | Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex |
| MNC    | Multinational corporations                      |
| NAM    | Non-Aligned Movement                            |
| NEPAD  | New Partnership for African Development         |
| NGO    | Non-governmental organisation                   |
| NIEO   | New International Economics                     |
| OAU    | Organisation of African Unity                   |
| UN     | United Nations                                  |
| UNSC   | United Nations Security Council                 |
| TNC    | Trans National Corporation                      |
| WTO    | World Trade Organisation                        |

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### CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

In its attempt at acquainting the reader with the study, this chapter begins by rendering a definition of the 'text' as a concept that is significantly deployed in the intellectual development of this study. The chapter goes on to provide a background of the study; followed by an outline of the research problem, sub-problems as well as the research questions associated with this project. Furthermore, this chapter presents the study's purpose, research objectives and assumptions; leading into an outline of the scope and limitations of the study. It is at the end of this chapter that a brief outline of all other chapters is provided to set the scene for what is contained within the project in its entirety.

#### 1.2 Defining a text

A text is a symbolic act and it forms part of our everyday lives. As Stillar (1998:36) posits, "it aims to bring about change in a state of affairs". Moreover, according to Spiro (1992:64), "a text is a preliminary blueprint for constructing an understanding". Texts are produced and conveyed for a specific purpose; be it to entertain, to inform or implore the audience to adopt a particular stance. Therefore, texts become the extension of a socially created reality by reflecting the values, beliefs and attitudes of a given society. For meaning to be elicited, insofar as its fragility and the contestation of its construction are concerned, texts should be contextualised (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak 2014:3). Furthermore, texts are vehicles of culture and they operate in a zone of contestation in which "meanings and versions of the world compete for ascendancy" (Barker 2002:22). For this reason, to scrutinise and analyse texts will invariably uncover the values and attitudes they promote. Moreover, a text cannot be reduced to a mere sequence of words or utterances but a form of signification whose meaning and identity are defined by the context in which it has been produced (Tolhurst 1979:3). As Barthes posits,

The text is not a co-existence of meanings but a passage, an overcrossing; thus, it answers not to an interpretation, even a liberal one, but to an explosion, a dissemination (1971:6).

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Hence, the notion that texts disseminate meanings. According to Giroux and Shannon, “power is addressed primarily through the display of texts, bodies, and representations” (1997:4). The contextual sites of cultural texts play a crucial role with regard to how and why said texts are produced and their relation to their intended audiences. Media texts, in this regard, become sites of struggle in relation to how meaning is constructed and – on the other hand – how power operates in order to make some images and symbols more valuable in relation to others (Giroux & Shannon 1997:7).

Accordingly, texts are sites of struggle as they present a platform for differing discourses that are in contestation for dominance (Wodak 2001:11). It is through the texts that issues of resistance are articulated; rendering them sites of perpetual struggle. Analysing and understanding discourses within a specific socio-historical context is bound to reveal their influence. For that reason, this study sought to uncover and understand how post-apartheid discourses are represented by the text in the form of *The Thinker*. Furthermore, interrogating what values and attitudes inform the discourses promoted by the text in question.

*The Thinker: a Pan-African Quarterly for Thought Leaders* is a quarterly magazine distributed in South Africa and is available to the rest of the continent. Dr Essop Pahad, who served as a member of the National Assembly in South Africa from 1994 to 2008, representing the African National Congress (ANC), established the magazine in July 2009. Dr Pahad<sup>1</sup> also serves as the editor of the magazine. Pahad has been involved in the struggle against racism and apartheid in South Africa for 50 years (*The Thinker* 2014). As outlined on its website, the magazine aims to “devote special attention to the on-going processes driving the African Agenda and the African Renaissance” (*The Thinker* 2014). The magazine is described as a platform for “Africa thinkers and their allies to develop strategies to achieve fundamental social transformation” (*The Thinker* 2014). It endeavours to provide a critical analysis of the socio-political state of the continent. Moreover,

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<sup>1</sup> By the time of data collection, Dr Pahad was the editor of *The Thinker* magazine. However, the editorial team of the magazine has since changed. Vusizwe Media, publishers of the magazine, have handed it to the University of Johannesburg. The magazine is now under the Department of English at the institution and currently under the editorial leadership of Ronit Frenkel.

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on its agenda is the advancement of an African Agenda and the African Renaissance whilst in the process grappling with African challenges, problems and conflicts (*The Thinker* 2019). Furthermore, according to the magazine's website, the target readers are; policy makers in the public and private sectors, students, intellectuals, trade unionists and activists in political formations (*The Thinker* 2014). For that reason, the magazine is committed to contribute towards the advancement of the continent through the promotion of African Renaissance. As the website further states, "We are convinced that our continent can and must be successful, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous (*The Thinker* 2019). This is evident through its variety of contributors from across different fields and backgrounds. Regular contributors of this magazine in terms of content, include some of the continent's intellectuals such as, Ademola Araoye from Nigeria, Professor Chris Landsberg from South Africa, Professor Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (Zimbabwe) and Dr Wally Serote (South Africa). The circulation of the magazine is 8000 copies per quarter.

### **1.3 Background of the study**

The abolishment of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 meant that most sanctions placed against the media belonged in the past. Media messages should thus, in principle, reflect the new post-apartheid identities because media products are after all cultural products. However, the question remains as to whether or not post-apartheid discourses and narratives reflect the ideals of a new dispensation. In order to gauge how the media report and engage with post-apartheid messages, critical reading of media artefacts is crucial. One can therefore attribute the narrative of African Renaissance and discourses on decolonisation as emanating from the quest to confront legacies of apartheid and, to an extent, colonialism. The pervasiveness of the apartheid regime should be located on the inflicted trauma on the individual as well as on the collective.

The legacy of colonialism is evident in many aspects of the colonised societies and in the case of South Africa, the legacy of apartheid still confronts those who were affected and inflicted by the system. Boloka (1999:45) asserts that South Africa experienced colonialism, which had apartheid as one of its instruments;

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implying, thus, that apartheid was one of the tools that perpetuated the brunt of colonialism. For Mamdani (2001:46), colonialism should be understood in terms of how structural institutions were created to enable a minority to rule over the majority. This legacy is systemic, deep-rooted and entrenched as it relegates a black individual to the periphery and the margins of society.

In addition to the impact of colonialism and its concomitant legacies, the concept of coloniality as a by-product of colonialism comes to the fore. Coloniality for Maldonado-Torres (2007:243) entails:

[the] long-lasting patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor [*sic*], intersubjective relations, knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations [...] it is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many aspects of our modern experience.

It is evident that coloniality affects and influences every facet of the life of the colonised subject. It is bound to be implicit in how reality is made sense of because the notion of self-consciousness and ontology of the marginalised are compromised. Coloniality manifests itself in three dimensions, namely; the coloniality of power, being and knowledge. These three dimensions help perpetuate and impose the current asymmetrical world system characterised by the continued marginalisation of the African subject. As Grosfoguel puts it, “We continue to live under the same colonial matrix of power” (2007:212). It follows that despite the dismantling of the politico-juridical aspect of colonialism, its implications are still existent.

Against this backdrop, the call for decolonisation interventions is justified if lived experiences of the previously colonised individuals are to be taken seriously. Decolonisation is defined as a “change of attitude, ways of thinking, worldviews and markers of certainty” (Eze 2010:18). To dismantle the colonial matrices of power, one needs to change and transform one’s ways of thinking. Decolonial thinking is thus a conscious step towards a liberatory process. For Mignolo (2006:6), to think decolonially is to free oneself from the shackles of coloniality of being and this practice calls for a new perspective with regard to ontology,

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epistemology and axiology. Basically, an overhaul of how the world is contemporarily made sense of. The deep-rooted structure of coloniality is strategically constructed in such a way that every social, political, religious and economic institution is tainted in order to perpetuate the status quo. It follows that decolonial interventions are imperative, particularly if they are effected to attain social justice for the marginalised. As Spivak (1992) puts it:

We need an approach here that is more than an awareness of the contemporary culture of white supremacy, of the fetishization of the black body, of the histories of black heroism in the nineteenth century.

For that reason, the question arises as to how to attain decolonisation. To de-link from the entrenched colonial matrices of power, there is a need to re-link to something. A shift in the geography of knowledge production and the sense of being are essential in this regard (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2010:132). For this reason, a de-linking option is required and inevitable. Mignolo (2011:277) elaborates on the de-linking process:

We delink from the humanitas, we become epistemically disobedient, and think and do decolonially, dwelling and thinking in the borders of local histories confronting global designs.

It follows then that to de-link entails a conscious decision of deliberate criticism of the contemporary knowledge structures that reproduce the system of coloniality. As Henry (2006:224) posits:

Thus, irrespective of the intrinsic merit of texts, the epistemic value and recognition given to them had to be racially determined. Consequently, White discourses and authors – whether religious, literary, sociological, or philosophical – necessarily accumulated recognition, truth-value, authority, and canonicity at much faster rates than Black discourses and authors.

De-linking, as an option, comes as the result of the world system that is “historico-ethnocentrically interlinked” (Abdi 2010:3). An emergent paradox aimed at negotiating an African identity amid the universalised assumption of victimhood becomes pertinent. Hence, to chart a new history that repudiates a colonial condition is considered a noble call. For Mignolo (2011:275), de-linking from the shackles of coloniality and capitalism means to think from the border locality and

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positionality. Moreover, de-linking discourses are crucial in the postcolonial context as they allow for the possibility of moving away from the ‘imported’ approaches – which are Eurocentric in their nature (Tomaselli 2018:iv).

Hence the question, is African Renaissance a de-linking option in this context? Perhaps an assertion by Mudimbe regarding an Africanist approach to studying phenomena needs a mention. For Mudimbe (1998:23), Africa needs to produce its “own peculiar mode of episteme, construct its own intensions and analyze its own being”. According to Vale and Maseko (1998:277), African Renaissance should espouse to elicit “both a capacity to deliver the stuff of politics and a consciousness of the pain and humiliation of African people in a continent, and a world, which remains entirely dominated by the cultural values of people who are not black”. Hence, the recognition by this assertion that the contemporary global system is hostile towards black subjects. The consciousness of the colonised is polluted in such a way that the repressed subject assumes what is termed a double consciousness (cf. Du Bois 1989:203). For Higgs (2011:38) the subjugation of the African subject implied that the identity was “an inverted mirror of western Eurocentric identity”. For it is through the veil of double consciousness that the authentic identity of the condemned is concealed as the world is viewed through an imposed lens (Du Bois 1989:203). For that reason, a new consciousness is needed, and African Renaissance could become a vehicle that could be used to attain it. Against this background, Eze (2010:80) remarks in this fashion regarding how the apartheid system infiltrated the being and consciousness of the black individual:

Apartheid left a huge vestige on the psychosocial consciousness of South Africans of all races. The collective unconscious of the typical black South African, for example, is entrapped at the historical interstices of identity negation.

Then, to assess how the promotion of these discourses and messages are undertaken, become imperative and paramount. This is so because if the South African historical context is considered with all the well-documented atrocities of apartheid, a new consciousness becomes inevitable in that regard. Accordingly, it becomes important to evaluate the nature of post-apartheid messages and narratives in a context where discourses of decolonisation are gaining traction.

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Furthermore, amid the calls for a shift in the geography of reason – that is, from whence knowledge is produced and by who – a potential curiosity arises concerning the authenticity of these messages.

African Renaissance, on the other hand, is a relatively new concept that is gathering substantial interest in the academy. Mangu (2006:14) regards the concept of African Renaissance as a process that encompasses the restoration of the continent in the quest for self-discovery. It can be summarised, thus, that African Renaissance has to do with the redefining of identities of Africans in a quest of redressing the legacy of colonialism. The call for African Renaissance is read as an active assertion by Africans in demanding their rightful place in the world (Higgs 2011:38). For Sitas (2006:357) the project of African Renaissance is inevitable because of the need and necessity to deconstruct the hegemonic discourses that relegate the African subject to a zone of ‘the other’ fraught with dehumanising prefix such ‘pre’, ‘under’ and other diminishing constructs.

For Tondi (2018:160) the call for African Renaissance should be viewed as an apparatus used by black South Africans in dealing with the “demons of colonialism and apartheid hegemony post-1994, locally and continentally”. Africa, together with the rest of the global South have had to endure five centuries of dehumanising atrocities – hence it is an opportune time to reclaim their humanity. It can be argued, in this regard, that *The Thinker* is used as a vehicle for the conveyance of these emancipatory and liberatory messages. This paper acknowledges that *The Thinker* conveys liberatory messages in the form of African Renaissance and decolonisation. These discourses and narratives repudiate the hegemonic colonial narratives. However, it is imperative to critique, engage and confront the hegemonic discourses in order to authentically document liberatory messages. It is inevitable that apartheid and colonial discourses will likely be the prominent features of the process.

### 1.4 Personal statement

As a critical lens, cultural studies holds that the researcher be fully and intimately inside the object of study (Couldry in Johnson *et al.* 2004:44). This is the case for me in relation to this research project. I am a black male born and bred in South

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Africa. Although I was born during the apartheid period, I never personally experienced the brunt of the system of apartheid in its purest and crudest form. What I have are memories of painful stories told to me by people around me about the atrocities they experienced under the hegemonic apartheid system. However, by virtue of my skin colour in a post-apartheid South Africa, I continue to experience the effects of the apartheid system. The legacies of apartheid and colonialism are concomitant insofar as my identity and subjectivity perpetuate my subalternity. Furthermore, my material existential condition that came with the entrenched hostile system of apartheid and colonialism influences my worldview. As a result, I have long been curious and intrigued by its impact on the lives of the marginalised. For that reason, I am located in the margins and this positionality precisely influences my interest and commitment to the issues pertaining to the marginalised concerning their subjection within the context of modernity.

Foucault observes that subjection of an individual is constitutive of the specific historical and social formation (1972:93). Discourses, for Foucault, construct, define and produce discursive productions of subjects. In other words, this has implications on how I view myself as a subject of the historical and social formation I find myself to be part of. Hence, the aspect of context becomes central in this regard. I, therefore, regard one of the tools of cultural studies – radical contextualism – as key in exploring issues of subjectivity in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Hence, in the process, I have also been grappling with the ability to transcend insofar as my subject positioning as an ex-colonised to a conscious subject that possesses agency.

However, my awareness of my subjection serves as a starting point to repudiate my subjugation that is also bound by my facticity (cf. Sartre 1956:66). As such, in this conjecture, I consciously attempt to transform my subjectivity as a commitment to a decolonial cause. As Sartre (1956:66) puts it, we are not in control of our context, but we decide what happens in it and therefore we are bound to be complicit. For this reason, amid the complexities involved regarding the subjectivity and positionality, I assert that this intellectual work has been a journey of self-discovery and a quest for self-consciousness. The process was

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then enacted with authenticity as Sartre advises (cf. 1956:66). To be authentic for Sartre, is to question the entrenched structures and imposed values that I find myself being part of (1982:221). Hence, I am committed to partake and deliberate on liberatory and emancipatory interventions whilst on the other hand being aware of my subjectivity.

### 1.5 Statement of the problem

The concepts of coloniality and, in extension, colonialism; continue to be recurring themes of the post-apartheid discourses. The ramifications of colonialism continue to define the continent of Africa and, to a significant extent, South Africa; in most if not all aspects of the social, political, cultural and economic environments. For this reason, media texts – as cultural artefacts – are bound to reflect the overall psyche of a given society. This is the case particularly because media producers are members of that particular society as well as the institutions for which they operate. As Foucault notes, social institutions influence the discursive practices of a given social setting (1972). In his book, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972), Cesaire describes how the brunt of colonialism imposed the logic of inferiority complex with undesirable ramifications among the colonised subjects.

Similarly, for Abdi (2010:12) colonialism was characterised by “heavy contexts of identity deformation, misrecognition, loss of self-esteem, and individual and social doubt in self-efficacy”. For South Africa, the brunt of colonialism was deeper as it was exacerbated by the apartheid ideology wherein the collective identity of the black majority was compromised. Therefore, in navigating the terrain of a new dispensation in South Africa, it is of paramount significance that the process be undertaken with the recognition of the country’s historical context in mind. Hence, for Eze (2010:14) to chart this terrain of coloniality is to recognise the apartheid historiography that infiltrated binaries between the white minority and black majority; thus, influencing the state of present social practices.

Therefore, in order to determine how the terrain of coloniality and apartheid is traversed, negotiated and unravelled by *The Thinker* as a media text, the study examines the representation of post-apartheid discourses by the said text. The

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study further explores whether these discourses manifest in *The Thinker's* articulation of emancipatory messages of African Renaissance/Africanisation and/or decolonisation. I argue that *The Thinker* negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and, to an extent, colonialism/coloniality through the representation of a decolonial narrative which manifests in African Renaissance/Africanisation as a delinking option/project. The study sought to contribute to knowledge insofar as discourses of decoloniality and Africanisation are concerned. Furthermore, the study advocated for the notion of interdisciplinarity as a way of tackling complex social problems that emanate from our South African context. The following sub-problems were formulated to answer the preceding research problem:

- How does *The Thinker* confront, unravel and engage with the entrenched system of apartheid and/or colonialism/coloniality?
- What themes and discourses are articulated in the discursive practices of *The Thinker*?
- Does *The Thinker* promote values and attitudes of decolonisation? If so, how and to what extent are these values and attitudes articulated?
- How does the articulation of decolonial discourses, if any, by *The Thinker* respond to the post-apartheid South African context?
- How does this decolonisation intervention relate to the call for African Renaissance/Africanisation?

### 1.6 Rationale for the study

This study employs a cultural studies approach to interrogate how a text namely; *The Thinker*, represents post-apartheid discourses. Media texts convey meanings through the messages they communicate to the readers. The meanings created are never permanently fixed and for this reason, an active interpretation of messages becomes an important aspect of the process involved in meaning creation (Hall 2013:18). Communicative practices are thus sites for social meaning creation. According to Giroux and Shannon (1997:7), texts work to influence public memory as they shape the creation of meanings;

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consequently, influencing how individuals “engage and transform the economic, political, and cultural life of a society”. Most importantly, for Fairclough texts are capable of enacting changes in “our beliefs, our attitudes, values, experience and so forth” (2014:382). For this reason, the significance of meaning creation in a post-apartheid context requires an active reading and interpretation. More so, because of the historical context that South Africa finds itself in. Thus, using cultural studies’ analytical tools of radical contextualism and articulation is bound to yield noteworthy insights.

To radically contextualise the South African post-apartheid narrative is crucial given its history of colonialism and, subsequently, apartheid. A change in political system does not necessarily translate into the dismantling of dominant discourses that are normalised and internalised by the global world system, which is fraught with imposed hierarchies. Hence, for Foucault, analyses of texts should point out how power relations manifest in a given social context (1972:94). For texts can serve as sensitive barometers of social processes, thus interpreting them is bound to indicate the social change within a given social formation (Fairclough 1992:211). Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of post-apartheid discourses can shed light on whether or not a text is complicit in the perpetuation of hegemonic messages of domination. Even with the intended liberatory and emancipatory messages, their analysis is key to assess whether these are consciously constructed. Furthermore, an active and critical engagement of cultural texts is bound to uncover their bad faith, if any, in relation to how they claim to repudiate dominant forces. For, if one advocates for self-consciousness in relation to one’s sense of being, this ought to be effected with authenticity. Authenticity, for Sartre, is the antithesis of bad faith and the latter is undesirable and self-defeating (1956:66).

It should be pointed out that decolonial interventions are inevitable given the degree of violence inflicted on the colonised subjects that were deemed by the coloniser to be in need of civilization. Thus, discourses on decoloniality are necessary and significant in order to unravel and grapple with the advent of coloniality. As Enwezor (2001:12) puts it,

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Decolonization [*sic*], and its attendant ideological and philosophical contestation of Western imperialism, does in fact remain one of the most significant events of the twentieth century, much as the abolition of slavery was in the nineteenth century, but very little of what its processes represent - especially in proposing new narratives and subjectivities, identities and nationalities, contemporary and historical forms ...

Since media texts make their representation with language as a medium, its symbolism is crucial in this context. For Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, "language, any language, has a dual character; it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture" (1986:5). Therefore, cultural texts through their representational frameworks shape and frame political, cultural, social, and ethical agendas. It is thus pertinent to decipher how language and symbols are used by *The Thinker* magazine to construct reality and for what purpose(s). Hence, the media messages should not be taken at face value, but should be evaluated, critiqued and analysed. By actively and carefully reading media texts, an active reader gains insight regarding the attitudes, beliefs, ideas and thoughts being communicated. This project engages, analyses and discusses the messages from *The Thinker* to ascertain how the text constructs meanings in relation to the conveyance of discourses of coloniality, apartheid, decoloniality and African Renaissance.

### 1.7 Purpose of the study

Given that no study addressing issues of decoloniality exists with regards to *The Thinker*, this particular project aims to make a contribution in that regard. Furthermore, this project seeks to highlight the importance of a quantitative content analysis within a decolonial study. For that reason, I intend to utilise the results of the quantitative content analysis to serve as a foundation for a hermeneutical decolonial analysis (thematic analysis) of *The Thinker* text. Therefore, demonstrating the significance of quantitative elements within a decolonial inquiry, which tend to be qualitative in nature; however, this project to prove otherwise.

As such, this study seeks to examine the post-apartheid discourses conveyed by *The Thinker* magazine in order to determine the nature of said discourses and to

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further interrogate whether or not the discourses in question promote a decolonial narrative that has African Renaissance as a de-linking option.

### 1.8 Research objectives

At the end of this project, this dissertation set out to achieve the following research objectives:

- Explore what the concepts of coloniality, decoloniality, apartheid and African Renaissance entail in the context of South Africa
- Establish how *The Thinker* conveys the messages of coloniality, decoloniality, apartheid and African Renaissance
- Determine whether *The Thinker* promotes a message of decolonisation and if so, how is the promotion effected
- Explore how African Renaissance is used as a de-linking option insofar as the attainment of decoloniality is concerned

### 1.9 Assumptions of the study

This study is based on the following assumptions:

- *The Thinker* navigates and negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and coloniality in its representation of post-apartheid messages
- *The Thinker* promotes a decolonisation narrative in its conveyance of messages
- In order to attain decolonisation, *The Thinker* calls for the practice of African Renaissance as an emancipatory and a liberatory discourse

### 1.10 Scope and limitations of the study

This study is exploratory in its approach and employs a constructivist paradigm as a philosophical lens. The study focusses on *The Thinker* magazine to understand the nature of post-apartheid discourses conveyed by the magazine. I visited the offices of *The Thinker* in order to collect and collate a large corpus of the data, spanning from the year 2010 to 2016. The data was stored on my personal computer, so I could familiarise myself with by reading and re-reading

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the collected material. Purposive sampling was then used to select appropriate articles that eventually became part of the project. Thirty-one (31) articles were selected for the study.

The researcher analysed the sample of selected articles from said magazine. The sample excluded categories such as cover pages, advertisements and editorials, in its adoption of a transformative mixed methods approach in the form of a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative thematic analysis. The quantitative data augmented the qualitative phase of the research as it provided frequencies and prevalence of particular messages. The quantitative phase also assisted in the development of relevant thematic tropes to engage for this study. The focus of this study was mainly the content emanating from *The Thinker* text in the form of the selected articles. It should, therefore, be noted that one did not sought opinions and elaborations from the authors of the texts as well as the editor of the magazine.

Moreover, the timeframe was also insufficient to study all the articles published by the magazine. Furthermore, a content analysis research design adopted for this study did not allow for the drawing of inferences with regards to the effect of the messages on the audience. I would have wished to conduct an audience reception regarding the findings of the content analysis to gauge attitudes and opinions from readers regarding the messages conveyed by the text. However, time, space and scope had not permitted such an endeavour. Furthermore, although the study analysed liberatory discourses in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, some of the tools and methods employed can be deemed to be Eurocentric in their orientation and as such, may be argued to be incapable of addressing African issues. For this reason, I am in agreement with an advise given by Tuhiwai Smith that we should engage critically when we conduct our writing in research (2008:36). Given that as colonised subjects, we are systematically trained and conditioned to adopt and reproduce patterns of Eurocentric cultural orientation, space and subjectivity. Paradoxically, academic writing dictate that we build on previous body of knowledge however, if done uncritically, it is bound to legitimise the hegemonic attitudes and discourse.

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Thus, the cycle of domination continues through our writing and we are complicit in it. In other words, one needs to be conscious of reproducing Western thought, but its critique should be central in all facets of research. Hence, for Tuhiwai Smith, a decolonial researcher should have a “more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (2008:20). For that reason, decolonial scholars and activists need to “display mutual sacrifice and relationality needed to sabotage colonial systems of thought and power for the purpose of liberatory narratives” (Martineau & Ritskes 2014:ii). Against this background, I maintain that the methods and tools in question were applied critically bearing in mind the objectives of the study at hand.

### **1.11 Brief chapter outline**

#### **Chapter 1 Introduction to the study**

This chapter presented the background of the study. A definition of the text is attempted in relation to the study at hand. Furthermore, the rationale behind the study is presented and carefully explicated. Lastly, the chapter also offers the statement of the problem, research sub-problems, objectives of the study as well as the scope and limitations of a project of this nature.

#### **Chapter 2 Theoretical framework**

This chapter encompasses the theoretical framework of the study. It begins by describing Foucault’s conception of discourse. In particular, understanding how individuals are constituted as subjects by dominant discourses of a social formation. The chapter will render an overview of cultural studies as a theoretical lens and its rationale in relation to this particular study. Furthermore, the chapter will describe the principles of radical contextualism and articulation as they relate to cultural studies and, subsequently, the conceptual framework this study.

#### **Chapter 3 Literature review**

Chapter three identifies and discusses relevant literature in relation to the topic under exploration. This chapter explores, discusses and interrogates the

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concepts of coloniality, apartheid, decoloniality and African Renaissance. It will further highlight that the system of coloniality manifest itself in terms of dimensions of coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Moreover, the chapter indicates that the apartheid system is a continuation of the logic of coloniality. As such, given the fact that coloniality perpetuates the subjection of the colonised, a decolonial intervention is necessary. Furthermore, the chapter will suggest that African Renaissance could be a de-linking project that can be used to unshackle the chains of the colonial matrices of power.

## **Chapter 4 Research methodology**

In this fourth chapter of this dissertation, I identify and discuss the research design and methods deemed suitable to achieve the objectives of the study. The chapter unpacks the use of a mixed methods approach in the form of a transformative sequential design. Further, the prioritisation of the qualitative phase is explained and justified. The chapter also describes thematic analysis as the research method appropriate for this particular study. Issues of population, sampling, data collection and analysis are more explicitly discussed herein, as well.

## **Chapter 5 Research findings**

This chapter is divided into two sections: the qualitative and the quantitative phases. The qualitative phase provides a detailed thematic presentation of the data according to various themes that were developed. The quantitative phase presents the findings of the content analysis of *The Thinker* articles sampled for this project. The latter phase served to inform the process of theme identification for the qualitative phase.

## **Chapter 6 Interpretations of findings**

This chapter provides an interpretation of the findings made in chapter five. The analysis is conducted according to themes that were identified in the preceding chapter. The analysis is informed by the theory described in chapter two – cultural studies as a critical lens. Furthermore, the literature reviewed also informed the analytic approach followed in this chapter.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction to the study**

## **Chapter 7 Conclusion**

The seventh and final chapter of this dissertation offers a summary of the main findings of the study. It shall, in essence, grant a brief outline of the concluding remarks concerning this study. The chapter further provides answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study. It concludes by discussing recommendations for future research.

### **1.12 Summary**

This chapter provided the contextual background the study, the statement of the problem and sub-problems, rationale for the study, the purpose and the objectives of the study. The chapter further outlined the assumptions of the study as well as the scope and limitations associated with this project; before ending off with a brief chapter outline of the dissertation. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical frameworks for this study.

## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Introduction

Following the detailing of the background and context of this study in the previous chapter, this chapter deals with the theoretical framework for this study. It begins with the notion of discourse as conceptualised by Michel Foucault in order to determine how discourses constitute individuals as subjects and thus limiting their agency in the process. In addition, the chapter outlines how discourses explain issues of power and hegemony in a social formation. Secondly, cultural studies is discussed through its main assumptions and the rationale for its deployment by this study is explicated. Furthermore, I describe the principles of radical contextualism and articulation so as to grapple with the context and issues of transcendence insofar as subjectivity is transformed.

### 2.2 Foucault's conception of discourse

Before outlining cultural studies as a theoretical framework underpinning this study, I briefly discuss the concept of discourse as conceptualised by Foucault<sup>2</sup>. Discourse, in this instance, means more than just passages of connected texts or speech. According to Foucault, a discourse entails a way of representing and producing knowledge through language (Hall 1997:44). The notion of discourse is crucial because together with language, they serve as models for understanding how culture, meaning and representation work (Hall 1997:6). The concept of discourse as conceptualised by Foucault has a way of determining the rules of talking about phenomena and how, over time, such "rules became epistemological enforcers of what people thought, lived, and spoke" (Foucault [1972] 2003:25). For Foucault, individuals are subjects of discursive

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<sup>2</sup> Although Foucault's conceptualisations and theories were articulated from a Eurocentric perspective and were aimed at western individuals, I argue that Foucault contributed immensely to cultural studies work and in particular insights on how discourses are bound by historical situations of social formations. Moreover, Foucault through his body of intellectual works, inspired many cultural theorists to further analyse discourses to uncover how they convey meanings in relation to power structures, domination and ideologies. I use his work tentatively here but also acknowledge their potential insights insofar as issues of subjection and subjectivity are central to social justice interventions.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

constructions as they are regulated by discourses (Johnson *et al.* 2005:88). For Foucault (2005:236), an individual's subjectivity has implications on how they perceive the truth. He observes:

What we must know, or rather the way in which we must know, is a mode in which what is given as truth is read immediately and directly as precept (2005:236).

For an individual requires access to the truth as mode to discern his/her rationality. As such, Foucault adds that in the pursuit of knowledge and truth in which the human life is dependent, individuals are compelled to change their mode of being and in the process transforming their subjectivity (2005:238). The machinations of a given social system transform individuals into subjects. In elaborating on his conception of subjection, Foucault provides an analysis of the Christian model:

If you want to be saved you must accept the truth given in the Text and manifested in Revelation. However, you cannot know this truth unless you take care of yourself in the form of the purifying knowledge (*connaissance*) of the heart. On the other hand, this purifying knowledge of yourself by yourself is only possible on the condition of a prior fundamental relationship to the truth of the Text and Revelation (2005:255).

Of course, the truth in this instance hinges on the subjective acceptance of the Christian Text. In other words, your agency is stripped, and your consciousness transformed by the acceptance of the Christian truth as universal. If we apply this logic to the colonised individual, ramifications of his/her subjectivity are pertinent. The dimension of coloniality of knowledge through the advent of Christianity, imposed an alien cultural self with huge implications for his/her own culture (Egudu 2007:169; Masilela 1996:90; Mignolo 2007:24). Furthermore, the ontological understanding is also compromised by the dimension of the coloniality of being thus perpetuating the subjection of the colonised (Maldonado-Torres 2007:251). The colonised is rendered to be ontologically and epistemically inferior. For these reasons, the aspect of subjectivity as reflected in discourses is central in understanding social phenomena. I delve deeper on the concepts of coloniality in relation to subjectivity in the next chapter. According to Jorgensen and Phillips, discourses transform individuals into subjects:

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Discourses contribute centrally to producing the subjects we are, and the objects we can know something about (including ourselves as subjects). For all the approaches, adherence to this view leads to the following research question: *how is the social world, including its subjects and objects, constituted in discourse?* (2002:14).

As such, the colonised subject is constituted by the logic of coloniality as s/he personifies the forms of knowledge and possesses attributes associated with the discourse of coloniality; for instance, internalised racism and the marginalised other. As Foucault asserts (1972:99), “the individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle”. As such, the colonised subject unwittingly perpetuates the status quo for its systemic reproduction is deep rooted. Modernity interpellates you as a subject through its system of domination. Through the colonial matrices of power, your subjection is fixed into the abject of othering. Your agency is weakened by hegemonic domination of the imposed system. In the process, your being is polluted. As such, the imperial locus of enunciation has ramifications to your consciousness as the entrenched system of Euro-modern reality denies you with consciousness (see chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the concepts of coloniality as it relates to the colonised’s subjectivity) Moreover, the notion of subjectivity is complex as it is experienced through a spectrum by different individuals. As Grossberg (1996:99) explains:

In other words, although everyone exists within the strata of subjectivity, they are also located at particular positions, each of which enables and constrains the possibilities of experiences and of legitimising those representations.

Therefore, the colonised and marginalised subject is bound to be discursively constituted by the imposed system that represses her/his agency. According to Rear and Jones, “all social phenomena are mediated through discourse, their meanings can never be permanently fixed” (2013:5). For Hajer, discourse can be defined as “an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is reproduced through an identifiable set of practices” (2005:300). Thus, meanings are constructed through discourses. Discourses dictate how to engage with and interrogate certain social phenomena because they are the products of historical and cultural conjectures. It has emerged that, through Foucault’s theory of discourse, the aspect of context comes to the fore as “it enables us to

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understand how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence” (Barrett 1991:126). Hence, the resonance of Foucault’s formulation of discourse theory with cultural studies given the fact that context is an important feature in both these aspects (Wiley & Wise 2018:2).

For Foucault, the centrality of meaning making through discourses is paramount. Discourse – also regarded as “a system in which the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely outside a system of differences” (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:280). In other words, discourses produce subjects “with no transcendental continuity from one subject position to another” (Johnson *et al.* 2005:88). As such, it is difficult – but not impossible – to think outside of the dominant discourses of a given social formation (Hall 1986:3). However, one has to take into account the context in which these discourses play themselves out. A major concern with Foucault’s formulation of discourses as constituting individuals as subjects, is that it somehow fails to accord individuals with agency. This is also a criticism of Foucault’s notion of subjectivity in relation to discourses, given that the formulation does not afford the subject with “transcendental continuity or identity from one subject position to another” (Hall 1996:10).

Steve Biko, for instance, was able to conceptualise the liberatory narrative of Black Consciousness following his reading of thinkers such as Fanon and many others irrespective of the historical context. Context is bound to influence the existence of discursive positions but, in the case of Biko, one is safe say that he was able to transcend from the position of the subjected other to that of a self-conscious subject with agency. Similarly, the Rastafarians of Jamaica took a borrowed text in the form of the Bible to re-articulate and reposition themselves as new subjects - that is they were able to transcend from one position to the next (Hall 1986:144). As van Dijk posits, a discourse should be seen as text in context (2007:2). Thus, for this reason, discourses tend to be bound by macro-contexts as well as organisations and institutions occurring in particular locations, time and space (Wodak 1996:6). Foucault (2014:108) stresses the role of history in understanding discourses as history influences their conditions:

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I would like to present, in opposition to this theme, the analysis of discursive systems, historically defined, to which we can fix thresholds and assign the conditions of their birth and disappearance.

For Foucault, discourse presents itself in the use of language (1984a:142). How the language is used in a given social formation constitutes the articulation of discourse. Language can be viewed as pivotal to both the process of thought and the construction of reality (Habib 2005:567). As Habib writes, “language has been similarly instituted within the connections between “man” and “woman” between social classes, between conflicting moral and political systems, between present and past and between differing readings of history” (2005:567). Hence, Heidegger posits that language constitutes the world for there cannot be existence of consciousness outside of language (1962:275). Heidegger further observes that, “language is the supreme event of human existence” (1962:280). The significance of language in the social construction of human existence is thus apparent. Hence, Derrida puts to the fore the significance of studying language as he advocated for language to be the centre of inquiry.

According to Howarth (2005:316), the main assumptions of discourse theory include the idea that all objects and practices are meaningful; that social meanings are contextual, relational and contingent. Furthermore, posits Howarth, that “all systems of meaningful practice – or discourse – rely upon discursive exteriors that partially constitute such orders, while potentially subverting them” (200:317). Foucault argues in this regard that discourse is not free from constraints and, as a result, it is controlled and regulated (1984b:239). Foucault presents an argument that the mainstream discourse as it were, tend to exclude other sectors of a society; for instance, the discourse of sexuality and that of a mad person (1984a:241-242). All other excluded meanings in relation to a particular discourse, operate within a field of discursivity (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:112). For example, science as a discourse will not incorporate anything outside of the discipline thus it underplays the significance of anything that is outside of its confines. That way, individuals are fixed within the boundaries and constraints of particular discourse that produce them as subjects. I, therefore, argue that the system of modernity constitutes individuals as subjects and further

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limits them into thinking within its confines. The notion of power, in this instance, generates, produces and perpetuates subjectivities (Johnson *et al.* 2005:88).

Foucault suggests in his book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), a method of analysing various strata of discourse. According to Foucault, discourses allow other people to have a voice whilst, on the other hand, rendering others as objects of that dominant discourse. Thus, a discourse can be used to exclude others; particularly the dominated groups that find themselves part of that social entity (1969:5). For that reason, a discourse can determine who speaks and who gets to be spoken about. Further, the institutional framework from which the discourse emanates perpetuates and reproduces the dominant discursive thoughts. It is for this reason that the influence of these institutions on the dominant discourse should be put under a spotlight (Foucault 1969:17). Conversely, despite its autonomy, a specific discourse can also be articulated in terms of something other than itself; hence the notion of discursive relations (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:64). It is for this reason that the voices of marginal discourses can be read and made sense of. In problematising the subjection that is brought by discourses of certain social formations, insights concerning the dialectics of the oppressed and the oppressor can be obtained. As Hall (1997:50) puts it, “we are all, to some degree, caught up in its [power] circulation – oppressors and oppressed”.

Hence, for Foucault, in every discourse there exists power (1984b:339). As such, power in this case dictates the modalities of knowledge application and their effectiveness (Hall 1997:49). As Butler (1993:22) asserts, “power is not only imposed externally, but works as the regulatory and normative means by which subjects are formed”. Therefore, a discourse has the ability, as it were, to normalise power through discursive practises. In this sense, the racialised and marginalised subject is constituted discursively by the entrenched Eurocentred dominant narrative. This is what Gramsci calls hegemony. Laclau and Mouffe posit that discourses become hegemonic when they are naturalised and made to appear as common sense (2001:113). Therefore, in relation to this study, discourses are problematised and analysed to infer their communicative strategies. Foucault provides us with analytical tools that help make connections between subjectivity and the social order (Johnson *et al.* 2004:89). I argue,

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therefore that Foucault's conceptualisation of discourses, if carefully considered, will elucidate their complexities in response to the status quo. Hence, Foucault argues further that, through discourses, members of a social formation relate with one another as subjects and objects of discourses. Perhaps, Foucault provides some kind of a response on how discourses get to shape meanings of given society. As he puts it:

Statements are not, like the air we breathe, an infinite transparency; but things that transmitted and preserved, that have value, and which one tries to appropriate; ... things that are duplicated not only by copy or translation, but by exegesis, commentary, and the internal proliferation of meaning (Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:48)

However, it should be pointed out that the marginalised discourses are capable of having some relative agency albeit operating under repressed spaces. As Fiske puts it, "discourses of the repressed is never as repressed" (1996:219). In the context of this study, the interplay between dominant discourses and the ones perceived to be marginal, is highlighted and problematised to determine the agency of the latter in relation to the former. In light of Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse, it is posited that Derrida's method of deconstruction is capable of "unsettling [and] displacing hegemonic conceptual systems in order to effect social change" (Threadgold 2013:8). Hence, for Foucault it becomes important to analyse discourses that reproduce and maintain domination (1976:5). Derrida's influence on cultural studies is well documented, hence the usage of cultural studies as a theoretical lens in the context of this study.

### 2.3 Defining cultural studies

In order to delve deeper into the concept of cultural studies, a need arises to define the term culture. The term culture is multi-discursive, therefore; it carries with it multiple denotations as well as connotations. As Hall observes, "the concept remains a complex one" (1980:59). Culture can be defined as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man [*sic*] as a member of society" (Williams 1960:xv). It is, therefore, clear from this definition that culture is seen as an all-

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encompassing concept regarding the process of social formation. Here, culture is regarded as a way of life by which members of society create meanings through everyday encounters and interactions dictated by their existential conditions. For Williams, the term has encountered numerous approaches through the process of history with its significations ranging from “the general state of mind” to “a whole way of life” (1960:v). Thus, the study of culture should encompass the inquiry into relationships between the elements in a whole way of life. For culture entails the totality of elements that make up “the whole way of life” – to put it in Williams’s words. For Williams, the analysis of culture entails “the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular” (1961:57).

The theory of cultural studies emanates from the University of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies with an aim towards the “analysis of, interpretation, and criticism of cultural artefacts” (Kellner & Durham 2001:150; Hall 1990:11). This method of inquiry combined sociological theory and contextualisation with the literary analysis of cultural texts. However, this type of inquiry has moved away from the literary aspect of analysis. The British cultural studies then adopted the movement and they denounced the high/low dichotomy associated with the study of culture. The British cultural studies “situated culture within a theory of social production and reproduction, specifying the ways that cultural forms served either to further social control, or to enable people to resist” (Kellner & Durham 2001:16). Hence, the main assumption of cultural studies is that the production of knowledge is always done either in the interest of those who hold power or those who contest that hold (O’sullivan 1994:73).

That being said, Hall questions the tendency of the obsession with theorising the power, history and politics, which the American cultural studies have engaged with more rigour (1996:273). As he puts it, “there is the nagging doubt that this overwhelming textualization of cultural studies’ own discourses somehow constitutes power and politics as exclusively matters of language and textuality itself” (1996:273). It should be pointed out that cultural studies, as a theory, cannot be employed as a traditional academic discipline. Cultural studies draws from a number of institutionalised discourses (O’sullivan *et al.* 1994:72).

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O'sullivan *et al.* assert, against this background, that the aim of cultural studies was to understand how culture should be "specified in itself in relation to economics and politics (1994:72).

Cultural studies is concerned with the inquiry into the "entire range of a society's arts, beliefs, institutions, and communicative practices" (Nelson, Treichler & Grossberg 1992:4). Nelson *et al.* further assert that the concept of culture in cultural studies should be understood as a way of life encompassing ideas, attitudes, languages, practices, institutions and structure of power (1992:4). For Johnson, cultural studies is an intellectual and political tradition as far as its theoretical paradigm is concerned (1983:3). As a result, cultural studies can be a tool to understand and interpret cultural texts in order to uncover their political stance within a given societal context. Moreover, it is posited by Wiley and Wise (2018:1) that cultural studies seeks to "theorize based on the situation, but then to return to that situation rather than simply ending up with theory". Hence, the rejection of the notion that a theory should be employed rigidly without taking into account the context of the phenomenon under enquiry.

