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Decolonial reconstruction: A framework for creating a ceaseless process of decolonising South African society

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Law

in the

FACULTY OF LAW

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Under the supervision of:

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December 2019

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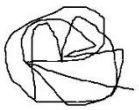

Dedication:

I dedicate this dissertation to all those who have fought against the atrocities of colonialism and who continue the fight against neocolonialism. I want to thank Tshepo, my supervisor, for his friendship and mentorship throughout this process. I also dedicate this to my friends and family who have supported me throughout my journey. I want to specifically mention my Mom Serna, my Dad Chris, Retha, and Saffron. I want to give my Dad a special thanks for editing my dissertation, without which I would not have been able to finish this project.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the notion of decolonial reconstruction to promote the decolonising process in South Africa. Decolonial reconstruction entails the creation of a new South African society through a clear paradigmatic shift from a Eurocentric one to a decolonising paradigm. Decolonising is required in South Africa due to its colonial past, as well as the fact that contemporary South African society is neocolonial. In order to change the neocolonial *status quo*, it is necessary to create a decolonising framework. For the purposes of this dissertation the framework will be applied to South African universities. Universities are the focus because they exist as microcosms of the broader South African society. A tetralogy of books by Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o provide the blueprint for the four aspects of the decolonising framework. These four aspects are: decolonising the mind; moving the centre; re-membering Africa; and globalectics. Decolonising the mind addresses the fact that in order to begin decolonising one must start with the minds of the coloniser and colonised and begin to shift their minds away from a colonial or neocolonial paradigm. In terms of the second aspect of the decolonising framework, it is necessary to move the centre away from Eurocentrism towards a multiplicity of centres. Another aspect of the decolonising framework is re-membering Africa, this is pertinent as Africa underwent dismemberment through colonialism which brought about epistemicide. As a result, it is necessary to put African cultures and epistemologies back together by re-membering them. The final aspect of the decolonising framework is to enter into global dialectics so that cultures and epistemologies can learn from each other and come to coexist in a pluraversal world. Through applying this framework to South African universities, they can undertake a decolonising process of decolonial reconstruction that will make them into pluriversities which promote harmony and coexistence.

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction, contextualisation, and terminology

1.1 Introduction

Almost 300 million years ago there was a supercontinent that incorporated almost all the land masses on Earth.[1] This supercontinent was called Pangea which is the Greek word for 'all land'. Slowly through millions of years of tectonic movements, this giant landmass broke apart and the continents drifted away from each other to become the world we know. This physical representation of the world breaking apart and separating from a single land mass to become fragmented is a useful analogy for what happened to the world and specifically to Africa as a result of colonisation. African cultures and ways of life were broken apart by colonialism and became fragmented. This fragmentation was on two levels, first, African cultures were fragmented from each other, and secondly, African cultures were also internally fragmented. These fragmented pieces need to be reconnected so that they can become one again. Decolonial reconstruction[2] will make it possible to undertake a process of creating a harmonised world that will be like a new Pangea, not only an 'all land', but a land for all. In order to achieve this harmonised world a plurality of knowledge systems, paradigms, and cultures needs to be embraced. This is why the decolonising process strives to achieve a pluriversal society.[3]

The first premise of this dissertation is that South African society has not yet achieved a comprehensive process of decolonising. South Africa is still far removed from comprehensively addressing the colonial structures that remain existent, and therefore it is not yet possible to successfully undertake a process of decolonising South African society and universities. The people of South Africa have felt the effects of colonialism for over four centuries and as a result are still heavily impacted by the country's colonial past. In the mid to late 1900s South Africa was under apartheid rule which ensured that there was oppression in the form of segregation and discrimination based on race, and this continues in contemporary South Africa.

[1] "Pangea: Supercontinent," Encyclopaedia Britannica, last modified June 25, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/place/Pangea.
[2] Reconstruction as it is understood in this dissertation will be defined below.
[3] Pluriversality will be defined below.

Given the fact that South Africa still faces these major challenges, the second premise of this dissertation is that in post-1994 South Africa we exist within an era where neocolonialism[4] is the *status quo*. This neocolonialism manifests in the legislation of South Africa. Examples include; laws regarding illegal gatherings, spacial laws and land rights, as well as the lived realities of many South Africans who are subject to institutionalised racism which exists in many aspects of South African society. Fundamentally, the 1996 Constitution of South Africa falls short in addressing past injustices and was enacted after a negotiated compromise with the previous regime. These premises set the tone of this dissertation and will be further explored and justified in the chapters that follow.

Stemming from the dissatisfaction with the neocolonial *status quo*, student movements at universities across South Africa have, primarily since 2015, taken up the call to decolonise education and decolonise South Africa. Having been involved in the student movements during the student protests in 2015 and 2016, I interacted directly with the discourse around decolonisation within the student movements. This discourse was dominated by calls for decolonial destruction[5] and deconstruction[6] with the overarching message being that of Fallism[7]. Whilst both decolonial destruction and deconstruction are valid ways of enacting the decolonising process, I have found that they focus on either the removal or dismantling of coloniality and neocolonialism. They do not speak to what needs to follow from this and that is why I propose the approach of decolonial reconstruction which will focus on what must succeed the deconstruction and destruction in the decolonising process. Certain aspects of the colonial and neocolonial society must be removed completely, such as institutionalized racism, and hence the call for decolonial destruction. Other aspects simply need to be dismantled but still have components which are useful such as a colonial education system, which, although it should not be Eurocentric, contains parts of Western knowledge that should still be taught. This is one example of the need for decolonial deconstruction. I will put forward the argument that in both cases, that of destruction and deconstruction, the next step of the decolonising process is to undertake decolonial reconstruction.

[4] Please note that neocolonialism is given a comprehensive definition below.
[5] For the purpose of this dissertation decolonial destruction is defined as the decolonising process whereby colonial and neocolonial structures and concepts are destroyed or removed.
[6] For the purpose of this dissertation decolonial deconstruction refers to the decolonising process whereby colonial and neocolonial structures and concepts are dismantled.
[7] Fallism refers to the student movements in South Africa who took up various causes in which they called for things to fall. Two examples of these movements are #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall.

I posit that students and decolonial authors do not emphasise reconstruction enough when addressing the need to change the *status quo.* This has driven me to look at the notion of decolonial reconstruction. I therefore intend to create a framework for reconstruction which will provide a ceaseless process of decolonising the South African society. However, for the purposes of this research, it is not possible to address the entirety of South African society within this framework. I am therefore going to focus my research on universities in South Africa as spaces where the student movements are fighting for decolonisation within South African society. In doing so, I have no intention to pigeonhole the framework or confine it to universities but will rather use South African universities as an example for the framework. This is possible because universities are microcosms of South African society and because they are spaces where decolonial youth movements are active. This is particularly relevant given that my research was motivated by #FeesMustFall and other student movements.

The starting point of this examination is accessed by approaching the problem with reference to the work of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. I have elected to use the following four of his books because of how they complement each other and the approach to decolonisation that they lay out (which I discuss further below): *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986); *Moving the Centre: the Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (1993); *Re-membering Africa* (2009); and *Globalectics: Theory and the Politics of Knowing* (2014). Madlingozi notes that these four books form a tetralogy that deal with the theme *Mayibuye iAfrika* ('Return Africa')[8]. The notion of returning Africa is understood as returning Africa to the hands of its indigenous people; who are the rightful owners of both the land, as well as its narrative. This is fundamental to the process of decolonisation. In order to create harmony and coexistence in Africa, there needs to be a process of decolonisation and this process is set out by Ngũgĩ in his tetralogy. Before further exploration of the above issues is possible, I will explain a number of key terms which will be used in this dissertation.

1.2 Terminology

1.2.1 Colonialism

According to Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "(c)olonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation,

[8] Tshepo Madlingozi, "Mayibuye iAfrika? Disjunctive Inclusions and Black Strivings for Constitution and Belonging in 'South Africa'" (PhD diss., University of London, 2018) 23.

which makes such nation an empire."[9] Furthermore, Aníbal Quijano explains that colonialism entails, "a relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination [which] was established by the Europeans over the conquered of all continents."[10] Given these explanations, in this dissertation colonialism will be used to refer to the process through which Western powers expanded their empires into the global South through colonial conquest. This conception of colonialism refers specifically to the initial colonisation which occurred over the previous five centuries. A different term will be used to explain the contemporary *status quo* in countries which obtained independence from colonial powers, but still feel the effects of aspects of colonialism that remained after independence.

1.2.2 Coloniality

Whereas colonialism was a specific process of colonial conquest, "coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism."[11] In this sense coloniality is a contemporary manifestation of an oppressive system which came about as a direct result of colonialism.

It must, however, be noted that:

> "Coloniality emerges in a particular socio-historical setting, that of the discovery and conquest of the Americas. For it was in the context of this massive colonial enterprise, the more widespread and ambitious in the history of humankind yet, that capitalism, an already existing form of economic relation, became tied with forms of domination and subordination that were central to maintaining colonial control first in the Americas, and then elsewhere."[12]

This shows that coloniality is the manifestation of colonialism in a contemporary Americas context. Whilst there are similar situations around the world its point of origin is the Americas. Therefore, in this dissertation neocolonialism will be used to refer to the contemporary manifestation of colonialism in an Africa and specifically in a South African context. Neocolonialism is further defined below. Notably, where coloniality is referred to in this

[9] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality Of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (207): 243.
[10] Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," *Cultural Studies*, 21, no. 2 (2007): 168.
[11] Maldonado-Torres (n 9 above) 243.
[12] Maldonado-Torres (n 9 above) 243.

dissertation it is comparable to neocolonialism as the concepts are similar and only differ in that coloniality stems from a Latin-American context.

1.2.3 Decolonial and decolonise

The term 'decolonial' will be used to refer to anything pertaining to decolonisation; and 'decolonise' will be used to refer to the action that is carried out through the process of decolonisation.

1.2.4 Decolonisation

Due to the pluralistic nature of this dissertation it is apt to discuss a number of explanations of decolonisation as it is a concept which has a multitude of meanings, all of which contribute to how it is understood in the dissertation.

Quijano explains that:

> "It is the instrumentalisation of the reasons for power, of colonial power in the first place, which produced distorted paradigms of knowledge and spoiled the liberating promises of modernity. The alternative, then, is clear: the destruction of the coloniality of world power."[13]

This explanation refers to decolonisation as destruction, as was mentioned above, and is one of the aspects of decolonisation discussed in this dissertation.

Maldonado-Torres on decolonisation:

> "With decolonization I do not have in mind simply the end of formal colonial relations, as it happened throughout the Americas in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. I am instead referring to a confrontation with the racial, gender, and sexual hierarchies that were put in place or strengthened by European modernity as it colonized and enslaved populations through the planet. In short, with decolonization."[14]

Here Maldonado-Torres refers to confronting the hierarchies that are put in place through colonialism and its emphasis on European modernity. This will be dealt with in the third chapter which deals with moving away from European modernity and Eurocentrism (which is explained below).

Mogobe Ramose explains that decolonisation:

[13] Quijano (n 10 above) 177.
[14] Maldonado-Torres (n 9 above) 261.

> "[S]peaks to the restoration of title to territory and sovereignty over it. It includes the exigency of restitution. It would bring the conqueror to renounce in principle title to South African territory and sovereignty over it. In this way sovereignty would revert to its rightful heirs. The conqueror's South Africa would be dissolved. This would then lay the basis for state succession."[15]

Ramose thus provides an explanation of another important aspect of decolonisation which deals with the restitution of territory, and thus sovereignty, and speaks to the notion of an Africa for all.

Linda Tuhiwai-Smith denotes that:

> "Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes."[16]

Tuhiwai-Smith highlights an important element of decolonisation. The fact is that decolonising does not mean doing away with all that is different but rather means striving for the pluriversality of world views and the promotion of harmony within society. Moreover, Tuhiwai-Smith refers to centring understanding on our own perspectives and this relates to the concept of a multiplicity of centres which will be discussed in the third chapter.

Achille Mbembe provides an explanation of decolonisation which makes specific reference to universities:

> "To decolonize the university is therefore to reform it with the aim of creating a less provincial and more open critical cosmopolitan pluriversalism – a task that involves the radical re-founding of our ways of thinking and a transcendence of our disciplinary divisions."[17]

Given the above explanations it is clear that to decolonise is to embark on the process of the removal of a colonial system. This means colonial and neocolonial systems enforcing paradigmatic shifts away from Eurocentrism. This can happen in many different ways and all the above conception of decolonisation will be addressed in this dissertation with specific

[15] Mogobe Ramose, "An African Perspective on Justice and Race," *Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy,* 3 (2001):14-15.
[16] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2013), 39.
[17] Achille Mbembe, "Decolonizing the University: New Directions," *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 15, no. 1 (2016): 19.

reference being made to Mbembe's conception and the decolonising of South African universities.

1.2.5 Decolonising

The term decolonising is an adaption of the word decolonisation. This term has all the same connotations as decolonisation; however, it indicates that the process of decolonisation is ongoing. Decolonising does not entail a finite process of decolonisation whereby a colonial system is removed, replaced with a decolonial one, and then the goal is achieved. Instead in terms of decolonising, decolonisation is an ongoing process. It is ceaseless and can thus never end as the *status quo* must constantly be changing and improving. Thus, there is no set end goal such as a decolonised society, only one that is constantly decolonising.

1.2.6 Epistemicide

Epistemicide is a word that originates from the combination of epistemology and genocide. Epistemology deals with the theory of knowledge and knowledge creation and therefore epistemicide entails a destructive process whereby knowledge systems and knowledge are killed or destroyed.

De Sousa Santos explains that:

> "The destruction of knowledge (besides the genocide of indigenous people) is what I call epistemicide: the destruction of the knowledge and cultures of these populations, of their memories and ancestral links and their manner of relating to others and to nature. Their legal and political forms – everything – is destroyed and subordinated to the colonial occupation."[18]

Epistemicide is a trademark of colonialism and ties into a world where there is a hegemonic Eurocentric paradigm that dominates knowledge creation at the cost of all other knowledge systems.

1.2.7 Eurocentric

Eurocentrism is the perspective that the dominant paradigm is a Western one that promotes a Western way of thinking, living, and knowledge production. This came about as follows:

> "During the same period as European colonial domination was consolidating itself, the cultural complex known as European modernity/rationality was being constituted. The intersubjective

[18] Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South and the Future: Justice against Epistemicide* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 18.

> universe produced by the entire Eurocentered capitalist colonial power was elaborated and formalized by the Europeans and established in the world as an exclusively European product and as a universal paradigm of knowledge and of the relation between humanity and the rest of the world."[19]

Eurocentrism entails a hegemonic system which dominates all alternative ways of thinking about things and disregards any alternative knowledge systems. A Eurocentric paradigm has become the *status quo* through colonialism and remains as such in the neocolonial societies across the world. As a result, Eurocentrism allows for the protection of neocolonial systems and leads to the suppression of alternative ways of thinking and living, all to the detriment of such different perspectives.

1.2.8 Neocolonialism

Given the above conceptions of colonialism and coloniality it is important to explore the notion of neocolonialism. Colonialism is the colonial conquest that occurred in the past whilst coloniality is a power matrix that survives colonialism and that emerged in a Latin-American context. Kwame Nkrumah first coined the term neocolonialism. He explained that:

> "Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem, but it is everywhere on the retreat. Once a territory has become nominally independent it is no longer possible, as it was in the last century, to reverse the process. Existing colonies may linger on, but no new colonies will be created. In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neocolonialism…The essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."[20]

Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, neocolonialism is the term that will be used to refer to the contemporary iteration of colonialism in South Africa that exists in the form of external control of the economic system and political policy. A further explanation of how neocolonialism exists as the *status quo* in South African will be provided in the following chapter.

[19] Quijano (n 10 above) 171.
[20] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1965), 1.