Hall further puts forward the function of language as far as the theoretical developments of cultural advances are concerned (1992:283). He acknowledges that the emergence of structuralism effected a major development in the analysis of the field of culture and knowledge (Hall 1977:25). Structuralism draws from the works of Saussure, Levi-Strauss, Roland Barthes and Lacan and offers diverse views in the analysis of linguistic signs (Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott 1982:20). For Hall, language facilitates for:

[t]he expansion of the notion of text and textuality, both as source of meaning, and that which escapes and postpones meaning; the recognition of the heterogeneity, of the multiplicity, of meanings of the struggle to close arbitrarily the infinite semiosis beyond meaning; the acknowledgement of textuality and cultural power, of representation itself, as a site of power regulation; of the symbolic as a source of identity (1992:283).

Williams also stresses the significance of language as a social aspect for language "operates as a form of social organization [*sic*] and that which it represents is an activity rather than a mere deposit" (1960:294). As a cultural artefact, language should be seen as a tool that disseminates meaning

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constrained by the political, economic and the historical matrices that produced that language. Thus, to enunciate, one is subconsciously producing and reproducing the dominant discourse that constructed him/her as a subject. Hence, it is crucial to analyse cultural artefacts as they sometimes unwittingly project and disseminate the dominant culture. Cultural studies becomes a useful tool in this regard because of “its openness and theoretical versatility; its reflexive even self-conscious mood, and, the importance of critique” (Johnson 1987:38). Against this backdrop, I argue that a cultural studies lens provides one with appropriate analytical tools to confront and navigate imposed dominant discourses.

Hall is of the view that cultural studies, as method of inquiry, draws from the works of Gramsci. As he puts it, “immense amounts about the nature of culture itself, about the enormously productive metaphor of hegemony, about the way in which one can think questions of class relations only by using the displaced notion of ensemble and blocs” (1992:280). Hall concedes, thus, that Gramsci’s work came close to what their movement in the form of British cultural studies was trying to achieve. As he puts it, “Gramsci’s thinking around these questions [intellectual work] certainly captures part of what we were about” (Hall 1992:280). It should be noted, however, that there are many approaches to the study of culture and its artefacts; therefore, the movement draws from a number of theorists. Again, it boils down to the heterogeneity associated with the concept of culture. Kellner points to a variety of perspectives associated with the inquiry of culture; namely neo-Marxian, Althusserian, neo-Weberian, neo-Durkheimian, poststructuralist and feminist paradigms. Hall’s appraisal of Gramsci’s theoretical formulations seems to be informed by how Gramsci himself viewed and understood the concept of culture. Gramsci’s formulations of cultural analysis moved away from the Marxist view of culture and how it informs a social formation.

### 2.4 Cultural studies as a theoretical base

Theory, in relation to this study, was carefully selected with the research problem in mind. The statement below by Merrifield succinctly captures how the theoretical conceptualisation of this study was effected:

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It [theory] will doubtlessly involve careful excavation and reconstruction, necessitate both induction and deduction, journey between the concrete and the abstract, between the local and the global, between self and society, between what's possible and impossible (Merrifield in Johnson *et al.* 2004:118).

Cultural studies is known for its interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary and flexible approach to phenomena under scrutiny (Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram & Tincknell 2004:20). Its desirability for this study is premised on the notion that it does not rigidly follow the conception of theory in the stricter sense of theory application. In that vein, Slack advises that the theoretical application of cultural studies be utilised as a “detour to help ground our engagement with what newly confronts us and to let that engagement provide the ground for retheorizing (1996:114). It is in this context that the process of articulation in cultural studies should be undertaken. One significant element of cultural studies is the context as this mode of analysis concerns itself with the unearthing of the “socially and historically contingent matrix of social, economic, political, and technological articulations” (Andrews 2002:117).

The flexibility of cultural studies is also advocated for by During, who notes:

Cultural studies should aim to monopolize [*sic*] its students or, indeed its teachers and intellectuals, as little as possible within the academic-bureaucratic structures we have (1992:15).

Culture contexts are enacted within a plethora of social activities and constructions. Hence, to understand the discourses framed by the magazine under scrutiny in this study, the understanding of the South African context is crucial, as is the particular context that dictates these discourses.

Another underpinning assumption of cultural studies is that the “basic unit of investigation is always relationships;” thus phenomena can only be understood in terms of how they relate to one another (Grossberg 2005). Hall (1996:56) asserts that the study of culture involves the inquiry of the relationships between configurations of cultural texts and practices on the one hand, and everything that is not cultural; be it economics, social relations, national issues and social institutions. Relationships for Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg (1992:4) are constructed and these are, as a result of different agents and agencies, including

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people and institutions. Therefore, the relationality of cultural studies brings to the fore the issue of contexts. Cultural studies is mostly concerned with contexts and, as a result, it is an interdisciplinary inquiry because studying culture involves the process of looking at anything that is not cultural.

However, it should be highlighted that cultural studies allows for counter-hegemonic behaviour from those social classes belonging to the subcultural groups. Thus, cultural studies provides a lens in the inquiry of the context and dynamics at play between culture and society and, to an extent, ideology. Hence, the rationale behind its choice with the aim of understanding how *The Thinker* articulates the anticolonial and anti-apartheid discourses. The question which arises is: can cultural studies provide the selected authors of this particular magazine with a voice, given their positions of marginality? Perhaps Hall provides an answer to this question by positing that cultural studies gives attention to all voices, positions and experiences that are deemed to be outside of dominant forces (1996:397). Hall postulates elsewhere that cultural studies' main objective is to describe and understand contemporary challenges so as to devise mechanisms for dealing with situations:

The vocation of cultural studies has been to enable people to understand what is going on, and especially to provide ways of thinking, strategies for survival, and resources for resistance to all those who are now – in economic, political, and cultural terms – excluded from anything that could be called access to the national culture of the national community: in this sense, cultural studies still has as profound historical vocation as ever had in the 1960s and '70s (Hall 1990:22).

Grossberg (2005) summarises the importance and relevance of cultural studies as both a method of inquiry and theory with the following formulation:

Cultural studies is an effort to produce knowledge about context that will help to strengthen, existing struggles and constituencies, helping to relocate struggles and constituencies. It seeks knowledge that will make the contingency of the present visible and open up possibilities that will help to make the world a better, more humane place.

This, therefore, leads one to deduce that cultural studies appears to be unapologetically political in its nature and quest of negotiating a space where cultural practices and non-cultural practices can find some common ground. It is

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about the confrontation of power relations and how these are located within social formulations. It recognises how power is utilised by the dominant groups in enacting specific dominant discourses that tend to favour their point of view. It provides critique mechanisms to power relations; as a result, it concedes that power is a mode of hegemony utilised by the dominant groups, but it also brings to the fore the possibilities of resistance and struggles emanating from the dominated groups. For Kincheloe (2001:694) an understanding of the marginalised culture cannot only provide insights into that particular culture but culture in general, and particularly the western culture and its canonisation. Thus, the dominated groups are accorded a voice in cultural studies. As Johnson puts it, “cultural studies is a process, a kind of alchemy for producing useful knowledge” (1983:1). Hence, its suitability in the context of this study in understanding the inter-relations between power, hegemony and how these can be confronted within social formations. It is thus capable of deciphering how power shapes communicative activities that in turn shape and influence people’s perceptions (Kincheloe 2001:693).

Morley and Chen (1996:12) outline a variety of models residing in cultural studies, which are informed by different paradigms. This highlights the diversity of cultural studies as an intellectual project. This approach to cultural studies emphasises an emancipatory reading of culture as a form of power in order to problematise aspects of social domination. For Rosaldo (1994:526), this approach to cultural studies is concerned with how “various forms of oppression coincide, collide and diverge”. Since the main concern of this study is a text in the form of *The Thinker*, it is crucial to highlight the reasons behind its study. It should be noted, importantly, that cultural studies is not solely reliant on texts. As Johnson (1987:62) puts it, “[t]he text is only a *means* in cultural study: strictly, perhaps, it is a raw material from which certain forms may be abstracted”. A text is arguably an extension of a social life emanating from a social formation. Hence, Johnson (1987:74) advises that the reading of a text should be as open as possible with clear identification of all possible readings including the “subordinated frameworks”. Furthermore, an analysis should shy away from evaluative reading of a text and the desire to equate textual analysis to objective science (Johnson

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1987:74). Thus, the analyst should be clear about his/her intention from the outset by stating the objectives of the analysis.

A critique levelled against cultural studies as an intellectual project is its theoretical and methodological diversity. Cultural studies is interdisciplinary and, as a result, cannot be regarded as a fully-fledged academic discipline. Consequently, its legitimacy is constantly questioned. As Hall puts it, “it was accompanied by a great deal of bad feeling, argument, unstable anxieties and angry silences” (1992:281). Johnson also recognises its openness, theoretical versatility, reflexivity and self-consciousness (1983:1). For Grossberg (2005), the measure of a theory’s truth is its ability to understand a particular context. For it is within contexts that cultural practices take place. As far as Hall is concerned, the open-endedness of cultural studies should be seen as a positive because this can invoke theoretical gains as far as the study of culture is concerned. It should be said that the interdisciplinarity and theoretical diversity of cultural studies should be seen as positive insofar as the intellectual inquiry of its undertakings is concerned.

Similarly, Kincheloe (2001:695) notes the multidisciplinary approach of cultural studies in studying social issues such as race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, immigration and “pedagogy from unique perspectives and theoretical positions”. It is therefore argued that this multidisciplinary approach of cultural studies can attempt to address what Lewis Gordon terms *disciplinary decadence* – inability and limitations of a certain discipline to interrogate social phenomena. Gordon is specifically speaking about race insofar as the metatheoretical discourse on race is encountering methodological shortcomings (2013:3).

Hence, the recognition by scholars in African Diasporic philosophy of disciplinary decadence associated with studies on race by advocating for the practice of transdisciplinarity (Gordon 2013:3). Although this particular study is not concerned with issues of race per se, this issue is mentioned to highlight the multidisciplinary associated with cultural studies in the quest of making sense of a variety of cultural aspects of which race forms part. As Grossberg (2005) puts it, “it [cultural studies] desacralizes theory in order to take it up as a contingent

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strategic resource". Contestations of divergent paradigms emanating from the intellectual works of cultural studies offers the discipline some flexibility in understanding the aspects of power, culture, textuality and, to an extent, ideology. To put it in Hall's own words:

Again there is no space here to do more than begin to list the theoretical advances which were made by the encounters with structuralist, semiotic and poststructuralist work: the crucial importance of language and of the linguistic metaphor to any study of culture; the expansion of the notion of text and textuality, both as a source of meaning, and as that which escapes and postpones meaning; the recognition of the heterogeneity, of the multiplicity of meanings, of the struggle to close arbitrarily the infinite semiosis beyond meaning; the acknowledgement of textuality and cultural power, of representation itself, as site of power and regulation; of the symbolic as source of identity (1992:283).

Therefore, for Eagleton, if cultural studies is to be effective as a theory, it must:

[...] have answerable resources of its own, equal in depth and scope to the situation it confronts. It cannot afford simply to keep on recounting the same narratives of class, race and gender, indispensable as these topics are (2003:221).

Based on Eagleton's assertions, one is forced to concede the unique status of South Africa and the adequacy of cultural studies as an academic theory to confront the issues facing this locality. It should be pointed out that the theoretical postulations of cultural studies, as a method of inquiry, emanate from the works of theorists residing in the United Kingdom, United States of America, and Europe and, to an extent, Australia. The argument can be that given the unique position of this country in terms of its identity, history and culture, the usage of theoretical paradigms emanating from the west becomes questionable. Hence, Williams suggests a new development of cultural studies because the current educational curriculum does not provide answers to contemporary questions (1989:155). However, Chrisman suggests the usefulness of cultural studies as a relatively new discipline in South African academy when she writes:

More than any other academic field, cultural studies provides the potential for new forms of teaching, learning and knowledge that are local-based and people-led. I would go further and suggests that cultural studies also provides the potential for new forms of cultural production and policy. South African cultural studies could provide an institutional matrix in which the traditional distinctions between academic and aesthetic production,

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like those between theoretical reflection and policy development, are deliberately interrogated, challenged and transformed (2003:147).

This statement by Chrisman advocates for a new form of critically applying cultural studies as a theoretical paradigm, which is tailor-made to address and problematise South African postcolonial modernity given the dynamic and political space of the country. The need arises for South African critics and theorists to look within their boundaries for theoretical orientation, which is premised from within the confines of the country's rich history and its relatively new-found democracy. Nuttall and Michael (1999:56) observe three major cultural studies in a South African context: "the over-determination of the political, the inflation of resistance and the inflections given to race as a determinant identity". They see these aspects as no longer useful in a new democratic dispensation and thus suggest the re-imagining of a reformulated cultural studies characterised by, among others, unfixing identity, the reclaiming of the sub-cultural, and the rewriting of the citizenship (1999:58-61). The unfixing of identity, argue Nuttall and Michael, should entail the emergence of the marginalised voices and to reclaim the sub-cultural should involve the mainstreaming of the cultural forms that were deemed sub-cultural (1999:60).

Therefore, these re-imaginings of cultural studies in a South African context speak to new cultural configurations that emerged following the dismantling of apartheid. In order to achieve this goal, Kincheloe (2001:698-99) provides some useful advises that can be drawn from cultural studies in a South African context as it grapples with transforming the curriculum. Kincheloe observes that cultural studies helps educators to "ask questions about what knowledge is most worth, what it means to know something, and in what ways students and teachers are shaped by the world around them" (2001:699). It follows that the South African cultural studies should not heavily rely on the United Kingdom or United States of America's (USA) paradigms, which tend to possess aspects of neo-colonialism but should bring to the fore theoretical (re)formulations capable of confronting the South African situation and context. Hence, the articulation of the context that

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influenced and shaped *The Thinker* as a cultural text becomes imperative in that regard.

South Africa experienced three hundred and fifty years of colonial domination which was immediately followed by the racialised system of apartheid. The system of apartheid enacted and entrenched cultural hegemony over the black majority in addition to racial and economic domination on the said group. So systemic and entrenched was the system that even after its demise in 1994, its legacies are still ongoing. There are still pronounced inequalities that are characterised by black people's material conditions and group-based disadvantages (Modiri 2012:409). To this group, the end of apartheid did not culminate in the eradication of their socio-economic conditions. For this reason, their subjection is amplified by the widening gap of between the rich and the poor. Of course, in a South African context, black people are subjected to perpetual poverty and thus, on the receiving end of the brunt of capitalism. For Modiri (2012:409), the South African society is stuck "somewhere between an authoritarian system that is based on racial oppression and inequality and a 'transforming' democratic system-based dignity, freedom and equality". It is safe to say that the latter type of society remains a dream for the black majority.

That being said, the current South African political, economic and social context, present the challenges of social justice. Hence, the significance of context in this particular study because texts as cultural artefacts, do not happen in a vacuum. A text is a product of a discourse which is understood as a social activity within a given context (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak 2014:4). For this reason, *The Thinker* is bound to be shaped and influenced by the South African context. In particular, the socio-political context that dictates for a decolonial turn given the perpetual entrenched systemic condition of coloniality inflicted upon the colonised individuals. Interestingly, this study looked at a period from 2010, which was characterised by the discourses of African Renaissance to 2016, a period where the decolonial turn was gaining traction (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, the study highlights the importance of archiving and documenting the contextual changes that influenced the magazine. For that reason, this study sought to document the dynamic South African socio-realities through the text namely, *The Thinker*.

### **2.4.1 Radical contextualism**

Cultural studies is viewed by its practitioners as a revolutionary intellectual work and has a potential for defying or critiquing the dominant ideology within a given social formation. Its values include, among other things, equality, justice, solidarity and diversity (Barker 2002:19). This is where the principle of context comes to the fore. In order to clearly articulate these values, understanding their context is crucial. Furthermore, text and context cannot be separated from each other. For this reason, Grossberg highlights this aspect by pointing out that cultural studies transcends from a mere model of communication to a theory of contexts (Grossberg 1997:347). For Grossberg, context in cultural studies is everything:

[...] cultural studies is radically contextual and this is true of its theory, its politics, its questions, its object, its method and its commitments. In fact, I would argue that context is everything and everything is context for cultural studies; cultural studies is perhaps best as a contextual theory of contexts as the lived milieux of power (1997:7-8).

Context in cultural studies appreciates that cultural texts and practices interact within a matrix of social dimensions such as politics and economics. Hence, the principle of contextualism becomes a rigorous reading of a social formation through its political work. In addition to rigorously contextualising social reality, it also highlights and acknowledges the complexity of phenomena at hand. Therefore, in relation to the study at hand, contextualisation of the South African post-apartheid context, its complexities and nuances, should be explicitly stated. The significance of the South African locality and positionality has to be radically contextualised given its history. Having gone through colonialism and subsequently apartheid, the South African context cannot be similar to that of, for instance, Ghana; which gained independence in 1956. For instance, if one were to highlight the poor state of former Bantustan areas as one example of the many legacies of apartheid, the context in this regard becomes critical. Thus, with radical contextualism, a clear understanding and appreciation of the status quo can be reached. The issues should then necessitate for a cultural study that

interrogates dominant representations and hegemonic cultural formations (Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram & Tincknell 2004:16). To radically contextualise the dominant and hegemonic discourses is to, then, develop insights as to why the status quo prevails and what can be done to reverse it, which is basically what the study has set out to undertake.

However, cultural studies shies away from providing an all-encompassing answer to the complex issues confronting society. It follows, then, that cultural studies does not take for granted the allusion of the “truth” because it accords every context an equal conjunctive logic. Thus, according to cultural studies, “the shape and structure of any context is inevitable” (Grossberg 2005). Hence, Johnson (1983:25) asserts that the context is crucial in the production of meaning. It can be argued that there are no guarantees, in reality, that social phenomena will form in certain ways; therefore, cultural studies believes that understanding a social phenomenon requires the flexible analysis that encompasses theoretical inquiry and the context in which the phenomenon in question is found.

### ***2.4.2 The principle of articulation***

In theorising and problematising the social, political, and economic practices, it becomes essential to contextualise these articulations. Grossberg (1996:87) asserts that articulation – in the context of cultural studies – entails what he terms “transformative practice” of dealing with contemporary social realities. For this reason, articulation forms part of the contextual conjuncture of cultural studies. For Slack, the process of articulation in the context of cultural studies works at the levels of the epistemological, the political and the strategic. As she puts it:

Epistemologically, articulation is a way of thinking the structures of what we know as a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, as fragments in the constitution of what we take to be unities. Politically, articulation is a way of foregrounding the structure and play of power that entail in relations of dominance and subordination. Strategically, articulation provides a mechanism for shaping intervention within a particular social formation, conjuncture or context (1996:113).

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Articulation, for Hall, entails a process of work in progress bound by its conditions and situations in theorising social reality. It involves a process of dissolving old linkages and forming new ones and subsequently forging unity of different elements under certain conditions and contexts. Hall elaborates more on articulation thus:

By the term 'articulation', I mean a connection or link which is not necessarily given in all cases, as a law or a fact of life, but which requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, which has to be positively sustained by specific processes, which is not 'eternal' but has to be constantly renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to the old linkages being dissolved and new connections – rearticulations – being forged. It is also important that an articulation between different practices does not mean that they become identical or that one is dissolved into the other. Each retains its distinct determinations and conditions of existence. However, once an articulation is made, the two practices can function together, not as an 'immediate identity but as distinctions within a 'unity' (Hall cited in Clarke 2015:277).

In articulation, the problematics of politics, culture and hegemony are deconstructed to decipher their influence on a given social formation. As Barker (2002:222) puts it, "articulation suggests expressing/representing and joining together so that, for example, questions of gender may connect with race but in context-specific and contingent ways". The articulated discourse, for Hall; accords the people agency to enable them to rise above the problematics of their historical situation. Therefore, to fully appreciate the phenomena, for instance, domination and subordination, their articulation is necessary. For this reason, articulation is inherently context bound.

Against this background, the articulated discourse is capable of transcending, albeit tentatively, the hegemonic entrapment that comes with the logic of modernity, which is constitutive of domination and subordination. In this way, articulation has to do with the usage of varying elements – irrespective of their linkage – in forging a unitary framework that engages and unravels the social phenomena. Hall asserts, in this regard, that the link combining two or more elements of social formation should be made explicit (1980:197). As such, the model of articulation employed in this study, relates to the discourses of

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domination, subordination and liberation in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Although the domination instance in the contemporary era manifests itself in subtle ways, its articulation is necessary if it is to be understood and viewed in relation to the logic of subordination. Thus, the principle of articulation, in this regard, provides a framework of looking holistically at social phenomena in order to understand the nuances involved. It is Hall's view that the centrality of articulation in relation to social formations lies in the grasping of the complexities associated with them. In other words, a social formation should be analysed by considering its "different periods and epochs, indeed different periodicities, e.g., times, histories" (Hall 1980:198).

To fully understand the context of a given social formation, one needs to appreciate the ideological terrain that led to its existence. Hence, the principle of articulation is central in the analysis of discourse, ideology and culture (Clarke 2015:276). Furthermore, given that the current epistemological foundation is constitutive of Euro-American praxis, rigorous coordination of multiple frameworks may overcome the limitations that come with such reality. Hence, cultural studies does not prioritise theory over social justice. As Grossberg (1993:iv) puts it, "it seeks to give better understanding of where we are so that we can create new historical contexts and formations which are based on more principles of freedom, equality, and the distribution of wealth and power". Articulation, in this study, is more than the representation of discourses but it is intentionally political as it sought to devise meaning that fits the existential experience of the colonised subject. In studying the works of Du Bois, Zuberi observes that a counter-narrative perspective is crucial with regards to understanding the agency of an African (2006:255). The counter-narrative, in this instance, pertains to an African-centred perspective in relation to modern society. In articulation, there exists a possibility of constructing counter-hegemonic discourses in a given social formation (Clarke 2015:276). In his interview with Grossberg (1986: 237), Hall gives an example of how the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica re-articulated the Bible message to fit their own existential experience. For Hall, this reorganisation of elements of cultural practices pertains to a process of cultural transformation (1986:237).

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Although Hall concedes that the principle of articulation as he applies it, draws from Marxism ideology theory; however, his understanding of the term moves away from the reductionist tendencies of classical Marxism (Hall in Grossberg 1986:5).

### 2.5 Relevance of the theory for the study

The juxtaposing of Foucauldian discourse conception and cultural studies in this study sought to understand and explore how discourses come to be central instruments of a social context. Since the focus of this study has to do with the perceived promotion of particular discourses; a deeper understanding of the development of certain discourses is thus required. Particularly, the constitution of conducive environments and imperatives for discourse to propagate itself within a social formation. Moreover, an interrogation of how discourses interpellate individuals as subjects, is key so that their machinations are confronted. Hence, for discourse to become mainstream, it should be accorded agency by being discussed and engaged upon insofar as its proliferation to the hearers is to be achieved. As Hountondji ((1970:12) puts it:

A discourse is partly determined in its content by the actual configuration of the discussion circle in which it is performed and by the frontiers, both visible, of this circle.

Detailing a Bantu philosophy, Hountondji (1970:113) remarks the dynamism of its notion of essence *vi-sa-vie* the occidental static theory. For this reason, the notion of being in an African context becomes the complete opposite of the Eurocentric thought. Foucault makes a contrast between everyday talk and serious speech acts. The latter being his object of analysis. For this reason, it follows that discourses should be understood in terms of their influence on their hearers. This aspect of studying a discourse can serve as a tool to determine how certain discourses are promoted by texts, for example *The Thinker* as media text. Furthermore, cultural studies allows for the critical analysis of cultural politics in which “power is addressed primarily through the display of texts, bodies, and representation” (Giroux & Shannon 1997:4). Thus, for a particular discursive practice to play itself out, there need to be certain conditions that allow it to prosper. Furthermore, for the discursive structure to take shape, there should be

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a shift in the form of aspects of societal concepts, culture and the general worldviews in a given context (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:9). Accordingly, discourses appropriate themselves through the use of language as in cultural studies, language constructs realities and subjectivities of social actors (Threadgold 2013:6).

Applying the tool of radical contextualism in the study of discourses as well as the centrality of language, juxtaposing both Foucauldian discourse theory and cultural studies, can provide insights in understanding the proliferation of discourses. According to Fairclough (1992:213), a systematic analysis of discourse that entails, among others, analysis of context and processes of text can strengthen the link between context and text. Furthermore, Foucault stresses that discourses be critically analysed and interpreted with the right questions in mind. For instance, who utters the speech acts and the positionality of the subject within the social context? For that reason, Foucault's discourse theory allows for a critical engagement of the objects under investigation. Given the purpose of this study, the theory is thus relevant.

It should be noted, as done earlier, that I am mindful of the fact that Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse was premised on Euro-American thought and context. For instance, in his book *The Order of things* (1966), Foucault equates modernity as an epoch that sees 'man' being able to come to terms with the notion of episteme. In decolonial terms, modernity is undesirable, at least to a global South<sup>3</sup> individual, as it conceals its darker side: coloniality. Furthermore, it is doubtful that Foucault's theory can sufficiently analyse concepts such as *ubuntu* given the fact that these are perceived to be peculiar to certain localities. Accordingly, cultural studies' emphasis on the notion of pluriversality of voices and knowledges makes sense.

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<sup>3</sup> I am aware of the contestations surrounding the usage of the term, particularly within the context of decolonisation. For the purpose of this study, the term is used to simply denote the developing world.

### 2.6 Summary

This chapter has unpacked the theoretical framework deployed for this study, namely; Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse, and cultural studies. It emerged from the discussion that Foucault's conception of discourse problematises and articulates power dynamics associated with discourses within a given society. Foucault's intellectual work highlights the problematics of subjectivity and, subsequently, help to understand the dialectic of the oppressor and the oppressed. The notion of subjectivity is further interrogated in the next chapter as reflected by the logic of coloniality. Furthermore, cultural studies foregrounds the principle of context and as such, it emphasises the unique situation of the South African post-apartheid narrative. The flexibility of cultural studies does not limit an analyst to predetermined rigid outcomes.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the reviewed literature relevant for this topic

## CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to define, contextualise and problematise the main concepts emanating from the research problem. Firstly, a discussion on the concept of coloniality, including its manifestations, is presented. This is followed by a discussion on how the ideology of apartheid is enacted to perpetuate and advance the logic of coloniality. The discussion then progresses to justify the need for decolonisation efforts by outlining what is meant by the concept, 'decolonial shift'. Furthermore, insight is rendered with respect to how a decolonial shift can be achieved. Lastly, the discourse of African Renaissance as a de-linking option is investigated to determine its suitability as a de-linking option – in relation to decolonial discourses.

### 3.2 Coloniality

Coloniality results from the advent of colonialism, but the former survives the latter; hence providing an explanation of colonialism should be a good point of departure. Colonialism, for Fanon, was designed to diminish and erode the culture of the indigenous people. As he writes, "effort is made to bring the colonized [*sic*] to admit the inferiority of his culture..." (1963:237). For Fanon, the native culture is left stagnant whereas the only movement that rises is as the result of resistance to the colonial rule (1963:238). Gordon (2015:2), on the other hand, reiterates that colonisation is a form of domination that entails modes of subjugation. For these reasons, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o highlights the impact of colonialism on the modern world because every corner is affected and impacted and, as such, modernity is a product of colonialism (2009:xi).

For Clarke (1992:75), the usurpation of Africa began with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade, which marked the beginning of a distorted image of Africa and her citizens. As Clarke puts it, "[t]his is the period when Europeans began to infer that the world was waiting in darkness for Europeans to bring the light" (1992:75). This is where the notion of Africa as signifying a "dark continent" without history, religion and civilisation comes in. The signification made it possible to

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dehumanise the African in order to commodify the African subject to serve the interests of a capitalist system. Tuck and Yang (2012:4) distinguish between external colonialism and internal colonialism:

*External colonialism* (also called exogenous or exploitation colonization) denotes the expropriation of fragments of Indigenous worlds, animals, plants and human beings, extracting them in order to transport them to - and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of - the colonizers, who get marked as the first world (Tuck & Yang 2012:4).

Internal colonialism entails the “biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora and fauna within the “domestic” borders of the imperial nation” (Tuck & Yang 2012:4). Although these two concepts (coloniality and colonialism) are sometimes used interchangeably, they do not signify the same thing. Coloniality signifies the global and national/cultural hierarchies that constitute the current world system following five centuries of world domination that was enacted as a form of civilisation. Colonialism, on the other hand, is characterised by forceful ruling of a lesser territory by a powerful state ( Bertolt 2018; Eze 2011, 2018; Higgs 2012; Abdi 2010; Ntuli 2012; Hountondji 2009; Quijano 2007; Grosfoguel 2007). Maldonado-Torres (2007:243) distinguishes the two concepts thus:

Coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to long-lasting patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor [*sic*], intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations... It is maintained alive 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.

It is evident from this distinction that coloniality signifies the aftermath of colonialism and as a result, the former can be used to understand how the colonial domination in the form of cultural hegemony still exists despite the withdrawal of the empire. Hence, decolonisation is seen as a myth under these conditions. The atrocities of colonialism are inscribed in the institution of transatlantic slavery (Eze 2011:881). As Eze further illustrates this point:

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The brutality of this modern economic process is nowhere as evident as in the institution of the transatlantic slavery. The antiquities in all societies—from the Athenian through the Ashanti to the Roman—seem to have known slavery in one form or the other: indentured servitude, religious caste systems, or other forms of extreme class division within a society that render a particular section of a population exploitable, with or without rights or citizenship (2011:881).

For Onuegu, then, the colonial capital system remains dominant in Africa albeit “in a disguised and indirect fashion that is insidious and tactical” (2014:129). Hence, Abdi argues that the logic of colonialism manifests itself through psychological, cultural, educational, political and economic instances (2010:10). The psychological aspect, in the context of Africa, is constituted by European thinkers’ portrayal of Africans as “irresponsible, socially infantile and needing, actually deserving domination of Europeans” (2010:10). For Bertolt, colonisation entailed the kidnapping of body and mind of the colonised (2018:6). The domination eventually lead to pollution of the ontology of the African by the imposition of the repressive Eurocentric logic. The concept of coloniality can be traced to a group of Latin American thinkers who came with the term to highlight the aftermath of colonialism, which had an impact on the colonised territories.

Coloniality is seen as the “most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed” (Quijano 2007:170). Coloniality is therefore different from colonialism as it entails an era after the destruction of the explicit juridical-political colonialism (Mignolo 2000, 2007; Castro-Gomez 2002 Escobar 2007; Maldonado-Torres 2007; Grosfoguel 2007; Quijano 2007). Coloniality exists as both a concept and a condition of lived experiences of the former colonised subjects (Walsh 2007:21). As posited by Grosfoguel (2007:212):

One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century was the notion that elimination of colonial administration amounted to the decolonization [sic] of the world. This led to the myth of a ‘postcolonial’ world. The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonization [sic] of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same ‘colonial power matrix’. With juridical-political decolonization [sic] we moved from a period of ‘global coloniality’.

Maldonado-Torres (2007:241) enunciates this point further when he remarked that, “[i]n a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day”. For Mignolo (2007:5) coloniality is about silenced histories, repressed subjectivities, subalternised knowledges and languages as reproduced by modernity and rationality. The logic of coloniality thus aims to continuously subjugate the colonised subject through what is deemed a colonial matrix of power.

#### **3.2.1 Colonial matrix of power**

The colonial matrix of power affects all dimensions of human existence, including aspects of sexuality, authority, subjectivity and labour (Grosfoguel 2007:214; Mignolo 2009:5; Maldonado-Torres 2006; Quijano 2007). Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:134) provide an explanation of the colonial matrix of power, thusly:

Conceptually, the colonial matrix of power operates in four interconnected spheres of life. In each sphere there are struggles; conflicts over control and domination in which the imposition of a particular lifestyle, moral, economy, structure of authority, etc., implies the overcoming, destruction, marginalization [*sic*] of existing precolonial order.

The four interconnected spheres of life as outlined by Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:135) can be summarised as follows: the struggle for economic control; the struggle for the control of authority; the control of the public sphere and the control of knowledge and subjectivity. The appropriation of land, natural resources and labour constitutes the activity of economic control. Whilst the imposition of heteronormativity, the nuclear family values and the naturalisation of certain gender roles meant to influence the public sphere. On the other hand, the colonisation of knowledges and, to an extent, subjectivity; made it possible for the hegemonic domination of the colonised (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2009:135). Furthermore, Grosfoguel (2007:217) sees the coloniality of power as a process of maintaining the colonial reality reflected in the cultural, political, sexual and economic oppression of the subalternised subjects. For this reason, coloniality of power impacts the existential and material conditions of the ex-colonised in insuring that the colonised remains marginalised and subalternised. Hence, for Sithole (2014:66) the colonial matrices of power maintain and perpetuate the current

global status quo. It is this colonial matrix of power that is critiqued by Mignolo as the condition that created the current world system that “remapped the world as first, second and third during the Cold War” (2007:183).

Furthermore, the domination and exploitation that come with the coloniality of power enacted the racial/ethnic hierarchies of the European/non-European global system (Grosfoguel 2007:215). Coloniality of power manifests itself through the current modernity, which came about following the imposition of colonisation (Quijano 2000). For Castro-Gomez (2002:277) the concept of coloniality of power extends the Foucauldian concept of disciplinary power “by demonstrating that the panoptic constructions erected by the modern state are inscribed in a wider structure of power/knowledge”. It is for this reason, argues Castro-Gomez, that modernity should be understood as a project that controls and regulates the current social world, which emerged in the sixteenth century. However, the constructed social world also brought with it the current hegemonic framework fraught with hierarchies. Coloniality is further manifest in dimensions of the coloniality of knowledge and being.

#### **3.2.2 The coloniality of knowledge**

Coloniality of knowledge seeks to sustain the coloniality of power through the monopolisation of epistemologies. According to Mignolo (2007:2), coloniality of knowledge emanates from the epistemic dependency of the colonised world that was inflicted by five hundred years of historical foundation of the current modernity. Coloniality of knowledge in Africa began with the advent of Christianity religion with its missionary education imposing a new cultural self and, in the process, undermining the African culture (Egudu 1978:6). Quijano (2007:169) elaborates how the monopolisation of epistemologies was meant to subjugate and dominate the colonised:

The colonizers [*sic*] imposed a mystified image of their own patterns of producing knowledge and meaning. At first, they placed these patterns far out of reach of the dominated. Later, they taught them in a partial and selective way, in order to co-opt some of the dominated into their power institutions.

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The logic of monopolisation of knowledge talks to the construction of the colonised subject with the aim of imposing Eurocentric modernity on these individuals. For Quijano (2007:177) coloniality of knowledge imposes the universal rationality of western Europe as the rightful reality thus provincializing this hegemonic system. Hence, this assertion that other epistemologies are inferior. As Santos (2012:53) puts it, “the inferior ones, because insuperably inferior, cannot be a credible alternative to the superior one”. This imposition of Eurocentric knowledge on the global South has led to the underdevelopment and disregard of the latter’s ontological existence. Wynter enunciates this predicament by noting that:

Western intellectuals have, by means of the development of the natural sciences, enabled us to obtain non-adaptive knowledge of our nonhuman levels of reality, we have hitherto had no such parallel knowledge with respect to ourselves and the nature-culture laws that governour [*sic*] modes of being, of behaving, of mind, or of minding (Wynter 2003:317).

It is thus argued by Wynter that Eurocentred knowledge stripped the colonised of the ability to think independently; culminating in modes of *being* that is anchored on western thought. Similarly, Woodson highlights the systemic indoctrination of the imposed education system:

The present system under the control of the whites trains the Negro [*sic*] to be white and at the same time convinces him of the impropriety or the impossibility of his becoming white. It compels the Negro to become a good Negro for performance of which his education is ill-suited (2006:24).

In other words, the imposed Eurocentric education does not make you equal you to your white counterpart, but it serves to suppress and deny you with agency. As such, you are indoctrinated to believe that western modernity is desirable and civilising. For this reason, your subjection is entrenched and institutionalised.

Similarly, for Castro-Gomez (2002:277), the disciplines of social sciences were conceptualised and developed within the matrix of modern/colonial power. It follows that the current conceptual system of how knowledge is generated is anchored on the hegemonic colonial/modern system. This logic is reflected through binary oppositions such as, among others, barbarism and civilisation, traditional and modern, poverty and development, that are used to explain and

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construct the modern world system. This categorisation has justified and led to the expropriation of land and expropriation of labour given the inferiority and sub-human status of the colonised subject (Mignolo 2008:1738). The coloniser imposed the control of knowledge to suit the agenda of domination, which was inspired mainly by capitalism.

According to Grosfoguel, the production of a “[t]ruthful universal knowledge” by western modernity, is premised on a myth anchored on the colonial matrix of power (2007:213). Furthermore, the imposed Euro-modern epistemology serves to synthesise and condition the colonised mind through the construction of the nonentity. As Sithole posits:

The self of the black is the self-objectified, and this is done by crushing the humanity of the black in constant questioning and also reminding blackness that it is entity that is nonentity as it constitutes negativity, lacks, and deficiencies (2016:41).

The colonial education system alienates African learners from their cultural practices by prioritising the entrenched hegemonic culture. This type of knowledge is said to create what Shizha terms cultural dissonance that is taking place in an African classroom:

Colonially educated teachers create a cultural dissonance between the learners’ acquired life experiences and abstractions of Euro-American science. Neo-colonial education driven by neoliberalism and the credentialization [*sic*] of learning for market-place certification invalidates African sciences to the extent that they are regarded as ‘backward’ and retrogressive’ (2010:36).

Of course, this knowledge system serves the purpose of reproducing the capitalist system that is premised on the logic of modernity; thus, perpetuating the system of coloniality. For that reason, the imposed hegemonic knowledge system is bound to influence the mentality of the colonised, culminating into the state of coloniality of being. Hence, Clarke (1992:89) observes that Eurocentred education produces Africans who hate everything African but revere anything that is Eurocentric and thus having their self-consciousness compromised.

### 3.2.3 The coloniality of being

Coloniality of being refers to the ontological dimension of coloniality (Mignolo 2007:186). For Mignolo this activity manifests through the practice of 'ontological excess' involving a process of imposing on others particular knowledges. Coloniality of being arises as a result of coloniality of power and coloniality of knowledge. According to Maldonado-Torres (2007:243), coloniality of being refers to "the violation of the meaning of human alterity to the point where the alter-ego becomes a sub-altern". Maldonado-Torres (2007:243) argues that the colonial relations of power impacted profoundly on "the general understanding of being" which have an impact on the lived experience of colonisation. For Sithole (2014:78), then, coloniality of being epitomises the logic of the subjection of the African subject. For this reason, Maldonado-Torres (2016:3) asserts that the entrenched western modernity reinforces coloniality through "crude and vulgar repetitions" in the form of, among other things, the increasing concentration of resources in the hands of the few and social, economic and political control.

Thus, for Maldonado-Torres, the monopolisation of epistemologies has a bearing on what he terms "the general understanding of being" which culminates in the subjection of the colonised individuals (2007:251). As he puts it, "The colonial aspect of Being, that is, its tendency to submit everything to the light of understanding and signification, reaches an extreme pathological point in war and its naturalization [*sic*] through the idea of race in modernity" (Maldonado-Torres 2007:251). This understanding of being is forced on the colonised subject by the coloniality of power, knowledge and being that fixes the subject to what Fanon refers to as a state of the condemned/*damnes*. The *damnes* is incapable of producing knowledge as it is produced for him/her because he/she lacks the cognitive capacity that is at par with the coloniser. This *damnes* is therefore told how to conceive the world around him/her including his/her subjectivity. Similarly, for Abdi, the outcomes of colonial conquest are far-reaching and consequential for the African colonised:

Conquest and colonialism involve extensively interactive regimes and heavy contexts of identity deformation, misrecognition, loss of self-esteem, and individual and social doubt in self-efficacy. All of these could, in the long run at least, mentally and culturally reward

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the visitors, and through the psychology of need, people could equate perfection, achievement and success with those who have had the right means to trump their ontologies and existentialities (2010:12).

According to Maldonado-Torres (2004:40), the *damnés* are “those found in the wastelands of empires as well as in countries and mega-cities which become small empires into themselves”. These individuals are described by Gordon (2011:97) as “belonging to a world that, paradoxically they do not belong”. These condemned beings are fundamentally racialised and considered as problems in a world that renders them sub-human. As Gordon (2011:97) posits, “Their [colonised] status is a function of the presupposed legitimacy of the systems that generate them”. For Mignolo (2011:277), these racialised colonial subjects are dehumanised because they are ontologically and, subsequently, epistemically inferior. Thus, the dominant forces, through their systemic imposed machinery; constitute the colonised into zombified subjects that lack self-consciousness. Of course, the ramifications are dire for your being is polluted. Similarly, Melgoza (2015:27) elaborates on the subjection of the condemned with specific reference to people of Mexican descent as “a problem and culturally deficient ethno-racial group lacking a desire for personal betterment...” For this reason, the coloniality of being for the subalternised presents a constant struggle for proving his/her humanity in an anti-black world (Sithole 2016:53).

According to Mignolo (2007:23), the coloniality of being has a bearing on how everything is thought out within the heart of the empire – including repression, control, oppression, emancipation, liberation and decolonisation. As Dussel (2006:491) pointed out, the minds of the colonised are impacted to such an extent that they assume the mirror image of the European or American identity. For Woodson, the coloniser ensured that the mind of the colonised subject is controlled because if you control the mind, “[you] do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he [*sic*] will seek it (2006:12). For this reason, the condemned cannot think out of Euro-modernity, which constructed him or her and constitutes his or her reality. Thus, against this background, the concept of what Gordon calls double consciousness comes to the fore wherein “the designated-inferior racial subject is forced to think and speak through two worlds – theirs to

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each other and the dominant language” (2013:4). The concept was first coined by WEB Du Bois (1989:203) who describe it as a:

...sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

Gordon, expanding on WEB du Bois's work on race, further elaborates on how the dominated subject is rendered to a position of false universality perpetuated by the hegemonic human experience (2013:4). More (2006:753) refer to this copying mechanism as adaptive and maladaptive responses. The former entails a tentative accommodation of the dominant narrative whilst the latter takes the form of rejecting your own sense of being and embracing the characteristics of the oppressor (More 2006:753). Of course, the maladaptive response is highly problematic as it strips off the agency of the colonised subject with ramifications for self-consciousness. Moreover, for Johnson *et al* (2014:54), a paradox exists under these conditions because a black person educated in Eurocentric epistemology is bound to experience double consciousness whether he/she thinks with or against European philosophical traditions. According to Maldonado-Torres (2004:36), the concept of coloniality of being comes as a response to the relationship between modernity and colonial experience. In other words, the coloniality of being came into existence following the colonial matrix of power as observed by Quijano and its relationship with coloniality of knowledge. Hence this observation by Mignolo (2007:186) of the relationship between power and knowledge as they relate to being:

‘Science’ (knowledge and wisdom) cannot be detached from language; languages are not just ‘cultural’; they are also the location where knowledge is inscribed. And, since languages are not something human beings have but rather something of what human beings are, coloniality of power and of knowledge engendered the coloniality of being [*colonialidad del ser*].