1.2.9 Pluriversality and Pluriversal

Pluriversality is a term that exists as a countermeasure to universality. Notably, pluriversal refers to anything that has to do with pluriversality. Ramón Grosfoguel first conceived this concept, and explains that:

> "The 'pluri' as opposed to the 'uni' is not to support everything said by a subaltern subject from below, but a call to produce critical decolonial knowledge that is rigorous, comprehensive, with a worldly-scope and non-provincial."[21]

John Lamola further explains that the, "pluriversalism, whereby all knowledge systems as emerging from diverse geo-cultural regions of the world are accorded equal recognition and respect, is a critical transformative imperative for contemporary academic philosophy."[22] Universality is the idea that there is a single overarching viewpoint whereby everything must fall under this single paradigm. Pluriversality, conversely, is the notion that there can be a coexistence of multiple paradigms and that there is no single dominant paradigm or system, but rather a multiplicity of systems or paradigms. This allows for the coexistence of different ways of thinking and living and promotes the creation of a harmonised way of life where no single system or perspective takes priority over others. Pluriversality thus ties directly in with the analogy of Pangea which was discussed above and points towards the creation of a harmonised world.

1.2.10 Reconstruction

Reconstruction, used in the context of this dissertation, refers to the comprehensive process of rebuilding a broken society. As has been noted above, through decolonial destruction and deconstruction, colonial and neocolonial society is taken apart, with certain aspects of it being destroyed. This then means that a broken society is all that remains. This society is incongruent in that certain useful aspects of the former society will remain whilst others will have been removed. In order to address this and strive towards a South Africa which is whole, it will be necessary to take these fragments and build a new society. This is the process of reconstruction. Reconstruction in this sense is not reform, neither is it about reverting to a pre-colonial paradigm. Reconstruction entails the creation of a new space through a clear paradigmatic shift.

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[21] Ramón Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Western Uni-versalisms: Decolonial Pluri-versalism from Aimé Césaire to the Zapatistas," *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 3 (2012): 101.

[22] John Lamola, "Peter J. King and the Transformation of the Philosophical Canon: An Africanist Appreciation," *Phronimon*, 16, no. 1 (2015): 12.

Reconstruction can further be explained as the need to start afresh and construct a new paradigm. Thus, it is a process of reimagining and recreating society in a way that removes the hegemonic Eurocentric paradigm.

Kuanda and Kuanda explain that:

> "A decolonial reconstruction is a way of engaging in the process of decolonising, liberating and redesigning the existing, but dysfunctional and colonial-shaped structures through intercultural and pluralistic dialogues, for an interchange of experiences and meanings rearticulated from diverse indigenous histories."[23]

Notably, this explanation highlights the need for pluralistic dialogues which align with the notion of pluriversality. This is further discussed in the fifth chapter on creating global dialogues through globalectics. Additionally, Kaunda and Kaunda also note the need for a focus on diverse indigenous histories which is another vital aspect of the decolonising process which will be explained in the following chapters.

The following sections will introduce the research and lay out what the rest of the dissertation will entail.

1.3 Motivation

Having discussed some of the main terminology used in this dissertation, it is now appropriate to move on to the crux of this research. Decolonisation has become increasingly topical in South Africa over the last few years. As evidenced above, decolonisation has a variety of explanations, all of which are relevant to this research. Decolonisation is therefore a process of returning land to indigenous peoples, restoring indigenous sovereignties, and redistributing wealth; amongst other restorations to the indigenous peoples of a colonised or neocolonised state.[24]

Restoration as mentioned above in its various forms, is required in South African society. The student protests at universities across the country brought this issue to the forefront of contemporary discourse, especially among the youth. This arose from the #RhodesMustFall

[23] Chammah J. Kaunda and Mutale Mulenga Kaunda, "Mobilising Religious Assets for Social Transformation: A Theology of Decolonial Reconstruction Perspective on the Ministry of National Guidance and Religious Affairs (MNGRA) in Zambia," *Religions* 9 (2018): 10-11.
[24] Tshepo Madlingozi, "On Settler Colonialism and Post-Conquest Constitutionness: The Decolonising Constitutional Vision of African Nationalists of Azania/South Africa" in *Forthcoming Book*, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016), 5-12.

movement which led to the #FeesMustFall movement and subsequently to widespread calls for decolonised higher education across South African universities. Beginning in 2015, this was my first interaction with the debates and discussions relating to decolonisation. It gave me first-hand experience with the student movements and provided me with an experiential understanding of the issues facing young South Africans. These experiences piqued my interest in decolonisation, and I wanted to learn more about it. Motivated by these experiences, in 2017, I elected to write my final-year LLB dissertation on decolonisation. The topic which I chose to explore looked at how post-colonial systems in South Africa marginalise black people, with specific reference to the Fallist movement.[25] Through this research I came to realise that a large part of the discourse about decolonisation was predominantly focused on trying to explain and justify the need for decolonisation. Along with this there were constant calls by Fallists at universities to remove various things like colonial statues and names, to do away with Western ways of doing things, and to dismantle systems of oppression. Having accepted that this process of decolonisation should occur, I began to question what should follow this initial process of decolonisation. This led me to pondering the notion of decolonial reconstruction.

Initially I found that there was little to no engagement on the notion of reconstruction in the Fallist movement. As a result, I felt compelled to continue my research on decolonisation by looking into decolonial reconstruction. As defined above, decolonial reconstruction means the comprehensive process of creating a new, pluriversal society from one which has been broken apart through colonialism and remains broken through neocolonialism. Reconstruction in this sense is not reform, neither is it about reverting to a pre-colonial paradigm. Decolonial reconstruction entails the creation of a society that has a multiplicity of centres as opposed to the current neocolonial paradigm of a dominant single centre. Furthermore, decolonial reconstruction is a deliberate paradox. This is because decolonisation can be conceived as focusing on deconstruction and destruction and therefore one would not generally connect it with the concept of reconstruction. However, that is exactly my argument, that in order to further the decolonising process it is necessary to provide an additional perspective that is based on creating a new society through reconstructive decolonising.

Whilst there are discussions of a process of decolonisation in South Africa society, and specifically in institutions of higher learning, such discussions do not focus on decolonial

[25] In this dissertation I reject the notion of post-colonial, as will be discussed below. But at the time I had not yet come to this understanding.

reconstruction. This needs to be addressed and I intend to look at some of the key aspects of the decolonising process and to formulate them into an approach which can be applied to South African universities as microcosms of the broader society. I will therefore be exploring different literature on decolonisation which relates to decolonial reconstruction.

Due to the focus that Fallist movements placed on decolonisation, decolonial discourse has become one of the most relevant and weighty issues in contemporary South African politics and academia. Therefore, by formulating an approach which focuses on decolonial reconstruction, this research can contribute to the scholarship; add to the discourse; and even change the narrative of decolonial thought. Through this research I will come up with an approach to the decolonial project which provides a different perspective to the issues at hand, one which is based on reconstruction and not simply deconstruction and destruction.

1.4 Research problem

In South Africa numerous calls have been made for institutions, policies, and curricula to be decolonised. This has manifested in what I perceive as two forms of decolonising, namely decolonial destruction and decolonial deconstruction. 'Decolonial destruction' here means a focus on the complete removal of systems and institutions which continue to perpetuate the injustices of the country's colonial history through any means necessary. Matthias Pauwels refers to this approach to decolonisation as "decolonial philistinism."[26] Pauwels speaks of the student protests of 2015 and uses the term to refer to, "the employment of extreme, confrontational, crude, and violent cultural strategies of contestation, such as vandalism, destruction, and removal of cultural artefacts from the colonialist or apartheid era."[27] He also notes that, "(t)he fundamental reproach is that, in resorting to the destruction of artworks and monuments, protesters are employing counterproductive, even self-defeating strategies to achieve their decolonial aims."[28] I disagree with this response to the use of violence which characterises it as counterproductive, and believe that a more nuanced understanding of violence is required.

For the purpose of this dissertation, I understand violence to be more than blatant physical violence. Violence can take many forms and need not be material. Abstract violence can also

[26] Matthias Pauwels, "In Defense of Decolonial Philistinism: Jameson, Adorno, and the Redemption of the Hatred of Art," *Cultural Politics* 13, no. 3 (2017): 326.
[27] Pauwels (n 26 above) 326.
[28] Pauwels (n 26 above) 332.

occur where for example a person's use of their home language is proscribed. Here physical violence may not have been used but there is an underlying violence which impacts one's psyche. In terms of a Fanonian approach to violence, Fanon explains that decolonisation "is always a violent phenomenon" because colonisation was perpetrated through violence and the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised has always been a violent one.[29] Fanon therefore proposes that in order to overcome colonialism, decolonisation must be violent as it is contesting a violent space. Speaking to Fanon's discourse on violence Sekyi-Otu explains that:

> "Fanon appears to envision the violent insurrectionary jettisoning of an alien text, relishing the exacting prospect of a new beginning, an original writing upon a slate wiped clean [*table rase*] of the conqueror's Word. Thus construed as restitutive justice, as the reconquest by a people of its authorial responsibility, decolonization is 'a program of complete disorder'."[30]

Sekyi-Otu thus contends that decolonisation should not be seen as an inherently violent act. Instead he explains that, "rather, we are here witnesses to a cosmogonic event, present at the creation: 'Decolonization is the veritable creation of a new humanity'."[31] This view of decolonisation aligns itself with the conceptions of decolonisation in this dissertation whereby emphasis is placed on creating harmony and coexistence rather than violent overthrow of the neocolonial *status quo*.

In addition to decolonial destruction, decolonial deconstruction also plays an important role in the decolonising process. The Derridean conception of deconstruction is based on recalling the history of a concept or theme.[32] For this essay deconstruction takes on a different meaning. It refers to a process which seeks to dismantle the systems of oppression methodically and focuses on how to remove certain aspects or iterations of the system without destroying it completely.[33]

In South Africa and many other colonised countries, colonialism still exists in its contemporary manifestation as neocolonialism. This hegemonic *status quo* needs to be removed and replaced. This can be done through decolonial destruction but decolonial deconstruction is another way

[29] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963) 35.
[30] Ato Sekyi-Otu, *Fanon's Dialectic of Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 50.
[31] Sekyi-Otu (n 30 above) 50.
[32] Leonard Lawlor, "Jacques Derrida," *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy,* last modified July 30, 2019, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/derrida/.
[33] Michael Bongani Reinders, "The marginalisation of black South Africans within a post-colonial western system, with specific reference to the Fallist movement" (LLB diss., University of Pretoria,2017), 23-29.

in which this can be done through dismantling the oppressive systems. Decolonial deconstruction in this case focuses on what must 'fall' or be removed. I accept that decolonial destruction and deconstruction are two ways in which to go about decolonisation. However, I believe that this is only part of the process and is not enough to ensure that there is an effective decolonising process. I therefore intend to focus on how a decolonising process should take place through decolonial reconstruction.

Thus far, decolonial discourse has focused on both destruction and deconstruction with a large amount being written about what is wrong with the system and why it should change. Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o and Walter Mignolo are two of the authors who have written about this. They discuss moving the centre away from Eurocentrism and delinking from western modernity, respectively. These authors and others will be discussed below. Despite there being extensive discourse about changing the systems, I believe that the notion of decolonial reconstruction needs to be further explored as a way to embark on a decolonising process. In order to better understand this concept a number of decolonial authors will be analysed to extract their conceptions of decolonising and how they relate to decolonial reconstruction. This highlights the need for a synthesis of the various decolonial perspectives in order to create a coherent framework for decolonial reconstruction at South African universities.

I will explore how universities can become pluriversities by applying the decolonising framework to South African universities. History continually shows that replacing a wrongful system without proper thought can lead to another wrongful system being adopted and how easy it is for there to be the imposition of one hegemony for another. Examples of this are the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution of 1905, Zimbabwe's liberation movement, and even South Africa's post-1994 dispensation, as I will explain below. This is a vicious cycle which needs to be broken. This can arguably be done by applying a ceaseless decolonising process which constantly seeks to ensure that the system is progressively changing towards becoming more pluriversal. The process must be ceaseless in order to prevent backsliding of the system to a colonial one. Additionally, decolonisation is not an end goal that can simply be arrived at. Instead it is the ongoing process of questioning the *status quo* and changing it to be more pluriversal and should thus be a continuous process.

Along with the existing literature on how to decolonise, priority should be placed on the discourse relating to decolonial reconstruction. In order to do this, I engage this issue by attempting to formulate an answer to the question of what must rise once neocolonialism has

fallen and how it can rise. The neocolonial *status quo* in South Africa needs to be changed. Many argue that after Apartheid ended in 1994 so did colonial oppression, but I dispute this. As Ndumiso Dladla states:

> "[A]lthough 1994 is popularly represented as a year of major transition from an oppressive society to a democratic one in South African history, it did not mark the end of White Supremacy but instead its evolution from one constitutional form into another."[34]

Accepting that this *status quo* is problematic, there is still a lot of work to be done to effect substantive change in the country. White supremacy is an example of one of the remnants of the colonial system that exists within neocolonial South Africa. This is clearly shown by Madlingozi when he explains that:

> "The second manifestation of a state of anti-black bifurcation is the fact that the post-1994 constitutional dispensation has failed to fundamentally transform the existential and cultural situation in which many black South Africans feel that they do not have a sense of full belonging as South Africans."[35]

The decolonising process is necessary to address the bifurcation of South Africa and to create a sense of full belonging. This must be done in the whole of South Africa but first it will be necessary to explore how this can be done in South African universities.

From the above, it is evident that colonialism still manifests itself in contemporary societies in several ways. Also, the notion that colonialism ended and that we are in a time after colonialism, is erroneous. Colonialism as it was known in centuries past may no longer exist, but newer iterations of colonial dominance and oppression still exist today. This is the case in South Africa wherein the society still operates in a neocolonial way.

Thus, there is a need for the clear reconstruction of a broken society into one that is decolonising. Acknowledging that the project of decolonisation is an ongoing process, thought should still be given to the results this process could produce. This dissertation thus aims to create a decolonising framework which can bring about decolonial reconstruction as well as to conceive how this can be implemented in South African universities. This will be done through

[34] Ndumiso Dladla, "Towards an African Critical Philosophy of Race: Ubuntu as a Philo-praxis of Liberation," *Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religions* 6, no. 1 (2019): 39.
[35] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 6.

basing the framework on four pillars which stem from the work of Kenyan author, theorist, and academic Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. This framework will be discussed below.

1.5 Significance of study

Many contemporary discourses on decolonisation exist which focus on the process of decolonisation. Such examples are Ngũgĩ and Mignolo who were referred to above. Within a number of these discourses focus has been placed on trying to understand what decolonisation is and how to define it, as well as to determine whether it is necessary. I will undertake to add to the discourse around decolonisation in South Africa by focusing specifically on decolonial reconstruction at South African universities.

This research project takes an unorthodox approach, one that intends to progress the contemporary discourse on decolonisation. I will do this through consolidating the different approaches to decolonisation into an overarching process which can effectively be applied to South African society, by creating a framework applicable to South African universities. I therefore accept the need for decolonisation and will focus on the 'how' of decolonising South African universities, and in turn the broader society. In order to contribute to the progression of this field of study, the issues that then arise consist of how to commence the process of decolonising within the framework of decolonial reconstruction and exploring what the outcomes of this process of decolonising might be. The significance of this study is its focus on decolonising being action-oriented and solution driven.

In order to create this shift, I have chosen to focus on the work of the decolonial author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. The work of Tshepo Madlingozi first attracted me to the writings of Ngũgĩ.[36] Ngũgĩ's way of writing is encapsulating as he uses effective allegories and examples to get his points across. I find that this writing style compliments its decolonial subject matter as his writing embodies decoloniality by using a plurality of ideas that move away from Eurocentrism. Furthermore, he is deeply reflective of himself and his writing and constantly seeks to be decolonising. This approach of decolonising is exactly what I want to embody in my work and I thus find that Ngũgĩ is the ideal starting point. I will be using his work as a blueprint for my research, I will further explain how this is to be done in my literature review below.

[36] Madlingozi (n 8 above) 23.