It is thus evident that coloniality/modernity renders those referred to by Fanon as the *condemned of the earth* invisible and belonging in the margins. As they navigate the colonial spaces, they are continually reminded how the modern

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world is non-conducive for their racialised and marginalised bodies. The damnation of the racialised and marginalised is concealed by the perpetual logic of coloniality. As Maldonado-Torres (2004:43) puts it, “Coloniality of Being suggests that Being in some way militates against one’s own existence”. The subject at the receiving end of the colonial experience is left to feel the ontological violence that comes with the entrenched modern world system. The African is perceived to be lacking ontology, which then validates his or her domination as evidenced by this utterance:

We do not claim that the Bantus are capable of presenting us with a philosophical treatise complete with an adequate vocabulary. It is our own intellectual training that enables us to effect its systematic development. It is up to us to provide them with an accurate account of their conception of entities, in such a way that they will recognize [*sic*] themselves in our words and will agree, saying: “You have understood us, you know us now completely, you ‘know’ in the same way we ‘know’” (Tempels cited in Hountondji 2009:123).

It is evident from the statement that an African is relegated to a zone of non-being incapable of articulating his or her own philosophy and, as such, it should be formulated and articulated on their behalf and, more importantly; through a western perspective. The colonial Eurocentric imposition is thus justified for it is enacted to ‘save’ the native from his or her barbaric condition. Although Tempels sought to formulate a “Bantu philosophy”, for Hountondji, the formulation is in bad faith as the bantu in this context is “a face without a voice that they [Europeans] try to spell themselves, an object to be defined...” (2009:112-113).

Hence, the questioning of whether the colonised subject possesses consciousness. For Sartre, human existence needs consciousness in order to attain freedom (1956:3). Thus, one cannot be wholly free if one’s consciousness is not well articulated within the confines of one’s existential reality with an authentic ontology. It follows that the appropriation of a certain culture brings with it the imposition of the dominant party’s consciousness on the dominated group. More (2004:86) observes in this regard, that “white consciousness” was imposed on blacks thus impacting on the cultural, political, economic, linguistic and religious aspects of black people as a group. This dominated group is then

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relegated to a position of non-entity, a zone of non-being, characterised by the insignificance of lives. This state of affairs presents a paradox – you are forced to adopt a particular consciousness because your own consciousness is deemed unauthentic; however, the imposed consciousness renders you inferior. This so-called new consciousness has implications to your psychological framework as your thinking is influenced by the dominant forces with the aim of sustaining the inferiority complex that has infiltrated your 'being'. Self-consciousness is denied, as the entrenched system does not afford you an opportunity to cleanse your polluted psyche, as it were. The imposition therefore, translates into usurpation and deep intrusion of the African space, being and universe.

It can be argued that the marginalisation of the colonised subject, as a result of the entrenched colonial matrices of power, imposed the internalised inferiority complex that came to be associated with blackness. Given the psychological impact of coloniality, its veracity is thus deep-rooted and, in certain instances, are naturalised to appear as "normal". For Foucault, the premise of power is enacted through the dominant discourses thus concealing their domination of the repressed (1969:17). The colonised subject, stripped of his or her ontological agency, is left to prioritise Euro-American reality as normative. It is for this reason that Fanon asserts that "The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (1986[1952]:110). The western modernity and the imperial locus of enunciation are deeply engrained in the psyche of the colonised subject to an extent that an alternative reality is inconceivable. So entrenched is this Euro-modernity into the lives of the colonised subject in that it serves as the lens through which the life is lived and made sense of. Hence, Muringi (2004:522), advocates for what he terms genuine decolonisation that takes into account the difficult process of decolonising the African mind culminating into African self-consciousness. However, Appiah (2004:540) notes the difficulty of the process of decolonising the mind given the entrenched indoctrination of African subjects into Eurocentric thought.

Althusser speaks of the act of interpellation through which an individual is constructed as a subject that subscribes to certain behaviours imposed by a given system. It is further posited by Althusser that the subject is in fact "always already

subjects” and thus practices the activities of ideological recognition (1971:172-173). For Laclau and Mouffe objectivity is constructed through the discursive production of meaning and it entails the production of hegemonic interventions wherein “alternative understandings of the world are suppressed, leading to the naturalisation of one perspective” (2002:37). Hence the repudiation of the universal nature of Euro-modernity that masquerades as the sole “truth”. Of course, the world cannot be reduced to a single system that operates in mostly Eurocentric terms. For Laclau and Mouffe, one discourse cannot singularly shape and determine reality (2002:43).

For Mignolo (2007:24) modernity and the logic of coloniality are two sides of the same coin. It is for this reason that the concept of modernity affects the material dimensions of social relations (Quijano 2000:547). Given the fact that the logic of capitalism, through its appropriation of labour, also explains the advent of modernity.

#### **3.2.4 Coloniality as the darker side of modernity**

Mignolo (2007:24) defines modernity as the “modes of social life or organization [*sic*] which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence”. Modernity, therefore, is constitutive of the current global system, which is manifest in its hierarchies of European/non-European reality. Quijano (2000:545-546) believes that modernity is constitutive of the historical account of the current world system, spanning five centuries:

[...] it involves the totality of the global population and all the history of the last five hundred years, all the worlds or former worlds articulated in the global model of power, each differentiated or differentiable segment constituted together with (as part of) the historical redefinition or reconstitution of each segment for its incorporation to the new and common model of global power.

For Dussel (2006:496), modern civilization considers itself to be the most developed and therefore superior to all others; hence it should follow that, due to this assumed superiority, it becomes a moral requirement to develop the primitive and barbaric ‘other’. Hence, for Mignolo (2007:24) the logic of modernity operates

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through its imposition of “salvation, whether as Christianity, civilization, modernization and development...”. Therefore, modernity serves to rescue the people of the Global South/colonised from underdevelopment and all other obstacles that are associated with backwardness. By doing so, then the logic of modernity conceals its darker side, coloniality. As Mbembe (1992:18) observes, “Coloniality, as a power relation based on violence, was meant to cure Africans of their supposed laziness, protecting them from need whether or not they wanted such protection”. The sub-human narrative tends to be the dominant justification given that the African ‘natives’ needed civilisation in order to ‘save’ them, as it were, from their savagery and the “infantile thinking and modes of perception” (Ezeliara 2009:43).

Of course, this paternalistic rhetoric is justified given the barbaric nature of the marginalised and racialised individuals in question. The impositions, whether violent or not, are deemed to be necessary and essential. Hence for Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:131), “coloniality is constitutive of modernity, and that there is no modernity without coloniality”.

Escobar (2007:182-183) outlines the basic characteristics of modernity thus:

- (a) temporal and spatial origins of seventeenth century northern Europe
- (b) characterised by certain institutions such as the nation state
- (c) increasing appropriation of taken for granted cultural backgrounds
- (d) “man” as the foundation for all knowledge and order of the world.

Despite its negative implications particularly to the non-western world, modernity, for Habermas, represents the promise of “enlightenment”. However, Habermas’s logic as far as modernity is concerned fails to appreciate how it (modernity) is constructed by the West in advancing its own views (How 2003:163). This Eurocentric logic is imposed on the non-western world, as it is necessary if the underdeveloped were to be civilised and, to an extent, reach the status of “enlightenment”. Hence, for Castro-Gomez modernity does not take into account the diversity of the global system as it seeks to advance a single Eurocentric logic. As he puts it, “Modernity is an alterity-generating machine that, in the name of reason and humanism, excludes from its imaginary the hybridity, multiplicity,

ambiguity, and contingency of different forms of life” (2002:269). Modernity carries with it cruelty, violence and the destruction of other cultures, particularly those on the receiving end of colonialism. It is thus the darker side of the logic of coloniality:

Coloniality is indeed the hidden weapon behind the rhetoric of modernity justifying all kinds of actions, including war, in order to eliminate ‘barbarism’ and overcome ‘tradition’. Thus, coloniality is, like the unconscious, the hidden weapon of both the civilizing [*sic*] and developmental mission of modernity (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2009:133).

Hence, for Masilela (1996:90), the advent of modernity has made it possible for the hegemonic impositions of the African continent that culminated in the latter’s “obsession with Christianity, civilization, and education by the new African intelligentsia”. As a result, modernity is to blame for the internalised inferiority perceptions of the colonised Africans, which in turn influence every aspect of their livelihood.

Modernity, therefore, presents itself as a metanarrative through which the global dynamics play themselves out. As observed by Lyotard (1984:64), metanarratives are problematic, as they tend to reduce the world system to a single entity where different knowledges are homogenised and totalised. The logic of modernity rendered the global system as a single entity with a Euro-American perspective as the only way that made sense. With this logic, the colonised subjects are led to believe that modernity brought with it the inevitable projects of development and modernisation (Castro-Gomez 2002:276). Modernity for Lyotard reduces the geo-politics of the world into metanarratives and it does not take into account the inherent geopolitical aspect. For Maldonado-Torres (2004:31), modernity presents a crisis to the contemporary world system because of its resistance to alternative ways of being. The current modernity does not apply to non-western perspectives, as it is fraught with hegemonic perspectives. As Maldonado-Torres (2004:32) puts it, “The idea of people not being able to get by without Europe’s theoretical or cultural achievements is one of the most definitive tenets of modernity”.

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Furthermore, the discourse of modernity, following its universalistic logic, fails to take into account the significance of spatial relations of the contemporary modern world (Maldonado-Torres 2004:33). Modernity implicates the non-western communities in negative ways by imposing a dominant, capitalist and colonial experience on these communities. These individuals from the Global South find themselves grappling with an *a priori* lack of reason brought by the logic of modernity. For this reason, Agger suggests the desirability of postmodernity:

It [postmodernism] enables readers to deconstruct the universal reason of the Enlightenment as the particularistic posture of Eurocentric rationality, which contains class, race, and gender biases. Postmodernism makes it possible to read universal reason as secret partisanship just as it suggests ways of detotalizing the voices of science more accurately to reflect the variety of so-called subject positions from which ordinary people can speak knowledgeably about the world (Agger 1991:121).

However, postmodernist approaches are criticised for their tendency to put “[more] emphasis on language, labels, text, culture and meaning...” (Robins 2003:271). For Robins, this postmodernist critique of modernity does not empower Third World people to “actively appropriate and creatively recast the labels and homogenizing [*sic*] categories (2003:271). Robins based his assertions, regarding the possible benefits of modernity for the underdeveloped communities, on case studies involving three rural South African communities. He argues that members of these communities do not outwardly reject or accept developmental interventions, but they tend to select specific aspects of these interventions that presented them with solutions to their respective situations (2003:281). In this regard, poor people are seen as having agency in terms of decisions affecting their livelihoods as opposed to passively accepting the dominant narrative of modernisation.

The narrative of coloniality as constitutive of the current world system, suggests a single trajectory reflected in the domination of the Euro-American centre on the uncivilised and underdeveloped periphery. However, the world has gone through tremendous changes in the last five centuries. For this reason, Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:138) speak of a polycentric world order characterised by a variety of entities that are capable of dissenting the western influence. Case in point

being the current global influence of China and other non-western entities that are fast becoming leaders in the form of global influence. However, things may have changed, but it would be imprudent to downplay the Euro-American influence on the current world system. The remnants of the colonial matrix of power are still in operation and will continue to be given the veracity of this hegemonic global influence. As Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:139) put it, “Coloniality will remain as long as the final horizon of human life is guided by the desire to accumulate capital”.

The justification of modernity and its imposition to the Third World further imply the necessity for an apartheid system in order to guide the uncivilised barbaric native. It is thus fitting to understand some of the consequences and justifications of the logic of apartheid. Apartheid was seen as an extension of colonialism albeit of a special kind; and, to an extent, coloniality. The Apartheid system re-inscribed and perpetuated the advent of coloniality and for that reason, its logic should be problematised.

### 3.3 The system of apartheid

The concept of apartheid carries with it negative connotations particularly from within black South Africans. The concept is fraught with undesirable lived experiences of the black majority of South Africa and it further represents the current asymmetrical relations reflected in the living conditions of these majority citizens. For the black majority, the concept is pejorative and inhuman – as proclaimed by United Nations to be a crime against humanity.<sup>4</sup> It is for this reason that Malekian (2011:243) describes this system as akin to an act of crime given its inherent discriminatory logic to a particular designated group. Similarly, Van Bever Donker, Truscott, Minkley and Lalu (2017:21), drawing from Derrida, describe apartheid as an atrocity to its victims. Derrida (in Duvenhage 2004:509) describes it as:

System of partition, barbed wire, crowds of mapped out solitudes ... at every point, like all racisms, it tends to pass segregation off as natural – and as the very law of origin.

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<sup>4</sup> The 1971 Convention has declared apartheid a crime against humanity due to its policies and practices of racial segregation (Malekian 2011:243).

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The inhumane system was constructed to repress, dominate, usurp and keep a black subject in the margins. Evidently, the architects of the racist system did not consider the unsustainability of this imposed domination. Notwithstanding its atrocities, white settlers used the system to maintain their position of socioeconomic ascendancy at the expense of the black masses (Ranuga 1986:183). Although the concept of apartheid was conceptualised theoretically by people such as Geoffrey Cronje, Hendrik Verwoerd developed the operationalisation of its main ideas (Adams 2014:203).

In his poll that was conducted to determine people's attitude towards the principle of apartheid, Giliomee (2000:376) found from respondents that the ideas behind the ideology of apartheid were good. According to Giliomee (2000:385), there are three different academic approaches that legitimated apartheid, namely; the historical argument, ethnic differences and racial differences. The historical claim lied in the notion that whites and blacks entered the South African territory at the same time whilst the logic of ethnic differences was advanced to apparently preserve and restore the culture of the natives by providing separate institutions for them (Giliomee 2000:385). Another narrative that justified the domination and usurpation of conquered territories is that the land was inhabited at the time of coloniser's arrival and where inhabited by "it was by hordes of savages virtually indistinguishable from nature" (Wa Thiong'o 2009:22). Of course, this affirms the inhumanity of Africans and thus inconsequential whether their land is dispossessed, or their natural resources usurped. Drawing from one of the ideologues behind the ideology of apartheid, Geoffrey Cronje, Coetzee (1990:10) points out the logic of racial purity that needed to be preserved. For these theorists, racial mixing was not a good thing and needed to be avoided at all costs, as the *volk* are the chosen children of God (Coetzee 1990:10; Steyn 2004:148). One can argue with regards to the historical premise that even if it had some truth in it (Blacks and whites arriving simultaneously in South Africa), South Africa was not an empty land at the time of this so-called arrival (Comaroff 1989:671).

Coetzee (1990:2) points out, "In its [apartheid] greed it demanded black bodies in all their physicality in order to burn up their energy as labour". However, black

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bodies were banished and subjected to a plethora of laws that relegated them to second-class citizens. Comaroff (1989:671) regards this form of hegemonic imposition as settler colonialism, which was characterised by a number of cruel and brutal practices aimed at the barbaric native:

As this suggests, settler colonialism was seen to be founded on brute coercion and domination by force – although it was justified by the appeal to the biblical allegory of “the children of Ham,” according to which eternal servitude was the divine calling of blacks...the encounter began with either war or alliance and ended, usually, with the subordination of local communities to Boer control. The latter was expressed in one or more of four ways: (1) the imposition of tax and/or demands for tribute; (2) the seizure of men, women, and children to toil as bonded servants and unpaid laborers [*sic*] on white farms; (3) the requirement that chiefs provide military assistance to the whites against “unfriendly natives”; and (4) the gradual appropriation of “tribal” lands (Comaroff 1989:673).

Hence, for Coetzee (1990:15), the doctrine of apartheid as envisaged by Cronje was to serve as guardianship over the African. As he puts it:

Cronje argues instead that it has a moral basis, namely, the duty of the white man to act as guardian over the African. The white man is fitted to be guardian because (a) he has reached a higher level of development, (b) he is bearer of the Christian faith, and (c) he is in a position of power. His goal should be to preserve both his own identity and “the identity, biological and cultural, of the Bantu” (1990:14-15).

This “moral” justification of apartheid doctrine implies the inferiority of the African, which necessitated an Afrikaner to put an African under control given his/her inherent barbaric tendencies. An African should not be afforded the same status of that of a white individual because he/she is incapable of being an equal to a white person. The white individual should endeavour to guide, as it were, the uncivilised African:

The establishment of society...implies the denial that a society already existed; the creation of society requires the intervention of white men, who are thereby positioned as already socio-political beings. White men who are (definition ally) already part of society encounter non-whites who are not, who are "savage" residents of a state of nature characterized in terms of wilderness, jungle, wasteland... In the colonial case, admittedly pre-existing but...deficient societies (decadent, stagnant, corrupt) are taken over and run

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for the "benefit" of non-white natives, who are deemed childlike, incapable of self-rule and handling their own affairs, and thus...the state (Mills cited in More 2002:69).

Interestingly, religion and Christianity in particular, was used to justify apartheid policies as reflected in this quote by the chairperson of the Afrikaner Broerderbond, JC van Rooy:

God created the Afrikaner people with a unique language, a unique philosophy of life, and their own history and traditions in order that they might fulfil a particular calling and destiny here in the southern corner of Africa. We must stand guard on all that is peculiar to us and build upon it. We must believe that God has called us to be servants of his righteousness in this place (van Rooy cited in Thompson 1985:29).

In his novel, *Cry the beloved country* (1958:134), Paton eloquently details how the religion of Christianity was used to subjugate the black subject insofar as it was used to inculcate the narrative of blacks being created by God to be servants of white people.

All these discriminatory and segregationist policies are enacted in the name of a deity and for this reason, that particular deity must have given them a blessing to rule, usurp, enslave, kill and dispossess the barbaric uncivilised native. As Rousseau (2014:205) put it, "If apartheid is understood as a regime that relied on coercion with respect to its black subjects, then the legislative right to kill in certain circumstances would seem to represent its ultimate sanction".

For Biko, the apartheid philosophy was developed with an aim to divide and rule and to further render the black race to a subhuman status. There should thus not be any justification, whatsoever for this ideology. As he puts it,

Nothing can justify the arrogant assumption that a clique of foreigners has the right to decide on the lives of a majority. Hence even carried out faithfully and fairly the policy of apartheid would merit condemnation and vigorous opposition from the indigenous peoples as well as those who see the problem in its correct perspective (1978:29).

Despite some form of recognition of the Afrikaner nationalism and solidarity resulting out of resistance of British empirical rule, Afrikaner identity is solely tied to apartheid ideology. Steyn (2004:148) enunciates how Afrikaner identity grappled with English liberalism even amid the mist of apartheid:

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They saw themselves as besieged, having to fight for the “right” to their own brand of white supremacy, in which claiming the land for themselves and appropriating black labour featured prominently.

Rather interesting is how, in its quest to acclaim its identity, Afrikaner nationalism saw fit to enact the atrocities that came to characterise the apartheid regime. Hence, it would be highly impossible to now come across individuals defending apartheid ideology, particularly those who did not benefit from it.

Segregation in terms of race was one policy that apartheid rule introduced. This culminated in the 1923 Natives Act that was enacted to manage movements of Africans in urban lands. According to Mayham (1990:66), this act ensured that municipalities are empowered to institute segregated locations for Africans. Furthermore, the state introduced the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act in 1950, which sought to control the movement of black Africans into the cities (Adams 2014:204). Another statute that still has significance in the current context, is the 1913 Native Land Act. According to Mngxitama (2006:42), this law was the source of the exploitation of Africans as it disposed the African masses of land and ultimately their dignity. The implication of these statutes meant that Africans were forced out of those areas demarcated as ‘white only’ into the margins of the cities which in most instances lacked basic services such as running water and sanitary services. For Mayham (1990:67) the significance of 1923 Act is reflected in the following apartheid inspired elements:

These included the principle of segregation and the ensuing practice of relocation that arose out of that principle; influx control mechanisms; a self-financing system which shifted as far as possible the burden of reproduction costs on to urban Africans themselves; and an institution for co-opting potential collaborators in the shape of advisory board.

Ironically, the apartheid regime established Bantustan territories as a means of effecting self-governance of the native (Dubow 2015:238). In this way, the black majority can be able to exercise economic and political activities within their territorial confines, which in most instances are located miles away from major cities and towns. Bizarrely the introduction of homelands was seen as some form of parallel decolonisation that was taking place elsewhere in the continent by

apartheid ideologues (Dubow 2015:243). Ironically, these mostly semi-arid lands, offered no economic opportunities and thus forcing the inhabitants to seek employment in the unwelcoming cities of the main land. The remnants of these imposed spatial patterns are still in force following the dismantling of the apartheid system. As Gutberlet (2018:81) puts it, the homelands and the pass system may be outdated but “they are still inscribed in the landscape and in people’s lives as a territorial order and system of reference”.

Hence, Biko (1978:90) was very critical of the Bantustan idea as it dispossesses an African of his/her rights to land. As he puts it, “In a land that is rightfully ours we find people coming to tell us where to stay and what powers we shall have without even consulting us” (1978:90). For Mayham (1990:84) the rationale behind the establishment of homelands was to ensure that different ethnic groups govern themselves. For apartheid ideologues, the segregation of people in terms of race was a logical step given the “biological and scientific” racial and ethnic differences that necessitated for separate spaces (Dubow 2015:245; Lalu 2007:49). It thus follow that the aim was to segregate these groups and ultimately disallowing the mingling of cultures. These homelands found themselves economically stagnant with high levels of poverty (Mayham 1990:84). Furthermore, a paternalistic relationship was also effected as the regime saw itself as performing the function of a guardian to the incapable native.

The ideology of apartheid was not only enacted to expropriate and appropriate land and black labour respectively, but it instituted racial identities characterised by sub-human interpellations of black subjects and these are still in place in post-apartheid South Africa. In their study that explored the production of post-apartheid Afrikaner identity in South Africa, Verwey and Quayle (2012:552) discovered that Afrikaner identity is produced through three interconnected discursive forms. Participants in this particular study attempted to discredit some explicit aspects of Afrikaner identity, they further posited “whiteness as central to Afrikaner privilege and they also highlighted “key discourses underlying racist apartheid ideology, particularly discourses of black incompetence and whites under threat” (Verwey & Quayle 2012:552-553). Furthermore, Steyn and Foster (2008:27) assert that contemporary dominant white superiority discourses that

keep on reproducing themselves in post-apartheid spaces, re-inforce group relations that were synonymous with apartheid era. In other words, the dominant discourses of whiteness with its modalities of exerting power over the inferior group, continue to define a post-apartheid South Africa.

Consequently, these findings outline an identity premised on white supremacy and inherent black inferiority that poses a threat to an Afrikaner in a post-apartheid space. This common thread of threat discourse was also discernible in the study of Steyn (2004) that sought to establish how Afrikaner identity is renegotiated in a democratic South Africa. The study analysed letters written for an Afrikaans broad sheet newspaper, *Rapport*, and it revealed the existential crisis of Afrikaner identity following the end of apartheid. Similar to the Verwey and Quayle study, a sense of victimhood rhetoric can be deciphered from the study conducted by Steyn. However, the former exhibited overt racism reflected by the continuous usage of the derogatory word “kaffir” by the respondents, the latter was subtler in exhibiting the perpetual white superiority. Both studies highlight the discourses of in-group affiliations in crisis because of the out-group ‘other’ in the form of the black majority. As a result, the Afrikaner is projected as a “victim of deliberate and vindictive targeting of unjust policies, of traitorous behaviour” of the new dispensation (Steyn 2004:156). A black government is thus inherently corrupt, incompetent and for this reason, a deterioration of governance is inevitable.

Following the discussion of the concept of apartheid and, to an extent, coloniality suggests a need to take action in forging a different agenda free from these hegemonic discourses. A process of what Mignolo (2006:12) calls to de-link. To de-link from apartheid logic and, to an extent, coloniality; there should be a start and perhaps Africanisation/African Renaissance presents that option. According to Tlostanova and Mignolo (2012:14), de-linking entails a process characterised by “shifting the geography of reason and planning and organizing knowledge from” the position of the enunciator. Mignolo further posits that de-linking constitutes a liberatory process as opposed to emancipation:

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De-linking not only means to detach oneself from the rules of the game imposed by the hegemony of European Theo- and Ego-logical politics of knowledge/understanding. It also means bringing into existence new and distinct politics of knowledge/understanding (2006:18).

In addition, the de-linking aspect and the decolonisation of knowledge are interlinked. Thus, to de-link from colonial matrices of power, dictates that a re-linking to something should take place; and Africanisation could be a re-linking option in this instance. As Mignolo advises, de-linking necessitates for “border thinking: thinking from the spaces that have been rendered silent and absent by the hegemony of Western categories of thought” (2006:33). In other words, developing a new consciousness perhaps as outlined by Biko’s conception of the black consciousness movement. However, it should also be pointed out that the process of de-linking does not entail the rejection of other logics, but it emphasises pluriversity of ideas that recognises the geo-political context of the enunciator. I argue, after considering the preceding discussion, that the authors of the texts selected for analysis in this study, are decolonial thinkers conveying a decolonial option to their readers. They write from a position of what Frantz Fanon refers to as the *damnés*, that is “all those humiliated, devalued, disregarded, disavowed, and confronting the trauma of the “colonial wound” (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012:19). Below, I go on to explore the discourses of decoloniality/decolonial turn and African Renaissance.

#### 3.4 Decolonial turn/shift

Maldonado-Torres (2000:115) defines decolonisation as the “critique of and an effort to dismantle neo-colonial relations that continued the dependency and vertical relations of power between northern and southern countries”. Eze’s (2010:18) definition explains decolonisation as entailing “a change of attitude, ways of thinking, worldviews, and markers of certainty”. The concept of a decolonial thinking existed since the colonial period (Maldonado-Torres 2011:2). For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:143), decolonial thinking and option seek to transform “the conceptual formations for instruction and the transforming of subjectivities in nurturing”. Decolonial turn is defined by Maldonado-Torres (2006:114) as referring to the “decisive recognition and propagation of

decolonization [*sic*] as an ethical, political, and epistemic project in the twentieth century”.

The project seeks to bring to the fore a new consciousness reflected in methods and discourses that facilitate the decolonisation endeavour. Decolonial project therefore comes because of decolonisation as a response to continued neo-colonial relations of the global North and the global South. Decolonisation, in this context, also refers to the “radical transformation of the modern/colonial matrix of power which continues to define modern identities as well as the relations of power and epistemic forms that go along with them” (Maldonado-Torres 2006:115). Mignolo (2009:2) regards this process as a delinking project necessitated by the need for non-imperial/colonial societies. For Luisetti (2012:50), decolonial thinking “challenges the colonial distribution of differences, inventing conflictual modes of resistances and introducing alternative mappings of the human through different geographies of nature and epistemic apparatuses”. Mignolo (2013:45), on the other hand, observes that the focus of decolonial thinking is to “de-link, in thought and action, in thinking and doing from the colonial matrix of power”

Hence, decolonisation is regarded as a process that seeks to get rid of the perpetual colonial matrix of power. For Castro-Gomez (2002:282), to decolonise is to “disengage ourselves from a whole series of binary categories of (coloni[s]er versus coloni[s]ed, center [*sic*] versus periphery)”. Decolonial thinking was therefore enacted as a result of the persistent violent nature of coloniality. Although decolonial turn in self-awareness serves as a response to the logic of colonisation and to an extent, the notion of coloniality, the movement/project does not entail a single entity but rather “points to a family of diverse positions that share: a view of coloniality as a fundamental problem in the modern age” (Maldonado-Torres 2011:3):

Shifting the geography of reason is part and parcel of the decolonial turn; it is indeed part of what the decolonial turn first achieved: the idea that we do not produce rigorous knowledge by adhering to the questions, concepts, and standards on the basis of the views or needs of only one region of the world, and even less of a region that has been characterized by either colonizing [*sic*] or ignoring other regions.

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Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:131) speak of a new approach of seeing the current world order that moves away from scholarly assumptions in the humanities and social sciences. For them, the decolonial approach “allows for a specific epistemic, political and ethical instrument for transforming the world by transforming the way people see it, feel it and act in it” (2009:131). This approach seeks to change and transform how individuals think and make sense of the world around them. A lens, one would argue, that presents a new world system different to the one presented by the colonial matrix of power.

Maldonado-Torres (2006:115) distinguishes between the concepts of decolonisation and that of decoloniality. He refers to decoloniality thus:

By decoloniality it is meant here the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in modern/colonial world (Maldonado-Torres 2006:115).

Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:132) observe that decoloniality entails a process of de-linking from the “imperial/colonial organization [sic] of society” which is reflected in the epistemic decolonisation of knowledge and that of *being*. In other words, to dismantle the logic of the colonial matrix of power, a shift of knowledge production and the sense of *being* should be enacted. Whilst the project of decolonisation deals with the aftermath of colonialism, decoloniality takes it further by including in its criticism all hierarchies perpetuated by the advent of coloniality. With his reading of Aimé Césaire’s criticism of colonialism, as illuminated in *Discourse on Colonialism*, Maldonado-Torres (2006:125) brings to the fore the agency of the colonised in making the master aware of his atrocities of colonial domination. Maldonado-Torres (2006:130) further observes a link between Césaire and Descartes narratives, *Discourse on colonialism* and *Discourse on method* respectively. However, the former for Maldonado-Torres (2006:130) is a discourse on “how to achieve and maintain a decolonial consciousness and a decolonial attitude”.

### 3.4.1 Epistemic decolonial shift

McDougal (2013:236) defines epistemology as “the philosophy of knowing [and] an academic discipline’s epistemic identity is located in its unique concepts, theories, and paradigms”. Thus, epistemology has implications on “the nature of reality; how truth is defined; the relationship between the knower, knowing, and the known; what can be known; and what should /could be done with the known” (Nobles in McDougal 2013:237). Epistemology, therefore, is at the core of how and why a research is conducted and ultimately the generation of knowledge in a given society. Decolonial thinking is both rooted in the domains of political society and the academy. In a decolonial sphere, knowledge is generated through the living experiences of individuals. For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:144):

Decolonial thinking in the academy has a double role: a) to contribute to de-colonize *[sic]* knowledge and being, which means asking who is producing knowledge, why, when and what for; b) to join processes in the “Political Society” that are confronting and addressing similar issues in distinct spheres of society.

For Baker (2012:10) then decoloniality is an “epistemic, ethical, political and pedagogical project that involves both the denaturalization *[sic]* of the modern civilizational cosmology”. Thus, for Baker, a decolonial education emerged because of the Eurocentric asymmetrical epistemology that marginalises and racialise the colonised subject. In this logic, knowledge is only legitimate if it is produced from a western perspective. Against this hegemonic historical context, the recognition of subaltern knowledges located on the margins of modernity serves a decolonial option (Baker 2012:10). For this reason, Tlostanova and Mignolo (2012:11) are critical of the notion that theories emanating from the non-western world are valid only for the region in question, whereas theories from First World have a universal validity.

Moreover, the academy should be actively involved in new ways of knowledge production that is anchored on the society it operates in. In this way, the role of the academy should not be neutral but political in order to actively address the shortcomings of the universal western epistemology. In the case of South Africa, the legacy of apartheid actively constructed a knowledge system that sought to

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perpetuate hierarchical racial ordering. The university system was therefore at the forefront of producing racialised subjects (Lalu 2007:58). Despite its disavowal of the apartheid system by claiming liberalism, the so-called English liberal university in South Africa reproduced the legacies of apartheid. As Lalu (2004:58) puts it, the liberal university, “in claiming custodianship of the Enlightenment, is blinded to its role in fostering racialised taxonomies”. Hence, given centuries of domination characterised by the casting of the colonised subject as “ontologically inferior and epistemically disabled”, an active shifting of knowledge production should be effected. For this reason, therefore, to think decolonially is to accept the historical violence of colonial conquest.

Hence, a decolonial option is effected by shifting the geography of reason, that is to move from the enunciated to the enunciator which is the subject that is speaking (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012:10). In the context of this study, the authors of the respective texts analysed herein, are the enunciators and their location and positionality is crucial in understanding their message. Speaking from the margins of modernity, the texts are making sense of the logic of coloniality/modernity under which they operate. However, the reality of the current modernity is that ‘legitimate’ knowledge resides in western Europe and North America. Kincheloe (2001:696) for instance, asserts that the contemporary university is still caught in the logic of transmitting western truths from one generation to the next. Similarly, Bank and Jacobs (2015:12) noticed that research projects conducted in Southern Africa reveal “how knowledge was homogenised in the West”.

For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2012:12), a decolonial epistemology does not entail the war against western epistemology. They argue for what they term pluriversality wherein different knowledges, including those emanating from the margins, are afforded equal space to engage with realities of the modern world system. Iniabong (1988:188), in his critique of some of the resolutions proposed at a conference that sought to determine the future of higher education in Africa, called for a unifying philosophy which, according to him, should form the basis of the entire education system in Africa:

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What we need in Africa today, whether among the empirical scientists or among social scientists, is more and more philosophically minded people. Philosophy is the only instrument that can salvage the African mind from intellectual tutelage. All University undergraduates, in whatever discipline, must be groomed to have a solid foundation in indigenous African history, philosophy, the history of science in and the logic of creative thinking.

More (2002:76) echoes Iniabong's views with regards to the development of African philosophy that is well suited to "interrogate and challenge the assumptions constitutive of western philosophical thinking in relation to Africans and people of African descent".

In their study entitled, *Towards Different Conversations About the Internalization of Higher Education* (2016), which sought to self-examine the challenges presented by the internationalisation of higher education; Stein, Andreotti, Bruce and Suša suggest the need for new vocabularies around higher education discourses. The new conversations, they argue, should challenge the "modern/colonial global imaginary" which is fraught with "uneven distribution of resources and labour, valuation of life, and politics of knowledge production" (Stein *et al.* 2016:14). Similarly, a study entitled *What Do We Mean by Decolonizing Research Strategies?* (2013), by Zawala sought to interrogate the involvement of local communities when conducting research. Zawala (2013:66) advocates for "the diffusion of qualitative research methods and interpretative strategies that privilege the perspective of the individuals and communities being observed". In this regard, communities take ownership of the research process and, in the process, become the enunciators speaking from their own locality and perspective.

However, one needs to tread carefully in these instances to guard against falling into a trap that canonises and prioritises Euro-American epistemologies. Self-awareness and consciousness should be exercised because a lack thereof will constitute bad faith despite the positive intent of the exercise. For Quijano, the need for decolonisation emanates from the fact that coloniality remains operative in the modern world, as it is evident through "interactions among unequally-powered races, ethnic groups and nations" (2000:533). As he puts it,

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“epistemological decolonization is needed to clear the way for new intercultural communication, for an interchange of experiences and meanings...” (2013:56). Bernal (2002:112) observes that “the insidious nature of a Eurocentric epistemological perspective allows it to subtly (and not so subtly) shape the belief system and practices of researchers, educators, and the school curriculum...” The study by Bernal (2002:121) concluded that the Eurocentric perspective has overlooked the experiential knowledge of students of colour as these are considered less important *vis-a-vie* the dominant Eurocentric. Bernal (2002:121) therefore argues that all individuals should be “holders and creators of knowledge” through their own experiences and cultures and epistemological racism should be discredited.

For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2012:20), a decolonial approach shifts from the disciplinary canonical distinction. This is what Gordon (2011:98) calls disciplinary decadence characterised by a kind of knowledge system where:

[t]he discipline becomes, in solipsistic fashion, the world. And in that world, the main concern is the proper administering of its rules, regulations, or as Frantz Fanon argued, (self-devouring) methods.

This disciplinary decadence does not take into account the current issues and realities that require some form of necessary and appropriate solution. Hence, the call for what Gordon (2011:99) refers to as *transdisciplinarity* wherein various disciplines collaborate across one another to yield desirable results towards existing problems. However, for Mignolo (2008:1740), an over-reliance on a variety of disciplines in theorising, problematizing and making sense of modern-colonial world systems, should be undertaken very carefully:

Although disciplinary identities are formed on the principle of objectivity, neutrality, reason without passion, mind without interference of affects, and so on, formed on the basis of beliefs posited as detached from individual experiences and subjective configurations, they are no less identities than religious or ethnic ones.

Tuck and Yang (2012:7) warn about reducing decolonisation to a notion of a metaphor. For Tuck and Yang, this logic turns “into an empty signifier to be filled by any track towards liberation”. They argue that a decolonial discourse that

masquerades as a metaphor tends to advocate for social justice whilst on the other hand it fails to redress the injustices of the colonial era. For this reason, a decolonial rhetoric runs the risk of being tainted by the mask of bad faith – which is detrimental for every individual who is affected by the brunt of the “colonial wound”. Tuck and Yang argue, therefore, that decolonisation discourse should go hand in hand with discourses of redressing injustices and atrocities that followed colonisation. Hence, in her study entitled *Theorizing a settlers’ approach to decolonial pedagogy: storying as methodologies, humbled, rhetorical listening and awareness of embodiment* (2018), Donelson advises that settler colonialists should tread carefully in their embracement of the term decoloniality. As she puts it, “they [settlers] must first engage in rhetorical listening, humility and self-reflexivity with people of color [*sic*], learning about issues of sovereignty and that settler colonialism affects certain bodies differently than others” (2018:iii).

It follows, then, that in a South African context, the political freedom achieved following the dismantling of a repressive apartheid system, should be augmented by economic emancipation. However, the latter remains an illusion particularly for the South African youth that face gloomy economic prospects. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (in Tafira 2016:ix) writes:

The black township youth are entangled in a postcolonial malady born out of protracted anti-apartheid struggle and problematic negotiations. These youth find themselves poor in a rich country, and this has awakened them to the reality of the myth of liberation, if not outright betrayal by African leaders who allied with white liberals and communists to produce a neo-apartheid rather than postapartheid democracy.

It can be argued that the recent explosion of service delivery protests with movements such as *#FeesMustFall* and *#RhodesMustFall* are somehow related to the stagnant economic conditions of the majority of black people. For the majority of poor people, most of them black, the end of apartheid did not necessarily signal the improvement of their livelihoods. For an example, the *#FeesMustFall* movement was seen as a microcosm of a post-apartheid South African reality fraught with inequalities of apartheid and this state of affairs necessitated for a decolonial call as reflected in the words of Fasiha Hassan – one of the students interviewed by Beukes:

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Decolonisation is the umbrella under which we are functioning. *#FeesMustFall* highlighted the racial disparity in a post-1994 context where people like myself (who are born free) haven't overcome the real wounds of apartheid, colonialism, racism, structural racism and it's clear that there are still biases (Hassan quoted in Beukes 2017:8).

This study by Beukes (2017:9) aimed to explore how social media, in this case Twitter, played a role in what she coins "change in psyche" through movements such as *#FeesMustFall* in a post-apartheid space. Drawing on Achille Mbembe's analysis of these student-initiated university hashtag movements, Van Bever Donker, Truscott, Minkley and Lalu (2017:8) assert that these developments characterise a shift in the "cultural temperament" in South Africa:

A politics of waiting has been supplanted by one of impatience, for people can no longer wait; an identity politics of pain, suffering and anger has replaced the affirmation of blackness, worldliness and cosmopolitanism, which characterised the early 1990s; and the ideal of reconciliation, through which the postapartheid nation was constituted, has been dislodged in favour of the settling of accounts.

This assertion is in stark contrast to the above statement given by Fasiha Hassan regarding the reasons behind the eruptions of these students' protests. For Hassan, the democratic dispensation presents an idea of a false dawn given the current existential living conditions of the black majority as it [democracy] failed to "overcome the real wounds of apartheid" (cited in Beukes 2017:9).

It is evident from this discussion that a decolonial shift is justifiable in order to deal with the hegemonic impact of coloniality and apartheid. This dissertation further explores the concept of African Renaissance as another de-linking option available for the marginalised individuals with the aim of negotiating the aftermath of the apartheid system and the logic of coloniality.

#### 3.5 African Renaissance

Although a relatively new discourse in the realm of communication, African Renaissance – as an intellectual project – was the talk of the town in South Africa following the reintroduction of the term by the former president Thabo Mbeki (Vale & Maseko 1998:271; Cheru 2003:480; Mangu 2007:93; Ramose 2002b:710). This resulted in the concept gaining prominence on the African continent over the

last two decades. However, the discourse of the renaissance of Africa is not a new phenomenon. Asante traces the idea of African Renaissance from the movement that was founded by the nuclear physicist Cheik Diop and Professor Theophile Obenga (2009:55). For Vale and Maseko (1998:274), the concept of African Renaissance has a potential of presenting an emancipatory project for the continent which, for the most part of the five centuries, was considered a dark continent. Before delving deeper on the concept, I wish to firstly address the concept of Afrocentricity given its influence on the discourse of African Renaissance.

#### **3.5.1 The concept of Afrocentricity/Africanisation**

Afrocentricity can be defined as a “philosophical paradigm that emphasises the centrality and agency of the African person within a historical and cultural context” (Asante 2009:54). Thus, it puts emphasis on the identity of being African by and how this postcolonial identity should be nurtured in reconfiguring the historical space in which it operates. For Asante, Afrocentricity rejects the historic marginality and racial otherness as seen in the paradigm of Eurocentrism. Afrocentricity functions to alleviate the historical deep-rooted racialisation of the people of Africa as articulated by theorists such as Hegel. For Hegel “Negroes [*sic*] are to be regarded as a race of children who remain immersed in their state of uninterested naiveté” (cited in Levine 2011:264). Kant also projected these negative conceptualisations of Africans, as he puts it: “the Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling...” (Cited in Serequeberhan 1997:81). Against this background, Afrocentricity seeks to uncover and use methods and ways that reinforce the centrality of African ideas and values in the process of studying phenomena (Asante 2005:52). It thus seeks to eliminate Eurocentric hegemony on the process of acquiring knowledge with emphasis deliberately placed on African worldview. Mudimbe asserts that Africanist studies seeks “to produce its own peculiar mode of episteme, construct its own intensions and analyze [*sic*] its own being” (1998:23).

According to Asante, the need to turn to an Afrocentric paradigm stems from the colonisation effect, which had an impact on the people’s cultural, psychological

and cognitive selves (2009:55). Whilst Eurocentrism claims universality, Afrocentricity on the other hand, seeks plurality because it is premised on antiracist, antipatriarchal and antisexist ideologies (Asante 2009:56). However, in light of the Afrocentric paradigm, Ekpo has formulated a new concept, which he termed, post-Africanism as an answer to what he deems the failures of the Negritude and Senghorism movements. For Ekpo, the concept of post-Africanism is a “post-ideological umbrella for a diversity of intellectual strategies seeking to inscribe newer, more creative moves beyond the age-old fixations, in and around the racial-cultural worries not only of the Negritude generation but also the so-called postcolonial Zeitgeist” (2010:181). He further observes, “it was Césaire who taught us to rejoice and be glad, though we had invented nothing, explored nowhere; not to condemn the cannibalistic past, for it was proof of Africa’s counter-European manliness” (2010:178).

Ekpo suggests a new way of confronting the imperial domination and the colonial legacy in the form of learning and copying the skills and knowledge of the imperialist with the aim of “hastening economic growth and socio-political modernisation in the postcolonies” (2010:187). Thus, Ekpo is of the view that African modernisation and growth lie in the acquisition of the skills from the coloniser. A question arises, then, as to whether this practice would not facilitate the process of neo-colonialism if the colonial subject put it to use? Again, Ekpo perhaps was prompted to formulate this concept because of the poor economic state of the continent decades following the end of colonial rule and the failures, as it were, of past projects in dealing with the persistent challenges facing the continent. Oyewumi points out that there are two schools of thought within the African group of intellectuals in the form of the anti-nativists and the nativists (2002:470). Anti-nativists for Oyewumi, are critical at any espousal of the African culture whilst, on the other hand, the nativists tend to advocate for the African cultural worldviews (2002:471).

Thus, the two groups apply different interpretations to the study of the continent and are caught in an epistemological dichotomy. The nativists are willing to acknowledge the failures of the continent and the need to adopt a new strategy. However, the nativists, who are cultural nationalists, tend to be obsessed with the

articulation of the difference between Africa and the West. As a result, their formulations are reactionary because Africa is defined in terms of the West with emphasis on African cultural difference (Oyewumi 2002:471). Ramose argues against this background that Africa should be judged on its own accord because it is not similar in any way to Europe thus it is not prudent, as it were, to make comparisons between Africa and Europe (2002:703).

However, Eze warns against the notion of Africanism, which arises from a tendency of blindly validating everything African whilst repudiating the colonial Eurocentric discourses or other cultures without self-criticism (2015:414). This type of behaviour is observable from amongst some of the African post-independence leaders such as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Jacob Zuma of South Africa who use the notion of African culture to advance their own agenda (Eze 2015:414). For Eze, this tactic turns into a fallacy of the slippery slope and he labels it a “*ressentiment*-induced cultural relativism:

Africanism also serves a moral purpose; it is a trump card in the African’s dealings with the world. It helps him [*sic*] to reject whatever does not fit his [*sic*] moral imagination or convenience. For instance, women’s rights or gay rights and other issues of human rights are simplistically adjudged by some Africans as non-African, and in some cases as instruments of imperialism... Whoever or whatever dissents from those narrow definitions of what it means to be African is seen as having been instigated by the West, or as betraying authentic Africanness (2015:415).

It follows that this notion of Africanism pertains to bad faith as the logic behind it defeats the purpose of the ideal of Afrocentricity. However, this observation should not be confused with the culturalist perspective of African Renaissance. The culturalist perspective in the context of African Renaissance, seeks to reclaim and revitalise African values so that a sustainable development of Africa is achieved (Tondi 2018:165).

### 3.6 The discourse of African Renaissance

As mentioned earlier, the discourse on African Renaissance in South Africa gained prominence following Thabo Mbeki’s speech in 1998. Mbeki based his

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assertions on notions of transparency and accountability in governance which should be entrenched in the minds of Africans culminating in what he deemed an epoch of African Renaissance.

...what we are arguing therefore is that in the political sphere, the African Renaissance has begun. Our history demands that we do everything in our power to defend the gains that have been achieved, to encourage all other countries in our continent to move in the same direction, according to which the people shall govern, and to enhance the capacity of the OAU to act as an effective instrument for peace and the promotion of human and people's rights to which we are committed (Mbeki, T cited in Mbeki, M 2000:77).

African Renaissance essentially seeks to empower people of Africa in confronting the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism (Mangu 2007:147; Bunwaree 2007:73). For Seleti African Renaissance is essential for the continent as it facilitates the rebirth of Africa, both for the specific political message it offers and the intellectualism that comes with the concept (2011:52). This rebirth or the renewal of the continent serves as what More (2002:66) calls the notion of returning – “return to a previous state of being or a repeat of something desirable”. Drawing from Hobbes' account of what constitutes the state of nature, More (2002:68) notes that this return, in the context of Africa, might entail returning to the Hobbesian state of nature characterised by the inherent lack of reason. Thus, this form of renaissance is undesirable for the African continent implying that colonisation, as it rescued an African from the moment of his/her original state of nature, is justifiable and necessary. In a way, the concept of African Renaissance draws from the postcolonial criticism insofar as the renegotiating of the identity of the colonised subject. Therefore, the concept provides for an emancipatory space in which the colonised subject is capable of constructing a new perspective in charting the era of postcolonial Africa. For Bongmba (2004:291) the concept of African Renaissance should be viewed in light of renewal of the continent:

...the institution of values that must replace corruption and incompetence; as well as seeking the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and encouraging an Africa-centred engagement that will promote trade and sustainable development.

Mbeki formulates what he terms key elements of the African Renaissance project:

- A. The recovery of the African continent as a whole.

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- B. The establishment of political democracy on the continent.
- C. The need to break neo-colonial relations between Africa and the world's economic power.
- D. The mobilization of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands, thus preventing the continent being a place for the attainment of geo-political and strategic interests of the world's most powerful countries.
- E. Fast development of people-driven and people-centered [sic] economic growth and development aimed at meeting the basic needs of the people. (2000:78).

For Bunwaree, the term evokes positivity and some kind of utopia where the construction of Africa is made through the ideas of peace, democracy and market-oriented entity (2007:14). African Renaissance should be read as a “philosophical framework” that espouses the ideals of a renewal, revitalisation and reawakening of Africa (Bunwaree 2007:15). Gutto observes that the notion of African Renaissance brings to the foreground the realisation amongst Africans of their contribution to global civilisation, therefore, recognising their potential influence on the world order (2006:313). Masolo views the notion of African Renaissance as an African response to the process of globalisation and it is premised on what he deems an antithesis of Afro-pessimism thesis (2002:671):

The idea of African Renaissance comes as an antithesis to the Afro-pessimist thesis. The African Renaissance is Afro-optimistic, and can only be realized [sic] through the social, economic and political regional integration of African states. If the idea of Renaissance is to be brought to fruition, three transformations are necessary for the survival of Africa in the global village. Firstly, the politics of the privatization [sic] of the state which has characterised African politics must be superseded by a politics that take into account the socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. Secondly, this can only be achieved when African economics and politics are regionally unified to the extent that a single currency is formed. Thirdly, a paradigm shift in relations between people and the environment needs to form part of the new social, economic and political arrangement (Masolo 2002:671).

The discourse on African Renaissance is premised on the ideals of nationalism and pan-Africanism of which the opposite is anti-imperialism (Mangu 2007:149; Cossa 2015:162). Thus, for the African Renaissance project to succeed, there should be a conducive environment on the continent and democracy as Mangu observes, serves as an integral part of that environment. Nevertheless,

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democracy as a proposed precondition of African Renaissance success, has been met with some criticism particularly from those with Eurocentric views as they deem the notion of democracy as foreign to Africa and therefore not suitable for the continent (Mangu 2007:150).

Maloka makes a distinction between the pan-African perspective and the culturalist perspectives in relation to the discourses of African Renaissance. The former perspective is characterised by the advancement of the notion of “African solutions for African problems” (Maloka 2001:2). The latter perspective is articulated in this manner:

The culturalist perspective, informed, as it were, by ethnophilosophy, sees the African Renaissance as a movement for a return to the “roots”. This perspective, arguably, is most dominant in the popular discourse about the concept. There is more and more interest in the public sphere in what is believed to be traditional African Practices and beliefs. One element of this perspective is the notion of *ubuntu*, a concept that has been around for some years but has now recently assumed some popularity (Maloka 2001:3).

African Renaissance seeks to challenge the narrative of colonial and imperial representation by focussing on a new definition around the question of identity, and providing justification for political action (Eze 2010:12). Hence, Bongmba (2004:295) grapples with the version of African identity as espoused by the notion of renaissance of Africa. However, for Mbeki, multiculturalism is the desirable approach in forging this identity given the plurality of cultures occupying the continent as encapsulated in the below speech orated in the South African national assembly:

I owe my being to the Khoi and the San ... I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land ... In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East ... I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsa and Sekhukhune led ... My mind and my knowledge of myself is formed by the victories that are the jewels of our African crown ... earned from Isandhlwana, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert ... I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas ... I come from those who were transported from India and China ... Being part of all these people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that - I am an African (Mbeki cited in Bongmba 2004:295).

Hence, it should be pointed out that Mbeki's vision for the renaissance of Africa is inclusive of all its citizens irrespective of the race, ethnicity and cultural affiliation. Therefore, to reduce the project of the renaissance of Africa to Black Nationalism, as some critics tend to do, is short-sighted as it fails to recognise the agency of the movement. As Bongmba (2004:296) puts it, "In my view, Mbeki's call remains distinct because he does not ground it on race or ethnicity, but on values that would establish political, and economic freedoms as Africans seek to build a society that is free from pain and abuse". Even so, for More (2002:64) Mbeki's formulation of an African identity in the articulation of African Renaissance is fraught with "serious questions about his own identity and the identity of a post-apartheid South Africa as a whole". More, thus argues that Mbeki's non-racial inclusiveness "fails to de-ethnicize [*sic*] his own identity because identity, for More, should be constructed in relation to the 'other' and the absence of this 'other' in Mbeki's formulation of African identity, negates the very ontological basis of identity politics (2002:64-65). It should be highlighted that Mbeki's conceptualisation of an African in the context of African Renaissance should be read from a pragmatic perspective reflected in his narrative of "people centred, and people driven economic growth" (Mbeki 2000:78).

For Cossa the success of African Renaissance – as an emancipatory movement of the continent – lies with the type of education system that espouses the African worldview and philosophy whilst, on the other hand, not rejecting other systems of the world entirely (2014:173). Higgs speaks of African Renaissance in education in recognition that the education system currently in practice is Eurocentric, fraught with European capitalist elitist culture (2012:39). This call for African Renaissance in education should prioritise indigenous African knowledge systems as these systems can be politically and economically liberating (Higgs 2012: 39). The education should be aimed at decolonising the mind from the shackles of colonialism, and the syllabus in question should be designed in order to deal with questions of identity and the need for political action (Eze 2010:183). Ntuli extends the discourse of African Renaissance to a process that seeks to achieve "the decolonisation of the mind" (2012:18). He illustrates African Renaissance as a decolonial project:

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Renaissance, as both remembering and re-remembering, it is about taking stock of losses and regaining new insights from the past mistakes and shortcomings. It is about self-evaluation within the new architecture of cultures in a globalising world (2012:18).

In light of Ntuli's conceptualisation of African Renaissance, it can be argued that the concept can be used to de-link from a repressive system of coloniality (Mignolo 2006:187). As outlined earlier, delinking is concerned with the shifting of the geography of reason, which should involve a mental decolonisation and transforming the education system becomes paramount in this regard. As Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2009:88) puts it, the process of "re-remembering Africa" becomes the only solution to de-link from modernity and this will ensure that African Renaissance becomes a reality.

Similarly, a study conducted by Xulu revealed there is a place for African Renaissance discourse in South African education because education should be used to augment African cultures and philosophies (2015:151). On the other hand, Letseka highlights the ignorance by South African Universities regarding the notion of African philosophy (2014:25). The study conducted by Letseka revealed that University students perceive African philosophy to be irrational and confuse it with African tradition and culture (2014:35). In light of these studies, it can be deduced that the success of African Renaissance lies within the education sector thus calling for a more tailor-made education system that will reflect the ideals of Africa that is rising and finding its feet in a globalised world.

Furthermore, there exists the economic aspect of the concept of African Renaissance anchored in strategic trading partnerships of the African states to ensure the economic growth of the continent. In this way, the continent aims to be a global economic player rivalling large economies such as the Asian bloc (Vale & Maseko 1998:279). Vale and Maseko thus, call for intra-trading partnerships or South-South partnerships, with the former involving the African states and the latter signalling the working together of the Global South nations. The integration of diverse peoples of Africa is said to achieve the economic development trajectory that the continent needs, which brings to the fore an aspect of ubuntu.

### 3.6.1 The notion of ubuntu

The concept of ubuntu is considered central to the discourse of African Renaissance (Ntuli 2012:16). According to More (2004:156), there are two perspectives with regards to the concept of ubuntu: the humanistic nature and the philosophical construct. More borrows from the work of Buthelezi in an attempt to define the humanistic aspect of ubuntu; as Buthelezi (in More 2004:156) puts it, “A spirit of humanism – called *ubuntu* (humanness) in the Zulu and *botho* in Sotho language – shaped the thoughts and daily lives of our people”. The philosophical perspective of ubuntu speaks to the fundamental African ontological assumption, which asserts that the humanity of an individual is premised on his/her interrelatedness to other human beings (More 2004:157). The notion of ubuntu speaks to the essence of being an African; which is premised on the basis of collective of humanity. Mangaliso (in Nkomo 2011:377) elaborates more on the humanness of the notion of ubuntu:

Humaneness – a pervasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness – that individuals and groups display for one another. Ubuntu is the foundation for the basic values that manifest themselves in the ways of African people think and behave towards each other and everyone else they encounter.

One important aspect of these values has to do with the fact that these values are not only reserved for members of the in-group (fellow Africans) but they are extended to other individuals or group irrespective of their localities. For Metz (2009:83) ubuntu is the epitome of Africanness, characterised by a sense of relating positively to others as other individuals define the very nature of your identity as an African. The nature of your being is thus premised on your relation to others. For this reason, the notion of ubuntu is about the principle of people-centredness espoused by the noble treatment of others. As Wiredu (1996:31) puts it:

Let your conduct at all times manifest a due concern for the interests of others ... a person may be said to manifest a due concern for the interests of others if in contemplating the impact of her actions on their interests, she puts herself imaginatively in their position.

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In ubuntu lies the principles of communalism and interconnectedness (Higgs 2011:47). It can thus be argued that the principle of ubuntu separates Africa from the other regions of the world. As Oruka (2002:144) observes:

In communalism the individual and society are said to have egalitarian mutual obligations: no individual would prosper at the expense of the society and the society would not ignore the stagnation of any of its members.

Therefore, there is no individual without the community as the two entities are interdependent. An individual needs the community to prosper and to reach his or her full potential in all aspects of life. Ramose (2002:278) expands more on the notion of ubuntu by exhibiting the interconnectedness of a variety of elements that have bearing on its practice:

A specific element of the experience and concept of whole-ness in *ubuntu* philosophy is the understanding of be-ing in terms of three interrelated dimensions. We find the dimension of the living-*umuntu*-which makes the speech and knowledge of be-ing possible. The second dimension is that of those beings who have passed away from the word of the living. These beings departed from the world of the living through death. It is thus understood that death has discontinued their existence only with regard to the concrete, bodily, and everyday life as we know it... The third dimension is that of the yet-to-be-born are in fact born.

However, Eze (2010:8) points out some of the criticisms levelled against the doctrine of ubuntu. Eze (2010:1-8) questions the kind of humanism of ubuntu in the context of crime-ridden South Africa and the genocide in Rwanda. He notes that ubuntu as a postcolonial discourse should be understood as both a mirror and consequence of South African history. In other words, the notion of ubuntu in its current form is borne out and influenced by the current context. To relegate ubuntu to a state of traditional dogmatic discourse, fails to recognise and acknowledge its authenticity. Against this background, there exist contestations in relation to the modalities of African Renaissance. Hence, scepticism stemming from the contemporary hostile socio-historical context that Africa finds itself in.

#### **3.6.2 Factors hindering the advancement of African Renaissance**

A common thread with regards to the socio-economic stagnation of the global South has to do with perpetual elements of neo-colonialism characterised, at

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times, by initiatives masquerading as advancing an African course. Evidently, the global North and their paternalistic policies on Africa, has failed to rescue the continent from the inflicted economic marginality of the continent. Institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) have created and maintained the prevailing North/South divisions through their Eurocentred policies that perpetuate the advent of modernity (Carew 2004:461). Seemingly, Onuegbu (2014:132) views IMF, World Bank and WTO as contributing to the perpetuation of neo-colonialism. Furthermore, for Onuegbu the problematic of neo-colonialism is complex and include a variety of factors:

It is carried out in Africa by 'agents' and is collaborative with petty comprador bourgeois elements and the ruling elite in Africa. The transnational and multinational corporations (TNCs/MNCs) as foreign investment in Africa and 'democracy-support' campaigners, and the proliferation of NGOs unambiguously represent 'agents' of neo-colonialism in Africa (2014:133).

It is for this reason that Carew argues for the overhaul of multinational institutions given the fact that they influence global markets that are structured to disadvantage Africa and the rest of the global South (2004:468). However, Schittecatte observes that Kwame Nkrumah's vision for Africa is characterised by African Unity – culminating in policies that promote African solutions by Africans (2012:68). In Nkrumah's words,

It is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in the African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world (cited in Schittecatte 2012:68).

Schittecatte analyses the formation of regional organisations such as New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) purported to advance African unity as envisioned by Nkrumah. She concedes that NEPAD policies are incapable of economically uplifting the continent as it reproduces western ideals (2012:70). The cynicism associated with the formulation of NEPAD is echoed by the South African Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin as serving the advancement of neo-colonialism (Boesak 2005:45). On the other hand, the formation of the Organisation for African Unity in 1963 was also hailed as beneficial for the

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development of the continent but the organisation seems to be failing in that regard (Ibrahim 2016:2). As Ibrahim elaborates:

The transformation of the Organization [*sic*] of African Unity (OAU) that was considered a toothless bulldog that lacks the capacity to catapult the continent to greatness to form the more capable African Union fashioned in line with European Union, was expected to institutionalize [*sis*] systemic reforms that will enable giant strides to be achieved – yet the outcome leaves much more to be desired (2016:3).

It is thus evident that these regional agencies remain toothless in tackling African issues. As Egudu (1978:86) puts it:

Now the original objective of unity, and the subsequent one of 'African Unity [which] means democracy' have foundered on the rock of power struggle ... Africa has become a victim of the imperialists because 'the black leaders/each in his own cell' have refused 'to coordinate their policies'; for power is an egotistical trait which tends to possess its possessor.

Cossa points out the problems and contestations associated with the term African Renaissance for the phrase draws from European elements and thus lack originality insofar as its objectives are concerned. As he puts it, "if Africa...is attempting to emancipate themselves from colonial domination in all spheres of life and to assert Africa's uniqueness in the world...Why would Africans call this movement and philosophy a Renaissance?" (2014:167). However, Ramose contends that the term 'renaissance' has its roots in ancient languages of Africa (2002b:701). Further, the problem of what constitutes the identity of Africanness needs interrogation as the Eurocentric construction cannot present a true reality in this regard. Boloka asserts that the historical description of the African as a dark-skinned person is inadequate and myopic as "Aborigines are black and are not Africans; Arabs on the other hand are not black, yet they are Africans" (1999:96). Again, this is not a true reflection of the renaissance of Africa, as envisaged by Mbeki; multiculturalism in this context, should be advanced and forged. As Appiah puts it, "...the label African was applied to many of those who would later be thought of as Negroes, by people who may have been under the impression that Africans had more in common culturally, socially, intellectually, and religiously than they actually did" (2002:436). Appiah further points out that

these labels, although erroneous, continue to have effects to this day. Hence, Ramose argues, “African history has yielded and continues to yield fertile experiences from which to extract key analytical concepts” (2002b:710).

Another criticism levelled against the concept of African Renaissance lies in what Vale and Maseko (1998:276) refer to as “more promise than policy”. In other words, the ideas of African Renaissance, however noble, do not translate into the existential living experiences of ordinary Africans and, to an extent, South Africans. The aspect of authenticity, insofar as the liberatory interventions are concerned, becomes pertinent. For Sartre, authenticity requires more courage, which for him, explains the rarity of the transcendental consciousness associated with it (1956:64). Accordingly, African elite are not helping the cause with their unfortunate contribution to the marginality of Africans. For Serequeberhan (2004:226), these elites are partly to blame for the advancement of colonialism through their pursuit of Euro-American inspired lifestyles:

But its mimicry of the lifestyles of its Euro-American patrons and its callous disregard for human life cannot be wholly attributed to the colonial past. Lacking in any proper self-knowledge, this elite persists in perpetuating the hegemony of a domineering and cruel past. The continental predicament resulting from this thoughtlessness, in all its tragic and comic poignancy, confirms Fanon’s prophetic insight.

It therefore, follows that African elite are driven by capitalist selfish motives at the expense of the Africans who continue to be racialised, condemned and marginalised. That being said, de-linking is imperative under these circumstances given the imposed legacies of apartheid and coloniality.

Another aspect worth noting is the role of South Africa in forging and advancing the policies of African Renaissance. Vale and Maseko (1998:286) suggest that given South Africa’s smooth transition to democracy, this country is in a position to lead the way as far as the emancipation of the continent is concerned. Granted, the authors were writing in a different period where circumstances were different to the current state of affairs. A lot has happened since then. South Africa is still experiencing challenges that came about as a result of colonialism and apartheid, that continue to play out in complex ways. The hashtag movements can be considered as reflecting some of the reactions to the challenges facing this

country. There is also an argument suggesting that the call for the renewal of Africa is another South African foreign policy on African affairs aimed at advancing the South African economic prospects (Bongmba 2004:297). In this way, the expansion of South African companies on the continent is viewed in a bad light akin to all other forms of imperialism albeit in a non-violent fashion and at a small scale.

#### **3.7 Summary**

This chapter – in its ambition to review relevant literature in the academy – went about unpacking the concepts of coloniality, decolonial shift/turn, apartheid and African Renaissance. These concepts, pertinent to this study, were contextualised and defined. Their significance in relation to this study was also highlighted. The discussion further revealed the undesirability of coloniality as the darker side of modernity. Similarly, it emerged from the discussion how the ideology of apartheid sought to marginalise, usurp, racialise and enact acts of violence on a designated group. As a result, the brutality of these hegemonic discourses necessitated for counterhegemonic discourses in the form of decoloniality and African Renaissance. The next chapter will discuss the methodology employed by this study.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

In examining the post-apartheid discourses conveyed by *The Thinker* magazine, this study seeks to determine the nature of said discourses and to further interrogate whether the discourses in question promote a decolonial agenda that centralises African Renaissance/Africanisation as a de-linking option. The argument put forth is that *The Thinker* navigates and negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and coloniality by framing a decolonial agenda that manifests in the discourse of African Renaissance/Africanisation as a de-linking option/project.

The following sub-problems are formulated to answer the preceding research problem.

- How does *The Thinker* confront, unravel and engage with the entrenched system of apartheid and/or colonialism/coloniality?
- What themes and discourses are articulated in the discursive practices of *The Thinker*?
- Does *The Thinker* promote values and attitudes of decolonisation? If so, how and to what extent are these values and attitudes articulated?
- How does the articulation of decolonial discourses, if any, by *The Thinker* respond to the post-apartheid South African context?
- How does this decolonisation intervention relate to the call for African Renaissance/Africanisation?

This chapter outlines the research methodology and the research design adopted to answer the research questions. Incorporated, is a discussion describing the constructivist paradigm as the perspective or lens that underpins the study. The chapter goes on to outline and explain the sequential transformative mixed methods design as the methodological approach for this study. Furthermore, the

methods, techniques and procedures followed in the processes of data collection and analysis are detailed, and the rationale provided.

### 4.2 Research methodology

At a basic level, there are essentially two forms of research approaches, namely; quantitative and qualitative research. According to Yilmaz (2013:312), qualitative research is “an emergent, inductive, interpretive and naturalistic approach to the study of people, cases, phenomena, social situations and processes in their natural settings in order to reveal in descriptive terms the meanings that people attach to their experiences of the world”. Qualitative research requires the researcher to be immersed in the setting because events are better understood when their contexts are taken into consideration. The researcher studies phenomena in their natural setting and the aim is to attain a clear understanding of the experiences at hand as “nearly as possible as its participants feel or live it” (Sherman & Webb 1988:23; Wimmer & Dominick 2011:48). Thus, qualitative inquiry is concerned with how the researcher views social reality in order to document this perspective as accurate as possible. This paradigm concedes that complete objectivity and neutrality are impossible to attain and therefore the researcher is not divorced from phenomenon under study (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:25). However, Wimmer and Dominick posit that the qualitative approach in research is capable of yielding useful results if qualitative researchers recognise and counteract its limitations (2011:118).

Quantitative research, on the other hand, is defined as a research approach that “explains phenomena according to numerical data which are analysed by means of mathematically based methods, especially statistics” (Yilmaz 2013:312). Quantitative research has its roots in the positivist and early natural science paradigms, which influenced the field of social sciences (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:15; Wimmer & Dominick 2011:119). Quantitative research tends to emphasise the need for research to be reliable and generalisable by employing standardised methods of data collection and data analysis (David & Sutton 2004:36). Researchers who use this approach use distinct and precise ways to

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calculate indexes of reliability and several articulated techniques that help establish validity (Wimmer & Dominick 2011:122).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:49), the quantitative paradigm in social science places emphasis on the quantification of constructs through its assigning of numbers to the perceived qualities of things. This approach is premised on scientific traditions and it therefore searches for aggregate patterns across empirical observations (Potter 1996:34). The quantitative approach in social sciences is premised on the assumption that social research can replicate the methods of physical sciences, particularly the usage of numbers to measure the relationship of objects under study (David & Sutton 2004:36). Thus, as a research strategy, quantitative approaches focus on deductive reasoning and the reality is objective as it can be seen by all since the researcher cannot manipulate the data at hand because the researcher ought to be detached from the data (Creswell 2009:3). However, true objectivism is impossible to achieve as there can never be one way of thinking about phenomena (Moyo & Mutsvairo 2018:20).

This study employs a cultural studies approach, supported by a constructivist outlook, premised on the assertion that a socially-created reality is dynamic and should be understood from the perspectives of the people involved (Yilmaz 2013:312). For this reason, a mixed methods design in the form of a transformative sequential design approach was employed (Creswell & Tashakkori 2007:107). A sequential transformative design involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches with the researcher having the discretion of prioritising either the quantitative or the qualitative phase (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann and Hanson 2007:182). This design is aimed at employing methods that will take into account “the theoretical perspective of the researcher” (Creswell *et al.* 2007:183). This approach develops along two phases, both deployed in this paper. The first phase involved a quantitative content analysis, yielding the numeric data in the form of prevalence and prominence of thematic categories. As alluded to in Chapter 1, quantitative content analysis data was used in this study as a basis for a hermeneutical thematic analysis of decolonial discourses. The aim was to demonstrate the importance of quantitative elements

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in the context of decolonial studies and in the process making a methodological contribution in that regard.

The second phase refined the extracted thematic categories from the first phase as a basis for developing the themes for a more in-depth qualitative inquiry. Braun and Clarke's model (2012) of theme identification was thus employed for an in-depth qualitative thematic analysis. One took into consideration the research question and the research objectives in the refinement of thematic categories into the main themes. Hence, the quantitative aspect of the project served as a starting point for a qualitative design of the extracted themes. Therefore, the choice of a constructivist approach underpinned by its ontological, epistemological, axiological and rhetorical assumptions that acknowledges the dynamism of socially constructed phenomena. The design adopted for this study gave added priority to qualitative analysis in the form of a thematic analysis. Therefore, although both quantitative and qualitative data collection pursuits are employed in this study, more emphasis is placed on the qualitative phase given the research question, the philosophical perspective and the theoretical frameworks of the study.

### **4.3 Constructivist approach**

This study employs cultural studies as its main theoretical lens. Furthermore, the constructivist approach is used as the philosophical lens that guides this study. A constructivist approach asserts that the contextual shaping of every social experience is anchored on the realisation that the effect of political, cultural or social understanding is unavoidable (Guba & Lincoln 1986:22). Cultural studies is "radically contextual" which means that social phenomena is studied and understood in light of their contexts. As Moyo and Mutsvairo (2018:19) put it, theory in communication research must endeavour to "... produce interventions that align media work with the broader struggle for social justice, egalitarianism, and freedom of the self and community". This is particularly the objective of this study with regard to the choice of theory and the philosophical lens. According to Taylor and Ussher (2001:295), the constructivist approach is concerned with "the way in which the world of language and symbols come to dwell within us; the way

in which we use them to construct our sense of self and our sense of the world around us". For this reason, a constructivist approach can shed light on how and why a particular socially constructed phenomenon shapes reality. This paradigm allows for the appreciation of the link between knowledge and power as certain knowledges are privileged and others suppressed (Allen 1994:33). As such, the approach provides for a useful analytical tool as it allows for context-specific reading of social phenomena. Furthermore, a contextual reading in this study should bring to light insights on issues of subjectivity in relation to dominant narratives. The ontological assumption of a constructivist paradigm is premised on the notion that reality is subjective and assumes multiple guises and there is no objective truth.

With regards to epistemology, constructivism regards truth and reality as dependent on the meaning created by the individuals involved, including the degree of sophistication of those involved (Guba & Lincoln 2001:104). In this type of inquiry, the researcher is not detached from the phenomenon under investigation; s/he collaborates and spends time in the field with participants to gain a deeper understanding of the context under inquiry (Guba & Lincoln 2001:104). Against this background, I have explicated my positionality, values and orientation in relation to the study at hand (see Chapter 1).

The axiological assumption pertains to the notion that the researcher acknowledges the research is value-laden and contains biases. Furthermore, the logic of reasoning is inductive, and the topic being studied is bound by its context. Hence, I maintain that the post-apartheid context has to be radically contextualised. The constructivist researcher can use a combination of both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods; however, priority tends to be given to qualitative methods (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006:3). Against this background, the researcher concedes that objective observation is unattainable and for that reason, the researcher's orientation, values and positionality are bound to be reflected in the study (see Chapter 1 for a description of the researcher's orientation, values and the positionality).

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Despite the use of a mixed methods approach in this study, the theoretical, methodological and epistemological perspectives underpinning this study are more qualitative than quantitative. Hence, the choice of a constructivist paradigm coupled with cultural studies and discourse theories. This choice is influenced by the exploratory nature of the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher acknowledges the centrality of context in relation to the social construction of meanings within a given social formation. In addition to the context, a given social phenomenon should also be understood in relation to its historical construction. The complexities of every social formation are highlighted and appreciated so as to elicit a contextual understanding of the issue at hand. For this reason, the previous chapter (Chapter 3) provided a detailed contextual outline of post-apartheid South Africa in order to understand the problem at hand – what exactly the issue is; how it came to be; why it is an issue and what needs to be done to fix it, if possible. According to Manning (1993:94), the quality of a constructivist study lies in its trustworthiness and authenticity. Authenticity is reflected in the practice of the notion of fairness by the researcher. Fairness is regarded as a “balanced view that presents all constructions and the values that undergird them” (Lincoln & Guba 1986:24).

This study sought to uncover underlying meanings behind the selected texts and it became apparent that a quantitative analysis on its own was incapable of achieving this. For that reason, Braun and Clarke’s model (2012) of thematic analysis was selected for this purpose. Hence, the use of triangulation of content analysis augmented with a more nuanced thematic analysis model. Triangulation involves the use of more than one method of data collection and analysis. The study employed two methods of data collection, namely; content analysis as well as Braun and Clarke’s model of thematic analysis. In all these processes, context is important as it allows for a rigorous engagement with the phenomenon under investigation. It further allows for a clearer understanding of the issues concerned as more nuanced analysis is possible.

### 4.4 Research design

Given (2008:762) defines a research design as “the way in which a research idea is transformed into a research project or plan that can be carried out in practice by a researcher or research team”. Fouché and Schurink view the research design as the option available for researchers to conduct an inquiry suitable for their research goals (2011:308). It is Blatter (2008:68) who views it more broadly as a research approach in which a phenomenon is studied in depth. I partly elected a content analysis approach as the research design for this study. The decision was purely based on the fact that the study is mainly concerned with a particular text, namely *The Thinker*, in order to analyse and interpret its messages. Furthermore, the research question dictated that the texts in question be interpreted and engaged with to uncover the underlying meanings they convey. Krippendorff (1989:403) defines content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”. According to Wimmer and Dominick, content analysis aims to describe communication content, test the hypothesis of message characteristics and compare media content to the real world (1987:167-169). Furthermore, content analysis assess the image of certain groups in society and it also serves as a starting point for studying media effects (Wimmer & Dominick 1987:169). A content analyst has the ability to infer trends, patterns from large bodies of data (Krippendorff 1989:404).

According to Babbie and Mouton, advantages of content analysis include among others, no requirement for a large research staff and no special equipment is required in the collection and analysis of the data (2001:392). They further list the unobtrusive nature of content analysis as an advantage; meaning that the object being studied cannot be manipulated by the researcher (2001:393). This study went about analysing content in articles from a magazine which meant that the texts were already written and, as such; there was no need for the researcher to interact with the authors in question. Julien mentions that content analysis is useful for uncovering both conscious and unconscious messages communicated by the text (2008:120). The study was concerned with how meanings in relation to concepts of coloniality, (post)apartheid, decoloniality and African Renaissance

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are constructed by *The Thinker* as a text. Therefore, the researcher perused the latent messages of the text as opposed to the manifest messages. For that reason, a content analysis approach was deemed suitable as the study did not include the observation of individuals. The main aim was to make inferences in terms of the patterns and themes that emanated from the text.

Content analysis, however, has its limitations. For instance, it does not facilitate for making inferences about effects of content on audience (Wimmer & Dominick 2011:159). This limitation stated by Wimmer and Dominick did not impact on the study at hand, as this study did not look at the effects of media on audiences but mainly the content of media as its object of inquiry. Babbie and Mouton mention the problem of validity and reliability associated with qualitative content analysis. Similarly, Lindlof and Taylor point out that reliability in social research is a concern because unreliable results cannot be deemed as valid (2002:238). The researcher undertook a quantitative content analysis wherein issues of reliability and validity were carefully considered and these will be discussed and addressed below.

In addition, a qualitative type of content analysis in the form of a thematic analysis was also used. Regarding qualitative research, Julien advises that a qualitative researcher should “seek for trustworthiness and credibility by conducting iterative analyses, seeking negative or contradictory examples...and providing supporting examples for conclusions drawn” (2008:121). This dissertation analysed and interpreted the data from a constructivist perspective wherein the notions of credibility and authenticity are significant. Therefore, for the researcher to arrive at valid and authentic conclusions, it follows that a systematic and rigorous engagement with the object of inquiry be undertaken. I, thus, paid attention to a detailed description (see chapter 5) and interpretation (see chapter 6) of the data collected in order to increase the element of rigour with regards to the analysis of data.

### 4.5 Sampling

Kumar (2005:164) defines sampling as a process of “selecting a few units from a bigger group to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of

an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group". David and Sutton (2004:149) observe that the first stage of the sampling process is to establish and define the population forming the basis of the study. The population of a research study entails all possible units of analysis. Populations comprise target and accessible populations with the latter referring to the units in the target population to which the researcher has access (Wimmer & Dominick 2011:87). The target population for this study was all the publications of *The Thinker* magazine, dating back from the period of its inception. The accessible population comprised of the twenty-two (22) publications editions of *The Thinker* magazine from which the researcher purposively selected articles that were published during the time-period of 2010 until 2016.

According to Bryman (2012:187), a sample is the "segment of the population that is selected for investigation". A sample is the actual group which forms part of the study and from which the data is collected (Punch 1998:105). There are two types of sampling, namely; the random/probability sampling designs and the non-probability designs (Bryman 2012:187). The four main types of probability sampling are simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and cluster/multi-cluster sampling (David & Sutton 2004:150). In probability sampling each unit in the population has an equal opportunity of being selected whereas in the case of non-probability sampling, the inclusion of every unit cannot be guaranteed. This study employed a non-probability sampling.

Non-probability sampling can be categorised into quota sampling, purposive sampling, snowball sampling and convenience sampling (Bryman 2012:188; David & Sutton 2004:152; Wimmer & Dominick 2011:94). Quota sampling entails a process of selecting units based on some pre-defined characteristics of the population (David Sutton 2004:152). In convenience sampling, the researcher selects units based on their availability by taking an advantage of an accessible situation which may fit the research context and purpose (Bryman 2012:188). In the case of a snowball sampling, the researcher selects some subjects who meet the characteristics of the inquiry who, in turn, recommend other eligible subjects with the same characteristics. In purposive sampling "the units are selected according to the researcher's knowledge and opinion about which ones they think

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will be appropriate to the topic area” (David & Sutton 2004:152). A purposive sample was employed for this study because I aimed to select only those units/texts that were relevant for this inquiry and their suitability in relation to the research problem.

The researcher subscribes to *The Thinker* magazine which led to the interest of critically engaging with the messages from the text. *The Thinker* magazine was established in 2009 and its first publication was produced in the month of July. There were no articles from the year 2009 as I did not deem them relevant for the research question. The articles selected were taken from editions spanning the years 2010 to 2016. The process of selecting articles for the study involved going through each edition to identify relevant articles – those that addressed issues of interest insofar as the study is concerned. I dealt with forty editions. The magazine is not published on a monthly basis but there is no consistency in terms of the number of editions per year as there were six issues in 2013. Key words to look for included, among others, African Renaissance, apartheid, Africanisation, colonialism, coloniality, decoloniality, epistemic shift and African renewal, rebirth. This process resulted in thirty-one (31) articles being selected to form part of the study. It should be noted that the sample excluded cover pages, editorials and advertisements.

### 4.6 Data collection and analysis

The researcher requested access to the archived materials of the magazine as this project drew data from the period ranging from the years 2010 to 2016. Due to the fairly large amount of data required for the project, I decided to avail myself at the offices of *The Thinker* for material collection. The data, in the form of electronic versions of the magazines, were stored digitally on a password-protected computer and thereafter transferred to a flash drive as back-up. I went through forty publications to render myself as conversant with the contents as possible. As mentioned earlier, I then sought for key words from the titles of the articles in order to ascertain their suitability. Following the identification of key words, I familiarised myself with the contents of each article as a preparation step for the coding process. The articles were thus coded by allocating each unit of

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analysis into the formulated thematic categories. Units of analysis are the “smallest element of a content analysis” (Wimmer & Dominick 1987:174). For this study, individual sentences and/or statements comprising the articles, were selected as units of analysis. The coding process, repeatedly referenced here, involved the process of assigning attributes to specific units of analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006:81).

Accordingly, I devised thematic categories theoretically following the emergence of themes from the reviewed literature (see Appendix B for the coding sheet that includes categories). There are two types of coding in content analysis, namely; manifest and latent coding. Codes refer to “the most basic segment or element of the data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding a phenomenon (Boyatzis 1998:63). The researcher used conceptual codes as these identify “key elements, domains and dimensions of the study phenomenon” (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove 2016:102). The coding process, in this regard, was theory-driven. As a result, the data was approached with specific questions in mind. Theory-driven coding is described as coding that begins with the researcher’s theory of what occurs and formulating codes that have elements of the theory (Kawulich 2004:99). Therefore, one became conversant with the subject under investigation through the perusal of the literature thus allowing for the facilitation of the coding process. Latent coding was deployed in the process – this type of coding is concerned with the underlying messages. This type of coding was suitable for this study given the purpose and the research question. Latent coding requires that the coder be conversant with the subject of the study. Following a deeper engagement with the relevant literature for the study, I became well equipped to undertake the latent coding process.

The process of coding was conducted manually; meaning that I did not make use of any software for this procedure. The process involved a construction of thirty-one coding sheets for every selected article. The articles were printed out to facilitate for the manual coding process by going through each sentence/statement to ascertain the suitable code for the unit of analysis concerned. The definitions of thematic categories were subsequently revised following an engagement with another academic member of the department as

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there were some issues regarding the mutual exclusivity of the devised categories. The misunderstanding could be attributed to the interchangeability of some of the concepts involved in the study. For instance, differentiating between colonialism and colonality as the literature has proven that the concepts do not signify one thing. Furthermore, each sentence was scrutinised to ensure that every unit is allocated an appropriate thematic category. The frequencies and prevalence of the thematic categories were thus determined as a way of establishing the dominant themes for further analysis. For this reason, thematic categories and themes cannot be used interchangeably as far as this study is concerned, as they denote different things. According to Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen and Snelgrove (2016:102), a category is regarded as a descriptive identity and is used for theme development.

Each thematic category had a number assigned to it and a number corresponding to the numbering of each category assigned to each sentence from the selected article. An appropriate number was thus placed next to each unit of analysis. The assigned number depended on the category that the statement was addressing. This is a form of labelling which entailed a thorough understanding of concepts and terms used in the data. The process was used to sort different codes into appropriate thematic categories. The numbers were then tallied to determine the frequency of each thematic category in relation to an article concerned. The process was repeated for each of the thirty-one articles selected for the study.

This process proved to be time-consuming and involved significant labour as no software was employed. Furthermore, the process was a trial and error for the researcher – the initial set of codes was deemed inappropriate by my promoters, who, however, provided valuable guiding feedback and input. The feedback included among others, the issues of mutual exclusivity, exhaustivity and equivalence of the devised categories. I then went through the data set again so that my codes could fulfil the criteria. From this process, I was able to determine the prevalence and frequency of the devised thematic categories. This step provided a basis from which the second step, a further in-depth analysis of the data, was made. I further presented the qualitative data that emanated from the generated themes after refinement in order to provide a detailed description of

the data set. Furthermore, the exercise provided a contextual background of the data as a foreground for the interpretation and analysis.

### **4.6.1 Reliability and validity**

Reliability of a study refers to the degree to which the results would be replicable (Bryman 2004:71). I ensured the reliability of the codes by correlating the allocation of units of analysis to categories with another academic member of staff who is conversant with the concepts and theories involved in this study. There was a high degree of agreement between this researcher and another one, thus, both reaching the same conclusion with regard to the results of the study. Validity, on the other hand, means that the study has measured what it intended (Bryman 2004:24). For this study, the aspect of validity was ensured by devising definitions of categories so that issues of ambiguity were avoided as clearly stipulated on the coding sheet included as an appendix.