1.6 Objectives of study

The objectives of this study involve addressing the different elements of the decolonising framework. The first objective is to explore the need for reconstruction as a process that follows from decolonial destruction and deconstruction. The second objective is to explore how colonialism can be overcome through the process of decolonising the mind. The third objective is to evaluate the way in which Eurocentrism can be removed through moving the centre to a multiplicity of centres. The fourth objective is to argue that in order to start the process of reconstruction there must be a re-membering of Africa in order to create a society that it is based on the openness and harmonisation of intertwined cultures. The final objective is to propose that once reconstruction has occurred decolonising ought to be an ongoing process which constantly creates pluriversality. The first objective is the overarching theme of this dissertation and the other four objectives interlink to create the four main pillars of the decolonising framework which has been inspired by Ngũgĩ's tetralogy.

1.7 Methodology

The methodological approach to this research will stem from three sources which are interconnected in how they are applied to the research. The first methodology that will be applied is the historical approach. In this research study it is of vital importance that there is a clear understanding of the history of the various issues. This approach will be used to contextualise the research by looking to the past to explain colonisation as well as how this has led to the project of decolonisation which has brought us to this stage of the contemporary decolonial discourse.

Second, throughout the research a critical theory approach will be applied in order to analyse history and texts. This is important due to the Eurocentricity of history as well as the fact that there is a lot of writing on colonisation and decolonisation. It is thus necessary to be critical of the literature and approach it through a decolonising lens. This approach links to the final approach which is a decolonising approach.

Finally, given the subject matter of this research it is pertinent to adopt a decolonising approach in conducting the research. The rationale behind this approach is to uncover the fact that colonisation is ongoing and to thus validate indigenous or Southern knowledge systems and methods. It seeks to create a framework of pluriversality wherein there can be a coexistence of different approaches and methods.

1.8 Limitations

The first limitation that exists regarding this study is the fact that while decolonial authors discuss different aspects of the decolonising process, they do not necessarily refer to decolonial reconstruction explicitly. Given that there has been a lot of literature on decolonisation and on the different elements of the process, I will have to review the different approaches that have been suggested and synthesise them.[37] While this may not be a major limitation and more of an opportunity for my original contribution, I am flagging it as a limitation. This is because I want to be aware that I am making this original contribution within the context of the broader decolonial discourse.

The second limitation is related to terminology. I am willing to contend some of the current conceptions, but I do not want to conflate terms or contradict myself by using certain concepts incorrectly. I will thus be careful not to do this throughout my research. This will have to be addressed by clearly defining and contextualizing each technical word to ensure that the meaning is properly conveyed. The definitions of my main terminology are listed above in this chapter and the clear defining of these and other terms will continue throughout my dissertation when technical or nuanced terms arise.

Another limitation is the fact that there are many critics of decolonisation who do not agree with it as a concept or approach and often call for a justification of the need for decolonisation. My research is based on the generally accepted premise that there is a need for decolonisation. Therefore, critics may want to delegitimise my research by arguing that I still need to prove that there is a need for decolonisation and detract from my focus on decolonial reconstruction. In order to address possible criticisms in this regard, I will spend some time explaining the historical context and need for decolonisation despite it not being my focus.

A further limitation is my heavy reliance on the work of Ngũgĩ. Whilst his tetralogy is the skeleton for my framework it is important that his work is not viewed as incontrovertible. It is therefore also necessary to identify the shortcomings in Ngũgĩ's work, areas that I think could have been expanded upon, and areas where I disagree with what he has written.

[37] However, it must be noted that for the purposes of this study it will not be possible to review all approaches and I have thus selected a few based on their relevance to the framework that is laid out by the Ngũgĩ tetralogy.

The final limitation which will be a challenge to me is to not simply summarise and critique the sources I am using; I must explore criticisms of each source as well as use multiple sources to address different aspects of the framework.

1.9 Chapterization

Chapter 1 provides explanations of the main terminology in this dissertation. The first chapter also explains the motivation for my research and contextualises the research problem, using the analogy of the story of Pangea, and locates it within the context of student movements in South African universities. The significance and objectives of the study are also discussed and the methodology, limitations, and chapterization is provided, finally there is a brief overview of the literature study and what will be explored in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 focuses on the question of how to decolonise the mind. This chapter also focuses on everything that relates to the mind that is colonised. First, it will be shown how the minds of the African peoples are colonised. This will be linked to evidence that colonialism still exists as neocolonialism. Along with this there will be the examination of the relationship between language and decolonising the mind, the dichotomy of identities brought about by neocolonialism, Black Consciousness, and the psychology of decolonising the mind. The process of decolonising the mind at South African universities will then we explored and addressed.

Chapter 3 looks at the concept of moving the centre. Evidence will be set forth to show that along with decolonising the mind it is necessary to use this new perspective to change the system. In order to do this, Eurocentric hegemony must be overcome, and a shift must be made to a multiplicity of centres. There will be an exploration of the notion of delinking as part of moving the centre, whereby there is a delinking from Western modernity. An explanation of how this can be done will also be provided so as to allow for the existence of a multiplicity of centres which lead to pluriversality.

Chapter 4 focuses on the idea of re-membering Africa. Having contextualised decolonisation and started the process by decolonising the mind and moving the centre, it is pertinent to explore how to re-member. This requires a clear explanation of the systematic epistemicide that was perpetrated against Africans. There was a destruction of knowledge systems, traditions, cultures, and ways of life. In order for the decolonising process to continue there has to be a re-memberment of all that was dismembered. The process of reconstruction begins by

remembering as well as re-remembering an African culture of openness and intertwined cultures which can lead to harmonisation.

Chapter 5 explores the concept of globalectics. Following on from the previous chapters, this chapter seeks to show that there must be a ceaseless process of decolonising to move closer to achieving a pluriversality. In doing this we want to create a metaphorically connected world which is a pluriversality just as Pangea was a physically connected world. This can be achieved through multi-logues between different cultures and the promotion of cross-cultural discourse in the form of dialects. This will allow for the coexistence and harmonisation of all cultures within a society which promotes openness and acceptance. Also, in doing, this we need to constantly be cautious of the signs of sliding back to a system of hegemony and guard against this happening.

1.10 Literature overview

For me to properly address the above research problem I must situate my research within the existing literature. I will do this by identifying decolonial authors who are relevant to my topic and explain what they have written about decolonisation, specifically decolonial reconstruction. I will then identify the gaps in the literature and explain how my research aims to fill in these gaps.

My thesis is that there is an ongoing process of decolonisation in South Africa. Examples of this are: the move by universities to decolonise their curricula and change their language policies; the ongoing process of land reform and the focus on expropriation without compensation; the removal of colonial statues such as the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town; and the changing of place and street names. While it could be argued that some of these changes are superficial, they are part of the broader project of decolonisation in South Africa, and it is clear that a lot of these changes are happening at universities. This further validates my decision to use universities as a microcosm of society as a whole. Furthermore, this process focuses on deconstructing the colonial power matrix.[38] Mignolo explains that the colonial power matrix is based on the notion that Western modernity is a result of coloniality and therefore that the global modernities are in fact global colonialities.[39] It then follows that

[38] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), xv.
[39] Mignolo (n 38 above) 3.

the Western powers that control the global power matrix do so through a colonial power matrix. This power matrix must be dismantled through the decolonising of South African universities. I will show how this can be done through decolonial reconstruction; by applying a decolonising framework that strives towards creating pluriversities.

As noted above, I will be using the Ngũgĩ tetralogy as the blueprint for my examination of decolonial reconstruction. It is worth noting that these books were not written as a formal tetralogy. I have opted to adopt Madlingozi's approach of reading them as such. The titles of these four books (namely decolonising the mind, moving the centre, re-membering Africa, and globalectics), arguably, address the four elements of decolonisation that are key to the decolonising process I am proposing. I have therefore decided to use the title of each of the books as the title of a chapter in this dissertation, and, the content of each book will form the scaffolding for each respective chapter. Although the books could be perceived as following on from one another in a chronological way, the framework is more complex than this. For the purposes of writing the framework down, the chapters, and thus the books, will follow each other chronologically in the dissertation. There will, however, be references in each chapter to other chapters as the decolonial reconstruction process is interconnected and non-linear. The use of the tetralogy will also make it possible to synthesise the work of Ngũgĩ as well as other decolonial authors according to this blueprint.

The blueprint which comes from Ngũgĩ's tetralogy lays out the decolonising process as follows: first, one must decolonise the mind; secondly the centre (the Eurocentric *status quo*) must be moved; thirdly, it is necessary to re-member Africa; and finally, globalectics can be used to facilitate global dialectics and for the various peoples of the world to get into a global conversation on the decolonising process. The decolonising process thus, I propose, has four pillars which will be expanded through the examination of literature on decolonisation. In addition, this approach will be built upon in order to begin to articulate a method of decolonial reconstruction as my original contribution to the literature.

Working with the above blueprint, I will discuss each of the four pillars and the writings of decolonial authors that are relevant to each pillar. The authors who I will look at include (but are not limited to) Linda Alcoff, Steve Biko, Aimé Césaire, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, WEB du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Lewis Gordon, Derek Hook, Maria Lugones, Tshepo Madlingozi, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Achille Mbembe, Walter Mignolo, Mogobe Ramose, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, and Sylvia Wynter.

1.10.1 Decolonising the mind

In order to address the neocolonial *status quo*, the first step in the process of decolonising is through the decolonising of the mind. Ngũgĩ explains why this is necessary by showing what colonialism has done to Africa is dominate the minds of the colonised and their perceptions of the world.[40] This clearly shows that colonisers sought to dominate Africans through controlling their perceptions and ways of thinking, and thus their minds. The colonising of the minds of Africans was therefore integral to the success of colonisation. This then tainted the view that indigenous Africans had of themselves. They were taught, through imposition and violent means, to think of themselves as inferior and this made it easier for colonisers to dominate and oppress them. As a result, a colonial mindset became entrenched in Africa, and many continue to think from this perspective. This enables the systems of coloniality to perpetuate oppression and inequality. The minds that have been colonised will remain so unless something is done to redress the process of colonisation. It then follows that there is a necessity to decolonise the minds of all in order to begin the process of decolonising.

W.E.B. Du Bois is another author whose work is relevant to the process of decolonising the mind. Du Bois talks of the notion of double-consciousness which, "is a peculiar sensation…this 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."[41] This concept links to the above writings of Ngũgĩ in that it is a result of the mind being colonised. Additionally, Du Bois explains that the effort to attain a single consciousness by reconciling multiple identities takes its toll on the colonise, sometimes even making them feel shame about themselves.[42] This shows the necessity for decolonising one's mind in order to be able to overcome the dichotomous nature of one's identity that is suffered by so many struggling with double-consciousness.

Fanon writes on this subject noting that, "the black is not a man. There is a zone of nonbeing, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born."[43] The notion that the black man is a non-being links directly to colonial oppression and the way in which the identity of a black person is stripped away from them. This alienates one from society and is why reclamation of identity is necessary. For one to

[40] Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1992), 16.
[41] William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Abington: Routledge, 2015), 4.
[42] Du Bois (n 41 above) 6.
[43] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (London: Paladin, 1970), 10.

overcome this alienation and ascend to the zone of being, a person must first decolonise their mind in order to gain back their consciousness and thus their identity.

There are other decolonial authors who have contributed to the discourse on decolonising the mind. Steve Biko expounds the notion of Black Consciousness, which, amongst other things seeks produce black people who acknowledge their worth and do not simply seem themselves as on the periphery of white society.[44] Biko shows that we need to restore a high regard for blackness within the colonised mind in order to emancipate it; this is done through the process of decolonising the mind. Derek Hook writes on the psychology of the 'postcolonial' which is relevant to the notion of decolonising the mind. He talks directly of Apartheid in South Africa and the effect this has had on the minds of black South Africans.[45] Lewis Gordon explains that in order to reassert humanity of all it is necessary to reassert the humanity of those who have been oppressed.[46] Gordon makes it clear that the decolonising of the mind and re-humanising of Africans is not a simple task and it necessitates fighting against the system and its *status quo.*

1.10.2 Moving the centre

Ngũgĩ writes about moving the centre in the context of the need to shift away from a Eurocentric world order towards one that is more focused on African ways of life and knowledge systems. He explains that there has been a shift in the world with former colonised nations seeking to change the *status quo*.[47]

Ngũgĩ talks about moving the centre, with reference to literature, but the principles are applicable to the broader process of decolonising. He explains that postcolonial literature does promote a move to a multiplicity of centres which are as legitimate as European centres.[48] This principle is relevant as it shows how there must be a shift away from a Eurocentric world whereby other ways of life and thinking can be legitimised. Given the broad epistemicide that took place in Africa it is even more pertinent to re-establish knowledge systems and create

[44] Steve Biko, *I write what I like* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1978), 51.
[45] Derek Hook, "A Critical Psychology of the Postcolonial," *Theory & Psychology* 15, no. 4 (2005): 487.
[46] Lewis Gordon, "Problematic People and Epistemic Decolonization: Toward the Postcolonial in Africana Political Thought," in *Postcolonialism and Political Theory*, ed. Nalini Persram (United Kingdom: Lexington, 2007), 135.
[47] Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (London: James Currey, 1993), 3.
[48] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 8.

multiple centres. This is the essence of the decolonising process; there should not be one single dominant way of thinking, but rather, a pluriversality.

Following on from Ngũgĩ's conception of moving the centre, Mignolo expounds the notion of delinking from Western modernity. He shows that one must move away from the idea that Western thought is the only form of thought and must delink from this knowledge system because of its hegemonic nature.[49]

Gordon, when talking about how African philosophical thinkers can address the Eurocentric nature of society, explains that the project of decolonisation entails criticism of Eurocentrism.[50] This is a call to move away from a Eurocentric world towards one with a multiplicity of centres, within an African context. This would not entail the dominance of an African paradigm, as this is contra decolonisation. Instead, an African paradigm would contextualise a decolonising *status quo* which is pluriversal in nature and allows for a multiplicity of centres. There would no longer be a battle between a dominant Western paradigm and other paradigms as different paradigms would be equal and coexist as different approaches.

De Sousa Santos encapsulates the crux of this issue when he explains that there are alternatives in the world. He cites that the problem is that there are no alternative ways of thinking about these alternatives.[51] This means that due to a hegemonic Western paradigm there is little space for alternative ways of thinking about different paradigms. It must be noted that here I am not referring to decolonisation as an alternative, but rather, that there are different paradigms through which to view the world and that through decolonisation it is possible to acknowledge this multiplicity of views.

De Sousa Santos postulates that there is a much broader understanding of the world than one that is confined to a Western understanding.[52] In furthering this point he highlights the importance of giving credit to different kinds of knowledge.[53] We thus need to move the centre away from a Western hegemony towards a pluriversal world of coexistence. This idea of alternative ways of thinking about alternatives is exactly what I am doing through this dissertation. Decolonial reconstruction is an alternative way of thinking about alternatives to the Eurocentric *status quo*. It is thus my intention to address this dominant paradigm through

[49] Mignolo (n 38 above) 206.
[50] Gordon (n 46 above) 122-123.
[51] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 20.
[52] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 20.
[53] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 22.

creating a framework which recreates society outside of the confines of colonial thought and which enables society to move away from a single centre to a society based on pluriversality.

1.10.3 Re-membering Africa

This aspect is of vital importance as it seeks to address the epistemicide and dismemberment of Africa. Epistemicide is defined by de Sousa Santos as, "the murder of knowledge."[54] Ngũgĩ writes of the history of Africa and explains what colonialism did to Africa. With reference to the many atrocities committed against the African people he explains that these actions were central to colonialism and that these practices were, "characterised by dismemberment."[55]

This provides evidence of the severity of the effects of dismemberment on the African people, they had everything taken away from them and were then also oppressed and forced to work as slaves. Not only were they physically separated from their land and loved ones but the resulting existence and treatment they endured also had the effect of dismembering their minds and souls. According to Ngũgĩ the colonisers did not literally dismember Africans, but they carried out a figurative dismemberment by attempting to erase them from memory.[56]

When talking on how we might re-member Ngũgĩ explains that we need to re-member all of Pan-Africa. This process entails both remembering as a way of restoring memories as well as re-membering in the form of putting Africa and its peoples back together.