For the qualitative phase of the study, I undertook a detailed description of the context of the phenomenon under investigation to elicit transferability. In the presentation of the data, I provided a detailed account of each theme by including a number of quotations as evidence. In addition, the selection and justification of methods, strategies and procedures were explicitly described and explained to ensure dependability on the part of the study. In addition, I employed more than one method of data collection and analysis, namely; quantitative content analysis and thematic analysis as a way of triangulating the methods utilised. Furthermore, I sought to provide factual, accurate and detailed accounts of the data in order to afford the reader an opportunity to understand the context of the phenomenon of the study and, in extension, the credibility of the conclusions reached.

### **4.6.2 Thematic analysis**

As alluded to earlier, the main aim of the quantitative content analysis was to establish the dominant themes that were later subjected to a more in-depth thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke's model of thematic analysis<sup>5</sup> was used to

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<sup>5</sup> As Gordon (2006:591) puts it, "To study a reality that is also the studier requires questioning method itself". Hence, the researcher concedes in this instance that models and methods that emanates from Euro-American thought come with the problematics of being insufficient with

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mine and extract the themes that were later analysed, interrogated, contextualised and interpreted. Braun and Clarke define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (2006:6). A theme articulates an important element within the data set in relation to the research question and represents some sort of patterned meaning within the data set (Bryman 2012:116). For Vaismoradi *et al.* (2016:102), a theme requires interpretation as it tends to be more implicit and abstract. Furthermore, themes often represent some form of a pattern within the data.

One advantage of thematic analysis is that it is not anchored on a specific theory; therefore, it can be used with different theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke 2006:9). Another advantage has to do with its flexibility in relation to a philosophical worldview or perspective and its applicability to a variety of theories and epistemological approaches (Joffe 2012:211). The philosophical approach of the researcher has no bearing on the usage of thematic analysis, which makes the rationale for its selection as far as this study is concerned. What is important in this regard is that the researcher should make his or her theoretical lens explicit at the outset (Braun & Clarke 2006:9). Furthermore, the method can elicit a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon as it allows for the discovery of hidden meanings through interpretations (Ibrahim 2012:40). This study sought to interpret textual messages with the aim of making inferring observations of their communicative aspect. Therefore, given the flexibility of thematic analysis in relation to aspects of theoretical approach, methodological orientation and the research question guiding the study, its selection was appropriate in this regard.

Taking advantage of the flexibility of thematic analysis and making use of the content analysis results, I identified themes deemed significant for the research questions. In terms of theme identification, Braun and Clarke advise that a researcher uses his or her judgement and this should be solely based on whether

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regard to understanding African experiences. In the era of decolonisation, it is crucial to critique methods and models that were devised elsewhere whilst rigorously transcending and overcoming their limitations by cautiously applying them to our (African) context. Hence, I accept an advice given by Moyo and Mutsvairo that African researchers must transcend both theory and method in order to “think through their own minds, bodies, spaces, social experience, and lens” (2018:21). I am therefore mindful against this background that the method might have shortcomings in relation to its applicability to a South African context.

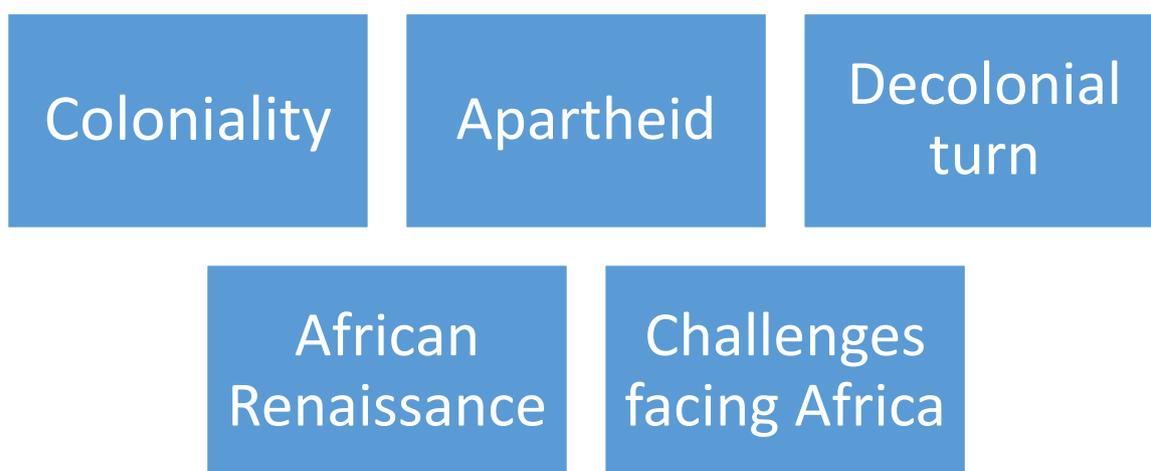
the proposed theme captures elements of the research question (2006:10). Therefore, prevalence and prominence does not necessarily translate into themes to be extracted from the data set. For this study, the researcher extracted themes based on the criteria of prevalence and frequency as determined during the content analysis phase. The content analysis phase included a total of fifteen categories (see Appendix B for the coding sheet).

The top five thematic categories, in terms of prevalence and frequency were then sought. The categories in question are: **the rebirth of Africa; colonialism; apartheid; coloniality; epistemological critique; decolonial turn and African challenges**. I took into account the research problem, as well as the reviewed literature to determine the dominant themes for further analysis. The extracted themes were, **coloniality, decolonial turn, colonialism, rebirth of Africa and African challenges**. Following the review of literature, the categories of **colonialism** and **coloniality** were merged to form the theme of **coloniality**. Furthermore, the categories of **epistemological critique** and **decolonial turn** were merged to form the theme of **decolonial turn**. The category of **rebirth of Africa** was converted to the theme of **African Renaissance**, also inspired by the reviewed literature. Subsequently, the category of **apartheid** became the theme of **apartheid**. Given the fact that the data spanned a period of seven years, from 2010 to 2016, I examined the prevalence of thematic categories throughout the said period. **Coloniality** recorded the highest prevalence across three periods, namely in 2013, 2014 and 2016. **African challenges** recorded a highest figure for the year 2010 followed by **decolonial turn** in 2011. **Colonialism** recorded the highest figure for the year 2012. The year 2015 saw **rebirth of Africa** with the highest figure. Furthermore, thematic categories that appeared on two or more occasions in terms of the years covered, were regarded as significant in light of the study. Against this background, I extracted five major thematic categories for an in-depth analysis namely, **decolonial turn, challenges facing Africa, African Renaissance, coloniality and apartheid**.

Following the determination of themes for further in-depth analysis, I presented a detailed description of the data in relation to each theme. In this way, a contextual account of what a particular theme entailed was provided. This grouping of the

data set according to themes assisted in the management of the data in preparation for analysis. The interpretation phase was premised on the theoretical prism that underpinned the study: constructivism coupled with cultural studies. The inductive logic of reasoning was employed as the data is made sense of in relation to the research question. Furthermore, the interpretation was linked to theory for explanatory purposes as well as the existing literature in contextualising the findings. The conclusions reached from the interpretation phase were thus linked to the quantitative results. Figure 4.1 presents the extracted themes

**Figure 4.1: Extracted themes**



### 4.7 Ethical considerations

This particular study did not involve human participants as it analysed documents to reach its conclusions. However, this researcher is conversant of the University of South Africa's Policy for Research Ethics and adhered to all procedures and principles necessary to ensure that the research conducted meets all the

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standards outlined in this policy. Furthermore, this researcher made an effort to ensure integrity in conducting this study by ensuring that, among other things, the principles of accountability, excellence and scientific quality are adhered to in the process.

### **4.8 Summary**

This chapter presented and justified the research methodology and the research design for this study. I explained both the quantitative and qualitative methodologies and subsequently motivated the decision behind the mixed methods approach in the form of sequential transformative design. I highlighted that the sequential transformative design allows for the prioritisation of a particular methodological orientation, be it quantitative, qualitative or both. It was pointed out that the theoretical and philosophical lenses necessitated for the prioritisation of a qualitative approach. Content analysis approach was selected as the research design for this study. It was revealed that both quantitative content analysis and qualitative thematic analysis were selected as methods of data collection and analysis for this study. Procedures for sampling, coding and theme identification were also outlined and explained in this chapter. The next chapter – chapter five – presents the findings of this study

## CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

### 5.1 Introduction

To determine how the terrain of coloniality and apartheid is charted and unravelled by *The Thinker* as a media text, the study examines the representation of post-apartheid discourses by the said text. The study, as outlined earlier, explores whether these discourses manifest in *The Thinker's* articulation of emancipatory messages of African Renaissance/Africanisation and/or decolonisation. I enter with the supposition that *The Thinker* negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and, to an extent, colonialism/coloniality through the representation of a decolonial narrative which is manifest in African Renaissance/Africanisation as a de-linking option/project. The following sub-problems were formulated to answer the preceding research problem:

- How does *The Thinker* confront, unravel and engage with the entrenched system of apartheid and/or colonialism/coloniality?
- What themes and discourses are articulated in the discursive practices of *The Thinker*?
- Does *The Thinker* promote values and attitudes of decolonisation? If so, how and to what extent are these values and attitudes articulated?
- How does the articulation of decolonial discourses, if any, by *The Thinker* respond to the post-apartheid South African context?
- How does this decolonisation intervention relate to the call for African Renaissance/Africanisation?

This chapter presents the findings derived from the collected data as outlined in chapter four above. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first presents the results of the qualitative thematic analysis. The second section presents the results of the quantitative content analysis. Although the latter phase was conducted before the former, the study prioritised the qualitative phase and hence the choice to present the qualitative data first. As explained in the previous

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chapter, this study was conducted in two phases, namely, quantitative content analysis and qualitative thematic analysis. The former served as a foundation for theme identification for the latter phase. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated in this chapter that quantitative data can serve as a foundation for a decolonial analysis. In addition, this chapter will demonstrate how rigorous empirical evidence can support decolonial narratives. Hence, the significance of quantitative data in a decolonial study as evidenced by the data below. In the quantitative content analysis section, the frequency of thematic categories were established in order to identify dominant themes for further qualitative thematic analysis. Using Braun and Clarke's model of theme identification, coupled with literature, it was established that the emergent dominant thematic categories were, **coloniality**, **decolonial turn**, **apartheid**, **African Renaissance** and **challenges facing the continent of Africa**.

As Braun and Clarke put it, thematic analysis can be a “flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data” (2006:5). This method is useful in identifying patterns and themes from a data set. Given the theoretical model that this study is based on, the flexibility of thematic analysis was essential in the context of this study. As outlined in chapter 2, cultural studies accords the researcher with flexibility in terms of data analysis. Furthermore, the contextual aspects of cultural studies and thematic analysis informed the analytic decisions I have taken.

For Braun and Clarke (2006:9), the importance of contextualism speaks to the way the broader contexts of phenomena affect meanings. Another decision made by this dissertation was the determination of prevalence of themes, which took the form of content analysis. Following the process of determining the prevalence, I then, conducted a “detailed and nuanced account” of each theme from the data set (Braun & Clarke 2006:11). Employing a constructionist approach, I sought to go “beyond the semantic content of the data” in order to determine the underlying meaning of the coded data (Braun & Clarke 2006:13). According to Braun and Clarke (2006:14), a thematic analysis that adopts a constructionist perspective, “seeks to theorise the socio-cultural contexts, and structural conditions, that

enable the individual accounts that are provided” (2006:14). This is what Braun and Clarke refer to as latent thematic analysis.

The use of content analysis in the identification of thematic categories, served to augment the validity of these thematic categories. In order to improve reliability for this study, I ensured that the thematic categories were explicitly defined by also conducting a pilot study with a subsample of the content universe (Wimmer & Dominick 2011:171). Furthermore, the thematic categories were given to another member of the department in order to ascertain the inter-coder reliability. Following hereon, I begin presenting the qualitative analysis.

### 5.2 Section A: presentation of thematic qualitative data

The articles in this section will be referred to by the numbers assigned to each one – for instance, **Article 1**, **Article 2**, and so on. These articles will then be referenced according to the authors’ names. The titles of these articles will also be given, and, in most cases, these will be bracketed. That being said, the first theme to be dealt with is coloniality.

#### 5.2.1 Coloniality

**Article 30** entitled *Why decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?* provides a description of what the system of coloniality entails. For this article, the state of coloniality should be seen as a culmination of slave trade, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism and these processes exist to perpetuate the current global system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:11). For this reason, argues **Article 2** that Africa’s historical imagination should be viewed in light of the imposed European modernity (Masilela 2012:33). **Article 8** entitled *African Renaissance and the prophetic genius of Mazisi Kunene*, observes that the deep intrusion of hegemonic forces has violated the “African understandings of his [*sic*] universe” (Araoye 2016:29). It is further posited by **Article 30** that this world system has race as an organising principle that “hierarchised human beings according to notions and binaries of primitive vs. civilised, and developed vs. underdeveloped” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:11). Institutions such as schools,

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colleges, churches and universities reproduce coloniality, notes the article. The article has this to say regarding the coloniality of power:

[...] the current world system was constructed and constituted into asymmetrical and modern power structure. It delves deeper into how the world was bifurcated into a 'Zone of Being' and 'Zone of Non-Being' maintained by invisible 'abyssal lines'. What needs to be understood is how modernity deposited its fruits of progress, civilisation, modernisation and development to the Euro-American world (Zone of Being) while at the same time imposing the slave trade, imperialism, colonialism and apartheid into the non Euro-American world (the Zone of Non-Being) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11).

This article concludes that coloniality is still active and continues to "inflict pain and death to Africans". In **Article 28** entitled *Decolonising the university in Africa*, colonial matrices of power are explained thus:

These colonial matrices of power operate as a set of technology of subjectivation that consist of four types: *control of economy* which manifested itself through dispossession, land expropriations, exploitations of labour and control of African natural resources; *control of authority* which includes the maintenance of military superiority through stockpiling of weapons of mass destructions by western powers and monopolisation of means of violence; *control of gender and sexuality* which involves the re-imagination of family in Western-Christian-bourgeois terms and universalisation of one-wife-husband; and *control of subjectivity and knowledge* which includes epistemological colonisation and the re-articulation of African being as inferior and constituted by a series of lacks (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47).

Similarly, **Article 25** entitled *Africa in 21<sup>st</sup> century: the path to sustainable growth and development*, is of the view that capitalism has moved to a higher stage characterised by control of labour power, capital and trade. This state of affairs has ramifications for the Third World, as "there is no capacity to accumulate or use one's resources for the benefit of the mass of one's own population" (Mlosy 2010:13). The control of the entrenched capitalist system prevents the periphery to undertake real development (Mlosy 2010:13). These colonial matrices of power are regarded by **Article 22** as constituting subjugation and exploitation through the use of the gun with the aim of exploiting African resources and in the process "dehumanised large African populations" (Serote 2013:53). In this way, argues **Article 4** that these practices seek to perpetuate the subjugation of Africa by western imperial powers by transforming all other countries as their neo-

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colonies. **Article 26** entitled *History, memory and democracy an exploration*; highlights the cruelty of colonial powers through the marginalisation and dehumanisation of blacks:

When the blacks were brought to the Western world as slaves, some constitutions, policies, laws, and institutions in Europe and America completely stripped black people of their humanity on the basis that it was not possible to define black people as people. This mentality regarded blacks as slaves; as uncivilised; and therefore, as not capable of becoming part of the West or of white people (Serote 2010:41).

It is further posited by this article that these colonial powers used the gun to redraw boundaries of the world and, through other institutions such as religion and laws, dehumanised blacks and turned them into the other. The issue of these arbitrary boundaries is also highlighted in **Article 10**, as it argues that Africa had no defined political boundaries prior to the arrival of colonial rulers (Maaba 2010:17). According to the article, these borders are problematic as they sought to advance the strategy of 'divide and rule' in order to serve the interests of the coloniser. Hence, **Article 2** observes that colonial administrators were solely interested in "material interests to be had from exploiting the Other" (Masilela 2012:33). Against this backdrop, **Article 27** entitled *Eurocentrism, coloniality and the myths of decolonisation of Africa* explains the rationale behind the partitioning of Africa:

The Berlin consensus was in fact an agreement among European powers to divide Africa among themselves. While the institutionalisation of the slave trade became the first manifestation of the dark side of modernity, the Berlin conference of 1884 - 5 enabled colonialism and laid a firm basis for global coloniality. The scramble for and partition of Africa among European powers amounted to an open disregard and disdain for the African people's dignity, rights and freedoms (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:35).

**Article 6** (*The African Peer Review Mechanism [APRM] in the context of African Renaissance*) notes how the current world system stood on the way of real emancipation of African peoples and further perpetuated "the entrenchment of extra-African interests ... [enacting] the permanence of the wretchedness of the African earth" (Araoye 2013:27). Furthermore, **Article 21** (*Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge*) posits that African politics are dictated from North America and Europe as centres of the

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globe. For this article, these Euro-American centres conceal the fact that modern civilisation created all sorts of problems to the Global South:

This modern civilisation permits in the West democracy, human rights and peace; while in the Global South it finances civil wars, entrenches tyrants and dumps weapons to fuel conflicts. It is a long living global power structure that sentences Africa and the Global South to a zone of nonbeing that is populated by the people whose lives are punctuated with “lacks” and “deficits” of values and knowledges that have to be forced upon them by the prefects of the in the West (Mpofu 2013:11).

It is observed by the article entitled *African Renaissance and the prophetic genius of Mazisi Kunene* (**Article 6**) that the end of the cold war caused the bankruptcy of powerful western states and, subsequently, enacted the need for the hegemonic sources to manipulate the African space (Araoye 2016:31). **Article 24** with the title, *African intellectuals: suspects or assets?* questions Africa’s investment in education and whether this investment produces the desired outcomes. It is implied by this article that the education system perpetuates the marginalisation of Africans:

The question is, in paying and sacrificing so much, are we grooming our intellectual assets to lighten our darkness or are we cultivating sell-outs who will gang up with the forces of our exploitation and oppression, surrendering us to perpetual underdevelopment, corruption and economic marginality? (Mpofu 2011:47).

This article argues that African states are yet to attain complete freedom, as these countries are not economically free given the fact that the economies of most of these states are still under the control of a few elite. The article criticises the decision taken by the leaders of these states to seek freedom ahead of economic emancipation as the main cause of underdevelopment of these states. It is also argued by this article that “slavish and colonial social and economic imbalances are yet to be addressed in a meaningful way in Africa” (Mpofu 2011:48). **Article 30** (*Why decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?*) makes this observation about the coloniality of knowledge:

The second concept is that of coloniality of knowledge, which focuses on teasing out epistemological issues, politics of knowledge generation as well as questions of who generates which knowledge, and for what purpose. African Studies frequently neglects to conduct serious investigations into the origins of disciplines, into epistemicides, into

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how knowledge has been used to assist imperialism and colonialism and into how knowledge has remained Euro-American centric. Endogenous and indigenous knowledges have been pushed to the margins of society. Africa is today saddled with irrelevant knowledge that disempowers rather than empowers individual communities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11).

For this reason, **Article 21** entitled *Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge* observes that coloniality manifests through Eurocentric knowledge as a mode of knowing Africa. Hence, **Article 28** (*Decolonising the University in Africa*) warns that coloniality of knowledge poses a great danger to the colonised as it pollutes the mind. The article observes, “Imperialism of knowledge works on the minds of African peoples whereas religious colonialism works on the soul” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47). Against this backdrop, **Article 20** (*Changing the tides of Africa*) is of the view that the colonial model of education sought to undermine African value systems and knowledges by elevating Europe as superior (Makwindi 2010:37). **Article 15** entitled *The African renaissance: the role of Africa’s young professionals* is of the view that young African leaders must be wary of a dogma that seeks to “paint us as inferior, non-European and therefore not equal and capable” (Khoza 2011:54). A similar sentiment was observed in **Article 7** (*Indigenous knowledge systems*) as it observes, in this context, that Africans were made to believe that “we were primitive and pagan, that we were uncivilised, that we were inferior” (Serote 2012:19).

**Article 19** (*For a gender balanced Pan-African education*) goes further to observe how the coloniser makes use of education, religion and policies to relegate the African woman to the bottom of the pyramid of life. This externally derived social stratification has led to the current state of gender inequality compounded by a patriarchal system (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:47). **Article 31** (*Decolonising an African mind*) explains how the inculcation and the indoctrination of the dichotomy of inferior-superior among the Africans (blacks in particular), was engineered by the imperialist in order to foster black subjugation. This article argues that many African professionals, including among others, scholars and intellectuals; are also victims of this indoctrination. The article further posits that multilateral institutions

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such as the United Nations (UN) perpetuates the marginalisation and subjugation of black people. These organisations are being used by the colonial powers as instruments for advancing neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism argues the article. The statement below extrapolates further on this argument:

The colonial powers rent and hire political parties and parties and politicians as their agents, sometimes disguised as opposition parties, to advance, defend and advocate their colonial and imperial agendas. Such agendas include the tactical use of the UN Security Council to legitimise the political assassination of African Revolutionaries who are in favour of Pan Africanism, African Regional Integration and African Renaissance (Nkabinde 2014:55).

The article further posits that the status quo – in terms of the work of the United Nations in relation to the global South countries – is perpetuated by current asymmetrical membership compositions of this organisation, which is made up by 60% of the colonialist and imperialist nations.

The atrocities of the colonial powers are illustrated and highlighted by **Article 18** entitled *A century of the notorious 1913 Land Act*. As the article puts it, “they [white settlers] attacked and decimated them with horrible brutality and inhumanity” (Phala 2013:36). It further goes on to posit that land, cattle and livestock were taken by force and consequently rendering them “vagrants and slaves”. The article observes that the arrival of white colonist settlers to the South African shores signalled the disposition and usurpation of the African people of their land:

Beginning in 1652, Dutch and British colonialists waged wars of conquest against the indigenous population, to usurp their land and its riches and to establish an outpost which would act as a source of natural resources, as a terrain of expansion and settlement, and settlement, and as a market for their goods. ... The Land Act was also the basis for a plethora of subsequent segregatory, divisive, exploitative and oppressive legislation (Phala 2013:36-37).

For this reason, **Article 14** (*The Marikana massacre: a challenge to the black gold based economy: exposure of state coloniality and labour aristocracy?*) observes that the dispossession and usurpation of Africans had ramifications to the lives of Africans as African men had to use their bodies for labour in the mines.

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It is posited by this article that “the exploitation, displacement and oppression of African labour in particular has been synonymous with the exploitation of the country’s mineral resources” (Mazibuko 2013:31). In making sense of what could have led to the Marikana massacre, the article observes that this presents a situation whereby the post-colonial state perpetuated the domination of its people by using the same tools of the coloniser. As the article observes regarding this continued domination:

Coloniality reflects the condition again whereby the struggles for freedom and emancipation are defeated and end with democracy instead of freedom, equality and justice. It means being trapped in the structures of colonial, capitalist and traditional feudal domination (Mazibuko 2013:31).

It is argued by this article that the South African post-colonial state possesses characteristics of coloniality/colonialism because of how it handled the Marikana situation. Hence **Article 19** with the title *Tasks of the African progressive movement* observes that a dominant political, economic and social elite advances the marginalisation and disempowerment of the majority of the African population. The article states, “In practice, this elite act as a junior partner in the perpetuation of an all-round neo-colonial relationship between Africa and the major Western powers” (Mbeki 2013b:20). The leadership issue was further highlighted in **Article 6**:

The balkanisation of Africa into little fiefdoms of stooges and proxies of neo-colonial forces implied that the same dominant External Order became the legitimising force that validated who and which African leader of its numerous feeble states best advanced its neo-imperialist goals. Indeed, in many instances the ubiquitous External Order decided who ruled their little African proxy-states (Araoye 2013:27).

Through the words of Kwame Nkrumah, one of the founders of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), **Article 12** (*Africa must unite – an imperative of our time*) warns that the former colonial rulers might recapture African leaders. According to **Article 21**, African leaders perpetuate the advent of coloniality. African leadership was also under a spotlight in **Article 16** where it is mentioned that this elite has essentially bought into “the global capitalist culture of self-enrichment that benefits external power centres” (Lamola 2013:55). **Article 19** entitled *For a*

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*gender balanced pan-African education* observes that the advent of colonisation has led to the current social stratification, which is characterised by women at the bottom of the chain suggesting that black women are the worst hit by the system of coloniality. In light of this social stratification, **Article 22** (*An African vision: over the shoulder and upfront*) observes, “there is no way that western culture can give birth to racism, oppression and exploitation of human beings, create colonial systems and not oppress women” (Serote 2013:54).

**Article 30** (*Why decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?*) notes that coloniality of being pertains to how whiteness came to gain ontological density at the expense of blackness. The article argues and stresses the importance of the coloniality of being in contextualising the current inferiority complex that came to be associated with blackness. As the article observes, “[...] African humanity was questioned as processes that contributed towards ‘objectification’/‘thingification’, ‘commodification’ of Africans” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:12). **Article 6** observes that the global system has conditioned Africans to be servants of dominant powers and to serve the interests of neo-colonial forces. **Article 6** further speaks of “colonial forces” as inflicting confused identities among the African people, which in turn “instituted an arbitrary divisive redefinition of the allegiances of the continent” (Araoye 2013:28). Hence, **Article 22** attests that imperialism, colonialism and apartheid purported to make Africans accept white domination, culminating in their inferiority. Using the works of Fanon in problematising the notion of black subjectivity, **Article 29** (*Black skin, white masks: still relevant on South Africa today?*) remarks that the black individual aspires to be white as a result of “a unique configuration of power, of economic, social, political and cultural conditions which empower the white subject and degrade its reciprocate” (Haffejee 2012:57). The article goes further to explain that the invention of blackness as a product of what it refers to as collective unconscious:

This theme can be described as a racist system of values of representations in which the black subject is seen as repository, a figure in whom whites symbolise all their lower emotions and baser inclinations. [...] Hence, I am forced to ascertain that the black man [*sic*] is the product of the white, he is an expression of the bad instincts, the darkness inherent in every white ego... (Haffejee 2012:57).

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For the article, the reading of Fanon could be used to understand the contemporary racial issues affecting post-apartheid South Africa reflected in the inferiority-superior dialectic of black and white relation. This notion further relegates the black man to a pathogenic space:

There is the 'anxious fear' of the black man in the manner he has been characterised throughout history that arouses both 'fear and revulsion'. In South Africa (presently), the black man is seen a dangerous, rapist, a murderer, a thief (Haffejee 2012:59).

Having dealt with the theme of coloniality, the focus now shifts to decolonial turn/decoloniality.

### 5.2.2 Decolonial turn

The content analysis revealed that this theme registered an overall prevalence of 298 (14.79%); making it the second most prevalent thematic category after the thematic category of *coloniality*. This theme also registered the highest number in the year 2011. In articulating the process of decolonisation, the author of **Article 27** (*Eurocentrism, coloniality and the myths of decolonisation of Africa*) cites Kuan-Hsing Chen in his pronouncement of the simultaneous processes of decolonisation and deimperialisation. The statement below outlines these simultaneous processes:

...decolonisation did not simply mean modes of anticolonialism that were expressed mainly through the building of a sovereign nation-state, but is also an attempt by the 'previously colonised to reflectively work out a historical relation with the former coloniser, culturally, politically, and economically. This can be a painful process involving the practice of self-critique, self-negation, and self-rediscovery... (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:39).

The article explains that deimperialisation is a more encompassing tool that can be used to "critically examine the larger historical impact of imperialism." Deimperialisation involves the abandonment of the "Western arrogance which breeds and perpetuates a feeling that Europe and North America have everything to teach non-Europeans and nothing to learn from other people and their civilisations" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:39).

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The article warns about the myth of the decolonised Africa, through the articulation of the strategies adopted by counter-hegemonic movements of the continent. Similarly, in an article with the title, *Decolonising an African mind* (**Article 31**), there is an observation that the superficial eradication of colonialism brought with it the traction of neo-colonialism. It is argued in this article that the independence of the African states remains a myth as the process of the construction of new flags is deemed a façade (Nkabinde 2014:55). Speaking from a perspective of social justice, an article with the title, *Defining a new leadership paradigm for a new Africa* (**Article 13**), observes that freedom is yet to be attained. It further posits that freedom to liberate the African continent was fought to improve the lives of its citizens and laments that the continent remains poor despite its rich natural resources (Salim 2015:14).

It is stated in **Article 30** (*Why decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*) that decoloniality aims to unmask the brutality of coloniality as it is purported to be “a political-cum-epistemological liberatory project” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). It further states that decoloniality is necessitated by the situation of the current world system that doubts the humanity of black people following 350 years of struggles against slavery. The article posits that decoloniality seeks to shift the geography of reason by emphasising the legitimacy of the ex-colonised epistemic sites. According to the article, decoloniality should be seen as a liberatory option. This statement illustrates some reasons emanating from the article with regards to the relevance of decoloniality:

Decoloniality is born out of a realisation that ours is born out of a realisation that is sustained not only by colonial matrices of power but also by pedagogies and epistemologies of equilibrium that continue to produce alienated Africans who are socialised into hating the Africa that produced them, and liking Europe and America that rejects them. Schools, colleges, churches and universities in Africa are sites of for reproduction of coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11).

In the article entitled *History, memory and democracy: an exploration* (**Article 26**), which was published in the year 2010, the decolonial turn theme is evident. In talking about the dismantling of apartheid, the article had this to say: “Our struggles against slavery, colonialism, discrimination, Apartheid and racism, were

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a thought, energy, words and action to stop our being abused” (Serote 2010:42).

**Article 27** (*Transforming the future: visionary leadership making a difference*) highlights the kind of African leadership required to advance a decolonial agenda on the continent. The author of this article writes in this context that “[we must] get the hang of being masters of our own destiny” (Ndungane 2010:21). Hence, **Article 25** (*Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the path to sustainable growth and development*) notes the need to preserve Africa’s resources. The author writes, “We should stop looting the continent like the colonialist and imperialists” (Mlosy 2010:13).

**Article 24** (*African intellectuals: suspects or assets?*) remarks that African intellectuals are at the forefront of decolonisation on the continent:

These are the men who conceived Pan-Africanism and Negritude, liberatory philosophies that fuelled the civil rights movement in the diaspora and decolonisation in the mainland of Africa. Ali Mazrui, a contemporary African intellectual has observed that, while “African intellectualism can be imagined without pan-Africanism, Pan-Africanism cannot be imagined without African intellectualism”, which summarises the monumental role that was played by intellectuals in informing and equipping the decolonisation of Africa and the dethronement of institutionalised imperialism (Mpofu 2011:46).

In light of this observation, the article mentions that African intellectuals should be actively involved in the advancement of the continent in order to liberate the people of this continent:

We need them to generate thoughts and ideas that will liberate the troubled continent from her quagmire and condition of economic and political stagnation, and halt the escalating decline into the unenviable and alarming depths of hopelessness (Mpofu 2011:48).

Similarly, **Article 15** (*The African renaissance: the role of African young professionals*) calls for young people to take responsibility of the future of the African continent. The article is particularly interested in the university graduates. The author writes, “The graduates of these and other similar institutions have the historic and revolutionary obligation to do all the things to advance the African transformation project” (Khoza 2011:53). The article further asserts that these young leaders must have “vision, intellectual and strategic prowess to plan for tomorrow” (2011:54).

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The focus of the article entitled *Indigenous knowledge systems verification and validation* (**Article 15**) was the significance of indigenous knowledges in advancing a decolonial agenda. The article defines the indigenous knowledge systems and states how these can be used “for the social and economic upliftment of the various countries of the continent” (Serote 2012:21). In the context of decolonial turn, the article makes a claim regarding the role of indigenous knowledge systems:

In other words, the key verification and validation objective of IKS must be to cause a permanent rupture with a past which has been most inhuman, careless and negligent, into a present and future which, through its people, *e be le botho* (Serote 2012:21).

Similarly, the article entitled *The crisis of African languages in the context of the formation of modernity in South Africa* (**Article 2**) advocates for the recognition of African languages. The article laments the lack of usage of African languages by African intellectuals, writers and artists and this practice is seen as a “cultural tragedy” (Masilela 2012:32). Drawing from Fanon’s work, in the article entitled *Black skin, white masks; still relevant in South Africa today*, **Article 29** conveyed the message of emancipation of the marginalised individuals. The article posits that the process of emancipation should entail “the rejection of western hegemony across all spheres [of life]” (Haffejee 2012:59). The article further points out that this project should be enacted through a process of a “psychological revolution to break the psychological shackles still haunting them [the colonised] from the colonial era” (Haffejee 2012:59). Hence, in this context, the article posits that Biko gave his life so that the “the black man [*sic*]” can emancipate himself and this should have been the “first step in the South African revolution” (Haffejee 2012:58-59).

In light of the ten-year anniversary of the existence of the African Union (AU), the article with the title, *The African Union at 10 years old: a dream deferred* (**Article 4**) sought to evaluate the achievements of this organisation as stipulated at its inception. In this particular context it is posited that the decade that saw the establishment of this organisation did not achieve the objective of “the right to self-determination” (Mbeki 2012:10). Self-determination, in this context, refers to the principle of emancipation. This should be reflected through the ability of the

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formerly colonised peoples to “determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” (Mbeki 2012:10). It is implied in the article that, as a decolonial vehicle, the organisation did not achieve most of the objectives that were set out as it posited in this statement:

All this is surely what we thought of our future as we engaged in countless struggles throughout our Continent, for many centuries, to reclaim our right to be ourselves, free to decide for ourselves, to exercise our right to determine our collective destiny, not relying on any permission form anybody (Mbeki 2012:15).

Another element of decoloniality that emerged from the texts is the discourse on education and, in particular, the call for its transformation. Against this background, the main argument of the article entitled *Decolonising the university in Africa* (**Article 28**), pertains to the transformation of the African university in order to move away from what it terms Euro-American epistemology. In articulating what it terms epistemic rupture, the article illustrates that “An epistemic rupture is similar to interregnum, whereby a previously dominant epistemic order becomes exhausted, opening the way for a new one” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:46). The article goes further to suggest that the current education system in the form of social sciences is outdated. It is purported by the article that social sciences, in their current form, are incapable of solving African problems as they are complicit in rendering African people subordinate. The article remarks that there is a tendency of what it terms “imperialism of knowledge” and claims that this practice is dangerous (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47). The article mentions that it is through the “the control of subjectivity and knowledge” which is characterised by what it calls “epistemological colonisation and the re-articulation of African being as inferior”, that the perpetuation of the status quo continues (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47). The article advocates for what it terms a decolonial epistemic shift that should be embraced by the African university as it transforms itself. This proposition is articulated as thus:

Decolonial epistemic perspective is rooted in African resistance to such oppressive processes as the slave trade, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism as well as the disempowering effects of the globalisation process. The decolonial epistemic

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perspective privileges insights and knowledges cascading from African societies within the continent and in the diaspora without necessarily throwing away aspects of Euro-American epistemology and the best of modernity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:51).

It is further pointed out by this article that the decolonisation of the African university cannot be achieved because of the complacency of the Africans. It is observed by this article that the failure to challenge the existing Euro-American epistemologies is due to what it terms “mental colonisation”. The article cites Ngugi Wa Thiong’o<sup>6</sup> with regards to how the minds of the colonised alienate them from the location of the base reflected in “a continuous process of looking at oneself from outside of the self or with the lenses of a stranger” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:48). For this reason, it is argued by this article that people with colonised mentalities tend to adopt what is termed ‘double consciousness’. The article remarks that this colonial mentality manifests in “the excessive fear to critically judge European history, civilization and epistemology” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:48).

Hence, it is argued by the article entitled *Decolonising the African mind* (**Article 31**) that the colonial education system sought to “brainwash and indoctrinate Africans spiritually by teaching them the colonial ‘truth’ through religion and education” in order to repudiate their own spiritual beliefs (Nkabinde 2014:56). For this reason, the text suggests that there is a need to examine and critique the institutional configuration of the multilateral organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation. The article explains that this proposed reconfiguration of these multilateral institutions could inform the development of strategies of decolonising the African mind (Nkabinde 2014:56). Hence, **Article 28** (*Decolonising the University in Africa*) observes, furthermore, that the colonisation of the mind remains the worst form of colonisation “as it affects and shapes African people’s consciousness and identity” and as a result, the process

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<sup>6</sup> In his book, *Decolonising the mind* (1981), Ngugi Wa Thiong’o details how the use of African indigenous languages can be used as a decolonial tool following the colonial imposition of foreign languages on the colonised with huge ramifications on how the latter perceive the world around him/her.

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of decolonising the minds of Africans has proven to be difficult (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:50). In light of this, the article maintains that decoloniality is “a redemptive epistemology, a liberatory force and an ethical-humanistic project gesturing towards pluriversalism in which different worlds fit”. The article warns, against this background, therefore, “Africans must open their eyes;” as reflected in this statement:

...European diaspora living in Africa is justifiably right by frantically opposed to decoloniality because they never experienced the dark side of modernity and colonialism which empowered them both economically and epistemologically (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47).

This article adds that decolonial thinkers have taken a position and theirs is not neutral “in a world that is not neutral” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47). However, the article concedes that academics pursuing the decolonisation of universities are “ridiculed, distorted and deliberately misrepresented” and this amounts to what is referred to as “disciplinary decadence” as explicated in the statement below:

This decadence takes the form of failure by disciplinary-based knowledge to produce solutions to pressing social problems. Gordon noted that the decadence manifests itself in the form of scientists criticising humanities of not being scientific, and literary scholars criticising scientific scholars of not being literary. In the process, disciplines fail dismally to deal with or confront those pertinent questions ‘greater than the discipline itself’ (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:49).

Therefore, the article argues for what it calls an ‘African university’ characterised by a decolonised curriculum reflected in the transformed institutional frameworks and the faculty members. The values and ideals of this African university are articulated in this statement:

...what competencies and critical skills must distinguish its products; what psychologies, ideologies, visions, and worldviews, should an African university develop in its endeavour to produce pan-African students able to creatively, innovate and originally respond to African development challenges (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:50).

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It is further observed by this article that this type of a university should be premised on the principle of Africa-centred epistemology characterised by a process of knowledge production that is premised on benefiting the people of Africa. This kind of university should empower African people as repositories of knowledge as opposed to “objects of knowledge” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:50). The article maintains that the African university should reverse the existing colonial thinking through the decolonisation of epistemology.

Furthermore, this article calls for the decolonisation of the university in Africa through the transformation of the institutional frameworks, the transformation of the curriculum and the changing of the faculty members. On the other hand, the article by the same author entitled *Eurocentrism, coloniality and the myths of the decolonisation of Africa (Article 27)*, points to the myths of a decolonised Africa given that the “modern world system is resistant to decolonisation” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:35). It is argued in this article that the globalisation of Euro-American epistemology has led to the colonisation of the African minds and this state hinders the agency of the African people.

The article with the title *Decolonising the African mind (Article 31)* provides some strategies and programmes that could be used to decolonise the African education curricula on three levels, namely, preschool and primary level; secondary and high school level and tertiary institutions:

The decolonisation of African education system content, system and focus should be used to replace the colonial tendencies and mindset thereby re-Africanising Africans in Africa and the diaspora. It should be used to foster, espouse and engulf Pan-Africanism, African indigenous pride, identity and Afrocentric cultures and lifestyle. This should be premised on the re-writing of African history by African scholars, from an African perspective that celebrates and promotes African excellence, pan Africanism and Africa Renaissance (Nkabinde 2014:58).

An article published in 2016 with the title, *Tinkering on the edge of the decoloniality discourse - #FeesMustFall and the missing professoriate (Article 23)*, argues that the hashtag movements were inspired by decolonial discourse, in particular the recognition of all forms of knowledge. The author of this article cites one of the well-known South African scholars, Malegapuru Makgoba, as he

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remarks that students deploy these hashtag movements to demand a decolonised education curriculum:

[...] students want knowledge system decolonised and white institutional culture transformed to be in line with the identity and culture of our country, and not with the identity and culture of some foreign country (Makgoba cited in Maserumule 2016:49).

The article posits that these hashtag movements, including among others, *#FeesMustFall* and *#RhodesMustFall* presented a stance against the “edifice of the colonial culture lurking in the epistemologies and the pedagogical praxis of modernity” (Maserumule 2016:49). For this article, the rationale for the transformation of higher education is premised on the notion that education has to be contextually relevant and should be designed to address the challenges of Africa’s development. For this reason, the article posits that an engaged scholarship is crucial, as it should be regarded as a liberatory science:

Engaged scholarship is a means to a liberatory science, which given the edifices of the colonial apartheid and the hegemony of Western epistemology in Africa, its significance cannot be over-emphasised. It is a praxis of integrating an academic learning with existential realities. Liberatory science is not synonymous to postmodern epistemology. The distinction lies in a fact that, although the postmodern epistemology rescued knowledge from the irrationalities of modernism, it did not do so to achieve cognitive justice (Maserumule 2016:50).

This article further argues that the decolonisation of higher education does not only refer to the humanities, but it should also be effected in the hard sciences. The author of this article illustrates this point by drawing from the works of Chandra Raju, a computer scientist, mathematician, educator, physicist and a polymath researcher. The author questions the binary treatment of natural sciences and the humanities because the perceived objective truth associated with natural sciences is an illusion given the fact that “truth is the function of epistemic relativism, both in humanities/social sciences and natural/physical sciences” (Maserumule 2016:51). The article suggests that the African professoriate should heed the call of decoloniality by transcending the western epistemology by drawing inspiration from the philosophical and theoretical insights of African scholars such as Archie Mafeje, Dani Nadubere, Cheik Anta

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Diop, Molefi Asante and Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane. According to this article, these scholars are said to have shifted the geography of reason beyond Eurocentric horizons. The author of the article puts an emphasis on the professoriate to be leaders of the decolonial discourse:

So, when we talk decoloniality in the transformation discourse, a professoriate should be a primary audience and a thought leader in theorising the project from which insights could be drawn for the rearticulation endeavours or curricula development (Maserumule 2016:53).

On the other hand, an article entitled *The African Renaissance and the prophetic genius of Mazisi Kunene* (**Article 8**) highlights and acknowledges contributions made by the works of Mazisi Kunene<sup>7</sup> as an emancipatory project. Similar to **Article 30** above, this article also calls for the “formulation of the epistemological institutions dedicated for the reversal of extra-African structures of knowledge” (Araoye 2016:30). The author refers to the work of Mazisi Kunene as “transcendental, transformatory and emancipatory” (Araoye 2016:28). For this reason, Mazisi Kunene is regarded as the precursor of colonial resistance as his work presented an authentic vehicle of the African narrative. It is argued by this article that an African narrative must be conveyed in authentic voices and it should also be on par with other global voices. The article goes on to argue that these texts defied and repudiated the entrenched hegemonic forces:

[...] the primary references in this appreciation, are best suited as a redeeming defiance of entrenched epistemological foundations of a hostile social universe – this is an age and era when the validated fad was the instigated self-repudiation of the very quintessence of our black humanity (Araoye 2016:28).