1.10.4 Globalectics

Ngũgĩ writes about Globalectics as a form of global dialectics. He explains the term to relate to a dialogue between multiple cultures on a global level. It aims to promote the connection between cultures, openness, and how cultures interact in a globalised world.[57]

Similarly, de Sousa Santos explains that we need to use intercultural translation to allow for different knowledge systems to interact without losing their individuality.[58] This is evidence of one of the ways in which globalectics can be created. Through implementing intercultural translation, it will be possible for different cultures to interact by coming to understand each

[54] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 145.
[55] Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Re-membering Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2009), 2.
[56] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 4.
[57] Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Globalectics: Theory and the Politics of Knowing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 8.
[58] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) "Intercultural translation consists in…identifying differences and similarities…strengthening alliances among social movements fighting, in different cultural contexts, against capitalism, colonialism, and sexism, and for social justice, human dignity, or human decency" 22.

other. This will prevent conflict between cultures and promote coexistence thus leading to a pluriversality. In a neocolonial world, a globalectical approach is necessary in order to overcome the hegemonic power structures of the west and to create spaces for dialogue between different cultures and knowledge systems. Similarly, to the aim of pluriversality, globalectics seeks to attain wholeness and interconnectedness. It is thus of extreme importance to the decolonising process.

As can be seen from the above, there is a lot of literature on the different elements of the decolonising process as per the Ngũgĩ blueprint. However, there is no clear decolonising framework based on decolonial reconstruction. I will thus embark on this research project in order to focus the discourse on decolonial reconstruction and create a critical synthesis of the theory that exists. I will do this by creating a decolonising framework that can be applied to South African universities as microcosms of the broader South African society.

Chapter 2 Decolonising the mind

Chapter two of this study derives its name from the book by Ngũgĩ titled *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature.*[59] Following the discussion of the terminology and introduction to the decolonising framework in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the notion of decolonising the mind and how this can be implemented in South African universities. Decolonising the mind is vital when it comes to approaching the decolonising of South African universities. Universities are spaces of learning and knowledge production and therefore, in order for these spaces to become decolonising, it is necessary for the people in universities namely students, academics, and administrative staff, to begin decolonising their minds.

This chapter will be structured according to the salient themes that have arisen during a review of the literature. I will begin by discussing the history of colonialism and neocolonialism, with specific reference to how they impact the process of colonising the mind. Thereafter, I will explain how this plays out in South African universities as microcosms of the broader society. Given this context, it will be possible to explore the variety of issues linked to decolonising the mind as well as the positions of various authors regarding these issues. In terms of decolonising the mind, the first issue which will be addressed is language and decolonising the mind. Second, the dichotomy of identities that arise from a colonised mind will be discussed. Third, black consciousness and restoring an African identity will be addressed. Fourth, the psychology of decolonising the mind will be explored. And, finally, there will be a discussion of the practical implications that the process of decolonising the mind will have on universities and how this process can begin at South African universities.

2.1 Colonising the mind

2.1.1 Understanding the impact of colonialism and neocolonialism on the mind of the colonised

> "Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental

[59] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above).

> universe of the colonised, the control through culture of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world."[60]

The above quote by Ngũgĩ, describes the role that colonising the mind took in the colonial process. The mental universe of the colonised was dominated in order to promote the broader process of colonisation. This resulted in the colonised having their way of thinking controlled, as well as their knowledge production and identity becoming prohibited, in order for the colonisers to more easily oppress them. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the effects of this colonial process in contemporary South Africa create a neocolonial *status quo*. In order to begin to address this neocolonial *status quo*, the colonising of the mind should be counteracted. The quote above clearly shows that colonisers sought to dominate Africans through controlling their perceptions and ways of thinking, and thus their minds. They succeeded in doing this for the most part. The exceptions to this were those who resisted the colonising of their minds and the suppression of their cultures and memories. The suppressed cultures and memories of Africans will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Despite these exceptions, many people continue to have colonised minds in contemporary South Africa.

Maria Lugones explains how part of colonisation was to implement a civilising mission. This had a negative impact on the colonised in that:

> "The civilizing transformation justified the colonization of memory, and thus of people's senses of self, of intersubjective relation, of their relation to the spirit world, to land, to the very fabric of their conception of reality, identity, and social, ecological, and cosmological organization."[61]

Many of these impacts will be discussed throughout this dissertation, but this chapter will focus on the impact of colonisation on people's senses of self, their conception of reality, and identity that Lugones refers to.

In terms of the colonisation of the mind, colonial languages were imposed upon African children through socialisation and education which forced assimilation into a Eurocentric education system. This resulted in what Ngũgĩ calls colonial alienation which entails "the disassociation of the sensibility of that child from his[/her] natural and social environment."[62] This alienation will be discussed later in the chapter. What is notable is that the effect of this

[60] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 16.
[61] Maria Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," *Hypatia* 25, no. 4 (2010): 745.
[62] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 17.

colonial education was that it led to many young Africans growing up being taught a tainted view of Africa and of themselves. Ngũgĩ provides an example of this:

> "One of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gĩkũyũ in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment…or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY…A button was initially given to one pupil who was supposed to hand it over to whoever was caught speaking his mother tongue. Whoever had the button at the end of the day would sing who had given it to him and the ensuing process would bring out all the culprits of the day. Thus children were turned into witch hunters and in the process were being taught the lucrative value of being a traitor to one's immediate community."[63]

This shows how African children were taught to hate themselves and others who promoted African languages and knowledge. This was done through a violently imposed colonial education system which aimed to force them to think of themselves as inferior and this made it easier for colonisers to dominate and oppress them. As a result, a colonial mindset became entrenched in Africa and many continue to think through this perspective, making it easier for neocolonial systems to perpetuate oppression and inequality. The minds that have been colonised will thus remain so unless something is done to redress the process of colonisation.

In addition to the Africans who were colonised, the colonisers and their descendants also think in a colonial way and are also slaves to a neocolonial mind set in contemporary South Africa. It therefore follows that it is necessary to decolonise the minds of all, in order to begin the process of decolonisation. The practicalities of decolonising the mind will be discussed below with specific reference to South African universities.

As further evidence of the effects of colonialism, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith explains how part of colonialism was to promote that:

> "One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization. By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself. In other words we were not 'fully human'; some of us were not even considered partially human."[64]

[63] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 11.
[64] Tuhiwai-Smith (n 16 above) 25.

This conception of not being fully human is a key aspect of the colonisation of the mind. The colonised were thus dehumanised by the coloniser and this led to the colonised being treated as subhuman. This concept is explored further below with reference to Fanon and his conception of the zone of non-being.

De Sousa Santos writes that, "colonialism is a system of naturalizing differences in such a way that the hierarchies that justify domination, oppression, and so on are considered the product of the inferiority of certain peoples and not the cause of their so-called inferiority."[65] De Sousa Santos explains that colonialism naturalises differences. This can be understood to mean that differences are taken for granted as a way to explain inferiority. The logic dictates that one is inferior because they are different and does not capture the reality that just because someone is different, it does not mean that they are inherently wrong or inferior. This once colonial, and now neocolonial, perspective is an extremely dangerous perspective as it traps the colonised in a state of non-being. Their sub humanity is rationalised through their very existence as a seemingly inferior race. This rationale is logically flawed but that does not make it any easier to challenge it. This perspective has become so entrenched that it seems logical to the colonisers, and their descendants, and even to some of the colonised who unconsciously accept that they are inferior. In order to overcome this, there must be a break from this way of thinking through decolonising the mind and rewriting the narrative in order to expose the fallacies of colonialism. Below there will be an exploration of the ways to approach decolonising the mind. First, it is necessary to understand decolonising the mind in the context of South African universities and why it is warranted on university campuses.

2.1.2 The need for decolonising the mind at South African universities

The colonising of the mind did not happen in a vacuum and, in fact, took place in many colonial institutions such as universities, where colonial perspectives were entrenched in the minds of all people in the institutions. Universities are institutions which produce knowledge and educate students according to generally accepted perspectives. In South Africa, for decades, the accepted perspectives were colonial and thus promoted the colonial paradigm of superiority which entailed colonising the mind of the white minority to believe in their own superiority and the inferiority of Africa and Africans. These perspectives still remain dominant in most

[65] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 18.

contemporary South African universities and thus perpetuate a neocolonial *status quo* at universities across South Africa.

When talking about the colonising of the mind through language and education, Ngũgĩ refers to a report that came out of a conference in Nairobi in 1974 titled: *Teaching of Literature in Kenya Secondary Schools-Recommendations of the Working Committee*. In the report, the essence of the effect of colonial education is captured very well through stating that, "the colonizer's values were placed in the limelight, and in the process, evolved a new African who denied his original image, and exhibited a considerable lack of confidence in his creative potential."[66] The report indicates that colonialism through its implementation of a Eurocentric education system meant that Africans had their culture and language stripped from them. This was an extremely traumatic experience and was integral to the successful epistemicide of African cultures and languages in order to colonise the minds of Africans.

Following the notion, above, that all minds must be decolonised, it is necessary to also note that there are different perspectives when it comes to decolonisation. South African society is made up of a myriad of cultures, perspectives, and beliefs, and this makes the project of decolonising considerably challenging. Ngũgĩ gives examples about the importance of acknowledging that there are numerous perspectives.[67] He talks about students sitting in a lecture hall who would all describe the lecture hall differently because of sitting in different places. He also tells the story of the seven blind men who were asked to describe an elephant, after interacting with its different body parts, and how each description was vastly different.[68] These examples show that it is vital that we are aware of different perspectives, and instead of seeing others as bad, difference should be used as an opportunity to learn from one another and broaden our perspectives. Where alternative perspectives differ too much, there must at least be an ability to understand that there are other perspectives, and that this is not necessarily a bad thing. Accepting heterogeneity is in line with decolonising the mind and is an approach that South African universities should strive for. This is also the approach that will be adopted throughout this dissertation.

Mbembe addresses colonisation and decolonisation within the context of South African universities. When discussing decolonisation, he refers to Ngũgĩ by saying that decolonisation

[66] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 100.
[67] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 88.
[68] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 88.

"is a struggle over what is to be taught; it is about the terms under which we should be teaching what - not to some generic figure of the student, but to the African 'child'."[69] These attitudes towards decolonisation and education are extremely relevant to the context of this dissertation. Universities as spaces of learning need to adopt a decolonising process so that they can participate in the fight against neocolonialism by teaching the African child in the best ways possible. South African universities need to be cognitive of their context and accept that as African universities they must prioritise the education of the African student.

Mbembe makes this direct reference to decolonising the university:

> "Furthermore – especially for black staff and students - it has to do with creating a set of mental dispositions. We need to reconcile a logic of indictment and a logic of self-affirmation, interruption and occupation. This requires the conscious constitution of a substantial amount of mental capital and the development of a set of pedagogies we should call pedagogies of presence."[70]

The idea of creating a set of mental dispositions is a good example of a strategy for decolonising the mind and indicates how important this process is in the universities of South Africa. Mbembe calls for the constitution of pedagogies of presence, which relates to the idea that there must be decolonising epistemologies and mindsets that promote the African context as the starting point of education, from which to view other cultures. This is in opposition to a Eurocentric pedagogy that prioritises Western epistemologies at the cost of all others.

Mbembe also holds that "to tease out alternative possibilities for thinking life and human futures in this age of neoliberal individualism, we need to connect in entirely new ways the project of non-racialism to that of human mutuality."[71] This aligns with the notion of prioritising a community-based outlook which enables one to interact with others. This interaction then allows for the understanding of difference as well as the acceptance that multiple cultures and epistemologies exist. Such acceptance allows for the creation of a pluriversal university that can overcome racism and colonial mindsets and promote coexistence.

South African universities are institutions which promote neocolonial and Eurocentric education and this emphasises the need for the decolonising of universities. It is thus necessary

[69] Mbembe (n 17 above) 16.
[70] Mbembe (n 17 above) 6.
[71] Mbembe (n 17 above) 28.

to explore the variety of ways that universities can go about decolonising the minds of the staff and students on their campuses.

2.2 Decolonising the mind

> "The reach of imperialism into 'our heads' challenges those who belong to colonized communities to understand how this occurred, partly because we perceive a need to decolonize our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity."[72]

Tuhiwai-Smith recognises the necessity to decolonise the mind and how this process is linked to the broader goals of recovering oneself and claiming spaces within which to develop a sense of humanity. This is the crux of the decolonising of universities and at the heart of decolonial reconstruction. There are numerous ways to go about decolonising the mind, but for the purpose of this dissertation the focus is on an education system which is based on educating and empowering people to think critically and independently, so that they acquire the tools to begin decolonising their own minds. This must be done through addressing the neocolonial *status quo* at South African universities by decolonising the neocolonial mechanisms which promote Eurocentric education. This necessitates the act of peeling away the layers of neocolonialism and going back to the root of a practice, one that is innately decolonising, but which has been suppressed by neocolonialism. This ties into the notion of re-membering Africa which will be discussed in Chapter Four. The link between decolonising the mind and re-membering Africa in this regard shows the interconnectedness between the different aspects of the decolonising framework.

The analogy of peeling away neocolonialism and its effects shows that decolonising is a process that is ongoing, and which needs to address the epistemicide that has occurred through deconstructing[73], and then reconstructing the education system. Epistemicide can only be undone through constant work, by removing neocolonial mechanisms piece by piece. However, the idea of peeling away layers of colonialism, or neocolonialism, does not mean that there should be a reversion to pre-colonial Africa. Pre-colonial Africa was far from perfect and should not be romanticised, nor become a source of nostalgia. Instead, the idea of peeling away layers of neocolonialism is in line with the idea of the deconstruction of colonial systems in

[72] Tuhiwai-Smith (n 16 above) 23.
[73] Notably, there are some aspects of the system which must be destroyed through decolonial destruction but for the most part there should be decolonial deconstruction. Thereafter there can be reconstruction.

order to allow for the decolonising of the mind. This process can then flow into a broader process of decolonial reconstruction.

The lived experience of Africans is an important aspect of the process of decolonising the mind. Colonised people are not ignorant as to their lived reality and very often may have the solutions to the complex problems they face. They require the removal of the obstacles inhibiting their agency so that they can empower themselves to address the issues they face. Africans may have been forced to obfuscate their culture, but many are still experts in the African ways of life and simply need to be allowed to share this with each other.[74] Both the coloniser and the colonised need to unlearn the perception that Africans and their perspectives are inferior. This narrative needs to be corrected to show that African perspectives are worthy and that their development has simply been interrupted, and stifled, by colonialism and neocolonialism. Many African cultures promote a sense of community. If this can be extended to promote coexistence within the broader society, then different cultures can use their interrelated existence to help each other learn about African knowledge and practices, thereby reviving African cultures through changing their own and other's perceptions of them.

Ngũgĩ refers to this in relation to Kenya but it could also be applicable to Africa as a whole. He speaks of looking at a vision of Africa's future, an Africa for Africans, a self-reliant Africa "for self-reliant people, a vision embodying a communal ethos of democracy and independence."[75] This is what can be achieved through a process of decolonising. Through interacting with fellow Africans, sharing lived experiences, and promoting the acceptance of differing cultures, massive strides can be made towards decolonising the mind. This approach will help to change the mentality of both the coloniser and the colonised towards Africa. It will allow for the rewriting of African narratives that have historically portrayed Africans as inferior and rather show the genuine value of African cultures. This will not be an easy process due to how entrenched the *status quo* is. But, in order to begin the decolonising process, these challenges must be taken head-on. All those living in Africa should be taught to unlearn the problematic narratives of Africa and learn the true narratives.