This article observes that Mazisi Kunene’s work sought to liberalise and emancipate the African subject with the “reaffirmation of the validity of African forms of expression” (Araoye 2016:29). For this article, the works of Mazisi Kunene advanced the centrality of African forms of expression and therefore

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<sup>7</sup> Mazisi Kunene was a South African poet who wrote his works in Zulu. He was considered as Africa’s literary legend following his three epics, *Emperor Shaka the Great* (1979); *Anthem of the decade* (1981) and *The Ancestors and the Sacred Mountain* (1982). His published books include among others, *Umzwilili wama-Afrika* (1969) and *Igudu lika Somcabeko* (1997).

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being instrumental in transcending and resisting the subjugation of the African people.

The article goes further to state that the universities in Africa continue to inculcate the state of the asymmetrical world order through what the article refers to as knowledge of equilibrium and these “continue to poison African minds” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). It is posited by the article that Euro-American epistemologies are not relevant, and these epistemologies should be receptive of the epistemologies that emanate from the Global South. For this article, decoloniality involves the re-telling of history and knowledge from the positionality of the Global South experience. The article, therefore, argues for the embracement of decoloniality as a “pluriversal epistemology of the future – a redemptive and liberatory epistemology that seeks to de-link from the tyranny of abstract universals” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:13).

Furthermore, an article entitled *Decolonising an African mind* (**Article 31**) observes that the majority of African states rely on “colonial universities and education systems designed to promote white supremacy and dethrone and thwart African excellence” (Nkabinde 2014:56). For this article, the colonial education system is designed to pollute and subjugate the mind and the consciousness of an African to an extent that these subjects do not know who they are:

The colonial universities are inundated with literature which pretentiously espouses the colonial propaganda that all world renowned scientific inventions were invented by white scholars. Mis-education or dis-education is used by colonial powers to give wrong narratives of African history and heritage. This is done to divide and rule African states and Africans and to destroy their sense of self, ensuring that African people don't know who they are (Nkabinde 2013:56).

The article with the title, *Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge* (**Article 21**), posits that decolonisation throughout the Global South localities did not exhaust coloniality. The article maintains that the decolonisation of Africa is an illusion and decolonial thinkers are cognisant of this fact:

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In the tyrannies, genocides and toxic knowledges that continue to zone Africa as “hellish” and portray it as the “heart of darkness”, decolonial thinkers and philosophers are able to diagnose coloniality as the global systematic causality that orders the historical and political chaos that marks the African post-independence setting (Mpofu 2013:12).

The article further calls for the transformation of the university into what it calls the African university characterised by “epistemic disobedience and a rebellion from the tyranny of Western and Eurocentric reading of Africa” (Mpofu 2013:14).

Similar to the article, *Decolonising the university in Africa* (**Article 28**), this article posits that a decolonial approach to knowledge, “should treat African peoples and African history as subjects and sources of knowledge and not museum objects, frozen in time and place, as Eurocentric thought is wont to suggest” (Mpofu 2013:14). The issue of the education system also features in the article, *Mbeki redefines African Renaissance* (**Article 16**) as it posited that Africa is treated as an “enigma fit for a museum” (Lamola 2013:35). This same article calls for an “endogenous mentality that will seek to do things for Africa, and for Africa’s sake only”. Similarly, an article entitled *Tasks of the African progressive movement* (**Article 9**) remarks that care should be exercised with regard to what is taught in schools and also what is done to avoid the marginalisation of any language or culture. The issue of education system was also raised in **Article 6**, *The African peer review mechanism in the context of the African Renaissance*:

These extra-African structures of knowledge, which have dominated the African space since, created new contentions among black Africans as a result of the alienating impact of the structures of ideas, values and institutions which were the bases of the social construction of the black world (Araoye 2013:28).

The untransformed education curriculum is also put under a spotlight by the article entitled, *For a gender balanced pan-African education* (**Article 19**). This article observes that the 50 years of African independence did not see the transformation of the education system:

It is unfortunate that the education curriculum in most African countries has not been overhauled radically post Africa’s independence from Western colonisation. Africa has held on the Eurocentric education, using a number of curricula which are versions of

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colonial curricula only slightly, if at all, modified. These continue to be patriarchal in orientation and racist in essence (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:46).

Furthermore, the article argues that the current education curriculum perpetuates the marginalisation of women and thus “under-utilising the intellectual capacity and potential contribution of women in commerce and politics, among other areas” (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:47). This article argues that the Eurocentric education system should be replaced by an Afrocentric education curricula, which in the authors’ opinion, “will allow African learners to be rooted in their own culture, fostering self-acceptance and a positive self-perception” (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:47). It is further posited by the article that a mental shift is needed if Africans were to move forward and this shift should be in a form of an education system “that will alter the gender psyche of Africans”.

It has also emerged from the observation of these texts that resistance movements form a significant tool for the decolonisation project. Against this background, **Article 27** (*Eurocentrism, coloniality and the myths of decolonisation of Africa*) posits that pan-Africanism presented a counter-hegemonic movement that sought to resist the Euro-American dominated modern world and to reject colonialism. The objectives of pan-Africanism are outlined in the following statement:

...pan-Africanism as a protest against Euro-American racism that was ranged against black people in the diaspora and on the African continent; pan-Africanism as a terrain for waging anti-colonial struggles; and pan-Africanism as a dream for African unity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:36).

Furthermore, the article states that African nationalism is a movement that accord the African people with the ability to respond to colonialism. However, it is conceded by the article that African nationalism was a product of modernity:

...it embraced modernist inventories and concepts such as universal franchise that cascade from Western bourgeois struggles of the seventeenth century. The horizon of African nationalism was the production of a postcolonial nation-state as part of existing Euro-American nation-states born out of Westphalian consensus (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:37).

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Thus, it is argued in the article that the African nationalism opted for the continuation of the existing postcolonial state. The article suggests that Africans were left with two options following the Cold War; the capitalist path or the socialist path within an un-decolonised modernist imperial world order. In this context, Africans attempted to navigate these binaries through the formation of a variety of initiatives such as Non-Aligned Movement (NAM); New International Economic Order (NIEO); the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). These initiatives were deemed to be responding to the call for “African solutions to African problems” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b:38). Another movement or initiative that was meant to enact development of the continent, is discussed in the article entitled *Tasks of the African progressive movement (Article 9)* – termed the African progressive movement (APM). It is stated by this article that this movement (APM) sought to “defeat the predatory practices of the system of imperialism, especially globalising capital, which had denied them their independence” (Mbeki 2013a:16). The article goes further to suggest that the APM movement should fight the plight of “neo-colonial relationship between Africa and the major Western powers” (Mbeki 2013a:20).

The article, entitled *Africa must unite – an imperative of our time (Article 12)*, calls for the unification of the continent to achieve the emancipation of its citizens following the dismantling of politico-juridical colonialism. This particular article observes that the readers should espouse to emulate the visions of African leaders such as Julius Nyerere, Haile Selassie, Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, Patrice Lumumba, Abdul Gamal Nasser, Kenneth Kaunda and Albert Luthuli. The Article cites at length one of the African leaders, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, as he was speaking at the launch of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU):

We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequence of the colonial rule. The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only revolt against the conditions which it imposed ... What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world? ... We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path the modern open road of the widest

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and earlier achievement of economic independence and the raising up of our people to the highest level...(Nkrumah cited in Mbeki 2013a:16).

In the same vein, an article titled *An African vision: over the shoulder and upfront* (**Article 22**), affirms the relevance of the OAU, which subsequently came to be known as the African Union (AU), in playing a role to partly defeat imperialism on the continent by according the political freedom to the ex-colonised countries. However, the article entitled, *A century of the notorious land act*, warns that “work is not done until the landless have land, the homeless have homes [...]” signalling that social justice is necessary and an imperative (Phala 2013:39).

The article entitled, *Where there is no vision the people perish: reflections on the African Renaissance* (**Article 1**), warns that the realisation of the political and economic emancipation remains elusive if the process of decolonising the minds is not effected. The article observes that the Negritude<sup>8</sup> movement was designed as an anti-colonial struggle and it paved the way for the process of the decolonisation of Africa. For this article, the movement of Negritude has paved the way for emancipatory movements in Africa such as, among others, Black Consciousness and African Renaissance (Mzamane 2013:25).

The concept of African Renaissance is regarded as one of the tools for achieving decolonisation as observed in the context of the Article entitled *The African peer review mechanism in the context of the African Renaissance* (**Article 6**):

The African Renaissance, a black-centred counterpoise to the dominant structure of ideas and the norms and institutions that govern relations in the global system, seeks a radical repudiation of the structure of relationship with these powerful forces... The African Renaissance therefore seeks to retrench the principal euro-centric and other external ideational structures that constitutes the foundations of the dominant order that has always defined the peripheral locus and irrelevance of the black world in the universe (Araoye 2013:27).

The next section focuses on the discourse of apartheid.

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<sup>8</sup> Aimé Césaire, Senghor, Léon Damas and Frantz Fanon in Paris, France founded the Negritude movement in 1934. The movement aimed to navigate and reconstruct the black African (Negro) identity amid hostile colonial spaces (Enwezor 2001:6).

### 5.2.3 Apartheid

The writer of **Article 13** entitled, *Defining the leadership paradigm for a new Africa*, recounts the events of what came to be known as the 1976 Soweto uprisings that involved the killing of protesting students. This article describes this event as a “callous disregard for human life” (Salim 2015:12). Although the Soweto uprisings took place in 1976 in the era of apartheid, **Article 30** suggests that hashtag movements such as *#FeesMustFall* signify the entrenched legacy of apartheid. This article entitled *Tinkering on the edge of the decoloniality discourse - #FeesMustFall and a missing professoriate*, observes that these movements should be read as a call “for the emancipation of those who colonialism and apartheid bequeathed pejoratively the epithet of the ‘Other’” (Mpofu 2016:49). This is about the socio-economic inequities that emerged as a result the system of apartheid and this situation resulted in certain citizens being in the position of privilege at the expense of the dominated majority. Similarly, this sentiment regarding the lack of socio-economic equity is shared by **Article 29** entitled *Black skin, white masks: still relevant in South Africa* (2012). The article suggests that the ‘Rainbow Nation’ notion is a myth given the current economic situation of black people in South Africa:

The reality on the streets is that 80% of this country’s wealth is still concentrated in the Sandton vicinity which is substantially white. The ‘invisible hand’ of the market is ensuring wealth disparity in this country will never be overcome ... (Haffejee 2012:59).

Similar sentiment was shared by **Article 21** (*Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge*) as it observes that the ‘rainbow nation’ tag was premature as social and economic justice are still yet to be achieved as evidenced by the statement below:

For the majority black and poor of South Africans, it was still “not yet Uhuru” as the fruits of democracy and reconciliation were long in coming... the metaphor of South Africans as the ‘rainbow people of God’ remains an emphatic symbol together with the venerated image of Nelson Mandela as a messianic and saintly liberator. However, these beautiful

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symbols are contradicted by the daily experiences of the poor black people in the shanty towns and locations (Mpofu 2013:13).

The apartheid regime subjected the black majority to an inferior education of which, according to **Article 19**, was to:

[...] segregate the education received by the African students from that received by the whites so as to ensure that all that Africans could ever aspire to was manual labour positions under white control (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:46).

The same sentiments were shared by **Article 14** (*The Marikana massacre: a challenge to the black gold-based economy*) regarding “the exploitation, displacement and oppression of African labour” (Mazibuko 2013:31). This article asserts that the dispossession also entailed the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country. The issue of land received attention by **Article 18** (*A century of the notorious 1913 Land Act*). According to this article, the white claim that the land was barren when they arrived here to build a “thriving modern economy” (Phala 2013:36). The article claims that the land dispossession started with the settlers’ encounter with the Khoi and the San and continued to be imposed on blacks:

They [white settlers] attacked and decimated them [Khoi and San] with horrible brutality and inhumanity. They took their land, cattle, and livestock, and turn most into vagrants and slaves. Such bloody land and cattle robbery continued in the wars of resistance and dispossession ...the 1913 Land Act was the culmination of this massive land and cattle robbery that started with colonisation itself (Phala 2013:36).

Hence this article concedes that the post-independence era inherited the highly inequitable land ownership in South Africa characterised by the majority black South Africans owning just “13 percent of arid land” (Phala 2013:39). The issue of land dispossession is also highlighted by **Article 26** (*History, memory and democracy an exploration*) as it notes, “[people] were stripped of all land rights and turned into hordes of labourers in mines, farms, and factories” (Serote 2010:41). The authors of **Article 19** (*For a gender balanced pan-African education*) cite Dr HF Verwoerd as he articulated the rationale for the creation of Bantu Education for the African child thus:

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There is no place for [the African] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him [*sic*] to receive a training which has as its aim, absorption in the European community (Verwoerd cited in Motjope & Madikezela 2013:46).

Similarly, **Article 7** (*Indigenous knowledge systems verification and validation*) observes that Bantu Education prevented black people from studying science as science will make them “to think that they are white” (Serote 2012:19). The same author wrote in 2013 in **Article 22** (*An African vision: over the shoulder and upfront*) that the current restlessness experienced within the black community stems from the legacy of apartheid:

The restlessness emanates from the diverseness of society; from both social and economic inequalities; from a geo-racial land occupation which is related to the racial socio economic system which is embedded in the nation; and many other legacies of the apartheid era. One significant legacy is the superiority demeanour of black South Africans, emanating from their having believed what the cultural expression of both colonialism and apartheid (Serote 2013:52).

The brunt of apartheid is highlighted in **Article 28** (*Decolonising the university in Africa*) wherein it is noted that black people have internalised racism “to the extent of hating blackness while they are black themselves” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:48). The article further observes that this has resulted in Afrophobia and xenophobia. Against this background, the notion of African renaissance is addressed below.

### **5.2.4 African Renaissance**

There was a common thread of the notion of African unity from some of the articles that addressed the thematic category of African renaissance. The African unity perspective is highlighted in **Article 12** (*Africa must unite – an imperative of our time*). It was written in 2013, the year in which the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) celebrated fifty years of existence. Against the background of the OAU celebrations, the article has this to say regarding the unity of Africans:

Thus must we understand that the historic effort to achieve practically the unity of Africa, expressed through the establishment of the OAU, is only 50 years old, and is therefore in its infancy (Mbeki 2013a:13).

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The article goes further to suggest that a “common African identity” should be used to advance unity amongst Africans. The article cites the speech delivered by Mwalimu Nyerere on the call for African unity:

I am a firm advocate of African unity. I am convinced that, just as unity was necessary for the achievement of the independence of Tanganyika, or any other nation, unity is necessary for the whole of Africa, to achieve and maintain her independence. I believe that the phase from which we are now emerging successfully is the phase of the First Scramble for Africa, and Africa’s reaction to it (Nyerere cited in Mbeki 2013a:14).

The author of the article argues that African unity should be at the centre of the fiftieth anniversary of the OAU. The piece further quotes speeches of known African leaders such as Haile Selassie and Kwame Nkrumah as they articulate the need for African unity. These are the words of Kwame Nkrumah as he advocated for the unity of Africans at the expense of social and economic justice:

African unity is above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? So many blessings flow from our unity; so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity (Nkrumah in Mbeki 2013:16).

The article concedes that the continent is yet to achieve the unity as espoused by the leaders mentioned in the text. The writer argues, therefore, that it is still possible to achieve unity so as “to create the conditions for the Renaissance of Africa” (Mbeki 2013a:18). The same citation was observable in **Article 6** (*The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in the context of the African Renaissance*) wherein the assessment of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is discussed. According to the article, APRM is a “self-monitoring mechanism on their adherence to a set of values, principles and ethics in governance” (Araoye 2013:26). It is therefore argued in the article that “an adventurist top-down strategy” with regard to political and economic integration impedes the attainment of African unity (Araoye 2013:27). The theme of unity was further observable in **Article 9** (*Tasks of the African Progressive Movement*), which was written by the same author from the same year. This article calls for “conscious intervention” that should be adopted by every African state in order to

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achieve “unity in diversity” (Mbeki 2013b:16). Thus, stressing the notion of African unity as crucial and pertinent for the continent. The article enunciates the perspective of African unity thus:

For well over a century, the broad African liberation movement, including the African Diaspora, has recognised the importance of the integration and unity of Africa as a vital strategic imperative for the achievement of the liberation and renaissance of Africa and Africans (Mbeki 2013b:16)

African unity is at the core of African prosperity and also its development, hence the call for regional integration in order to advance the aims and objectives of the OAU and the AU (Mbeki 2013b:17). It is further argued by this article that the same energy that was used to fight colonialism is needed for the achievement of African unity (Mbeki 2013b:20). The narrative of African unity is further observable from the article entitled *The African Union at 10 years: a dream deferred!*, written by the same author:

It is the sacred task of the African Union, acting within the context of the partnership of all motive forces within our Continent, to mobilise us to use our united strength to achieve this dream, not allowing petty conflicts to divide us (Mbeki 2012:15).

In **Article 28** (*Decolonising the University in Africa*), there is an observation that the African university should endeavour to attain “the African collective vision of attaining pan-African unity” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:50). This article posits that universities should further advance the social, political and economic development of the continent. **Article 31** (*Decolonising an African mind*) calls for the formation of the United States of Africa to foster political integration and this unity should ultimately achieve socio-economic upliftment by “expos[ing] and defeat[ing] neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism” (Nkabinde 2014:58). For **Article 6**, then, the renaissance should “redefine the common interests of all Bantu peoples” (Araoye 2013:28). Similar perspective on unity is observed in **Article 13** (*Defining the leadership paradigm for a new Africa*) as African leaders are urged to work for a common goal and identity (Salim 2015:13). It is incumbent on African Renaissance leaders to foster unity (Salim 2015:15). It is for this reason that **Article 9** (*Tasks of the African Progressive Movement*) warns of the development emanating from outside the continent (Mbeki 2013b:15). The

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principle of African Renaissance is about the improvements of the quality of lives of Africans. The article cites the speech given by then President of the African National Congress (ANC) and the country at the 50<sup>th</sup> national congress of the party as he outlined the aim and objectives of the African Renaissance:

Achieving sustainable economic development which results in the continuous improvement of the standard of living and the quality of life of the masses of the people; qualitatively changing Africa's place in the world economy, so that it is free of the yoke of the international debt burden and no longer a supplier of raw materials and an importer of food and manufactured goods; a rediscovery of Africa's creative past to recapture the people's cultures, encourage artistic creativity and restore popular involvement in both accessing and advancing science and technology; advancing in practical ways the objective of African unity (Mandela cited in Mzamane 2013:23).

**Article 10** (*We are all Africans*) talks about the soccer world cup that took place in South Africa as having united Africans and wonders if there is any other aspect capable of uniting the diverse people of the continent (Maaba 2010:17). The author of **Article 1** suggests the re-conceptualisation of African Renaissance by taking into account its historical context. The article goes further to say that African Renaissance should not be reduced to a single event but a process that is far from finished (Mzamane 2013:24). For this reason, **Article 13** posits that each generation of leaders must make a contribution towards the vision of unity; however, the current leaders must “accelerate the pace of integration as well as strengthen a Pan-African identity among our people across borders” (Salim 2015:15). Against this background, a new leadership should steer the continent to a new destiny – the author refers to a new paradigm of leadership capable of advancing the vision of African Renaissance (Salim 2015:15). As it is observed by the article that:

The Africa of today is not the Africa of yesterday. Neither will the Africa of tomorrow be the same as the Africa of today. Africa is now a continent is now a continent of great dynamism, a continent of great opportunities (Mlosy 2010:13).

However, the process is as a “rebirth and renewal of Africa” as **Article 26** posits (Serote 2010:42). **Article 7** (*Indigenous knowledge systems verification and validation*) suggests that indigenous knowledge system could be used for the “social upliftment of the continent” by ensuring “the quality of all forms of life”

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(Serote 2012:36). The concept of ubuntu is viewed as one of the aspects of African Renaissance. Citing Desmond Tutu, **Article 20** (*Changing the tides of Africa*) regards ubuntu as the “essence of being human” and it connects individuals of different backgrounds as no individual exists in isolation (Makwindi 2010:36). Hence, the article argues that the spirit of ubuntu should “unite us” (Makwindi 2010:36). African Renaissance is thus seen as a people-oriented initiative as **Article 6** purports (Araoye 2013:28).

**Article 19** (*For a gender balanced Pan-African education*) notes that the development of the continent hinges on the full utilisation of its human resources and, in particular, women (Motjope & Madikezela 2013:46). **Article 6** suggests that the APRM has the capacity to enact a “holistic emancipation of African peoples” (Araoye 2013:27).

**Article 6** (*The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in the context of African Renaissance*) addresses the concept of African Renaissance from a philosophical perspective:

Its [African Renaissance] Africanist worldview contrasts sharply with established negative understandings and interpretations of the African cosmology by the African who has been redesigned by the travails of history to repudiate self and his [sic] own. The African Renaissance therefore seeks to retrench the principal euro-centric and other external ideational structures that constitute the foundations of the dominant order that has always defined the peripheral locus and irrelevance of the black world in the universe. The African Renaissance is also a process of and constructivist paradigm for action. Its philosophical roots can be traced to the heterogeneous traditions of the structure of African belief systems and values and its multiple expressions (Araoye 2013:28).

The same sentiments regarding the centrality of an African worldview are shared by the same author in **Article 8** (*The African Renaissance and the prophetic genius of Mazisi Kunene*). In detailing how the art works of Mazisi Kunene posed resistance to the colonial and apartheid forces, the article notes the use of African forms of expression. The article highlights the importance of reaffirming authentic African voices:

In the post-apartheid era and the attendant opening of the space for the flowering of the authentic consciousness of the hitherto suppressed black self, the need to reaffirm the

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validity of the expressive form that had been subjugated in the curse of the violent intrusion into that universe became inevitable. This was a categorical element in the liberalisation of the new space and the emancipation of the self...Mazisi Kunene's art may thus be redeeming in its reaffirmation of the centrality of African forms of expression as the instrument required to transcend and to rise above the subjugation of that universe and its people (Araoye 2016:29).

This article reveals that authentic African voices should tell and convey the African narrative and it should also be placed on par with other global voices. This should be one of the objectives of the African Renaissance pursuit as embedded on the constructionist call for action. In this context, African Renaissance is premised on three elements, namely, transcendentalism, transformation and emancipation (Araoye 2016:30).

The narrative of African Renaissance is told through the formations of agencies and initiatives that seek to develop the citizens of the continent. For instance, organisations such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), African Union (AU), New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) and Agenda 2063, to mention but a few. The Agenda 2063 is regarded by **Article 3** as a “transformative vision of the African Union to achieve an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa” (le Pere 2016:18). This article, entitled *The African Union's agenda 2063: building block or false dawn?*, lists some of the aspirations of Agenda 2063. According to this article, Agenda 2063 aspires for a “prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development; an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism” (le Pere 2016:18). Furthermore, Agenda 2063 advances “an Africa whose development is people-driven, especially relying on the potential of its youth and women” (le Pere 2016:18). It therefore emerged that the narratives of African unity and people-centeredness are evident from these pronouncements. Similarly, **Article 13** posits that people-centredness should be at the core of African leadership as it embarks on development endeavours:

At this particular juncture, a people-centred leadership goes beyond homogenising society and pays attention to the needs and demands, capacities and constraints of each segment and every individual within the composite character of the nation (Salim 205:15).

The NEPAD initiative on the other hand, is regarded as capable of “promoting accelerated growth and sustainable development” as detailed in **Article 25**. In the same vein, **Article 17** (*A continent with a future full of hope*) foregrounds the voices of the people as “it is the people that matter most” in all decision making (Ndungane 2010:46).

Despite this call for African renaissance, there is also an acknowledgement of the challenges that this continent is faced with and these are highlighted in the next section.

### **5.2.5 Challenges facing the continent of Africa**

It emerged from the observations that economic issues remain a concern for most of the writers of the articles sampled. For most of these articles, poor governance of African resources by the leadership of the continent is to blame for this state of affairs. As **Article 25** claims:

Most African countries face a crisis in economic management, poor governance and corruption. While corruption and fraud can never be justified, it is vital to consider them in the context of history as well as in the current global economic climate (Mlosy 2010:11).

It is observed by this article that the reasons for the economic stagnation are the fact that “most African leaders are more concerned with their political agenda rather than an economic agenda to uplift the standard of living of their citizens” (Mlosy 2010:12). These indifferent leaders are referred to in **Article 27** (*Transforming the future: visionary leadership making a difference*) as “predatory elites” who use their power to marginalise the poor:

Far too often, political and economic cliques gain power – by fair means and sometimes foul – and once they have power, very few are prepared to let it go. They run countries as though they were their own private fiefdoms, with populations and resources to be exploited for their own lavish self-enrichment, often with obscene displays of wealth (Ndungane 2010:21).

**Article 18** labels these type of leaders as “rent-seeking leadership” and illustrates this fact by quoting the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi speaking in 2002:

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The “rent-seeking” of which Meles Zenawi spoke, describes the parasitic abuse of power, of whatever kind, to extract wealth from society for personal benefit, self-enrichment. Thus would individuals in positions of power personally benefit from wealth that had been created by others, and therefore adopt all measures to hold on to power (Mbeki 2013a:18).

The article goes on to concede that it is highly unlikely that the objective of African unity will be achieved if these leaders, most of them democratically elected, do not prioritise the people they lead. For **Article 24** (*African intellectuals: suspects or assets?*) some of the leaders on the continent are intellectuals or employ intellectuals “who defend their policies, spin their propaganda and minister to them as advisors” (Mpofu 2011:46). The author of this article states that his text sought to evaluate the role African intellectuals amid the economic and political challenges that the continent faces. According to this article, the leaders in question have “presided over genocide and ethnic cleansing” and it further gives an example of Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe.

Besides the fact that Mugabe is in possession of seven University degrees, this educational pedigree did not prevent him from inflicting pain and suffering on a specific group of people. The article notes that Mugabe “slaughtered close to 40 000 Matebele people and displaced many more thousands who are scrounging for survival as economic refugees and exiles in the hospitalities of South Africa and Botswana today” (Mpofu 2011:46). It is for this reason that **Article 13** (*Defining the leadership paradigm for a new Africa*) observes that the ongoing internal conflicts on the continent force “millions of our people to vote with their feet”, given the misery and the destruction they cause (Salim 2015:13). The article addresses the current leadership and its failures by proposing a “new leadership paradigm” that can advance the ideals of African Renaissance. Hence, the article argues that these intellectuals should be approached with caution as they have a tendency of “deliberately conspiring with tyrants and imperialists against the economic and political interests of the people” (Mpofu 2013:47). The same author notes in **Article 21** (*Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge*) that Gaddafi is one leader that did not listen to his people (Mpofu 2013:13). For **Article 6** (*The*

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*African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in the context of the African Renaissance*), most African leaders have vested interest in keeping Africa divided:

Many African leaders are dinosaurs of some kind, some more and some less malevolent. The balkanisation of Africa into little fiefdoms of stooges and proxies of neo-colonial forces implied that the same dominant External Order became the legitimising force that validated who and which African leader of its numerous feeble states best advanced its neo-imperialist goals (Araoye 2013:27).

The same sentiment regarding the political leadership were shared by **Article 9** (*Tasks of the African Progressive Movement*) as both these articles address the objectives of this formation as self-monitoring mechanisms for AU members. In this article, the leaders are said to be running a “predator state” characterised by corrupt, self-enriching political leaders:

It is also the same predator State, or at least elements of this State, controlled by the self-serving African elite, which cooperates with international capital among other things to enable and facilitate the illicit export of the capital from our Continent. Thus does the putative democratic State become a social institution which serves the interests of a ‘rent seeking’ elite whose goal amount to no more than preserving its political power and using this power to extract the ‘rent’ which ensures enrichment (Mbeki 2013b:14).

The problematicness of these leaders is also highlighted by **Article 3** (*African Union’s Agenda 2063: building block or false dawn?*) as characterised by “real and latent authoritarian tendencies often accompanied by corruption and ubiquitous appropriation of public resources for personal gain and aggrandisement” (le Pere 2016:19). In its analysis of the first decade of the AU, **Article 24** (*The African Union at 10 years old: a dream deferred!*) argues that “collective political leadership capacity has weakened” on the continent (Mbeki 2012:10). Again, the blame is placed on the leaders who abuse power for self-enrichment:

The wealth thus acquired would be used for the self-enrichment of particular individuals and their related families and factions, and provide the possibility for a portion of that wealth to be used to dispense the patronage which would sustain their hold on power. The ‘political class’ has acquired its ability to impose *rent* on all and sundry, including the

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poorest even on its own countries, because of its sole, exclusive and temporarily inalienable hold on political power (Mbeki 2012:11).

Against this background, the article concedes that the AU has failed the objectives for which it was established, and this is thus consequential as the continent is viewed by the international community that Africans are incapable of solving their own problems. Similarly, **Article 22** (*An African vision: over the shoulder and upfront*) observes the failure of the AU to advance the social and economic upliftment of the continent (Serote 2013:54).

Another challenge that hinders the prosperity of the continent is the seemingly unending civil wars. In some instances, these wars are fuelled by external forces that seem to have their own agendas. This observation is evident in **Article 21** (*Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge*). This article notes that these forces in question supply parties in African civil wars with weapons, thus influencing the massacres such as the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the civil war in Sierra Leone and the Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe (Mpofu 2013:11). As with **Article 24** coined by the same author, this particular article claims that Robert Mugabe is a product of the Euro-American colonial system as he was backed by the system when “he massacred more than 20 000 Matebeles” (Mpofu 2013:12).

On the other hand, the economic challenges are said to fuel unrest from amongst ordinary citizens and in the case of South Africa, xenophobic tendencies are as a result of the lack of economic opportunities as observed by **Article 22** (Serote 2013:55). These xenophobic tendencies are viewed as an act of self-hate by **Article 16**, which is entitled *Mbeki redefines African Renaissance* (2013:35).

### 5.3 Summary: qualitative data

This section engaged in a presentation of the qualitative data that was observed from *The Thinker*. This data was arranged in terms of five main thematic categories namely, **coloniality, decolonial turn, apartheid, African Renaissance and the challenges facing Africa**. On the thematic category of

coloniality, *The Thinker* reveals the subjugation of the African in the form of imposed colonial systems of modernity that include, among others, Eurocentric knowledge systems, control of economy and control of subjectivity. This practice culminated in the dehumanisation of the African subject. Against this background, the decolonial turn calls for the destruction of the system of coloniality by, among other suggestions, transforming the modes of knowing or the education system. Apartheid was expressly viewed as undesirable as it perpetuated the inferiority of the black African. Hence, African unity is considered an instrument that can be used to attain African Renaissance. However, the issue of corrupt African leadership presented a challenge for the prosperity and the development of the continent. The next section presents findings of the content analysis phase.

### 5.4 Section B: Quantitative content analysis of *The Thinker* magazine

In light of the research problem and guided by the reviewed literature, I devised five main themes to look for from the sampled articles of the magazine, as unpacked in the sub-section preceding this one. From the onset, however, the thematic categories devised were: ***Pan Africanism; Afrocentricity; African Worldview; The rebirth of Africa; The emancipation of Africa; Colonialism; Subaltern; Mimicry; Ambivalence; Apartheid; Imperialism; Coloniality; Epistemological critique; Decolonial turn; African challenges and Other*** and ***African challenges***. There were fifteen thematic categories with the sixteenth being labelled as “other” in order to accommodate all the statements that did not fit in any of the predetermined categories. A table that contains a list of the sampled articles is provided as an appendix (see appendix A).

A closer look at the table in question, reveals that some authors have more than one article; this could be attributed to the fact that there are regular contributors to this magazine (see appendix A). These regular contributors write opinion articles that are published by the magazine. Three authors had three articles each namely, Mongane Wally Serote, Thabo Mbeki and Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni. There were, furthermore, three authors with two articles each namely, Njongonkulu Ndungane, William Mporo and Ademola Araoye. The table below

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presents the sixteen formulated thematic categories and their corresponding frequency as well as the percentages.

**Table 5.1: Formulated categories and their frequencies n=31**

| <b>THEMATIC CATEGORY</b>     | <b>FREQUENCY</b> | <b>PERCENTAGE</b> |
|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1 PAN-AFRICANISM             | 135              | 6.16%             |
| 2 AFROCENTRICITY             | 123              | 5.62%             |
| 3 AFRICAN WORLDVIEW          | 68               | 3.10%             |
| 4 THE REBIRTH OF AFRICA      | 166              | 7.58%             |
| 5 THE EMANCIPATION OF AFRICA | 65               | 2.97%             |
| 6 COLONIALISM                | 217              | 9.91%             |
| 7 SUBALTERN                  | 4                | 0.18%             |
| 8 MIMICRY                    | 9                | 0.41%             |
| 9 AMBIVALENCE                | 4                | 0.18%             |
| 10 APARTHEID                 | 114              | 5.20%             |
| 11 IMPERIALISM               | 87               | 3.97%             |
| 12 COLONIALITY               | 447              | 20.41%            |
| 13 EPISTEMOLOGICAL CRITIQUE  | 148              | 6.76%             |

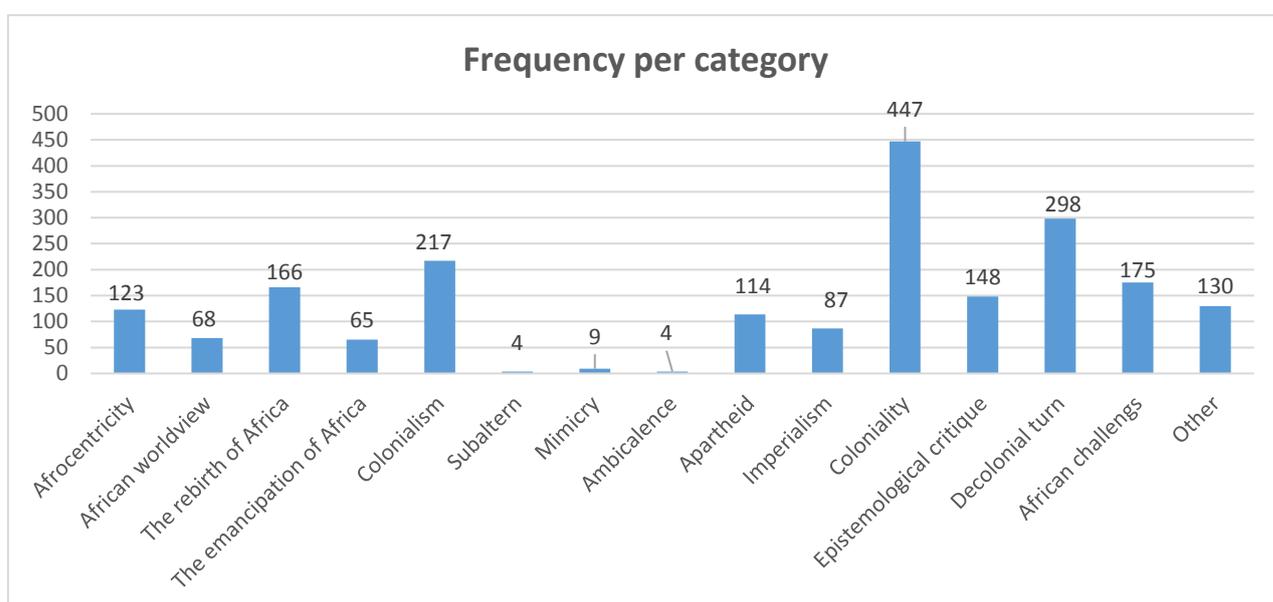
|                       |     |        |
|-----------------------|-----|--------|
| 14 DECOLONIAL TURN    | 298 | 13.61% |
| 15 AFRICAN CHALLENGES | 175 | 7.99%  |
| 16 OTHER              | 130 | 5.94%  |

The table above indicates that **thematic category 12: *coloniality*** registered the highest frequency with four hundred and forty-seven (447) appearances from the thirty-one sampled articles amounting to 20.41%. It is followed by **thematic category 14: *decolonial turn*** and **thematic category 6: *colonialism*** both registering 298 (13.61%) and 217 (9.91%) respectively. **Thematic category 15: *African challenges*** recorded 175 (7.99%) followed closely by **thematic category 4: *rebirth of Africa*** and **thematic category 13: *epistemological critique*** with 166 (7.58%) and 148 (6.76%) respectively. From the above table, these are the top six thematic categories that were prevalent from the observed data.

Apart from the high prevalence of 20.41% and 13.61% for **thematic category 12: *coloniality*** and **thematic category 14: *decolonial turn*** respectively, the other four thematic categories' figures ranged from 6.76% to 9.91%. Furthermore, four thematic categories yielded the least amount of frequency ranging from 0% up to 1% that could be deemed insignificant when compared to other categories. **Thematic category 7: *subaltern*** and **thematic category 9: *ambivalence*** both recorded a frequency of four (0.18%). **Thematic category 8: *mimicry*** recorded 9 appearances which amounted to 0.41. Three categories recorded a frequency ranging from 1% to 5% namely, **thematic category 5: *the emancipation of Africa*** with 65 (2.97%), **thematic category 3: *African worldview*** with 68 (3.10%) and **thematic category 11: *imperialism*** with 87 (3.97%). **Thematic category 13: *epistemological critique*** and **thematic category 16: *other*** both

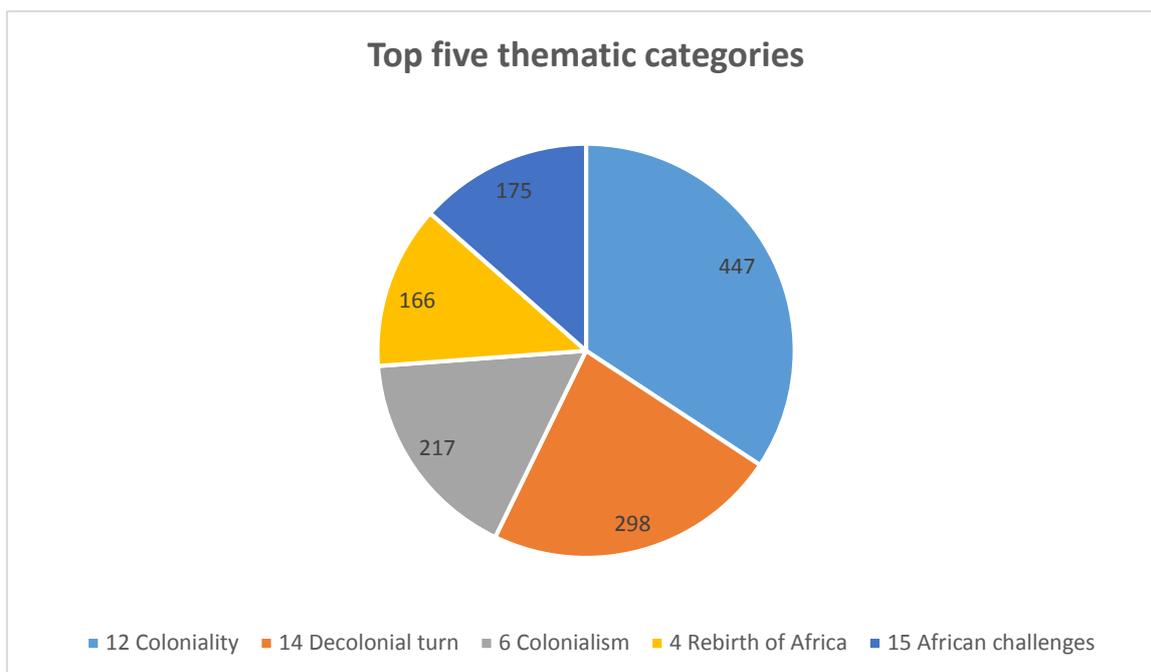
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recorded 7.99% and 5.94% respectively, with values of 148 and 130. Since the unit of analysis for the content analysis exercise was individual statements from the Articles, **thematic category 16: other** was included to accommodate all statements that did not fall into the predetermined categories as all statements were coded. **Thematic category 2: Afrocentricity** and **thematic category 10: Apartheid** recorded 123 (5.62%) and 114 (5.20%) respectively. **Thematic category 1: Pan-Africanism** registered a figure of 135 translating to 6.16%. Figure 5.1 below provides an overview of each individual category's frequency.



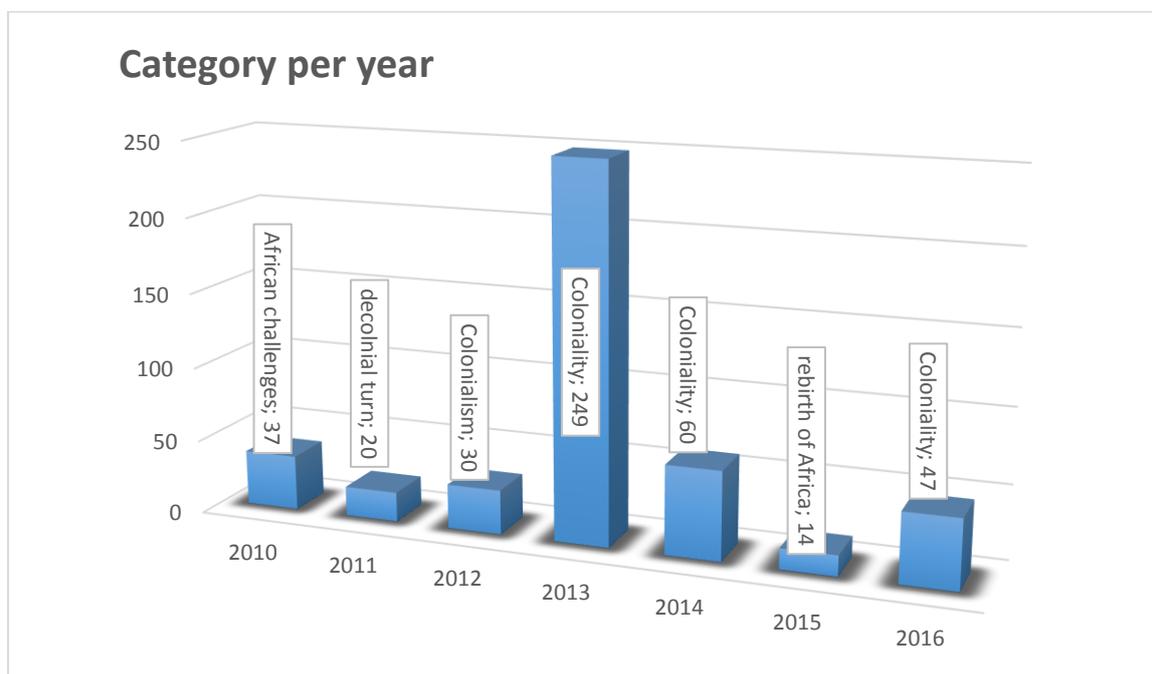
**Figure 5.1: Frequency of each individual category n=31**

Figure 5.1 above presents the prevalence of categories in numbers. It is evident from the chart that **thematic category 12: coloniality** recorded the highest prevalence with 447. From this chart, it can be deduced that the top five thematic categories registered figures of 166, 175, 217, 298 and 447, which are presented below in figure 5.2. The **thematic categories** in question are; **thematic category 4: the rebirth of Africa**; **thematic category 15: African challenges**; **thematic category 6: colonialism**; **thematic category 14: decolonial turn** and **thematic category 12: coloniality**.