Whilst exploring the different approaches to decolonising the mind it is once again pertinent to note that the colonised can find solutions to colonisation and must simply be equipped to do

[74] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 54.
[75] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 61.

so. Ngũgĩ gives an example of this when referring to the Eurocentric notion of the novel. He explains that Kenyans adapted the western novel into the oral tradition. His novel:

> "*Caitaani Mutharabaini* (*Devil on the Cross*) was received into the age-old tradition of storytelling around the fireside; and the tradition of group reception of art then enhances the aesthetic pleasure and provokes interpretation, comments and discussions. Remnants of this—what used to be the norm, that is the group reception of art—are still to be found in the theatre and, to a limited extent, in the cinema."[76]

This shows us two things. First, it is possible for Western cultural artefacts and practices, such as the written novel, to be accepted into an African context when there is the freedom to incorporate it into African culture and traditions. Second, this is a further example of the community-based coexistence of African cultures. The oral tradition in Africa is a community activity which encourages all sorts of people to interact and share their stories without the dominance of a single narrative or culture. This type of coexistence and harmonious cultural practice which is in line with decolonising in that it promotes pluriversality. It also provides us with a concrete way that decolonising of the mind can be put into practice, by accepting that which is different as often being something positive and incorporating it into a pluriversal society instead of seeing being different as bad or inferior. The negative response is stereotypical of the Eurocentric approach.

Madlingozi comments on this issue of decolonising the mind by stating that, "if conquest and settler colonialism are acts of temporal interruption and a never wholly successful attempt to ossify indigenous life-ways decolonisation ought to enable the colonised nation, 'to reassume its history and assert its sovereignty'."[77] This statement aligns with the above notions of taking back the narrative and rewriting history. As part of the decolonising process, it is thus vital that the inaccurate accounts of African history are corrected, thus giving Africans their identity back and facilitating the assertion of their sovereignty.

Madlingozi further argues this point in saying that:

> "The claim here is not that things were pristine before colonialism. The claim is rather that African modes of dispute resolution, norms of co-existence and social ordering – and indeed

[76] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 83.
[77] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 4-5.

> unwritten constitutional law - were displaced and that decolonisation is an occasion to retrieve and valorise them."[78]

This quote refers to Madlingozi's third pillar of a decolonising constitution, in the same article, where he notes the necessity to 'return to the source'.[79] The notion of returning to the source aligns with moving the centre and re-membering Africa, which will be covered in the next two chapters, respectively. In essence, this approach "enables a remembering of subjugated indigenous ethics and epistemologies and a re-membering of the fractured triadic community of the living-the living dead-the yet-to be born under the banner of African humanness."[80] In terms of this chapter, the above can be achieved through relearning and teaching each other. The process of unlearning colonial perspectives and learning decolonising approaches to knowledge production thus promotes the decolonising of the mind. Moreover, rewriting history is vitally important when decolonising the mind because of how integral epistemicide was to the process of colonising the mind. As was discussed above, the process of colonising the mind was thorough in how it stripped the colonised of their history and their culture. Thus, the process of decolonising the mind must directly address the rewriting of history in order to reclaim the African narrative.

Having begun to explore the context of decolonising the mind, and why it is so important, it is necessary to look at other dimensions of decolonising the mind.

2.2.1 Language and decolonising the mind

> "Colonial Alienation takes two interlinked forms: an active (or passive) distancing of oneself from the reality around; and an active (or passive) identification with that which is mostly external to one's environment. It starts with a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualisation, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development, from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community. It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated linguistic spheres in the same person. On a larger social scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies."[81]

Colonial alienation, as explained above, refers to the process through which colonised people are forced to disassociate from their natural social environment. Colonial alienation is caused by the colonising of the mind. This leaves the colonised stripped of their identity and only

[78] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 5.
[79] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 18.
[80] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 5.
[81] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 28.

existing in the world as colonised peoples living under a foreign system on their own land. Ngũgĩ speaks of how colonial alienation has led to Africans being subject to what is essentially a cultural lobotomy. He explains this with relation to language, "the domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised."[82] By stripping Africans of the right and means to communicate and learn in their own languages, the colonisers stripped Africans of their identity (the relationship between language and identity will be made clear below). They then imposed colonial languages on the colonised and forced them to exist as culturally lobotomised people.

The extent to which Africans were stripped of their languages has important meaning for the decolonising process. It is indicative of the importance of reuniting Africans with their home languages, both in their everyday lives, as well as in institutions of education such as universities. African languages and their restoration can thus be used to overcome neocolonialism and create a united society. Multilingual diversity speaks to a decolonising framework, which is in line with the notion of pluriversality, and allows different cultures to coexist by celebrating them all.[83] In terms of colonial alienation and language, there are two important aspects to address. First, it is important to seek an understanding of the critical role that language plays, both in a university context as well as in the broader decolonial context. Second, it is also important to understand how this links to decolonising South African universities.

Language is an essential aspect of one's identity and the deprivation of access to one's home language is a violation of your identity. As stated by Ngũgĩ, "language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture."[84] Therefore if you prohibit someone from speaking their home language, not only are you depriving them from communicating with others, but you are also preventing them from accessing their culture. This violent deprivation was enacted by colonisers on Africans who were forced to shun their languages (and thus their cultures) in favour of colonial languages and culture.

If we consider universities as microcosms of the broader South African society, the issue of language as a tool of colonisation, is highlighted when it comes to their language policies. In South Africa there have been many issues that have arisen around language policies at

[82] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 16.
[83] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 30.
[84] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 13.

universities and how they affect the decolonising of universities. One such example is the #AfrikaansMustFall movement, which took place at the University of Pretoria (UP), as well as changes to the language policies at the University of the Free State (UFS) and Stellenbosch University (SU). At UP, UFS, and SU changes were made, removing tuition in Afrikaans and replacing it with English as the sole medium of instruction at these institutions. It is, however, important that we not only focus on the removal of Afrikaans as a language of tuition from South African universities, but also address the dominating place of English as the language of instruction. The discussion tends to focus on the removal of Afrikaans but ignores the fact that English is also a colonial language and that English remains the *lingua franca*, generally to the detriment of indigenous African languages. The discussion should thus be shifted to focus on how African languages can be given priority as part of the decolonising process. Universities need to take steps to incorporate the various African languages as languages of tuition and not favour a single language over others, as has been the case with Afrikaans and English.

Ngũgĩ explains how language is used as a colonial tool and how it can be used to suppress African languages and cultures. He notes that "in Kenya, English became more than a language: it was *the* language, and all others had to bow before it in deference."[85] He further explains how children were punished and humiliated if they spoke any African languages whilst they were rewarded and revered if they excelled in English.[86] This example still rings true in modern day South Africa. There have been numerous instances in South African schools where children have been punished for speaking their home language. In an incident in 2019, a teacher was caught on video slapping a child after chastising the child for, amongst other things, speaking their home language.[87] Another contemporary example is the policy at Sans Souci School (the same school as above) where children are punished for speaking their home languages at school, even in social settings.[88] These policies are a stark reminder of the continued neocolonial *status quo* in South Africa when it comes to language in the education system.

In terms of how the neocolonial powers protect the *status quo*, Ngũgĩ explains how the actions of the Kenyan government were oppressive and sought to control those who opposed it. He explains how, "[the Kenyan government's] intensified repression of Kenyans in 1982—

[85] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 11.
[86] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 11.
[87] Tammy Petersen, "Sans Souci teacher, slapped pupil, makes first appearance in court," *News24*, February 27, 2019.
[88] Aron Hyman, "School 'dompas' for kids who speak Xhosa," *TimesLIVE*, September 6, 2016.

through detentions without trial or imprisonment on trumped-up charges, particularly of university lecturers and students—did not improve its image and its further alienation from the people."[89] Although this happened in Kenya over three decades ago, the way in which universities and the South African Police Services (SAPS) treated students and lecturers protesting in the 2015-2016 national university protests, was remarkably similar. For example, at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN) "protesting black students felt that the police brutality on campus was aimed at them because of the colour of their skin. They felt that the mostly white management wanted to silence them harshly in order to continue exploiting them."[90] Another example of this is from the University of the Western Cape (UWC). This example provides a comprehensive explanation of the context within which the average black student experiences violence:

> "The question of violence is not new for the majority of black students in South Africa. To understand how violence is experienced by these students, we have to move beyond the university as the space where students protesting against the state and their respective institutions experienced the violence. We need to understand where these students come from, where they stay, what they eat in their everyday lives, their journey to and from the university campus. For a long time, these students have had ongoing and outstanding demands which neither the university nor the state has addressed."[91]

The above quote shows how the *status quo* in South African universities is that of violence towards students as an extension of the violence they experience within the broader society. The violence that was carried out against these students was during protests against the *status quo*. Students were fighting for access to education as well as to have their universities decolonised and to have language barriers removed. Yet the universities resorted to violence instead of addressing the neocolonialism within their institutions. Thus, the struggle for access to language and against colonial alienation was met with further oppression. This issue needs to be further discussed especially in that it shows how universities, as microcosms, do not operate in isolation from the broader societal issues in South Africa. Language as a form of oppression is only one of many issues faced by South African students. What is important to take note of from this quote, is the extent to which universities will go to enact violence upon

[89] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 61.
[90] Malose Langa, et al., *# Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities*. (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2017),93.
[91] Langa (n 90 above) 41.

their students in protection of the neocolonial *status quo.* Let us now proceed further in the discussion about language and alienation.

Fanon echoes Ngũgĩ when it comes to the priority he places on language and how integral it is to one's cultural identity. He states that, "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture."[92] Thus the access that one has to their own culture and language should be sacred. As we have seen above, this has not been the case in neocolonial countries. The colonised are stripped of access to their home language and are even punished for speaking it. Furthermore, the colonised are forced to learn the colonial languages if they hope to assimilate into a neocolonial society, which is exactly what the coloniser wants, and this is contrary to the decolonising process. Fanon exemplifies this by referring to Antilles as he notes that "the Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter -that is, he will come closer to being a real human being -in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language."[93] The correlation between being seen as human and the mastery of a colonial language is important to understand. It shows the extent to which language was used as a tool for colonialism and contextualises how language is still being used for the neocolonialist project. Fanon illustrates this well by explaining that:

> "Every colonised people-in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality finds itself face-to-face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle."[94]

The effect that the imposition of a colonial language has on the colonised people is twofold. They are forced to learn a foreign language to attempt to justify their humanity, and, they are also taught to show scorn for their own language. Thus, they become active in the colonisation of their own minds (this is not to attribute the colonising of the mind to the colonised but simply to show how colonisation was so thorough that even the colonised are forced into contributing to the process). The effect of this is that the colonised are alienated from their identity when they are cut off from their home language, and thus, they have their minds further colonised. Fanon explains how this happens in Antilles where "some families completely forbid the use of Creole, and mothers ridicule their children for speaking it."[95] This example is synonymous

[92] Fanon (n 43 above) 38.
[93] Fanon (n 43 above) 18.
[94] Fanon (n 43 above) 18.
[95] Fanon (n 43 above) 20.

with the examples above that Ngũgĩ provides when he speaks of English language school policies in Kenya and is also synonymous with the examples of South African schools which prohibit students from speaking their home language.

To add another dimension to this discussion, it is pertinent to look at how language can be used to reaffirm the *status quo* in everyday interactions. Fanon provides an important anecdote to explain the entrenched racism that is employed when interacting with colonised peoples who speak a colonial language and the perceptions that go along with such interactions:

> "I meet a Russian or a German who speaks French badly. With gestures I try to give him the information that he requests, but at the same time I can hardly forget that he has a language of his own, a country, and that perhaps he is a lawyer or an engineer there. In any case, he is foreign to my group, and his standards must be different. When it comes to the case of the Negro, nothing of the kind. He has no culture, no civilization, no long historical past."[96]

It is crucial to understand the point Fanon is making in order to realise how illogical it is when someone talks down to someone who speaks a colonial language imperfectly. This is a major issue in South Africa where a person's intelligence is often gauged by how well they speak English (or any other colonial language). This issue rings true across colonised societies and must be addressed through the process of decolonising the mind; in this case, the mind of the coloniser. The coloniser must come to understand that according to their own standards if they were to attempt to speak a foreign language, and fail, they would be unintelligent or inferior. This is illogical and they should thus treat all those who speak different languages with decency and respect just as they would wish to be treated in the same situation. However, it isn't always as simple as using an example such as the one above. This is because colonialism, and neocolonialism are deliberate acts. Whilst many descendants of colonisers may be able to understand and be changed by this example, many will also be closed off to any logical explanation as they stand to benefit from a colonial or neocolonial system and do not want to see it change lest they should lose their benefits. When it comes to such people it does not seem wise to waste time on trying to change their mind. Instead such energy should be focused on changing the system so that they are forced to accept a new *status quo* that is decolonising albeit at the loss of their benefit, because the contrary (the Eurocentric *status quo*) will no longer be an option.

[96] Fanon (n 43 above) 34.

Fanon speaks to the above issue by providing a way to address racist white people, he notes that:

> "Outside university circles there is an army of fools: What is important is not to educate them, but to teach the Negro not to be the slave of their archetypes. That these imbeciles are the product of a psychological-economic system I will grant. But that does not get us much farther along."[97]

By this statement, Fanon points out that the focus must be placed on the colonised to decolonise their minds and not to focus on trying to change the minds of the colonisers. Those that can change, will change over time and the rest will have to change once the oppressive systems have been dismantled. But, that won't happen overnight. Only once the decolonising of the mind has begun will it be possible for these systems to be changed.

It is clear from what we have seen above that language has played an important role in the colonising of the mind and will play an equally important role in decolonising the mind. Furthermore, language is one of the ways in which the colonised have been subjected to colonial alienation. Colonial alienation also manifests in the form of a dichotomy of identities whereby those who are colonised exist within a colonial identity and an African identity, and must struggle between these two identities in a neocolonial society. This will be further discussed below.

2.2.2 The dichotomy of identities in a neocolonial society

It is clear that historically, colonisation, and now neocolonialism, have negatively impacted on the identities of Africans. The imposition of a colonised identity on Africans was one of the most destructive consequences of colonialism. The coloniser thus burdened the colonised with two conflicting identities. As was seen in the previous section, this contributed to the colonial alienation of the colonised.

W.E.B. Du Bois addresses this issue of a dichotomous identity and the effects that it has on the mind of the colonised. Du Bois writes about the notion of double-consciousness as it relates to the colonising of the mind. He explains that this concept:

> "[I]s a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this 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

[97] Fanon (n 43 above) 35.

> thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."[98]

Although Du Bois refers to an American context, his concept is also relevant to Africa because it illustrates the discussion, above, about the colonisation of the mind. It further shows how colonialism and neocolonialism have so deeply affected the minds of the colonised that it forces them into a duality of being, a state in which neither of their identities allow them to exist as themselves in society. This fractured identity, in the context of South Africa, results in them being unable to see themselves as an African, but at the same time seeing themselves as inferior and unwelcome in a neocolonial society. Du Bois further explains this issue by stating that, "such a double life, with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes, must give rise to double words and double ideals, and tempt the mind to pretence or revolt, to hypocrisy or radicalism."[99] This places a large burden on the colonised. They must grapple with a split identity within a violent society which tears them apart. They are too African and can never be white enough to become an accepted member of society, but they are also ripped away from their African cultural roots and are forced to assimilate in order to survive in a Eurocentric society. This identity crisis takes a huge toll on the mind.

Fanon also addresses the challenges of the dichotomous identity with which the colonised are confronted. He explains that this challenge arises because Africans live, "in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race; to the identical degree to which that society creates difficulties for him, he will find himself thrust into a neurotic situation."[100] The result of the colonising of minds is such that the colonised find themselves with conflicting identities; their true African identity, and the colonial identity imposed upon them by the coloniser.

Fanon goes further to describe the effects of the imposed inferiority complex as follows:

> "At the risk of arousing the resentment of my colored brothers, I will say that the black is not a man. There is a zone of nonbeing, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born…The black is a black man; that is; as the result of a series of aberrations of affect, he is rooted at the core of a universe from which he

[98] Du Bois (n 41 above) 4.
[99] Du Bois (n 41 above) 137.
[100] Fanon (n 43 above) 100.

> must be extricated. The problem is important. I propose nothing short of the liberation of the man of color from himself"[101]

There are two aspects of this quote that must be examined. The first is the notion that the black man is a non-being as discussed above. This links directly to colonial oppression and the way in which the African identity is stripped away from those who are colonised. This alienates a person from their identity, their culture, and society. In addition to this alienation one is essentially banished to a zone of non-being whereby you are not seen as existing in society as an equal or even as a person. Therefore, the reclamation of being and identity is necessary. For a person to overcome this alienation and ascend to the zone of being, they must first decolonise their mind, in order to obtain consciousness, and thence their real identity. The second aspect of this quote relates to the notion of a black man being extricated from the universe he is rooted in and being liberated from himself. These two notions speak to the colonised mind. The colonised person has been forced into an alienated existence, and as was shown above, this identity is often reaffirmed by the colonised person themselves. This happens because it is a way to survive the colonial society, or, because the colonised mindset is so entrenched that it is not questioned. Either way, the colonised person must overcome this alienation, and the complexes that come from it, in order to liberate themselves from a colonised mind.

Given this, Du Bois notes that:

> "The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face."[102]

This quote once again speaks to an American context, but, is equally applicable within a South African context. While the identity of the colonised is dichotomous, in an attempt to merge these two identities, the colonised is undergoing the process of disalienation. Disalienation is a part of the decolonising process and entails overcoming alienation. The longing for a truer self is in line with the decolonising of the mind. It is linked to the notion of self-alienation;

[101] Fanon (n 43 above) 10.
[102] Du Bois (n 41 above) 5.

whereby the colonised it stuck between two identities and does not know how to exist as both an African and within a neocolonial society. However, through decolonising the mind, the colonised can reconcile their double-consciousness and accept that they can have multiple identities and that no single culture should dominate the other. This hybridity of identities is decolonising and is aligned with the notion of pluriversality. In terms of decolonising and decolonial reconstruction there can be a pluriversality, multiple co-existing identities, and this is also the case when it comes to the individual.

However, I must disagree with one aspect of the above quote. I contest what Du Bois has to say about America having too much to teach the world and Africa. He appears to be prioritising Western epistemologies over other epistemologies of the world. Whilst there may be aspects of Western epistemologies that are applicable and useful to Africa and the rest of the world, such as certain technological advances, forms of literature, and approaches to problem-solving, they do not have the monopoly on progress and innovation (even in these fields). African epistemologies, and those of the rest of the global South, are just as relevant, if not more so, to the colonised peoples and the rest of the world. Therefore, in obtaining a reconciled consciousness,[103] the colonised African need not prioritise Western epistemologies, but simply make space for them in an identity that focuses on reclaiming an African identity.

Additionally, in terms of attempting to attain a reconciled consciousness, Du Bois explains that the attempts to reconcile one's multiple identities has had a negative impact on the colonised, including the colonised feeling ashamed of themselves.[104] So many Africans strive to overcome this double-consciousness as it rips them in two. They often resort to attempts of assimilation or integration into Western culture, but these attempts are futile, because the coloniser will never see the colonised as equal. And where the colonised is 'allowed' to occupy space in the Western society it is always as a second-class citizen and is at the cost of a true African identity. This shows the necessity for decolonising one's mind in order to be able to overcome the dichotomous nature of one's identity. Not to be allowed into a white society, but to reclaim an African society, one that is occupied by Africans whose consciousness is once again their own. Where a merged consciousness is not seen as bad but celebrated for its pluriversal nature.

Fanon also recognises this issue and the need for dis-alienation noting that:

[103] In this context, a reconciled consciousness refers to a previously dichotomous consciousness which has been reconciled with one's African identity and is thus a merged or hybrid consciousness in line with pluriversality.
[104] Du Bois (n 41 above) 6.

> "[I]t is apparent to me that the effective dis-alienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process: -primarily, economic; -subsequently, the internalization-or, better, the epidermalization-- of this inferiority."[105]

He thus shows that in order for dis-alienation to occur one must address the economic inequality that is faced as well as the inferiority complex which exists in the mind of a black person. The former falls outside of the scope of this chapter (and will be addressed more holistically by the dissertation in terms of undoing the capitalistic exploitation that goes hand in hand with colonialism and neocolonialism). The latter relates directly to decolonising the mind and the merging of one's identities as was explained by Du Bois above.

Fanon provides a pragmatic solution to the problem, one which speaks to the core notion of decolonising the mind:

> "What emerges then is the need for combined action on the individual and on the group. As a psychoanalyst, I should help my patient to become conscious of his unconscious and abandon his attempts at a hallucinatory whitening, but also to act in the direction of a change in the social structure."[106]

What Fanon is saying, is that in decolonising the mind, one must address one's own mind first. This concept also links to the next chapter and the idea of dismantling colonial and neocolonial systems. Therefore, the decolonising of the mind begins with becoming conscious of one's unconsciousness, as per Du Bois' approach to addressing double consciousness. The colonised must become aware of their colonised state of being and reject it. Thus, the colonised person can begin unlearning by understanding and rooting out their complexes and embracing their African identity. Once this process has begun, focus can be shifted to dismantling the systems that purvey the broader neocolonial society, and in the context of this dissertation, the neocolonial university.

Lewis Gordon provides another perspective to the issue of the dichotomous identity to which the colonised are subjected. He explains the creation of a situation where black people become problematic in colonial societies when they challenge the *status quo*. This links to the dichotomous identity which the colonised grapple with when they exist as non-beings in a neocolonial society. Gordon exemplifies how the colonised are seen as problematic in a

[105] Fanon (n 43 above) 13.
[106] Fanon (n 43 above) 100.

neocolonial society through showing that "problem people, then, are extrasystemic; they belong outside of the system. In effect, they belong nowhere, and their problems, being they themselves, mean that they cannot gain the legitimating force of recognition."[107] The denial of existence is another form of oppression in terms of colonisation. As mentioned above by Fanon, Africans are sent to the zone of non-being and are not recognised as humans. This imposed inferiority complex needs to be overcome if Africans are to become truly free. For Africans to be part of the system they need to change the system itself. A neocolonial system will never have space for them because it is designed as such. Instead, through decolonising the mind, Africans can acknowledge that the neocolonial system will never change and must be deconstructed/destroyed and then reconstructed into a pluriversal system through a decolonising process. Until such a system is changed the colonised will always fall outside of the system. But, in order to be able to understand this positionality, one must undertake the decolonising of one's own mind.

Gordon continues his explanation of the unequal and unjust *status quo* in society by illustrating that:

> "The options available for an everyday existence are not the same across groups in a colonial world. In such a world, an absence of spectacular efforts facilitates the everyday life of the dominating group. We could call this simply ordinary existence. For the dominated group, the achievement of the ordinary requires extraordinary efforts."[108]

What Gordon explains here is that simply being is enough for the dominant group in a colonial society as everything is tailored to their privilege. However, the opposite is the case for the colonised. They must put in a massive effort and achieve extraordinary things just to be seen, momentarily, before once again slipping back down into the zone of non-being.

When shifting his focus on how to address the colonising of the mind and the resultant dichotomous identities, Gordon illustrates how he is "interested in examinations of consciousness that emerge from a suspension of what is sometimes called the natural standpoint but which I prefer to call an act of ontological suspension."[109] An ontological suspension can thus be understood as a way of decolonising the mind. The subject suspends their ideas and thoughts about being; of how they are taught to think of themselves as inferior. This allows

[107] Gordon (n 46 above) 125.
[108] Gordon (n 46 above) 134.
[109] Gordon (n 46 above) 129.

them to reassess their being and realise that they are not inferior, as they have been taught, but that they are human and can reclaim this belief in their humanity by rejecting the ontological commitments to a colonised sense of being that have been imposed on them by the coloniser. Finally, Gordon explains that, "the reassertion of humankind requires the assertion of the humanity of the degraded."[110] As per the decolonising process, and what has been discussed in this section, it is evident that this reassertion of humanity must come from the colonised in order for the decolonising of the mind to be genuine. This will be further explored below by looking at the notion of Black Consciousness and how it is instrumental in the restoration of an African identity.

2.2.3 Black Consciousness and restoring an African identity

> "Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation—the blackness of their skin—and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal' which is white…It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life."[111]

Biko's notion of Black Consciousness has been instrumental in promoting the idea that Africans can reclaim their identity and overcome the colonising of their mind. His work, and that of the Black Consciousness movement, directly addresses the issues of a dichotomous identity. This has been discussed above and it has been shown how this approach provides a clear path to overcoming this issue. Furthermore, Black Consciousness is directly aligned with the notion of decolonising the mind inasmuch as Biko calls for black African people to take pride in themselves and reconnect with their cultures and values. This is exactly what the authors in the previous sections call for. Additionally, Biko explains that "what Black Consciousness seeks to do is to produce at the output end of the process real black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to white society."[112] As has been seen through the above discussion, the colonised peoples of the world fall victim to an inferiority complex which develops as a results of the colonial and neocolonial oppression they have experienced. This complex needs to be overcome if there is to be any hope of decolonising the mind and dismantling colonial and neocolonial systems.

[110] Gordon (n 46 above) 135.
[111] Biko (n 44 above) 50.
[112] Biko (n 44 above) 51.

As with the above authors, Biko also acknowledges the need for Africans to rewrite the narrative of their people which was destroyed and supressed by the colonisers. He illustrates this by stating that:

> "Further implications of Black Consciousness are to do with correcting false images of ourselves in terms of Culture, Education, Religion, Economics. The importance of this also must not be understated. There is always an interplay between the history of a people i.e. the past, and their faith in themselves and hopes for their future. We are aware of the terrible role played by our education and religion in creating amongst us a false understanding of ourselves. We must therefore work out schemes not only to correct this, but further to be our own authorities rather than wait to be interpreted by others."[113]

The above quote links with the salient issues discussed so far in this chapter, the notions of the colonised mind and the necessity for the decolonising of the mind. Moreover, Biko explicitly refers to education and religion. Whilst religion falls outside of the ambit of this dissertation, education is directly within the scope. Biko acknowledges the destructive role that colonial education has played, and this further affirms the need to make changes to the education system. In this case, universities in South Africa.

Biko acknowledges the role that the past plays in the decolonising process, especially since the narrative has been controlled by the colonisers. He explains that "we would be too naive to expect our conquerors to write unbiased histories about us but we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape."[114] Biko thus substantiates that we need to address the whitewashing of history. This can be done by reconnecting the colonised mind with African history in order to emancipate Africans and make them more aware of their decolonial self. Strategies for achieving this include interacting with one another in communities, sharing stories and histories, and promoting decolonising perspectives of African history.

Derek Hook also refers to the aims of the Black Consciousness Movement. He explains that Black Consciousness strives to "reverse the colonial imprint of a negative, racist self-image, and to replace it with positive, more self-affirming – if not angry - forms of black identity and history."[115] These aims align with the idea of rewriting South African history and reclaiming

[113] Biko (n 44 above) 53.
[114] Biko (n 44 above) 95.
[115] Hook (n 45 above) 486.

an African identity, along with the notions of dis-alienation, and, the merging of one's dichotomous identities, as discussed above. Through this process, Africans can participate in decolonising their own minds as they reconnect with their history and thus their identity.

Biko also explains how decolonising is about prioritising an African approach to understanding culture and identity. This allows for a focus on people and communities who makes strides towards undoing the Eurocentric imposed *status quo*, which is inherently individualistic. Biko says that this can be done through focusing on African cultures as they historically practice communality.[116] In promoting this culture he states that there must be a rejection of "the individualistic cold approach to life that is the cornerstone of the Anglo-Boer culture."[117] Essentially, he is saying that we must strive to reaffirm the importance of human relations in African culture.[118] This will allow for the restoration of African cultural practices and promote positive interactions between different people. This approach prioritises a sense of community and trust in others which is in direct contrast to the individualistic Eurocentric ways of life which have been imposed on Africans by colonisers.

This community-centred approach adds another dynamic to the process of decolonising the mind. It shows that the process is not just applicable on an individual basis but also within the broader community. This is indicative of the pluriversality of Black Consciousness and how the needs of the community are as important as the needs of the individual. In taking this approach there is already a move away from Eurocentric isolationism towards a more harmonious culture of coexistence during the process of decolonising the mind.

2.2.4 The psychology of decolonising the mind

Derek Hook writes on the psychology of the postcolony and this is of much relevance to the notion of the decolonising of the mind. However, it must be stated that I do not agree with the use of the term postcolonial as meaning the period of time following colonisation. As has been previously stated, this dissertation rests on the premise that colonialism has never ended. It has simply continued in a contemporary iteration; in the form of neocolonialism. I therefore reject the notion of postcolonialism. Apart from this issue with the term, the work of Hook is relevant, as it applies to the psychology of the neocolonial. In this context, Hook talks directly of Apartheid in South Africa, and the effects it has had on the minds of black South Africans. He

[116] Biko (n 44 above) 97.
[117] Biko (n 44 above) 97.
[118] Biko (n 44 above) 97.

writes that "we need to keep sight of the extreme racism characteristic of apartheid, a system not merely of depersonalization/desubjectification, but of violent racial objectification and dehumanization."[119] This racial objectification and dehumanisation that Hook refers to was directly used in the process of colonising the mind, and, is directly related to the alienation that was discussed above. As with the notion of the zone of nonbeing that Fanon refers to, this act of dehumanisation was used by the coloniser to impose the above-mentioned inferiority complex on the colonised. By treating the colonised as nonhuman, or subhuman, the coloniser was able to assert dominance over subjugated peoples and utilize tools such as education and religion to colonise the minds of these oppressed colonial subjects.

Following this, Hook refers to Fanon in his discussion of the effects that colonisation has on the minds of the oppressed. Hook explains that:

> "If there is a fact that Fanon's most vital writings impress upon us, it is that the violence of the colonial encounter is absolutely unprecedented, that the colonial moment of epistemic, cultural, psychic and physical violence makes for a unique kind of historical trauma."[120]

This emphasises the severity of the impact that neocolonialism has on the mind of the colonised. Furthermore, Hook explains that the colonised subject is in a "state of a 'nervous condition', an anxious and agitated state (speaking both politically and psychologically) in which one possess little or no cultural resources of one's own, because they have been eradicated by the cultural imperialism of the colonizer."[121] This reference to cultural epistemicide further affirms the negative impacts of colonialism and neocolonialism. It once again shows how colonised people are stripped of their cultural identity and forced into a 'nervous condition' in the form of an inferiority complex. The 'nervous condition' that Hook refers to is relevant to the discussion in that it shows how the colonised are forced into a double-consciousness, a state of alienation, as Du Bois and Fanon state, respectively. I do, however, contest the position that these cultural resources can be completely eradicated. As will be discussed in the following chapters, the colonised, whilst they may be oppressed and have their minds colonised, are still able to hold onto aspects of their culture. Throughout colonialism and neocolonialism, African cultures have been suppressed, outlawed, and even fractured. But they

[119] Hook (n 45 above) 487.
[120] Hook (n 45 above) 478.
[121] Hook (n 45 above) 480.

still exist, and it is through a decolonising process that these cultural resources can be reclaimed and reconstructed.

In looking towards a solution to these issues, Hook proposes that "the psychological dimension of political existence must as such be addressed…there must first be the destruction of the subjective aspect of black oppression."[122] Here Hook speaks directly to the notion of decolonial destruction along with the process of decolonising the mind. He states that the subjectivity of black people, in the form of their inferiority complexes, must be destroyed. He emphasises that the way to overcome this subjectivity is by focusing on the psychological dimension. The psychological dimension deals with the mind of the oppressed and thus the decolonising of the mind is once again applicable to overcoming black subjectivity. This is in line with the decolonising process and the acknowledgement that certain aspects of the neocolonial *status quo* must be destroyed.