**Figure 5.2: The breakdown of the top five thematic categories**

The initial coding rubric classified different categories according to predetermined themes guided by the research questions as well as the results of the reviewed literature (please refer to attached coding rubric). The thematic categories that were formulated were; *African Renaissance*, *postcolonialism*, and *decolonisation*. Out of the top five categories, as figure 5.2 above indicates, **Category 4: rebirth of Africa** was classified under the *African Renaissance* theme and **Category 6: colonialism** was classified under the *postcolonialism* theme. The other three remaining categories namely, **Category 12: coloniality**, **Category 14: decolonial turn** and **Category 15: African challenges** formed part of the *decolonisation* thematic. Therefore, the results indicate a representation of these predetermined themes from the observed data albeit disproportionately so. It thus becomes interesting to determine the prevalence of these categories over the seven-year period from which the data was collected. The study looked at the Articles published from the years 2010 until 2016. Figure 5.3 below illustrates the prevalence of individual categories per year.



**Figure 5.3: Frequency of prevalent category for each year**

Although **thematic category 15: African challenges** registered the highest frequency in 2010 with 37 occurrences, there were also other four categories that featured prominently in this year. An explanation for the prevalence of thematic category of *African challenges* could be attributable to the discourses around issues of social, political and economic conditions in South Africa. Furthermore, the observed articles addressed the issue of poor governance that exacerbate the perpetual subjugation of the black majority. Other thematic categories were also observable in 2010. For instance, **thematic category 16: other** and **thematic category 2: Afrocentricity** registered 34 and 33 respectively. The figure for **thematic category 16: other** could be attributable to the fact the articles sampled addressed other general issues other than those that formed part of the coding rubric. Furthermore, **thematic category 14: decolonial turn** and **thematic category 4: rebirth of Africa** also featured prominently in this particular year with a figure of 28 for both of these thematic categories. A reasonable explanation for these two thematic categories, namely *decolonial turn*

and *rebirth of Africa* highlight the call for decolonisation in light of the advent of coloniality.

Moreover, the year 2011 saw a continuation of the discourses of decolonisation and the challenges faced by the continent of Africa. The most prevalent thematic category in 2011 was **thematic category 14: *decolonial turn*** with 20 appearances followed closely by **thematic category 16: *African challenges*** with 19 appearances. **Thematic category 12: *coloniality*** also featured in this particular year with 18 appearances. In this context, it is not surprising to see the appearance of the thematic category of *coloniality* given the link between decolonisation and coloniality. The latter is bound to influence the call for the decolonial turn. The other two prominent categories in 2011 were **thematic category 16: *other*** and **thematic category 4: *the rebirth of Africa*** with 13 and 10 appearances respectively.

The thematic category of *coloniality* continued to be on the agenda of the magazine in 2012, however, the year saw the prominence of issues of colonialism and apartheid. **Thematic category 6: *colonialism*** was the most featured category with 30 appearances followed by **thematic category 16: *other*** with eight appearances. **Thematic category 10: *apartheid*** recorded seven appearances in 2012 and it was closely followed by six appearances by **thematic category 12: *coloniality***. **Thematic category 8: *mimicry*** also featured in 2012 with five instances. Figure 5.2 above indicates that **thematic category 12: *coloniality*** is the most prominent out of all thematic categories sought; however, it is interesting to note that it was in 2013 where the thematic category in question recorded a high figure of 249.

This particular year also saw a figure of 148 for **thematic category 14: *decolonial turn*** together with a figure of 106 for **thematic category 6: *colonialism***. Furthermore, 2013 recorded figures of 69 and 68 for **thematic category 1: *pan-Africanism*** and **thematic category 10: *apartheid*** respectively. It is also worth noting that the year 2013 was the fiftieth anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), hence the issue of pan-Africanism was on the agenda. The most prominent category in 2014 was **Category 12:**

**coloniality** as it recorded a figure of 60. Again, this is not surprising if the context is taken into consideration as texts are bound by their context. A figure of 37 was observed in this particular year for **thematic category 1: pan-Africanism** and **thematic category 15: African challenges** with **thematic category 4: the rebirth of Africa** and **Category 14: decolonial turn** recording figures of 31 and 29 respectively.

A trend can be identified with **thematic category 12: coloniality** as it was the most prevalent in 2014 just as it was the case for the year 2013 and in the year 2016. For that reason, it is safe to say that *The Thinker* deemed it significant to highlight the advent of coloniality given its pervasiveness with regard to the material conditions of those subjected by the system. The year 2014 also saw **thematic category 1: Pan-Africanism** and **thematic category 15: African challenges** both recording a figure of 37. There was also a prevalence of **Category 4: the rebirth of Africa** and **Category 15: decolonial turn** with values of 31 and 29 respectively in this particular year.

For the year 2015, **thematic category 4: the rebirth of Africa** was the most prominent with a figure of 14 followed closely by **thematic category 1: pan-Africanism** with a value of 12. **Thematic category 16: other** also featured in this particular year with a value of 10 together with **thematic category 5: the emancipation of Africa** which registered a value of 9. The prevalence of these particular thematic categories can be attributed to discourses about the unification of the continent for the attainment of African Renaissance. There was also a value of six registered across three categories in the year 2015 namely, **thematic category 14: decolonial turn**, **thematic category 10: apartheid** and **thematic category 15: African challenges**. Two categories in 2016 registered a much higher prevalence namely, **thematic category 12: coloniality** and **thematic category 14: decolonial turn** with values of 47 and 45 respectively. **Thematic category 13: epistemological critique** and **thematic category 6: colonialism** both registered a value of 23 in 2016 with **thematic category 2: Afrocentricity** also featuring with a value of 20.

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From the above exercise, five foremost themes were identified namely, **decolonial turn; African challenges; rebirth of Africa; coloniality and apartheid**. The criteria used in this theme-identification exercise involved – apart from prevalence – the consistency of these themes throughout the period of observation (i.e. between 2010 and 2016). Themes that were prevalent on three or more occasions/years were deemed to have some form of significance to the research question and were thus selected for a detailed analysis. In this particular instance, prevalence does not entail a higher frequency but is has more to do with the research question (Braun & Clarke 2006:15).

### 5.5 Summary: content analysis of *The Thinker*

The main objective of this section was to unpack how the initial identification of thematic categories was done in order to arrive at the main thematic categories for further qualitative nuanced analysis. The exercise thus, revealed the prevalent thematic categories that were extracted from the data. It emerged from the exercise that the five most prevalent categories were: **decolonial turn; African challenges; rebirth of Africa/African Renaissance; coloniality and apartheid**. These thematic categories were identified following Braun and Clarke's model of theme identification, which gives the researcher some flexibility in order to address the main question(s) that guides the study.

### 5.6 Summary

This chapter is divided into two sections, namely, presentation of qualitative data and the presentation of quantitative content analysis findings. The first section thematically presented the findings of the qualitatively-engaged data. It described a detailed presentation of the five themes that were developed in light of the research problem and the review of relevant literature. The themes described are, coloniality, decolonial turn, apartheid, African Renaissance and African challenges. The data described under each theme served to indicate how the themes in question are represented in *The Thinker* as a text. The second section presented the findings of the content analysis that served to support the qualitative phase. The study prioritised the qualitative phase as justified by the methodology, theoretical perspective and the research question at hand. The

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chapter following this one, embarks on a close interpretation and analysis of these findings.

## CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an interpretation of the findings reported in the previous chapter (Chapter 5). The structure of my analysis will be based on the themes that were identified previously (see chapter 4 and 5). The themes in question are coloniality, decolonial turn, apartheid, African Renaissance and the challenges faced by the continent of Africa. The chapter will then present the conclusions drawn following an analysis of the themes in question.

The purpose of this study was to elucidate how *The Thinker* magazine grapples with the terrain of coloniality and, to an extent, apartheid; through the examination of its representation of post-apartheid discourses. Furthermore, the study sought to explore whether these discourses manifest in *The Thinker's* articulation of emancipatory and liberatory messages of African Renaissance and/or decolonisation. The main argument presented in this dissertation is that *The Thinker* navigates and negotiates the aftermath of apartheid and the on-going entrenchment of coloniality by promoting a call for decolonial intervention, which manifests through the call for African Renaissance/Africanisation as a de-linking option. A cultural studies lens guided the study. In my analytic framework, I am guided by the following models: Foucault's conception of discourse and how subjectivity plays a significant role insofar as issues of domination and marginalisation are understood. Furthermore, the models of radical contextualism and Hall's model of articulation are pertinent in guiding my analysis.

This chapter engages and interprets the findings outlined in the previous chapter, which was divided into two sections, namely; the quantitative phase and the qualitative phase. The main purpose of the former was to establish the prevalence and prominence of thematic categories from which the selection of the main themes was undertaken. The extracted main themes are thus interpreted in this chapter. The themes in question are **coloniality, decolonial turn, apartheid, African renaissance** and the **challenges faced by the continent of Africa**.

### 6.2 Coloniality

The content analysis segment of the study revealed that the thematic category of coloniality was the most frequent and prevalent of the categories sought. This thematic category recorded a frequency of four hundred and forty-seven (447) occurrences and it was further prevalent three times (2013, 2014 and 2016) over a period from 2010 to 2016. It is, therefore, evident that it was a subject for discussion for most of the sampled articles. Below, I critically deconstruct this theme by engaging a more nuanced analysis.

It was observed from the data that the logic of coloniality manifests itself in three dimensions; namely, the coloniality of power, the coloniality of being and the coloniality of knowledge. This observation correlates with the literature in relation to how coloniality is made sense of and explained by a variety of authors. These aspects are interconnected as each one affects and leads to the other dimensions. These conceptual dimensions of coloniality dictate how an African subject is perceived and perceives herself/himself within the current modernity. As Foucault posits that dominant discourses through their machinations of power, constitute individuals into subjects – colonised subjects in this case (2005:236).

As posited by Maldonado-Torres, “as modern subjects, we breathe coloniality all the time and every day” (2007:241). For Africans and, to an extent, South Africans; the brunt of coloniality is more explicit. In the case of black South Africans who experienced the system of apartheid, the marginalisation of this group continues although the system of apartheid is supposed to now be defeated. Through their existential lived experiences, said black individuals continue to live a reality that is fraught with misery and violence inflicted upon them by the system of coloniality. As postulated by one of the observed texts that coloniality continues to “inflict pain and death to Africans” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). For this reason, I maintain that the brutality of the system of coloniality should be highlighted, confronted and interrogated. As observed from the literature, the brutality of coloniality is naturalised through the principle of modernity masquerading as a civilising mode to the underdeveloped world (Dussel 2006:496). Further, Foucault observes that individuals are interpellated

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by the dominant discourses and thus limiting the agency of the subjected individuals (1972:97). I argue, against this background that a post-apartheid subject is constituted by the dominant historical and cultural conjectures with implications for her/his consciousness. For the systemic entrenchment of the dominant world order that is reflected in Euro-American reality, relegate the colonised to the status of a non-entity.

Hence, the system of modernity hides its darker side of coloniality and should be scrutinised particularly for this very reason. Through the colonial matrix of power, all the dimensions of human existence are affected; be it sexuality, authority, subjectivity and labour (Grosfoguel 2007; Mignolo 2009; Maldonado-Torres 2006; Quijano 2006). Its aim is thus to entrench and perpetuate the current global system characterised by the asymmetrical power structure that is skewed towards the Euro-American logic. As observed by one of the texts that “modernity deposited its fruits of progress, civilisation, modernisation and development to the Euro-American world while at the same time imposing the slave trade, imperialism, colonialism and apartheid into the non-Euro-American world” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). Against this background, I maintain that there is nothing civilising about the logic of modernity, as it is constitutive of the concealed violence to the African subject. This system imposed on the colonised a capitalist paradigm fraught with perpetual subjection of the African subject.

The coloniality of power is characterised by the modes of subjugation, usurpation, exploitation of the colonised subject with the aim of exploiting the resources of the colonised entities (Mlosy 2010; Serote 2013). For this reason, I maintain that the process of domination was enacted through the usage of guns and coercion. The partitioning of the continent culminated in contemporary arbitrary boundaries that constitute the region. Of course, this made it easier for the coloniser to loot and usurp Africa’s natural resources as the ‘natives’ are distracted by these artificial borders. Hence, the call for African unity by some of the authors of the texts selected for this project. This call stems from the damage inflicted by the division of Africans by the coloniser’s imposed arbitrary borders. This system has race as its organising principle and for an African this meant the imposition of a plethora of dichotomies such as primitive/civilised and civilised/uncivilised. The

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system is further perpetuated by the control of significant aspects of society such as the economy, authority, labour gender and sexuality and the control of subjectivity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47). Africans are thus forced to be landless labourers in their own land. For that reason, the colonised is stripped of his/her dignity, consciousness, agency and identity. Again, the element of subjectivity is evident in this context.

Hence, the observation that the logic of coloniality of power enabled the appropriation of land, natural resources and labour. The post-cold war era saw the empire's urge to accumulate resources and wealth from elsewhere (Araoye 2016). Unfortunately, this mission did not spare the continent of Africa and the process brought all sorts of problems for the continent. Africa is regarded as a continent rich with mineral resources but remains one of the poorest regions in the world despite this state of affairs. The appropriation of African resources was made possible through the colonial matrices of power that further marginalised the African subject. The African subject is dehumanised by the system that does not recognise his/her humanity as evidenced by his/her subjection. It follows, then, that the subjectivity of the African enabled the looting of the continent's resources. Hence, an assertion that power is used by the dominant forces to regulate and normalise their domination (Butler 1993:22; Foucault 1972:99).

The entrenchment of coloniality is deep-rooted insofar as the current global system is understood. The politico-judicial colonialism may be over but the state of coloniality remains persistent and is continuously reproduced by the current global system. Hence, it is lamented by one of the texts that the "slavish and colonial social and economic imbalances" have not been meaningfully addressed by the Africans. This explains the degree of the entrenchment of this system and its systemic impositions. It is through the logic of coloniality of power that the hegemonic forces exerted their power on the colonised. The current world system is understood in terms of how it relegates the African subject to what is perceived to be a "zone of non-being" as observed by one of the texts. The condition of coloniality further perpetuates a system of patriarchy that renders an African woman to the bottom of the chain as observed by **Article 19**. I therefore argue that black women are worst hit by the system of coloniality (Motjope & Madikezela

2013). I further maintain that the implications of an imposed dominant order over an African subject, strips them of their authentic humanity and identity. An African man is interpellated to an extent that the violence inflicted upon him is directed towards the most vulnerable individual, a woman.

One other aspect of the manifestation of coloniality is through the coloniality of knowledge. Coloniality of knowledge prioritises Euro-American epistemology as universal and rational and thus in the process relegating all other knowledges as inferior and lacking rationality (Quijano 2007:177; Mignolo 2007:177). Furthermore, the imposed Euro-American knowledge system serves to advance the logics of imperialism and colonialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:135), the logic of coloniality of knowledge is to dominate the colonised, in other words it allows for the execution of the coloniality of power as explained above. In this logic, the African subject is conditioned to perceive the world through the lens of the coloniser and, in the process, perpetuating the hierarchised Euro-American global system. In this framework, the colonised subject appraises the imposed Euro-American knowledge and for that reason, it serves as a point of reference for his/her engagement with the world. As a result, other knowledges are marginalised, and their worth diminished. It should be noted that the entrenched system of coloniality constantly questions your humanity then it follows that your ontological being will also be repressed and suppressed. As observed by **Article 30**, “Endogenous and indigenous knowledges have been pushed to the margins of society” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11).

Furthermore, in its devaluation of the African subject, the Eurocentred education system undermines African value systems (Makwindi 2010:37). The premise of this extra knowledge system is to sustain the inferior/superior binaries between the coloniser and the colonised. Thus, maintaining the subjectivity of an African. Therefore, the Euro-American knowledge is a tool that sustains and advances the project of modernity and its capitalist form. It should further be noted that, despite its perceived universalism, Euro-American epistemology is disseminated purposively and selectively. As Quijano observes, this logic is enacted “in order to co-opt some of the dominated into their institutions” (2007:169). Again, the

aspect of subjectivity is amplified and entrenched through the imposed Eurocentric epistemologies. The current knowledge system is thus deemed to be irrelevant and fails to respond to the contemporary African situation. One article observes that the imposed Euro-American knowledge system pollutes the mind of the African. Your cosmology is polluted and constructed as inferior. For this reason, the African's modes of enunciation are bound to be compromised due to the fact that the subject is the product of the imposed hegemonic epistemology. It follows that the locus of enunciation normalises and perpetuates the apparatus of modernity. Against this background, the coloniality of knowledge sustains and perpetuates the logic of coloniality in the form of the subjection of the African.

In addition, it was observed from a number of articles that South Africa is still operating within a colonial education system that continues to marginalise its citizens and pollute the African mind (Mpofu 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a). For this reason, I argue that the eruption of hashtag movements should not have come as a surprise. For these students, the university spaces do not represent their identity and, in the process, are being choked by these unwelcoming colonial structures. The Eurocentred education system has a bearing on the African's locus of enunciation; suggesting a lack of authenticity thus consequently perpetuating his/her subjection. This imperial locus of enunciation has ramifications to the consciousness of the ex-colonised as the entrenched Euro-modern reality denies the African subject with self-consciousness. Your self-consciousness and cosmology are polluted by the imposed system of coloniality. The system is purposively designed to entrench the inferiority of the ex-colonised manifesting in what Fanon terms the condemned state of being. Hence for Gordon, "the designated-inferior racial subject Euro-modernity is so deeply entrenched as it serves as a lens through which the life of the marginalised is made sense of" (2013:4). However, the lens in question is problematic because it does not reflect the authentic reality – it is constructed on behalf of the African subject.

For this reason, a false universality is constructed for the African subject with implications for his/her state of being. Your thinking is further influenced by the dominant forces with the aim of sustaining the inferiority demeanour that has

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infiltrated your being. Against this background, coloniality of knowledge normalises and entrenches the subjection of an African to a point where the subjection is concealed and normalised. This serves as another machination of the entrenched system of coloniality. The African subject assumes the position of non-entity marked by the insignificance of value of lives (Sithole 2016:41). Sartre (1956:3) observes that consciousness is a pre-requisite for the attainment of freedom and liberation for the marginalised. It follows that a lack of self-consciousness or a polluted one implies the sustenance of domination albeit in a non-violent form. For Foucault, this is how dominant discourses are entrenched in a given society and the element of power plays a pivotal role in this process to exclude the dominated groups (1969:2). The coloniality of knowledge strips the African subject of his or her agency through a process of indoctrination.

It is furthermore observed by one article that African professionals, intellectuals and scholars are also victims of this indoctrination. The call for the transformation of the education system emanates from the problematic of the Eurocentred epistemology. This call is also articulated by a school of thought that laments the perception that South African universities are regarded as universities in Africa as opposed to African universities; the latter being an unfortunate indictment to the institutions in question. The African university is expected to prioritise knowledges that emanate from within the continent and export the African generated knowledges to the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the state of affairs at these universities forces scholars to appeal to the demands and pre-requisites of the university establishment. In this logic, anything that falls outside of these set out parameters is bound to be rejected. Universities, in this context, become centres that perpetuate the logic of coloniality and capitalism. The reproduction of unconscious and unliberated minds is bound to continue as the imposed hegemonic knowledges invariably culminate into the condition of the coloniality of being.

The dimension of coloniality of being was highlighted by some of the texts through the questioning of African humanity by the coloniser. This logic is mainly attributed to the continued subjection of the African in order to feed into the dominant forces' demands of African bodies to serve the interests of the imposed

capitalist system. If you devalue another individual's life, you are then bound to justify your dominance over her/him. Against this background, the dominated individual is coerced into accepting the domination as his/her inferiority is systematically engineered in such a way that a divergent view is denied. This situation explains how entrenched the system of coloniality is and therefore its influence becomes inescapable. **Article 29** articulates the invention of the black subjectivity as it influenced the collective unconsciousness of the black race:

This theme can be described as a racist system of values of representations in which the black subject is seen as repository, a figure in whom whites symbolises all their lower emotions and baser inclinations. ... Hence, I am forced to ascertain that the black man [sic] is the product of the white, he is an expression of the bad instincts, the darkness inherent in every white ego ... (Haffejee 2012:57).

Hence, for Maldonado-Torres, the plight of coloniality influences and affects the lived experience of the colonised, culminating in his/her general understanding of being (2007:243). The coloniality of being interferes with your identity and your consciousness and as a result, you assume an imposed consciousness. If one is stripped of his or her ontological existence and consciousness is polluted and compromised, the individual in question is bound to accept a Euro-modern reality as normative for alternative views are suppressed and silenced. This imposed consciousness influences every aspect of the African subject such as his/her cultural, political, economic, linguistic and religious dimensions. For this reason, the concept of double-consciousness comes to the fore. Given the fact that your identity and consciousness are polluted, you are conditioned to think in a certain way and from a particular locality and perspective.

Having discussed the aspect of coloniality, it is evident that the phenomenon is deep-rooted and problematic, particularly when viewed from a post-apartheid perspective. Thus, it is crucial to highlight and call it out as it is mostly concealed by the aspect of modernity. Evidently, the notion of subjectivity is the common thread in all the dimensions of coloniality be it power, knowledge and being. I therefore, argue that the notion of subjectivity in relation to issues of marginality, should not be underestimated. For, subjectivity is the precursor of all forms of

domination as it pollutes your self-consciousness. The focus now shifts to the system of apartheid.

### 6.3 The system of apartheid

The reviewed literature revealed that the system of apartheid is a continuation of the logic of coloniality; it, therefore, cemented the subjectivity of an African individual. Apartheid like coloniality, sought to dehumanise and dominate the black African; although the former was more brutal and violent. More so, because the brutalities and atrocities of the apartheid regime were not subtle, they were explicit and were meant to inflict misery and pain to supposedly subhuman majority. The system was characterised by the impositions of discriminatory legislations against black subjects that included the right to kill in certain circumstances (Rousseau 2014:205). I argue, then, that the ideology of apartheid entrenched and perpetuated the colonial hierarchies that regard the African subject as inferior and characterised by a plethora of lacks. The African subject is only useful for his/her body, as it is needed to provide labour to advance the imposed hegemonic system. Furthermore, apartheid made it possible for the entrenchment of coloniality – in fact, it cemented the system. Hence, the perpetual talks about the legacy of apartheid as its influence continues to be experienced even after its fall; following the dawn of democracy. It follows, then, that the existential lived experiences of the black majority still reflect the realities of apartheid.

Against this background, a number of articles analysed attribute the socio-economic inequities that plaque South Africa today, to the advent of apartheid (Mpofu 2016; Haffejee 2012). Of course, the apartheid system catered for a particular group and this group in question was provided with descent education, healthcare, housing and other social amenities at the expense of the black majority. The white minority was prioritised at the expense of the black majority whilst the latter were banished to the margins; characterised by the provision of inferior amenities. This included among other things, an inferior education system in the form of Bantu education. For Motjope and Madikezela (2013:31), the Bantu education system ensured that Africans aspired for manual labour under white

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control. In order to ensure the subjection of the African, it was imperative to purposively construct an education system that perpetuated and advanced his/her inferiority. Again, as in the logic of coloniality, the notion of subjectivity comes to the fore. I posit that Bantu Education fostered the perpetuation of the coloniality of knowledge and the resultant manifestations of the coloniality of being.

Another issue highlighted by the texts in relation to the ideology of apartheid, was the issue of land appropriation that was forcefully effected by the apartheid hegemonic forces. **Article 18** rubbishes the claims that the land was barren when the white settlers arrived in 1652 (Phala 2013). This claim is unfounded given the evidence that is available to prove the existence of economic activities long before the arrival of white settlers. Case in point being the Mapungubwe artefacts that reveal sophisticated economic activities in this area going as far back as the thirteenth century, suggesting that the land was occupied centuries before the arrival of any European. This narrative seeks to justify the usurpation and the dispossession that took place at the hands of the minority settlers. The article describes the activity as amounting to “bloody land and cattle robbery” (2013:36).

This observation correlates with the literature regarding the segregation of different races. The introduction of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act culminated in forceful removals of black Africans from areas demarcated as ‘white only’, to the margins of the cities and remote rural areas (Mayham 1990; Adams 2014). This further led to the establishment of Bantustans, which were ironically touted as a means of self-governance for the black African. However, this was just a ploy for enacting racial and economic segregation. In most instances, these homelands were very far from cities with little or no economic activities taking place in these locations. For an African subject, the land forms a crucial part of his/her identity and the dignity that comes with self-sustenance. In other words, the land is equivalent to gold because it is precious for an African child. Therefore, to be rendered landless could be equated to being robbed off one’s identity and dignity. Hence, the question of land continues to be highlighted, contested and debated in South African spaces today. So emotive is the issue of land that some political leaders are using it to

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serve their own political interests. Should you ask these leaders to articulate their plan or policies with regard to land restitution, you are not bound to receive a clear answer.

In addition to land expropriation, the apartheid regime introduced and maintained racially divisive laws that sought to dehumanise the majority black Africans. One article (**Article 28**) maintains that black people have internalised racism as a result of the entrenched system of apartheid and this can potentially lead to unfortunate incidents of Afrophobia and xenophobia (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:48). Again, I maintain that apartheid entrenched and fostered the state of coloniality as it perpetuates the subjection of the marginalised. One finds it difficult to explain, for instance, English speaking Cameroonians seeking their independence from the French speakers. Of course, the answer lies with the internalised and entrenched state of coloniality. Given the fact that the state of coloniality of being brings with it negative implications for the black African subject insofar as the subjectivity of this individual is concerned. For this reason, the African's consciousness is compromised with ramifications for the subjectivity and identity of the colonised. The polluted consciousness of the colonised has a bearing on how he/she perceives the world – apartheid indoctrination has ramifications insofar as this aspect is concerned.

Furthermore, the regime ensured division by exercising the policy of 'divide and rule'. Interestingly, the literature revealed that apartheid inscribed racial dichotomies, characterised by the principles of white supremacy and inherent black inferiority. Paradoxically, the category of whiteness is further utilised in relation to the current democratically-elected black government, as the perception is that a black government is inherently corrupt and incompetent. The Afrikaner, following a transformation process that entailed the sharing of South African resources, then claims to be victimised by the attempt to redress the unjust practices of the past regime. Against this background, the notion of the 'rainbow nation' becomes a myth as observed by a number of articles (Haffejee 2012; Mporu 2013). The socio-economic conditions of the black African means that social justice for the marginalised and the condemned is yet to be attained in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, South Africa is considered one of the

most unequal societies in the world, and the gap between the haves and have nots seems to be growing on a daily basis. For this reason, the eruption of the hashtag movements such as *#FeesMustFall* and *RhodesMustFall* highlights the current dire state of affairs for the black majority given realities that continue to choke them, as it were.

Against this background, it follows that some form of intervention insofar as the state of coloniality and, in extension, apartheid, is needed to enact some form of social justice for the colonised subjects. For this reason, a decolonial turn is justified as a way to redress the entrenched injustices that came with apartheid and coloniality.

### 6.4 Decolonial turn

The thematic category of decolonial turn recorded the second highest prevalence (298) after the thematic category of coloniality. According to the literature, decolonisation should be seen as a “radical transformation of the modern/colonial matrix of power which continues to define modern identities as well as the relations of power and epistemic forms that go along with them” (Maldonado-Torres 2006:115). Therefore, decolonisation becomes an option by which the current world system is transformed and re-humanised. As outlined above, the pervasive colonial matrices of power perpetuate the inferiority and the subjection of the African. A common thread emanating from the decolonial project is that of epistemic shift – that is to repudiate the universality of Euro-American epistemology by advancing the principle of pluriversality. For this reason, decolonial thinking becomes imperative, given the five hundred years violence of coloniality/modernity. Dismantling all aspects of coloniality is crucial but not easily achievable because of the persistent entrenched modern colonial experiences.

Another common thread that emanates from the data with respect to the theme of decoloniality is about the liberation of the continent from the shackles of coloniality and apartheid (in the case of South Africa). Firstly, the texts highlight the condemnation of the African subject and his/her locality. Secondly, the undesirable current state of the continent needs transformation, and decolonial intervention is thus an active response. In addition, the texts appear to advise

that decolonial projects should be undertaken authentically as they run the risk of being influenced by the mask of bad faith. In other words, true liberation means hard work for all involved as it takes a lot of effort and commitment, particularly from the marginalised. In response to the pervasive imposed marginality, one should be in position to actively transcend and transform the status quo. The status quo is so internalised and normalised, that agency is denied. Against this background, Foucault's conceptualisation of power that is exerted in dominant discourses provides a contextual backdrop from which to examine repressive systems.

For Foucault, the naturalisation of hegemonic discourses has implications for the liberatory discourses (1972:97). Although through decolonial interventions, the subaltern attempts to speak, his/her voice is continuously repressed by the entrenched coloniality through its already-inscribed apparatuses and machinery, that continue to dehumanise him/her. To borrow from the words of Maldonado-Torres (2016), the African subject breathes and lives coloniality, which is bound to invariably choke him/her. This type of combat breathing is unbearable and thus necessitates a liberatory intervention. For this reason, therefore, for Sartre, revolutionary endeavours should be exercised authentically as opposed to being infested with bad faith. To be authentic, for Sartre, is to enact the practice of anguish characterised by disruption and consequently affording the subject with agency (1956:64).

Hence, I argue that decolonial interventions pose challenges for the African subject and the African subject should be mindful of superficial engagement that could potentially hinder the project of decoloniality. Furthermore, a renewed consciousness is imperative and crucial for liberatory discourses because the impact and the complexity of coloniality is deep-rooted with far reaching consequences for those at its receiving end. So much so, that it is internalised and normalised. To illustrate this point further, consider this Sesotho utterance, *setlhare sa Mosotho ke lekgowa*; loosely translated, it means a white person is a black person's medicine. The phrase illustrates the manifestation of the internalised inferiority complex and self-hate that has infiltrated a black person

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with huge implications. If it is white then it should be trusted and adopted, but if it is black, it should be viewed with doubt and mistrust.

For this reason, the narrative of defeating the entrenched western hegemony as it lingers on in the current modernity is observable from the texts studied. One article further states that the emancipation of the colonised involves a “psychological revolution to break the psychological shackles still haunting them” (Haffejee 2012:59). For this article, the domination is psychological as it pollutes one’s mind into accepting one’s inferiority. Foucault notes how power is normalised and sustained through dominant discourses. Hence, for Eze (2010:18), a decolonial process should change the attitude, ways of thinking and worldviews of the colonised. Perhaps the notion of a “psychological revolution” is not farfetched in this instance. To think out of the confines of coloniality/modernity is difficult given that one lives through and within modernity and therefore one is one with modernity and it lives in you. Your worldview is premised on the falsehood of Euro modernity that denies your authentic consciousness. As one article purports, the colonisation of the mind remains the worst form of colonisation because it affects and shapes the minds of Africans (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:50).

The literature further supports this narrative as it outlines the damnation and racialisation of the colonised subject by the entrenched modernity thus in the process violating his or her ontological being. For this reason, the African subject is not capable of making significant decisions with respect to his/her life and, therefore, decisions should be made on their behalf albeit with detrimental impact for the marginalised subject. Besides, the apartheid system held that a black subject was incapable of reaching adulthood. Given the fact that modernity tends to hide the state of coloniality through the usage of power to normalise and naturalise the dependency and power relations between the coloniser and the colonised, the subjection of the latter becomes unavoidable and inevitable. As Foucault observes, every social system should be read and understood through its historical conditions (2005:46). Accordingly, visiting the historical archives of a given social structure is crucial to draw connections between elements of history and the contemporary social structure.

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This brings to the fore the logic of the colonality of knowledge as an instrumental tool in rendering the African subject inferior and further polluting his/her mind, subjectivity, identity and consciousness. Against this background, a need then arises to actively transform the knowledge system – the process is known as decolonial epistemic shift. For Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009:144), decolonial epistemic shift involves a process of decolonising the knowledge and being insofar as the producer and the geography of that knowledge is concerned, and also the purposes of it. As Grosfoguel posits that it cannot be that the canon of thought in all the disciplines of humanities and social sciences is monopolised by a few men located in Italy, France, England, Germany and the USA (2013:74). The issue here is the notion that the knowledge produced by white men from five western countries possesses a capacity to understand the world, irrespective of their geography. Of course, for the men in question, other localities are objects of knowledge not its producers. For this reason, one article posits that epistemological colonisation leads to the control of subjectivity and knowledge and thus the re-articulation of the African subject (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:47).

Furthermore, the universal perspective of the Euro-modern knowledge is problematic because it suppresses other knowledges with implications for the global system characterised by asymmetrical relations between the North and the South. Hence, one Article speaks of “epistemic rapture” that is required to dismantle “a dominant epistemic order” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:46). Similarly, another Article is critical of Euro-modern epistemology, including the pedagogical praxis, as it is fraught with the “edifice of colonial culture” (Maserumule 2016:9). In contextualising the problematics of the entrenched Euro-modern epistemologies, it should be stated that the education system was not designed for an African. It was designed to benefit the coloniser insofar as the control of the means of production and the physical bodies that are involved in the sustenance of inferior/superior dichotomies; albeit unwittingly so. The critique of Euro-modern epistemology arises from the notion that it shapes the belief system and practices of educators, researchers and the curriculum as observed by Bernal (2002:121). Of course, the perspective forged by this type of education

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ought to correlate with that of the hegemonic order in order to sustain and reproduce the state of coloniality/modernity.

Returning to the choking metaphor of the state of coloniality, one text revealed that the eruption of hashtag movements in the form of *#Feesmustfall* and *#RhodesMustFall* has to do with dissatisfaction of the current order of things in South Africa, which suffocates them, as it were. For seeking a decolonised curriculum, these students repudiate – and rightly so – the Eurocentred education system. The alien education system does not represent their identity, culture and worldview. Therefore, its contestation is bound to be necessary. The university spaces, in this context, are seen as environments where youth from various backgrounds engage and grapple with the established institutional frameworks. These established institutional frameworks are already inscribed with bad faith in the form of disciplines, methods and texts that draw from entrenched Euro-modern epistemologies.

However, there were some aspects of contrasting observations with regard to hashtag movements from the literature. One study found that although the ultimate goal of the movements is that of decolonisation, the movements come as a response to the injustices of apartheid, colonialism, racism and structural racism (Beukes 2017:8). Conversely, a study by Van Bever Donker, Truscott, Minkley and Lalu (2017), points out the politics of impatience having replaced the ideals of reconciliation that characterised the 1990s period. It should be mentioned, however, that political freedom is meaningless if economic emancipation of those who were at the receiving end of the injustices of the repressive regime is not attained. Against this background, one agrees with Tuck and Yang insofar as their suggestion that decolonisation intervention ought to be augmented with discourses of redressing the injustices of colonisation (2012:7).

The call for the decolonisation of epistemology seems to pertain to the transformation of higher education and, in particular, university curricula (Khoza 2011; Maserumule 2016; Mpofu 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c; Nkabinde 2013; Mpofu 2013; Araoye 2016; Motjope & Madikezela 2013). The reason for this call emanates from the fact that these universities do not

embrace the notion of an African university but still operate in the realm of a Eurocentric university that is based in Africa. In other words, the only association with Africa that these universities have is their geographical location, as they do not reflect and espouse African values in curricula, character and consciousness. These institutions continue to reproduce and perpetuate Eurocentred knowledges that have little regard for an African subject. An article coined by Nkabinde posits that colonial universities (of which most South African universities fit this category) are there to advance a colonial propaganda that spread incorrect narratives of African history and heritage (2013:56). Against this background, an article by Ndlovu-Gatsheni provides an idea of what an African university should entail. The article posits that an African university should produce students who are able to “creatively innovate and originally respond to African development challenges” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:50).

For these epistemological orientations were constructed to dehumanise the non-western other as they do not accord the condemned and marginalised individual with ontological existence. For this reason, the African subject is absent and only appears as an object of experimentation. As posited by one article, these institutions continue to advance “the epistemologies and the pedagogical praxis of modernity” (Maserumule 2016:49). Hence, Kincheloe points out the fact that the universities in Africa continue to transmit western truths from one generation to the next, consequently reproducing the subjection of the black African (2001:696). This indoctrination implies that the African subject, as a product of western thought, advances and sustains the logic of coloniality/modernity with implications for his/her self-consciousness and, in extension, towards his/her fellow Africans.

Against this background, the discourse of transformation of the university in Africa is bound to dominate these spaces as modalities of dismantling the anachronism of Eurocentric cultural superiority that infiltrates them. This should be a starting place in an attempt to dismantle the inferiority complex of the African subject imposed by coloniality. As one article posits that students call for decolonised education and the transformation of university spaces to reflect the identity and culture of African locality (Maserumule 2016:49). As mentioned above, the

activism displayed by students in the form of the hashtag movements suggest the rejection of suffocation experienced by these students at these colonial institutions. Young people at these universities are therefore bound by these imposed institutional frameworks, prompting them to reject the present order.

Hence, it becomes crucial for the scholarship of these institutions to heed the call for the decolonisation of the curricula at these institutions. One article suggests that African professoriate should transcend the Eurocentric epistemology, and this could be done by drawing inspiration from the depth of African philosophical and theoretical insights (Maserumule 2016:51). Similarly, an article authored by Nkabinde advises that African scholars should be afforded an opportunity to re-write African history from an African perspective and thus highlighting the significance of African scholars in the process of decolonisation, particularly the designing of the new curriculum (2014:58). Hence, the call for the infusion of indigenous knowledge systems is of significance for the transformation of the university curricula. Similar sentiments were observable from the literature wherein the call for a unifying African philosophy that is free from western influence is suggested as one way of de-linking from Euro-modern thought (Iniabong 1988; More 2002).

Interestingly, the literature also revealed how the African subject is incapable of constructing his/her own philosophy and thus the coloniser is obliged to formulate one for him/her from the coloniser's perspective (Hountondji 2009:123). Against this background, it is my view that the carving and shaping of an all-encompassing African thought grounded in African cosmology and perspective is crucial in affirming the African ontological being. More so if decolonial thinking/intervention seeks to rescue the continent of Africa from the pervasive category of 'the dark continent' signified by all sorts of socio-economic and political challenges. According to an article authored by Mpofu, decolonial thinkers and philosophers should diagnose coloniality as the causation of the historical and political chaos that mar the continent of Africa (2013:12). The decolonial thinkers in question should practice epistemic disobedience characterised by the transcendence of the imposed Euro-modern epistemology.

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Against this backdrop, Sartre's conceptualisation of authenticity in the context of a repressive system comes to the fore. Authenticity, for Sartre, is characterised by the act of questioning the entrenched structures and imposed values; and to resist the participation in them (1982:221). Authenticity, in this context, becomes a liberatory intervention characterised by an act of anguish so that the dismantling of colonial frameworks can be attained. This author is, therefore, in agreement with the assertion made in one article coined by Ndlovu-Gatsheni as it is posited there that decolonial thinkers should not assume a neutral position in a world that is not neutral (2013a:47). As Sithole asserts, to be black in an anti-black world is fraught with a plethora of obstacles as the black subject is faced with a continuous requisite of proving his/her humanity.

In addition to the call for the transformation of curricula and the institutional frameworks of higher learning, there are some articles that address other pressing issues that came to be, following the advent of colonialism. For instance, an article by Nkabinde highlighted the need to transform global multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations as they advance and perpetuate neo-colonial agendas (2014:56). In most instances, these institutions perpetuate a neo-colonial agenda in their interactions with the former colonised world. The latter finds itself in an unfortunate predicament of acceding to hegemonic terms and conditions that these organisations impose on them. Case in point, the United States of America (USA) threatening to withhold financial aid to those countries that decide to vote against it at the United Nations (UN) conventions. It is not a coincidence that most of these countries are underdeveloped and poor. The colonial forces apply their political and economic powers to influence the decisions of these multinational organisations, which invariably disadvantages the developing world.

For this reason, the asymmetrical vertical relations between the North and the South is fostered so that the status quo continues. The result of this state of affairs is that the developing world has no say in matters of global importance and crucial decisions are bound to be taken on its behalf. Perhaps, the narrative of the incapability of non-Europeans to govern, develop, civilise, and innovate and to essentially think, should be highlighted for it silences, marginalise and

dehumanise the non-European subject. Thus, the barbaric signification of the other that happened five hundred years ago is still in action albeit in a subtler guise. Therefore, the critique of these multilateral institutions in their current form is justified.

Although the articles studied call for, *inter alia*, the reconfiguration of the education system, the transformation of the multilateral institutions and the changing of mind-sets, there was an acknowledgement of the interventions/actions that are already taking place. The decolonial interventions in question are highlighted as examples of modalities of decolonisation. Case in point being the artistic works of Mazisi Kunene as they pertain to the repudiation of the hegemonic order. According to one article, his work is “transcendental, transformatory and emancipatory” (Araoye 2016:28). This is despite his works being enacted at a period when the entrenched hegemonic discourse of coloniality exerted its power to racialise the marginalised other. For Mazisi Kunene’s work defied the narrative of the ‘zone of non-being’ signified by a plethora of lacks that are associated with an African subject. Hence, the counter-hegemonic nature of the works of Mazisi Kunene became instrumental in transcending and resisting the subjugation of the African people. It is implied by this proposition that the artistic works of Mazisi Kunene did not suffer the pollution from the brunt of coloniality given their centrality of African cosmology, thought and worldview.

However, it should be pointed out that the literature is tentative with regard to the authenticity of the perceived decolonised expressions. Besides, as modern subjects, “we breathe and live coloniality” and thinking out of it is bound to be a big hurdle (Maldonado-Torres 2016:3). That being said, the interventions in this context cannot be underestimated as anything that suggests the pluriversality of voices should be welcomed. Furthermore, it is evident that decolonisation discourses are highlighted as responses to the entrenched colonial matrices of power and all the frameworks that come with the phenomenon. Hence, the high prevalence of this thematic category as observed in the content analysis phase of the project. Against this background, the discourse of African Renaissance comes to the fore. It is worth noting that the initial category for African

Renaissance was labelled 'rebirth of Africa' and following Braun and Clarke's model of theme identification, it subsequently assumed the category of African Renaissance (See chapter 4).