In further writing about the psychological component of decolonising, Hook proposes that:

> "The concept of a psychopolitical psychology might be used to 'decolonize the mind' in a way that does not necessarily reflect the 'precolonized' state of mind, but that rather allows us to understand the creation of a third, incommensurable, hybrid space. The psychology of resistance thus enabled would not necessarily hence be one pristine, pure or decolonized state of mind, but would refer rather to an assertion of presence – or voice – that had been previously muted and not given the space in which to speak."[123]

This quote has several elements that need to be unpacked. Hook refers to the fact that decolonising the mind does not necessarily mean going back to a pre-colonised state of mind. This is very important to understand as the decolonising process which I propose is not about romanticising pre-colonial Africa or about striving to revert to such a time. There can be a review of pre-colonial Africa to understand the context of present-day Africa, but the aim of a decolonising process is to address the current context and its problems. A reversion is not possible because there is no way of knowing what pre-colonial Africa truly entailed, and that which we do know indicates that there were many aspects of pre-colonial Africa that are not in line with the decolonising framework and would thus not be desirable to 'revert' back to. Another aspect of the quote which must be addressed is when Hook speaks of a 'hybrid space', one in which the previously voiceless are given space to speak. This hybrid space is connected

[122] Hook (n 45 above) 482.
[123] Hook (n 45 above) 492.

to Du Bois' notion of a hybrid identity which was discussed above, and which also links with the notion of pluriversality.

Additionally, the notion that the colonised must be given the space to speak is problematic. I contest this notion as I do not think that it goes far enough to address colonisation. If space is given to the colonised to have their voices heard, then the power still lies with the oppressor. More puts this well when he explains that:

> "In a situation where recognition is given without conflict, the master's recognition amounts to nothing more than a simple gesture, for it still leaves the slave in bondage, albeit being upgraded to the status of a human being. The gift of humanhood without a struggle still constitutes the slave as a slave since he/she has not attained independent self-consciousness and thus remains dominated by the master."[124]

What should rather happen is that the colonised create a space for themselves, by taking back the narrative and undertaking decolonial destruction and deconstruction to remove the problematic neocolonial *status quo*. Thereafter it will be possible to begin reconstructing the *status quo* so that it is their space, not a space within which they are simply allowed to speak. This must happen through the decolonising of the mind, it is not enough to be given space to speak, the colonised must wholeheartedly take it and make it their own space to not only speak, but also to exist. In taking such a space the aims of a decolonising process must be borne in mind. Such a space should be a pluriversal one which allows for the coexistence of different cultures and epistemologies.

The section on the psychology of decolonising the mind is deliberately short. Psychology and its implications on the decolonising of the mind are a broad and complex subject which cannot be properly addressed in this dissertation. I therefore chose to address certain aspects of the psychology of decolonising the mind that are relevant to the broader process, particularly as it affects South Africa. Having done so, in addition to the previous sections, there has been a comprehensive exploration of numerous dimensions of decolonising the mind. It is now necessary to further relate these dimensions to the context of South African universities.

[124] Mabogo More, "Fanon and the Land Question in (Post) Apartheid South Africa. Living Fanon," in *Living Fanon. Contemporary Black* History, ed. Nigel Gibson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) 174.

2.3 Decolonising the mind at South African universities

As microcosms of the broader society, South African universities contribute to the maintenance of the neocolonial *status quo* in South Africa. While each university has different problems that they face, there are many overarching issues that encompass all campuses in South Africa. The language issue was addressed above but, there are further issues that must also be addressed. Many universities focus primarily on decolonising the curricula. While this is not a misplaced focus, I believe that it should not be the only focus. The institutional culture at South African universities is still neocolonial and it would not be effective to try and change curricula without also changing the institutional culture. Instead, focus should be placed on changing the whole institutional culture of universities first and thereafter curricula can be changed. Additionally, the current conception of a curriculum is a colonial one, and therefore, it will only be possible to properly conceive decolonising curricula once universities have embarked on a decolonising process.

In terms of the colonial and neocolonial nature of universities, Ngũgĩ explains how universities were used by colonisers in Africa to further their aims. "Makerere University College in Uganda, Ibadan University College in Nigeria and the Ghana University College were all overseas colleges of the University of London."[125] This meant that within these universities the education of Africans, in not only the English language, but in an English epistemology, occurred with little or no education relating to African epistemologies. This was also often the case in South Africa where numerous universities were created to educate white people in English or Afrikaans. Only a few institutions allowed black students, but even then, they were forced to study in colonial languages. As was discussed in the section on language and decolonising the mind, addressing the language of tuition and communication at universities is integral to the decolonising process.

A practical way that universities can address the language issue is by making changes to their language policies so as to introduce tuition in mother tongue (or indigenous African) languages. As was previously discussed, some universities have changed their language policies from being Afrikaans-English dual medium, to being solely English tuition universities. This does little to address the imposition of colonial languages, as English is a colonial language, and they have effectively only eliminated Afrikaans. This is an action which is inherently Eurocentric in its erasure of the language. Instead, universities should focus on elevating

[125] Ngũgĩ (n 40 above) 70.

African languages to a level of academic importance so that they too can become languages of tuition in addition to English and Afrikaans. In order to do this South African universities should prioritise African language departments and support scholars who pursue their studies in African languages. There have been a few instances of PhD graduates writing in African languages, but they are still too rare. A concerted effort both in terms of policy and funding should be made towards uplifting African languages in academia. In doing this, South African universities will be contributing to the decolonising of the mind, and the dismantling of the colonial mechanisms on their campuses which have historically prohibited or reduced African language scholarship.

Not only language, but also curricula need to be changed by South African universities. The report, which was referred to earlier in this chapter, *Teaching of Literature in Kenya Secondary Schools-Recommendations of the Working Committee,* provides applicable examples of how curricula could be changed and how the ethos in educational institutions needs to become more decolonising. This is particularly pertinent in the context of South African universities. Therefore, let us examine this report in order to draw inspiration so as to better understand how similar changes could be made at South African universities. The report refers to three guiding principles, which are appropriate in a South African context, they are:

> (i) "A people's culture is an essential component in defining and revealing their world outlook. Through it, mental processes can be conditioned, as was the case with the formal education provided by the colonial governments in Africa.
>
> (ii) A sound educational policy is one which enables students to study the culture and environment of their own society first, then in relation to the culture and environment of other societies.
>
> (iii) For the education offered today to be positive and to have creative potential for Kenya's future it must be seen as an essential part of the continuing national liberation process."[126]

These three guiding principles speak to a decolonising approach to education. Even though these principles come from a Kenyan report made several decades ago, they are still apposite to a contemporary South African context. This is the case, particularly, in light of the national discourse about decolonising South African universities which was a major focus during the #FeesMustFall student protests in 2015/16. The discourse amongst student activists was around the need for universities to be decolonised, both in terms of their curricula and their institutional

[126] Ngũgĩ (n 40 above) 100-101.

culture. Furthermore, these guidelines are linked to the themes of decolonising the mind, the dichotomy of identities, restoring African identities, and the psychology of decolonising the mind.

The first guiding principle that is quoted speaks to people's culture and this can be applied to universities in the sense of both the culture of individual students as well as the culture of the university as a whole. In many South African universities, there is a dominant Eurocentric culture which degrades the African cultures of the majority of the students. This dominant culture forces students and staff on university campuses to have dichotomous identities. This is the case because South African universities have been intolerant to the cultures of indigenous Africans. University cultures are designed to only cater for Eurocentric cultural practices, languages, and ways of thinking. As a result, many African students and staff have to repress their identities and conform to the *status quo*. This in turn creates a dichotomy of identities, because you cannot be African on campus, but you are also not truly Eurocentric. South African universities need to address this issue by changing the institutional culture in order to engage with the process of decolonising the academy. The next chapter, on moving the centre, will delve deeper into how universities should move the centre from a Eurocentric focus to one which allows for a multiplicity of identities which is pluriversal.

The second guiding principle speaks to the idea of decolonising the curriculum. One of the issues that was raised by students during the above-mentioned protests was that curricula at universities need to be decolonised. There were calls for wholesale changes to curricula, which amongst other things, included a paradigmatic shift whereby African perspectives are given priority over Western perspectives. The second guiding principle sets this out clearly by explaining the need for students to first study their own environments, and then other environments in relation to their own. This is not the case in terms of the current *status quo*, instead, African students are forced to study their own context and culture from afar, if at all, and then it is still done through a Eurocentric lens. Therefore, in order to address the dichotomy of identities, changes should be made to both the institutional cultures and curricula of South African universities. These changes will ensure that students are studying both the content of the contexts they are living in, as well as from the positionality of living in these specific contexts.

Another key aspect of the changing of the curricula is that priority should be placed on changing the perspectives taught. Whilst it is important to make changes to the content of curricula, it is

equally important to make changes to the way that this content is taught, and the context within which it is taught. Initially, the content isn't as important as the context and the attitude with which it is taught. The focus of change at this point should be the system itself and what a curriculum will entail. Once the system has changed the content will easily follow this change. As Ngũgĩ states:

> "The quest for relevance and the entire literature debate was not really about the admissibility of this or that text, this or that author…It was really about the direction, the teaching of literature, as well as of history, politics and all the other arts and social sciences, ought to take in Africa today. The debate, in other words, was about the inherited colonial education system and the consciousness it necessarily inculcated in the African mind."[127]

This quote from Ngũgĩ shows that the education system plays a major role in the consciousness of the student. Historically this has been used to colonise the mind. But this also means that it can be used in the process of decolonising the mind. By changing the attitudes of colonised students and equipping them with the ability to decolonise their minds, it will be possible for universities to become pluriversal.

The third guiding principle speaks to a different, although equally relevant issue. That of the struggle for national liberation. South Africa never truly overcame colonialism and exists in a state of neocolonialism. This means that there is still an ongoing struggle for national liberation. This struggle also played out in the student protests where many students, particularly those from the Pan-African Students Movement of Azania (PASMA), made calls that along with the decolonising of universities the country should be liberated from neocolonial dominance. Thus, in line with this guiding principle, it is imperative that through decolonising universities there is a clear awareness that this forms part of the broader struggle for national liberation. This, once again, shows that universities are microcosms for the broader South African society. If South African universities are able to undergo the process of decolonising, then this process can be adopted by the country as a whole. Additionally, in this context it is important to understand that, "the search for new directions in language, literature, theatre, poetry, fiction and scholarly studies in Africa is part and parcel of the overall struggles of African people against imperialism in its neocolonial stage."[128] It is clear that making changes at universities will have a ripple effect on the broader society.

[127] Ngũgĩ (n 40 above) 101.
[128] Ngũgĩ (n 40 above) 106.

The above guiding principles show what should happen at South African universities. Parallels can be drawn between the issues faced in Kenya in the 1970s and the current issues faced by South African universities. There needs to be a massive overhaul of South African universities. Not just the content needs to be changed, but the context and the method of teaching in the context of the institutional culture also needs to change. We are in Africa and should thus be more focused on African epistemologies (not in the same sense as Eurocentric epistemology where there is domination, but rather where African perspectives provide the context from which to view all other perspectives).

Maldonado-Torres also speaks to the issues faced by South African universities. He suggests that any university that seeks to transform (read decolonise) should set up centers for critical studies of liberalism.[129] This is particularly relevant when speaking about South African universities, as they are neo-liberal institutions. They will only be able to change this by critically analysing the current *status quo* and then understanding how best to dismantle it. This is different from what is currently being done by universities. Many are doing nothing at all to change the *status quo*. Those which are addressing the *status quo* conduct ineffective investigations and propose superficial transformation. They focus on the notion of being seen as changing and not on what must be changed. We must first understand the problem and all its intricacies before being able to come up with a comprehensive solution.

For South African universities to undergo decolonising the minds of their staff and students they should do a number of things. They should make changes to language policies so as to elevate African languages. They should set up centres which are critical of the neocolonial *status quo* in order to understand it before dismantling it. They should make changes to the broader institutional culture so as to become more pluriversal. And, they should make changes to both the context and content of their curricula. All of this will then contribute to decolonising South African universities and will also have an impact on the broader South African society.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the colonising of the mind, showing how it was effectively used as a tool for colonial oppression and how it continues to be used as such in a neocolonial context.

[129] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "Fanon, Decoloniality, and the Spirit of Bandung: Notes on the Organisation of a Decolonial Project," *Public Lecture Series. Curriculum Transformation Matters: The Decolonial Turn*, (South Africa: University of Pretoria, 2019).

Colonising of the mind was promoted through the education system as well as the imposition of colonial languages. This affected colonised societies in a very negative way. Colonised people became subject to inferiority complexes, double-consciousness, and alienation. The authors referred to have shown how destructive the colonising of the mind has been. They have also shown that this needs to be addressed and that the colonised people need to undertake a process of decolonising their minds in order to take back their identity. The colonised need to rewrite the African narrative and unlearn the colonial complexes so that they can be liberated, claim their space, and create a society which is pluriversal. This is the case in South African universities which exist as microcosms of the broader society. Clear efforts need to be made to ensure the decolonising of South African universities takes place. Language policies need to be changed, the neo-liberal *status quo* needs to be critiqued, and, priority must be placed on African perspectives in curricula. The entire system needs to be changed with students and staff decolonising their minds as well as changing the institutional culture of universities. In doing so the process of decolonial reconstruction in universities can begin. As part of understanding the problems of a decolonising process in South African universities it is necessary to examine the other aspects of the decolonising framework that are proposed in this dissertation. The next chapter will do this by examining the notion of moving the centre away from Eurocentrism towards a multiplicity of centres.

Chapter 3 Moving the centre

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the concept of moving the centre by using Ngũgĩ's book *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* as the starting point for unpacking this process. Evidence will be put forth to show that along with decolonising the mind, it is necessary to change the system by moving the centre. It is pertinent to again highlight the fact that, whilst the chapters follow one another chronologically, the decolonising process is not a simple chronological one. All four aspects of the decolonising framework are interconnected and must operate in tandem with one another. Some may be easier, or take less time to achieve, but the complexity that is colonisation and the effects it has had on the colonised requires a complex solution. In order to move the centre, as the second aspect of the decolonising framework, Eurocentric hegemony must be overcome, and a shift needs to be made towards a multiplicity of centres. The first section will look at why the centre needs to be moved, focusing on the effects of Eurocentrism and why this leads to a need for moving towards a multiplicity of centres. After that there will also be an examination of Walter Mignolo's notion of delinking from Western modernity as part of moving the centre. Additional ways to move towards a multiplicity of centres will then be explored through the analysis of various authors, including: Ngũgĩ, Mbembe, Gordon, Madlingozi, and De Sousa Santos. Throughout the discussion of moving the centre, particular reference will be made to how each element is applicable to South African universities, given that they are the core focus of this dissertation.

Before starting to unpack the concepts in this chapter it is important to discuss an issue that may arise when addressing this aspect of the framework. When referring to moving the centre a misconception could arise as to how this process works. It is erroneous to perceive moving the centre as a process whereby Eurocentrism is replaced by another centre such as Afrocentrism. This would lead to replacing one hegemonical world view for another. Instead, in terms of the decolonising process and the goal of creating a pluriversal world, there must be a shift to a multiplicity of centres which can coexist. For this to be done in Africa, within the context of colonialism and neocolonialism, there needs to be an initial phase that does not completely adhere to this approach. Within the initial stages of the process, priority should be given to African epistemologies given that they have been subjected to epistemicide. This means that in order to move the centre to a multiplicity of centres, African epistemologies need

to be given additional focus in the beginning so that they can be equal to the formerly hegemonic European epistemologies. This process does not mean that European epistemologies will be given a second-class status, it simply means that more work must be done to restore African epistemologies to an equal standing. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, which explores re-membering Africa.

As has been discussed in the previous chapters, South African universities have historically been colonial institutions that promote Western epistemologies. Thus, as is the case with the broader South African society, universities are also Eurocentric in how they function and promote education. This Eurocentrism must be addressed in order for universities to become pluriversities which have a multiplicity of centres. Furthermore, as per the above point with regards to the initial phase of the process, universities will play an important role. Universities as institutions for teaching and learning are in a unique position to make contributions to knowledge systems and to set priorities in academic circles. South African universities will therefore play a pivotal role in creating a multiplicity of centres through prioritising African epistemologies along with other epistemologies which already hold a position of privilege.