### 6.5 African Renaissance

In order to holistically describe the theme of African Renaissance, I wish to return to the principle of articulation as conceptualised by Hall (see chapter 2). For me, African Renaissance could be used as a de-linking tool for dismantling the shackles of coloniality and apartheid. For Hall, articulation pertains to linking different conditions and situation towards a unitary framework to address a historically inscribed social reality (2015:277). This principle allows one to make connections of historical ideological elements into a conscious pedagogical tool so that one articulate a political intervention. For Hall the process of articulation provides a framework of holistically analysing phenomenon (1980:198). Against this background, I propose the usage of articulation to analyse the concept of African Renaissance in relation to the South African context followed by the proposition of it being a de-linking option.

A common thread that was observable from the examined texts pertains to the act of forging African unity as a precursor for dealing with developmental, social, political and economic challenges facing the continent (Mbeki 2013a; Mbeki 2013b; Araoye 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a; Salim 2015; Maaba 2010). A closer a look at the articles in question, revealed that most of them were published in the year 2013. In attempting to decipher the reason for this situation, I came to realise that the year 2013 signified fifty years of existence for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Hence, the context in this regard is significant. As the statement below by one of the article attests:

Thus must we understand that the historic effort to achieve practically the unity of Africa, expressed through the establishment of the OAU, is only 50 years old, and is therefore in its infancy (Mbeki 2013a:13).

## Chapter 6: Interpretation of findings

As observed from the texts, the initiative of African Renaissance is ideally fostered through pan-African agencies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) and Agenda 2063 (Ndungane 2010; le Pere 2016; Mbeki 2012; Mbeki 2013a, 2013b; Salim 2015). For these initiatives and agencies could foster and forge the unity and integration of Africans that are imperative for the development of the continent and thus achieving a people-centred principle espoused by the promotion of the notion of African solutions by Africans. However, despite the noble objectives of regional organisations, they tend to be criticised for advancing neo-colonial agendas (Schittecatte 2012:70; Ibrahim 2016; Boesak 2005:45). This predicament is rather unfortunate and implies that the regional agencies are formulated in bad faith. Furthermore, the regional organisations comprise of a collection of representatives from individual African states that are said to be the mere neo-colonial proxies given their dependency on former colonisers. It follows that no liberatory initiative will be brought to the table by the leadership concerned; consequently, resulting in undesirable outcomes with implications for the ordinary African. Against this background, the call for African unity is pertinent.

Within the context of coloniality, which the continent of Africa is still reeling from, the disunity of Africans stems from the impositions that could be associated with colonial forces. As evidenced by the literature, the partitioning of the African continent into arbitrary boundaries had huge implications for relations among Africans. The Berlin conference of 1885 constructed the modern Africa with no input from the citizens of the continent (Pakenham 1991:45). Their destiny was thus formulated from Europe with little regard for the affected peoples. Of course, the colonial enterprise was meant to usurp and appropriate the natural resources of the continent to advance the civilisation motives of the imperial forces. For these imperial sources, Africa and other newly 'discovered' territories became their playing ground for displaying power and global influence. In order to attain his/her goal of colonial conquest, the colonised needed to be distracted so that the conquest becomes successful. Hence, the principle of 'divide and rule' became an instrument for the coloniser. In the case of South Africa's apartheid ideology, the separatist principle was inscribed to serve the purpose of dividing

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the majority black South Africans. The ramifications of this meant the impositions of powerful psychological and ideological influences on the majority black South Africans. One must mention the instabilities and civil wars such as those taking place in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan that plague the continent and the implications for any attempt of development.

Furthermore, how does one even attempt to make sense of the so-called warring Francophone and Anglophone factions that continue to divide the black people of Cameroon? This state of affairs indicates the deep-rootedness of the state of coloniality and the internalisation of self-hate that comes with it. This is what the neo-colonial forces want to see – the continuation of disunity among the Africans. These forces are purported to go to lengths of sponsoring the warring parties with arms for the continuation of instability on the continent as it enables a conducive environment for their neo-colonial agenda. According to the literature, the narrative of African unity stems from one of the founding fathers of the OAU. For Nkrumah, Africans should apply the principle of African solutions for African problems (*prax Africana*) meaning the solutions for African problems should not be derived externally (Schittecatte 2012:68).

Furthermore, Nkrumah was of the view that a united Africa could translate into a story of success for the continent as opposed to the weakness that comes with a divided continent (Schittecatte 2012:68; Maloka 2001:2). Nkrumah is also cited in the article by Mbeki wherein the call for unity is highlighted as a prerequisite for the social and economic upliftment of Africa (Mbeki 2013:16). One other African leader who spoke perpetually on African unity was Nelson Mandela as quoted by one article. For Mandela, then, it is crucial to foster African unity in order to achieve a sustainable development that should improve the quality of life of the African peoples (Mzamane 2013:23). In light of this narrative of unity, one article proposes the formation of the United States of Africa in order to defeat and expose the advent of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism (Nkabinde 2014:58).

On the other hand, a question may arise with regard to the principle of African common identity as to what exactly this entails, given the diversity that exists on the continent. Perhaps an answer lies from an assertion made in **Article 6** where

the call for the redefinition of the “common interests of all Bantu peoples” is made (Araoye 2013:28). Certainly, the Bantu peoples are not the only group residing on the continent. There seems not to be an agreement in relation to the question of African identity from the literature. For Mbeki, multiculturalism is the desirable approach to foster and advance an all-inclusive African identity (Bongmba 2004:295). It is, therefore, evident that the discourse of the renaissance of Africa should involve every citizen of the continent, not just the Bantu peoples as purported in other spaces. However, More opposes Mbeki’s multiculturalist approach of an African identity as it “fails to de-ethnicize his own identity” (2002:64). Therefore, viewed in this light, ethnicity should be foregrounded given the historical realities of the continent. Another aspect to consider could be the perceived promotion of the in-group/out-group dialectic that tends to be involved in the principle of ethnic essentialism. Against this background and notwithstanding the fact that Africa is part of a global village, I am tentative to accept Mbeki’s multiculturalist approach given that the issue of race is at the centre of the subjectivity of an African individual. I argue against this background that denying race obscures the aspect of materiality that is synonymous with the current modernity. Thus, if used as a de-linking project, African Renaissance should not overlook the problematisation of race as determinant factor of western modernity.

Moreover, a paradox ensues given the main thesis of African Renaissance as an emancipatory project which is meant to unite the diverse people of the continent. It was further observed from the literature that the construct of Africanness is problematic as it is arguably a Eurocentric construction (Bongmba 2004:295; Eze 2011:12). Against this background, there is doubt that uncertainty is being cast on the effectiveness of the discourse and rhetoric of African renaissance if no consensus exists with regard to its modalities. That being said, a narrow approach to African identity is insufficient in light of the contemporary globalised order. Therefore, for African Renaissance to advance as a liberatory paradigm, there should be unambiguity with respect to the common interests and identity of the people residing on the continent. The call for unity should bolster and foster

the advancement of African Renaissance and there should exist a common vision with regard to how it could be achieved.

Another sub-theme of African Renaissance that was observable from the texts pertained to its philosophical perspective (Araoye 2013; Araoye 2016; Makwinda 2010; Serote 2010). This narrative involves the advancement of the African worldview and cosmology that affirms the authenticity of African voices. This framework becomes the antithesis of Eurocentred perspective of the African worldview characterised by the repudiation of the self. As **Article 6** posits:

The African Renaissance therefore seeks to retrench the principal euro-centric and other ideational structures that constitutes the foundations of the dominant order that has always defined the peripheral locus and irrelevance of the black world in the universe (Araoye 2013:28).

In other words, viewed in this light, African Renaissance becomes a de-linking option that shifts the geography of reason from that of the coloniser to the peripheral localities. The process of de-linking further speaks to the type of education provided to African learners, bringing to the fore the significance of curriculum transformation. The transformed curricula should then sensitise and conscientise the already-polluted psyche of an African subject in order to crucially transcend the entrenched dominant order. As observed by Xulu, education is crucial in fostering African cultures and philosophies (2015:151). Hence, criticism levelled against the South African universities given their failure and reluctance to adopt and advance African philosophy (Letseka 2014:25). Against this background, it is high time that the repressed epistemologies, philosophies and indigenous knowledges are recognised and developed so that they assume their rightful place. Hence, for Higgs, African Renaissance in education should prioritise indigenous knowledge systems in order to politically and economically liberate the African peoples (2012:39). Similarly, Mudimbe highlights the importance of devising tools that should serve to analyse and understand African's own being (1998:23). For this reason, **Article 7** observes that the adoption of indigenous knowledge systems could translate into quality of all forms of life for the citizens of the continent (Serote 2012:36).

Furthermore, in articulating the African Renaissance discourse, the aspect of ubuntu deserves a mention. The notion of ubuntu is seen as an element of Africanist worldview that affirms the authentic philosophical perspective of an African. As **Article 20** observes, ubuntu is the “essence of being human” as it connects individuals from diverse places (Makwindi 2010:36). In this light, unification of Africans takes centre stage as espoused by the principle of *I am because you are*; hence, the success and the prosperity of one individual should translate into the same condition for the neighbour and ultimately the fellow African. For this reason, this authentically African worldview highlights an African humanity that is liberatory and emancipatory as it promotes and advances a collective spirit from among Africans. In this logic, an individual is expected to prioritise the well-being of the next person by imaginatively putting her/himself in their position (Wiredu 1996:31). On the other hand, the concept of ubuntu is criticised because it fails to unite Africans. For instance, a question is asked, what type of ubuntu is it in the context of a crime-ridden South Africa (Eze 2010:415)? Where is ubuntu in the midst of violent incidences of Afrophobia? The answer lies with the imposition of coloniality/modernity and the subjectivity of an African. The African consciousness is polluted and, as such, even our own concepts and cosmology tend to be misrepresented and appropriated. Furthermore, it is important to note that the current African borders emanate from the colonial scramble of Africa by a few western forces. The scramble for African resources, including its people, resulted in the displacement of Africans, some permanently losing contact with their loved ones. The arbitrary borders sought to perpetuate the notion of ‘divide and rule’ characterised by the dichotomies of in-group/outgroup dynamics. Viewed in this light, an African individual, is constituted as a subject of western modernity with implications for his/her own authentic consciousness. Hence, to expect the African subject to be reflective of his/her own ontological existence amid the pervasiveness of the imposed false identities, is perhaps unfair.

Furthermore, the imposed modern global system brought with it capitalism fraught with the appropriation of land, natural resources and labour (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2009:135). The imposed economic system characterised by a scarcity

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of resources as these are concentrated and appropriated by the colonising forces, signalled a competition for these limited resources. As one is already conditioned and indoctrinated to affirm his/her inferiority that is sometimes reflected in the self-hate tendencies, there is bound to be some resistance towards those perceived to be 'foreign'. Against this background, the notion of ubuntu should be viewed from the conditions of the current global system. It follows, then, that if viewed from that perspective, it becomes the polluted version of ubuntu inflicted with the colonial matrix of power. It is thus the objective of the colonial matrix of power to sustain the continued subjugation of the colonised through the cultural, political, sexual and economic oppression of the subalternised subjects (Grosfoguel 2007:217). Hence, it is crucial to highlight the centrality of an African worldview to repudiate the asymmetrical Eurocentric worldview that constantly questions the humanity of the African subject. Therefore, the concept of ubuntu in the context of African Renaissance, speaks to a people-centred principle (Mbeki 2000:78).

Although, a call for the centrality of an African worldview that seeks to de-link from Euro-modern reality is justified, this course should not be misconstrued with a call for what is deemed a culturalist perspective. According to Maloka, the dominant, populist discourse of returning to the "roots" reflected in the promotion of African practices and beliefs, tend to be anchored on the notion of ethnophilosophy (2001:2). For Maloka, this also include the appropriation of the concept of ubuntu for populist reasons. Accordingly, Eze warns of what he terms the notion of Africanism reflected in the blind validation of everything African with little self-criticism (2015:414). This logic, for Eze, is applied by some African leaders with the aim of protecting their own interests by rejecting whatever aspect that is not in line with their own moral imagination (2015:415). For the people practicing Africanism, human rights such as the rights of women and members of the Lesbian, gays, bi-sexual, trans-genders, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) community are deemed un-African and Eurocentric. Of course, this is bad faith and is not in line with the people-centred perspective of African Renaissance. Hence, the success of African Renaissance is premised on the authenticity of its proponents for the fight against the brunt of coloniality requires a conscious

commitment. Thus, at the core of its practice, African Renaissance should strive for the attainment of social justice. This is the case because its proponents must not mimic the oppressors so that true liberation is achieved.

Having discussed the discourse of African Renaissance, I shift the focus to an aspect of the challenges facing the continent of Africa, which was also highlighted by the texts that formed part of this project.

### 6.6 Challenges faced by the continent of Africa

The main problem facing the continent of Africa is the economic stagnation that is persistent in the post-independence era, and African leadership are partly to blame for this state of affairs (Mlosy 2010; Ndungane 2010; Mbeki 2013a, 2013b; Mpofu 2011; Mpofu 2013; Araoye 2013). For these leaders, corruption and self-enrichment become the order of the day and, consequently, marking the continued marginalisation of the African peoples. It becomes deeply concerning for the African masses to suffer under the hegemonic colonial rule only to be inflicted by pain and misery at the hands of the African leadership. Leadership is described by Maathai (2010:134) as an expression of a set of values and principle and it determines the direction of a given society. For this reason, a principled leadership should translate into a prosperous society. However, African leadership is regarded as adding to the problems of the continent as opposed to dealing with the persistent challenges. These leaders are referred to as “rent seeking” by **Article 18** given their parasitic abuse of power for personal gain and self-enrichment (Mbeki 2013ab:18). This practice smacks of bad faith and is undesirable for the economic development of the continent, which is marred by high levels of poverty, diseases, civil wars and the list is endless.

It should, therefore, be noted that the practice perpetuates the adverse environment of neo-imperialism. As discussed in the literature, Euro-modern reality thrives in unstable environments, as these are conducive for the looting of African resources. In some instances, the unfortunate intra-civil wars are instigated by these colonial forces to advance their interests. Given the historical

and economic context of these former colonies, conniving with the 'enemy' to advance their own economic interest and greed, the disingenuous African leaders unashamedly jump in at the first opportunity.

Against this background, it follows that the lives of the ordinary citizens remain stagnant contrasted by the growing wealth of a small group of elites. In South Africa's case, the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor is increasingly evident more than two decades after the dawn of the democratic dispensation. Furthermore, the situation hinders racial relations and the fostering of social cohesion in South Africa as the minority continue to enjoy economic success whilst the black underprivileged majority continue to live under unacceptable conditions of perpetual poverty. This is partly attributable to the failure of the African National Congress (ANC) as a liberation movement, to come up with policies that foster social justice by redressing the imbalances of the past repressive regime. For Tuck and Yang, the failure to redress the injustices and atrocities of a repressive system renders any project of decolonisation to a state of a metaphor (2012:7). What, then, is the use of a decolonial rhetoric if the existential living conditions of the condemned, the usurped and the marginalised are not improved? The rent seeking African leadership operating in bad faith should be condemned for their complicit perpetuation of the damnation of the black majority. Against this background, the eruption of service delivery protests and the hashtag movements should be diagnosed for what they really are – their disdain for the current order.

Hence, the proposal by **Article 13** of a "new leadership paradigm" that could advance the ideals and values of African Renaissance (Salim 2015:13). Clearly, the current ilk of African leadership lacks the capability and moral conscience for socially and economically uplifting the peoples of Africa. As observed by **Article 6**, the majority of these leaders do not have the interests of the African peoples at heart but are complicit in the balkanisation of the continent for the continuation of neo-colonialism (Araoye 2013:27). For Maathai (2010:148), the current state of African leadership is attributable to factors such as the legacy of colonialism, the Cold War, post-colonial structures and cultural destruction. Although there are many factors involved with respect to the failure of African leadership, their

disregard of fellow Africans is evident. For this reason, these leaders cannot be the proponents of African Renaissance as they promote and advance its antithesis – the disunity of Africans. Against this background, Africa needs a new ilk of leaders who are conscious, authentic and are committed to the people-centred principle so that a truly decolonised Africa is achieved for the sake of Africa's people and generations to come. Of course, this truly decolonised Africa should prioritise social justice that comes with economic emancipation. Until the attainment of the latter, political emancipation means nothing.

Having interrogated, discussed and expanded on the themes of coloniality, decoloniality, apartheid, African Renaissance and the challenges of the continent of Africa, I draw conclusions for this particular study, hereunder.

### 6.7 Conclusions

Based on the above discussion, this dissertation concludes that *The Thinker* highlights the plight and atrocities of the system of coloniality and its implications for the African subject. Through its three dimensions, namely; coloniality of power, knowledge and being, coloniality perpetuates the subjection of an African. The subjection manifests through the imposed binaries of among others, superior/inferior, civilised/uncivilised and good/bad. This subjection has ramifications insofar as the colonised perceives the world, including his/her sense of consciousness. Furthermore, the ontological being of the African subject is repressed and thus polluting the African's state of being. This individual is thus marginalised, condemned and relegated to a zone of non-being characterised by a myriad of lacks and deficiencies. Consequently, the humanity of an African subject is constantly questioned. For this reason, the African subject is confronted with the hostilities of the anti-black world. Hence, the authentic consciousness of the African eludes him/her as his/her true being is polluted with ramifications for his/her mental subjectivity.

Moreover, the logic of apartheid ideology sought to further subject the black African by imposing repressive policies that entrenched and cemented the marginalisation of this subject. Furthermore, I argue, the system of apartheid perpetuated the colonial matrix of power, if not taking it to the next level. The overt

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acts of marginalisation, violence, torture and racism that came with apartheid system attest to its categorisation as an inhuman system. The system inflicted collective trauma, which the nation is still reeling from despite its dismantling. In addition to the colonial wound, the legacy of a brutal structure of power of apartheid remains visible despite its demise.

Given the impact of coloniality and apartheid on black South Africans, a liberatory trajectory must be forged in order to confront these undesirable legacies. For this reason, post-apartheid discourses are meant to provide a context in order to understand and perhaps figure out how the African subject can liberate him/herself from the entrenched colonial frameworks. More so, because these repressive frameworks naturalise and normalise the status quo with the motive of keeping the colonised as inferior and a subservient of the modern capitalist system. Hence, the call for an authentic liberatory framework that is capable of consciously transforming the minds and psyches of the ex-colonised. Importantly, decolonisation should emancipate and liberate the African subject to affirm his/her authentic being, ontology and self-consciousness. Hence, to liberate the racialised, marginalised and condemned African subject, the process of epistemic disobedience should be enacted.

The process of epistemic disobedience involves the practice of border thinking – that is to think from the silenced localities that are perceived to be outside of western hegemonic categories of thought (Mignolo 2006:33). De-linking from the repressive colonial matrices of power is inevitable and crucial. De-linking dictates that a re-linking should take place. Due to its validation of African philosophy, worldview and cosmology, the notion of African Renaissance could be a de-linking option. Against this background, African Renaissance could be employed to foster and advance the notion of Africanisation to dismantle the advent of coloniality and apartheid. However, an authentic decolonisation can only be attained if issues of African leadership and economic emancipation are addressed. The problem with the leadership that operates with bad faith as it entrenches the suppression of the marginalised African subjects, pertains to the continued socio-economic stagnation of the continent. Hence, an authentic

leadership that understands and acknowledges the legacies of coloniality and apartheid, is required if social justice for the marginalised is to be attained.

### 6.8 Summary

This chapter provided a more nuanced interpretation of the findings that were presented in the previous chapter. The interpretation and discussion followed a thematic structure that was outlined in chapter five. The themes analysed were coloniality, decolonial turn, apartheid, African Renaissance and the challenges facing the continent of Africa. The chapter revealed how interrelated the various discourses are as one phenomenon is the causation of the other with ramifications for those at the receiving end. Apartheid is an extension of coloniality and the former prompts decolonial discourses in order to address and redress the aftermath of colonialism. Some of the challenges faced by Africans such as socio-economic issues can be attributed to the brunt of coloniality and, to an extent, apartheid. Another obstacle pertains to the issue of African leadership that is criticised for being corrupt and some of them possessing overt or covert dictatorship tendencies. Although the problem of bad leadership is not uniquely African, it remains a stumbling block for African prosperity and development of the continent. This type of leadership operates in bad faith and as such perpetuates the marginalisation of Africans. This dissertation's final chapter – chapter seven – renders an overarching concluding discussion to the study in its entirety.

### CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

#### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a summary of the main findings of the study, as well as a brief discussion of the concluding remarks are rendered. The chapter takes to provide answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study. Furthermore, recommendations for future research are proposed.

The main purpose of this study was to determine the nature of post-apartheid discourses as represented in *The Thinker* magazine. Furthermore, the study sought to establish whether said discourses pertain to the notion of decolonisation and/or African Renaissance. The study further aimed to establish if the magazine in question promotes a decolonial agenda with the concept of African Renaissance as a de-linking option. The main argument presented in this project is that *The Thinker* grapples with the legacies of apartheid and coloniality by promoting African Renaissance as an emancipatory and liberatory discourse in order to attain decolonisation.

The researcher used a constructivist approach as a philosophical lens to understand the phenomenon under study. This paradigm holds that no fixed reality exists as reality is subjective and assumes multiple guises, and individuals create their own reality bound by their own contexts and circumstances. Two theories, namely cultural studies and Foucauldian discourse theory were used to explain the phenomenon under investigation. Cultural studies was used due to its appreciation of the notion of contextualism. As Grossberg (1992:255) notes, a practice or an event does not exist without the context that constitutes it. As such, I sought to give an extensive account of the post-apartheid discourses in order to explain the status quo. For this reason, radical contextualism was employed to explain and understand the topic at hand. Against this backdrop, discourses of apartheid, coloniality, decoloniality and African Renaissance were interpreted, interrogated and explained by foregrounding their context in order to elucidate the nature, conditions and situations that constitute their existence. Applying the tool of radical contextualism and Hall's model of articulation in the study of these

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discourses, juxtaposing both Foucauldian discourse theory and cultural studies; provided insights in understanding the discourses in question.

### 7.2 Summary of findings

This dissertation grappled with five main themes, namely; *coloniality*, *apartheid*, *decolonial turn*, *African Renaissance* and *the challenges facing the continent of Africa*. The study revealed the undesirability of coloniality as it perpetuates the subjection, marginalisation, usurpation, subjugation and dispossession of the African individual. Coloniality is manifest in three dimensions, namely coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Coloniality of power involves the act of controlling the economy characterised by dispossession, exploitation of labour and control of natural resources. The coloniality of knowledge pertains to the universalisation of western epistemology and imposing it to the colonised world. The coloniality of being ensures the subjectivity of the colonised to advance and perpetuate his or her inferiority. The current global system uses its systemic machinery to perpetuate and normalise the status quo wherein the state of being and consciousness of the African individual are compromised and polluted.

In addition, according to *The Thinker*, the system of apartheid entrenches the repressive logic of coloniality; however, its force was more explicit as reflected and its formulation of segregation policies characterised by its economic exclusion of the black majority. Apartheid's objective was to ensure the marginality and usurpation of the black race. The legacy of apartheid continues to be felt to this day despite the advent of a new dispensation that is supposed to improve the lives of the marginalised. The legacy of apartheid is entrenched and embedded. Apartheid is thus responsible for the current socio-economic inequities that led to one group being privileged at the expense of the dominated majority. Against this background, coloniality and apartheid necessitate for a trajectory that is reflected by the struggles for freedom, liberation, equality and justice for the marginalised subjects. Hence, the call for a decolonial turn.

Thus, for *The Thinker*, decoloniality should aim to dismantle the brutality of coloniality and, to an extent, that of apartheid. The best place to start is the decolonisation of the mind characterised by an act of breaking the psychological

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hold that came with the colonial era. A colonised mind is alienated and conditioned not to criticise European history and epistemology thus perpetuating the subjection and domination of the colonised. Coloniality and apartheid instilled the notion of inferiority that infiltrated the consciousness of the African subject. Another aspect of decoloniality involves what is called epistemic disobedience. In addition to the transformation of the education system, a radical overhaul of the current Euro-American epistemology is significant. For this reason, pluriversality of epistemologies should be advanced as no knowledge should be silenced. Against this background, the call to decolonise the curricula offered by universities in Africa is justified.

Hence for *The Thinker*, to achieve decolonisation, a de-linking option is required, and African Renaissance can be used in that regard. The call for African unity was evident as far as African Renaissance is concerned. African unity was also advanced by the founders of the OAU such as Mwalimu Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah. The unity of Africans is regarded as a condition for the advancement of African courses, be they economic or liberatory. This unity should be forged by advocating for the regional integration of various African states to facilitate for the development of the continent. It is further noted that pan-Africanism will ultimately uplift the current socio-economic conditions thus in the process defeating the brunt of neo-colonialism that continues to show its ugly head. It is also noted that ubuntu should be used to connect the people of Africa as it advocates for the notion of people-centredness and the centrality of humanness. Furthermore, African integration should be fostered by the regional formations such as OAU, AU, NEPAD and Agenda 2063 to promote inclusive growth, sustainable development and, ultimately, a prosperous Africa.

However, *The Thinker* highlights challenges that hinder the progress and prosperity of the continent. Unconscious African leadership is regarded as a major obstacle for Africa's progress. This group of elites use their power to further marginalise the people of Africa. These leaders exploit African resources for their own self-enrichment at the expense of poor Africans. They display latent or overt authoritarian tendencies coupled with acts of corruption. For this reason, African unity is highly unlikely to be attained as long as these kinds of leadership are at

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the helm as they fail to advance the principle of people-centredness as espoused by the spirit of ubuntu. Against this background, Africa's contemporary challenges of economic stagnation, civil wars, abject poverty and social injustices are bound to be persistent.

### 7.3 Concluding arguments

This study sought to determine the representation of post-apartheid discourses in *The Thinker* magazine and whether these pertain to the concept of decolonisation and/or African Renaissance. The quantitative content analysis phase of data collection established the prevalence and prominence of *coloniality*, *apartheid*, and *decoloniality* as some of the dominant thematic categories. I used these results to conduct a detailed thematic analysis of these dominant categories. As a result, the emergent themes elucidated a clearer picture with regard to the magazine's representation of certain messages. This study argues, therefore, that the magazine consciously promotes liberatory messages as it navigates the terrain of coloniality. As such, this study demonstrated that quantitative techniques (in this case, quantitative content analysis) can be carried out within a decolonial research. Thus, highlighting the significance of quantitative techniques in the process; as this study proved that quantitative data can be used as a foundation for further hermeneutical/interpretivist decolonial analysis (see Chapter 4).

#### ***7.3.1 Traversing the terrain of coloniality and apartheid***

In order to forge a liberatory trajectory, it is pertinent that elements of historicity are confronted as Foucault notes that historical conditions play a big role in the construction of contemporary social structure. Furthermore, the historical context that leads to contemporary narratives and discourses should be problematised. Therefore, the contemporary dominant narratives that shape post-apartheid South Africa are born out of the repressive system that plunged the black subject to a perpetual act of othering. In elucidating on coloniality, **Article 28** remarks:

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The current world system was constructed and constituted into asymmetrical and modern power structure. It delves deeper into how the world was bifurcated into a 'Zone of Being' and 'Zone of Non-Being' maintained by invisible 'abyssal lines' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a:11).

Similarly, **Article 26** explains the workings of marginalisation and dehumanisation of black individuals:

When blacks were brought to the Western world as slaves, some constitutions, policies, laws and institutions in Europe and America completely stripped black people of their humanity on the basis that it was not possible to define black people as people (Serote 2010:41).

The above statements demonstrate that the state of coloniality originates from the West and it was imposed on the so-called 'uncivilised' people with dire consequences for the latter. The domination of this group of people was justified given the fact that they were considered sub-human at some point. Ironically, for colonial powers, the atrocities inflicted on the colonised were carried out in the name of civilisation. For modernity brought with it nothing but misfortune and condemnation for the marginalised individuals. The so-called modernisation concealed its repression of Africa and the rest of the Global South community:

It is a long living global power structure that sentences Africa and the Global South to a zone of nonbeing that is populated by the people whose lives are punctuated with "lacks" and "deficits" of values and knowledges that have to be forced upon them by the prefects in the West (Mpofu 2013:11).

Although the overt methods of usurpation and dispossession are no longer practiced, the pollution of an African mind is enacted through the use of structural institutions. As the products of a repressive system, the institutions in question reproduce the normalising practices of indoctrination. Modern African subjects are thus confronted by coloniality in schools, colleges, churches and universities as sites of power normalisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11). The education system is one modality of indoctrination as it systematically works on the individual's psyche from a young age all the way through adulthood. By the time the individual enters the world of work, he/she will have already internalised the values of the system. Against this background, the coloniality of knowledge is

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very dangerous as it sought to undermine African value systems by elevating Europe as superior (Makwindi 2010:37). The system of apartheid ensured that the indoctrination is cemented by constructing an education system that is tailor-made for the inferior African mind in the form of Bantu Education. Of course, the apartheid system introduced a plethora of other repressive policies and laws that were meant to relegate the black individual to the margins. The repressive system of apartheid explains the current socio-economic inequities that characterise the South African society. In light of these observations, *The Thinker* confronts the historical conditions that were brought by the impositions of coloniality and apartheid in order to understand and engage with the contemporary social structure and the implications for the black African individual. For an authentic liberatory project to transcend the hegemonic structures, a deeper understanding of the conditions that led to the subjugation of the African is pertinent and necessary. In order to make connections between the advent of modernity and the undesirability of the current world system, the historical context becomes crucial in this regard.

Against this background, it follows that after highlighting the atrocities of coloniality and apartheid, a neutral stance cannot be a logical step in this context.

### ***7.3.2 The promotion of decolonial discourses***

Given the fact that dominant discourses reproduce and perpetuate the status quo that is fraught with elements of disenfranchising the black subject, the latter is well within her/his right to seek for a liberatory intervention. It must be mentioned that the ramifications of the imposed European modernity that polluted an African mind and psyche, reinforced the inferiority status of the African subject. For this reason:

Decoloniality is born out of a realisation that ours is sustained not only by colonial matrices of power but also pedagogies and epistemologies of equilibrium that continue to produce alienated Africans who are socialised into hating Africa that produced them, and liking Europe and America that rejects them (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013c:11).

The African subject is conditioned to repudiate his/her Africanness for it is fraught with deficiencies and lacks and to validate the Eurocentric thought and

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perspective. Paradoxically, the African is bound to be alienated by the hegemonic system as it dehumanises him/her in the process. A decolonial trajectory starts with the mind for it is a difficult process of psychological revolution. This is due to a repressive colonial education system that indoctrinated and brainwashed the Africa mind into believing his/her inferiority in order to sustain the status quo. Hence, the call for the transformation of the education system, which should include the changing of the current curriculum:

The decolonisation of African education system content, system and focus should be used to replace the colonial tendencies and mindset thereby re-Africanising Africans in Africa and the diaspora (Nkabinde 2014:58).

The re-Africanisation of the education system should be enacted with authenticity so that it allows for the possibility of transcending the entrenched western thought by drawing inspiration from philosophical and theoretical insights of African scholars. Furthermore, the incorporation of indigenous knowledges is crucial in re-affirming the authenticity of an African thought and philosophy. The process of transforming the education system needs the buy-in from all stakeholders including the professoriate as it involves aspects of self-awareness, self-consciousness, commitment and the appreciation of the undesirability of the Euro-American epistemology. The engaged professoriate should play a leading role in theorising the decoloniality project in relation to the transformation of the curriculum. In other words, an engaged scholar should assume the role of a change agent that understands and appreciates the ramifications of the colonial matrices of power that suppress the ex-colonised. It follows, then, that decolonial projects should be enacted with authenticity as opposed to being effected in bad faith. Authenticity for Sartre (1956:64) requires more courage, conviction and self-consciousness. Given the fact that the Eurocentric education system in its current form marginalises and suppresses other knowledges and further affects the psyche of the ex-colonised; the rejection of Eurocentric rationality becomes the next logical step. Thus, the enhancement of the mechanisms, frameworks and modalities of a decolonial trajectory – a de-linking option – is pertinent.

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### ***7.3.3 African Renaissance as a de-linking option***

As described in the literature, a de-linking option allows for “border thinking” which entails thinking from localities deemed to be in the margins (Mignolo 2006:33). In other words, a de-linking process is a conscious decision that involves thought and action of repudiating the entrenched colonial matrices of power. This is, therefore, a decolonial thinking that is characterised by “alternative mappings of the human through different geographies of nature and epistemic apparatuses” (Luisetti 2012:50). African Renaissance, in this context, can serve as a conduit through which a decolonial process can be attained. The reason for this could be that the project of African Renaissance is premised on the paradigm of Afrocentricity. The Afrocentric perspective holds that reality should be explained from the vantage point of an African within a global context. Hence, the need to put into context the African reality in forging authentic responses to the African situation. For this reason, a point of departure should be the interpretation of phenomena from an African perspective and the rejection of Eurocentric rationality is crucial. The latter alienated Africans from their worldviews, cosmology and historical realities. As the assertion below emphasises:

The African Renaissance therefore seeks to retrench the principal euro-centric and other external ideational structures that constitute the foundations of the dominant order that has always defined the peripheral locus and irrelevance of the black world in the universe (Araoye 2013:28).

For this reason, an African narrative should be told through authentic African voices. Against this background, an African renewal should be sought in restoring the dignity, identity, humanity, consciousness and agency of an African who is constantly confronted by the hostile world. The latter, through the othering of a black individual, sustains the narrative of a sub-human.

As such, the unification of Africans is central in achieving the ideals of African Renaissance. African unity becomes essential given centuries of oppression that involved in most instances, the tactics of ‘divide and rule’. This assertion enunciates the centrality of African unity in the context of African Renaissance:

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For well over a century, the broad African liberation movement, including the African Diaspora, has recognised the importance of the integration and unity of Africa as a vital strategic imperative for the achievement of the liberation and renaissance of Africa and Africans (Mbeki 2013b:16).

Therefore, true liberation and emancipation are attainable if the unity of Africans could be forged and advanced. It follows, then, that given the richness of this continent in terms of natural resources; a united front would leverage this position by protecting these resources for the benefits of the Africans. Furthermore, a people-centred approach should inform every decision that involves the lives of the people of Africa. Hence, the call for ubuntu as a people-oriented initiative that is anchored on the principle of humanness – the appreciation and acknowledgement of everyone’s humanity. Hence, a justifiable critique of the self-enriching, corrupt and power-hungry African leadership; some of them have presided in gruesome genocides and internal wars with ravaging consequences for the prosperity of the continent. These types of leaders are complicit in the oppression and dispossession of Africans as they collude with neo-colonial forces to advance their malicious interests at the expense of Africans who remain poor and destitute. The leaders in question are thus not different from their colonial masters.

Furthermore, these problematic leaders render African regional agencies such as the AU, SADC and others toothless as they fail to tackle pertinent challenges facing the African continent which is, ironically, rich in natural resources and human capital. Instead of using these regional organisations to peer review one another and to call implicated parties to order, protection is given to those leaders in the wrong. Hence, the failure by African leaders to attain African unity, which is pertinent and crucial for self-determination insofar as the liberation of an African is concerned. Against this background, an authentic African leadership that is rooted in Afrocentric perspective is needed. This leadership should be conscious and appreciative of the historical context that Africa finds itself in, in order to avoid the advancement of neo-imperialist and neo-apartheid goals. If a decolonial thought that de-links Africans from the brunt of colonial matrices of power is not

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purposely applied, there is bound to be a continuation of the marginality bestowed upon Africans.

### 7.4 Recommendations for future research

This dissertation is of the view that discourses on decoloniality should be allowed to take centre stage for authentic decolonisation to take place. However, there has been criticism of the abstract nature and theory heaviness of these discourses and related concepts. Against this background, this project recommends more research on the pragmatic applicability of decolonial interventions with regard to the modalities of their implementations. As such, I maintain that reception studies are key in this regard in order to determine how these messages are decoded and made sense of by the people they wish to impact. Furthermore, it will be interesting to determine how a layperson understands and grapples with the concepts of coloniality and decoloniality insofar as their existential living conditions are concerned. Therefore, conducting interviews with ordinary citizens in this regard should yield interesting results given the impact of these aspects on their lived experiences and realities. That being said, I maintain that communication research in Africa should endeavour to impact positively on the lives of Africans. This type of research should present an original academic theorisation that accords agency whilst at the same time engaging and critiquing the entrenched Euro-American epistemologies (cf. Moyo & Mutsvairo 2018:22). I have attempted in this study to present a rigorous analysis of the data by providing empirical evidence augmented by the adoption of the principle of interdisciplinarity. Against this background, I suggest that this particular project has a potential of contributing to a body African scholarship that addresses and engages African conditions and situations. Furthermore, the study grappled and engaged with issues of social justice within the South African context. Moreover, the study contributed to the benefit of archiving and documenting of South African contextual developments as represented by *The Thinker*.

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### **7.5 Conclusion**

The chapter began by outlining a summary of the main findings of the study. It then presented a brief outline of concluding remarks. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted the contributions to knowledge made in the process of conducting this research. In addition, the chapter provided answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study. It concluded by discussing recommendations for future research.

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## APPENDIX A: Selected articles

### APPENDIX A

#### LIST OF ARTICLES SELECTED

| Article | Author                        | Title   | Year  |
|---------|-------------------------------|---|-------|
| 1       | Mbulelo Vizikhungo<br>Mzamane | <i>Where there is no vision the people perish: reflections on the African Renaissance</i>           | 2013  |
| 2       | Ntongela Masilela             | <i>The crisis of African languages in the context of the formation of modernity in South Africa</i> | 2012  |
| 3       | Garth le Pere                 | <i>The African union's agenda 2063: building block or false dawn?</i>                               | 2010  |
| 4       | Thabo Mbeki                   | <i>The African union at 10 years old: a dream deferred</i>  | 2012  |
| 5       | Reneva Fourie                 | <i>Celebrating Africa day of decentralization and local government</i>                              | 2012  |
| 6       | Ademola Araoye                | <i>The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in the context of the African Renaissance</i>           | 2013  |
| 7       | Wally Mongane<br>Serote       | <i>Indigenous knowledge systems: verification and validation</i>                                    | 2012  |
| 8       | Ademola Araoye                | <i>The African Renaissance and the prophetic genius of Mazisi Kunene</i>                            | 2016  |
| 9       | Thabo Mbeki                   | <i>Tasks of the African progressive movement</i>  | 2013b |
| 10      | Brown Bavusile<br>Maaba       | <i>We are all Africans</i>  | 2010  |
| 11      | Njongo Ndungane               | <i>Transforming the future: visionary leadership making a difference</i>                            | 2010  |
| 12      | Thabo Mbeki                   | <i>Africa must unite – an imperative of our time</i>  | 2013a |

## APPENDIX A: Selected articles

|    |                                     |  |      |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|------|
| 13 | Salim Ahmed Salim                   | <i>Defining the leadership paradigm for a new Africa</i>   | 2015 |
| 14 | Sibonginkosi Mazibuko               | <i>The Marikana massacre: a challenge to the black gold based economy: exposure of state coloniality and labour aristocracy?</i> | 2013 |
| 15 | Msizi Khoza                         | <i>The African renaissance: the role of African young professionals</i>  | 2011 |
| 16 | John Lamola                         | <i>Mbeki redefines African Renaissance</i>   | 2013 |
| 17 | Njongo Ndungane                     | <i>A continent with a future full of hope</i>  | 2010 |
| 18 | K Phala                             | <i>A century of the notorious 1913 Land Act</i>  | 2013 |
| 19 | Mamosa Motjope & Boniswa Madikezela | <i>For a gender balanced pan-African education</i>   | 2013 |
| 20 | Felix Makwindi                      | <i>Changing the tides of Africa</i>  | 2010 |
| 21 | William Mpfu                        | <i>Coloniality in Africa: entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge</i>                                       | 2013 |
| 22 | Mongane Wally Serote                | <i>An African vision: over the shoulder and upfront</i>  | 2013 |
| 23 | Mashupye Maserumule                 | <i>Tinkering on the edge of the decoloniality discourse - #FeesMustFall and the missing professoriate</i>                        | 2016 |
| 24 | William Mpfu                        | <i>African intellectuals: suspects or assets?)</i>   | 2011 |
| 25 | Christopher Mlosy                   | <i>Africa in 21<sup>st</sup> century: the path to sustainable growth and development</i>   | 2010 |
| 26 | Mongane Wally Serote                | <i>History, memory and democracy an exploration</i>  | 2010 |

## APPENDIX A: Selected articles

|    |                        |  |       |
|----|------------------------|--|-------|
| 27 | Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni | <i>Eurocentrism, coloniality and the myths of decolonisation of Africa</i> | 2013b |
| 28 | Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni | <i>Decolonising the University in Africa</i>                               | 2013a |
| 29 | Mas'ood Haffejee       | <i>Black skin, white masks: still relevant on South Africa today?</i>      | 2012  |
| 30 | Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni | <i>Why decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century</i>                    | 2013c |
| 31 | Senzo Nkabinde         | <i>Decolonising an African mind</i>  | 2014  |

**APPENDIX B: Coding sheet**

**APPENDIX B: CODING SHEET**

**ARTICLE:**

**AUTHOR:**

**YEAR**

| <b>CATEGORY</b>                     | <b>FREQUENCY</b> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| <b>1 PAN-AFRICANISM</b>             |                  |
| <b>2 AFROCENTRICITY</b>             |                  |
| <b>3 AFRICAN WORLDVIEW</b>          |                  |
| <b>4 THE REBIRTH OF AFRICA</b>      |                  |
| <b>5 THE EMANCIPATION OF AFRICA</b> |                  |
| <b>6 COLONIALISM</b>                |                  |
| <b>7 SUBALTERN</b>                  |                  |
| <b>8 MIMICRY</b>                    |                  |
| <b>9 AMBIVALENCE</b>                |                  |
| <b>10 APARTHEID</b>                 |                  |
| <b>11 IMPERIALISM</b>               |                  |
| <b>12 COLONIALITY</b>               |                  |
| <b>13 EPISTEMOLOGICAL CRITIQUE</b>  |                  |
| <b>14 DECOLONIAL TURN</b>           |                  |
| <b>15 AFRICAN CHALLENGES</b>        |                  |
| <b>16 OTHER</b>                     |                  |