3.2 Why the centre needs to be moved

3.2.1 The effects of Eurocentrism

As discussed above, the second aspect of the decolonising process is moving the centre. Along with the process of decolonising the mind it is necessary to embark on the process of moving the centre. In order to do this, there needs to be an evaluation of the way in which Eurocentrism can be removed through moving the centre away from a hegemonic single centre to a multiplicity of centres that create a pluriversal society. Ngũgĩ speaks of moving towards a pluralism of cultures.[130] He explains that:

> "Coming from that part of the globe, called, for lack of a better word, the Third World, I am suspicious of the uses of the word and the concept of the universal. For very often, this has meant the West generalising its experience of history as the universal experience of the world…the Eurocentric base of seeing the world has often meant marginalising into the periphery that which comes from the rest of the world. One historical particularity is generalised

[130] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 3.

> into a timeless and spaceless universality. In that sense, shifting the focus of particularity to a plurality of centres, is a welcome antidote."[131]

The above quote highlights the necessity of moving from a single centre to a multiplicity of centres. Ngũgĩ explains the shortcoming of the notion of the universal and this is something which should be further explored. As he states, one should be suspicious of the concept of the universal. Through colonialism and neocolonialism, the concept of the universal is used to place Eurocentric epistemologies at the centre, to the detriment of all other epistemologies. The concept of the universal informs a single hegemonic paradigm whereby a single perspective is universalised. This is dangerous as it leads to the removal of any other perspectives which may be at odds with the universal paradigm and results in a destruction of other knowledge systems. As defined in the first chapter, this is epistemicide. It has also been shown in the previous chapters that this epistemicide has taken place in South Africa and continues to occur through neocolonialism. This is also the case at South African universities where there has been no access to African knowledge systems. Accordingly, it is crucial that the system is changed in order to both prevent further epistemicide, and to remedy the epistemicide that has already occurred. One such antidote, as Ngũgĩ explains above, is to move towards a multiplicity of centres.

Achille Mbembe also provides an informative explanation of Eurocentrism:

> "A Eurocentric canon is a canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production. It is a canon that disregards other epistemic traditions. It is a canon that tries to portray colonialism as a normal form of social relations between human beings rather than a system of exploitation and oppression…This hegemonic tradition has not only become hegemonic. It also actively represses anything that actually is articulated, thought and envisioned from outside of these frames."[132]

Mbembe's explanation echoes that of Ngũgĩ and continues the narrative of the danger of Eurocentrism. Not only does Eurocentrism promote Western epistemologies and ways of life, but it does so at the expense of all other epistemologies. Mbembe also shows how Eurocentrism and colonialism go hand in hand and the same can be said when it comes to neocolonialism. This is also connected to the epistemicide that occurred during the colonial process as Eurocentrism ensures that no other centres can exist. In terms of this it is relevant to note that

[131] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 25.
[132] Mbembe (n 17 above) 10.

universality is dangerous and can lead to epistemicide. Ngũgĩ explains why there is a need to move the centre. He shows how epistemicide occurred through colonialism by explaining that the conquest of Africa entailed the subjugation of African cultures through imposing Western cultures. He notes that, "under colonialism this took the form of destroying people's languages, history, dances, education, religions, naming systems, and other social institutions which were the basis of their self-conception as a people."[133] The destruction of cultures and people's self-conception in this manner lead to widespread epistemicide and a crisis of identity: which was addressed in the previous chapter. In terms of the epistemicide, not everything was destroyed, there was the destruction of many cultures or aspects thereof, however, some cultures survived, but were oppressed or prohibited. Universities contributed to this by only teaching a Western way of thinking and thus ignoring and even rejecting African teachings.

Ngũgĩ shows that colonialism brought about widespread epistemicide in Africa through the destruction of cultures, languages, and knowledge systems. The effects of this epistemicide are still felt today as many cultures remain broken and those that have survived do not have equal standing in society. This was all achieved through the promotion of a Eurocentric hegemony which continues to suppress any cultures that are different. As a result, it is a struggle for African cultures to find a space in neocolonial societies. A dominant single centre continues to permeate throughout contemporary South African universities, and this is constantly at the cost of any other cultures that differ from Eurocentrism. Some universities are beginning to incorporate other cultures, but Eurocentrism remains the *status quo* in most universities.

Ngũgĩ explains that the reason behind this imposition of Eurocentrism and the resultant epistemicide, was to "undermine people's belief in themselves and make them look up to the European cultures, languages, and the arts, for a measurement of themselves and their abilities."[134] The result of this was to impose a Eurocentric culture on Africans and to strip them of all the different aspects of their African identity. This made it easier to dominate them and exploit them which made it easier to further the colonial project. Epistemicide was a precursor to the imposition of Eurocentrism as the dominant *status quo* under which the colonised would have to live. The colonisers were not able to impose their culture and knowledge system while African cultures still enjoyed prominence, and they thus had to suppress, and in some cases, destroy other cultures in order to assert their cultural hegemony.

[133] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 42.
[134] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 43-44.

This approach stems from a colonial mindset which sees anything different as dangerous, and as a result, promotes the suppression and destruction of any such threats to a Eurocentric way of life.

Additionally, colonialism ensured that the processes of learning as well as the conceptions of oneself were colonised. This meant that:

> "Western culture became the centre of Africa's process of learning, and Africa was relegated to the background. Africa uncritically imbibed the values that were alien and had no immediate relevance to her people. This was the richness of Africa's cultural heritage degraded, and her people labelled as primitive and savage."[135]

The imposition of Western culture as the centre of Africa's process of learning was implemented at South African universities from the start. This illustrates the integral part that universities played in the colonising process, and continue to play, in a neocolonial South African society. Having a clear understanding of the implications of this is vital to realising the importance of the decolonising process. Colonialism was not an accident, nor were its actions that aligned to serve the interests of the colonisers. It was a well thought out and deliberate process which sought to affect the lives of the colonised in every way possible in order to make them the perfect subjects. Ngũgĩ agrees with this when he states that "racism, whose highest institutionalised form is apartheid, is not an accident. It is an ideology of control through divide and rule, obscurantism, a weakening of resistance through a weakening of a sense of who we are."[136]

The colonisers did whatever they needed to do to ensure that they would have all the power and be able to control the colonised. This was done in order to serve their interests and to enable them to create a *status quo* wherein Eurocentrism could flourish at the expense of all other epistemologies. This is what colonialism was and what neocolonialism is. Therefore, one cannot hope to address these injustices and change the system without a very deliberate process that can undo the work of the colonisers. However, in doing all of this, it is important to bear in mind that in decolonising there must never be anything that is done which is colonial in nature. This would defeat the purpose of the entire decolonising project. It also means that decolonising entails acceptance of multiple cultures and not the oppression or destruction of cultures in order to give one priority. If decolonising were to promote the dominance of one

[135] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 100.
[136] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 77.

culture over another it would be colonial in nature, and paradoxical, and thus defeat the whole purpose of the process.

Ngũgĩ clearly explains how the colonisers stripped Africans of their culture and values and imposed a single, dominant, Eurocentric culture on them. He thus emphasises the need to move away from a single dominant culture. African cultures can allow for dialogue with other cultures and this can foster fruitful interaction and contact between cultures. This will lead to a coexistence of cultures and a harmonisation. Specifically, it is important to look at how this can happen at South African universities, which are still gatekeepers of Eurocentrism. There is therefore a dire need for universities in South Africa to move the centre away from Eurocentrism towards a multiplicity of centres.

3.2.2 Towards a multiplicity of centres

Having discussed Eurocentrism and its implications, it is evident that it is a hegemonic paradigm which has existed to the detriment of all other paradigms. This must be remedied through moving towards a multiplicity of centres. Mbembe explains that "decolonizing (*à la* Ngũgĩ) is not about closing the door to European or other traditions. It is about defining clearly what the centre is. And for Ngũgĩ, Africa has to be placed at the centre."[137] This is a decolonising way of thinking about the centre. However, it must be noted that in this conception where Africa is the centre, Africa would not be the centre at the cost of all other centres, but rather one of many centres within a multiplicity of centres which would coexist within a pluriversal society. Thus, an African centre means a centre that is not hegemonic, and which does not reject other centres, but rather chooses to incorporate them into its pluriversal world view as a multiplicity of centres. The only difference is that in the initial stages of the decolonising process, while moving the centre, it may be necessary to prioritise African epistemologies so that they can achieve equal footing.

Ngũgĩ writes about how a multiplicity of centres can be attained by moving the centre away from Eurocentrism. When talking of moving the centre, Ngũgĩ explains that:

> "Imperialism in its colonial form was not able to destroy a people's fighting culture…[and that] imperialism in its neocolonial clothes will not be able to destroy the fighting culture of the

[137] Mbembe (n 17 above) 17.

> African peasantry and working class for the simple reason that this culture is a product and a reflection of real life struggles going on in Africa today."[138]

The above reference to the struggle of South Africans indicates that despite the destructive effects of colonialism and neocolonialism, the colonisers were not able to destroy the will of the African people. Africans continue to resist colonialism and will fight to overcome neocolonialism and restore their cultures to an equal status. This has been evident in South Africa through the numerous struggles against apartheid. Additionally, the fact that student protests which have occurred over the last few years have called for decolonisation, shows that young South African students are fighting to resist neocolonialism. Through this resistance it will be necessary to remove Eurocentrism as the dominant paradigm because in the current *status quo* there is no space for any other cultures or epistemologies.

Ngũgĩ explains this process and how it is decolonising in nature in that it does not aim to destroy other cultures but rather strives towards co-existence. He explains that:

> "The resistance culture and values of the African peasantry and working class have no basic contradiction with the democratic and humanistic cultures and values of the European and American peoples. These can hold a meaningful, fruitful dialogue. This is the dialogue and contact we must continue to aid, encourage and support by every means at our disposal."[139]

The idea of meaningful dialogue between cultures aligns with the concept of decolonising as a means of promoting coexistence. By treating other cultures with respect, they are seen as equal and this can then lead to creating a multiplicity of centres. The result of this is a move away from the fallacy that a single culture must dominate a society. Therefore, new conceptions of society as a pluriversity can become a reality.

Ngũgĩ shows that there has been a shift in the world with colonised nations seeking to change the *status quo*. This is evident where "the new [decolonial] tradition was challenging the more dominant one in which Asia, Africa and South America were always being defined from the capitals of Europe by Europeans who often saw the world through colour-tinted glasses."[140] These new traditions embody the conception of moving the centre away from a rose tinted view of the world as being Eurocentric. They do this through rejecting the notion that the world revolves around Eurocentric epistemologies and acknowledge the importance of other cultures

[138] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 45.
[139] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 45-46.
[140] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 3.

and knowledge systems throughout the world. This allows the shift towards noting the importance of other centres such as Africa, Asia, and South America, all of which have their own epistemologies which should be in dialogue with one another. Ngũgĩ further explains this cultural dialogue by noting that "culture contact can therefore play a great part in bringing about mutual understanding between peoples of different nations."[141] Intercultural dialogue will be further discussed in the fifth chapter on globalectics.

Here it is evident that, through cultures interacting with one another, differing views can be seen as something positive and beneficial and not as something dangerous that must be destroyed. Once this is understood, it is possible for there to be meaningful interactions between different cultures and perspectives which can result in the promotion of a positive world of coexistence. This does not mean that European cultures must be demoted or destroyed. It means that space should be made alongside European cultures for African, Asian, and South American cultures to enjoy an equal footing. Once this has happened it will be possible for all of these cultures to interact with one another. This would then be indicative of a decolonising approach and intercultural coexistence which can then build upon these interactions and reaffirm a multiplicity of centres.

Ngũgĩ talks about moving the centre with reference to literature, but the principles he mentions are applicable to the broader process of decolonising South African universities. He states that postcolonial literature "did point out the possibility of moving the centre from its location in Europe towards a pluralism of centres, themselves being equally legitimate locations of the human imagination."[142] This principle is relevant to this chapter as it shows how there has to be a shift away from a Eurocentric world whereby other ways of life and thinking can be legitimised. Given the broad epistemicide that took place in Africa it is even more pertinent to re-establish knowledge systems and create multiple centres. Not only should we acknowledge multiple centres, but they should also be given a legitimate place in the world and no longer be disregarded as inferior. This is the essence of the decolonising process at South African universities; there should not be one single dominant way of thinking but rather a pluriversality where multiple ways of thinking coexist.

Despite the existence of a neocolonial world, Ngũgĩ reaffirms his position on moving the centre by stating that he "believe[s] that the question of moving towards a pluralism of cultures,

[141] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 42.
[142] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 8.

literatures and languages is still important today as the world becomes increasingly one."[143] Although Ngũgĩ wrote this almost three decades ago, these words have never been more relevant, especially since the world has become increasingly integrated. And, across the world there are continued struggles for acceptance and equality in Eurocentric societies. We are in the age of increasing globalisation where we have a world that is connected both physically, in that we can travel everywhere, but also through modern means of communication. However, instead of this leading to a more unified world, neo-liberalism, neocolonialism, and consumer capitalism ensure that the world is based on exploitation and inequality. The decolonising process needs to be implemented in order to change the world, so that the world is still connected, but for positive reasons. This will enable the interconnectedness to be used to share ideas and cultures and to work together in solving the myriad of complex problems faced by the world, many of which were created by colonialism, and have been aggravated by neocolonialism. Therefore, we must strive for a world that is one, but in the true sense, whereby all are equal and can co-exist. The interconnectedness of the world and how global dialogues can be created links to the discussion on globalectics in the final chapter.

In explaining how it is possible to go about moving the centre towards a multiplicity of centres, Ngũgĩ notes that the process is "one of understanding all the voices coming from what is essentially a plurality of centres all over the world."[144] This encapsulates the call for a decolonising approach to knowledge generation; where it is accepted that there is more than one way of thinking and that numerous knowledge systems can coexist. In terms of these centres coming from all over the world, it links back to the metaphorical Pangea in chapter 1: the attainment of which would create an epistemologically connected world.

It is also necessary to emphasise that this multiplicity of voices creates harmony and ensures a more prosperous coexistence because there is no single dominating culture and there is acceptance of different cultures and approaches. This point is further strengthened when Ngũgĩ states that "all the dynamic cultures of the world have borrowed from other cultures in a process of mutual fertilisation."[145] This is exactly the point; it is actually in the best interests of all cultures to acknowledge and coexist with each other, as this it to the mutual benefit of all, and allows cultures to grow alongside one another instead of at the cost of each other. Through interacting with each other, cultures can literally fertilise one another. They can provide the

[143] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 10.
[144] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 11.
[145] Ngũgĩ (n 47 above) 22.

necessary knowledge that others may need to prosper and in turn receive that which they need to prosper. This will then ensure that there is not just co-existence, but also mutual prosperity.

3.3 The process of moving the centre

3.3.1 Delinking from Western modernity

Following on from the exploration of Ngũgĩ's conception of moving the centre, Mignolo expounds the notion of delinking from Western modernity. Two separate aspects must be explored in order to understand this process. First, the notion of Western modernity must be discussed. Secondly, it is necessary to explore how the process of delinking can be carried out.

3.3.1.1 Western modernity

Gordon explains that "a major mistake in understanding the contemporary situation of much of Africa is the conflation of colonialism with modernity."[146] He notes that this is a misconception which is reproduced as a fallacy whereby it is claimed and then promoted that the contemporary European or Western society is the epitome of modernity. This conception of Western modernity is inherently Eurocentric and is part of the dominant paradigm that Eurocentrism promotes. It creates a mould of modernity based solely on Western conceptions of progress, civilisation, technology, and culture. Therefore, in terms of this notion, any system which does not fall within the strict definition of Western modernity is seen as inferior, outdated, and uncivilised. This links to the above discussion of Eurocentrism and how it promotes a single hegemonic paradigm to the detriment of all others. Western modernity is a tool which effectively entrenches the colonial power matrix and ensures that the *status quo* remains Eurocentric.

In line with the problems with Western modernity that Gordon points out, Mignolo explains that:

> "Western modernity…has been built since the sixteenth century, and increasingly it is being viewed as the only and best option for the entire planet…debates have been carried on under the presupposition that Western civilization has it and that the rest of the world, all coexisting civilizations, languages, and epistemologies had nothing to contribute."[147]

[146] Lewis Gordon, "Thoughts for Today, Inspired by Amílcar Cabral," in *Claim No Easy Victories: The Legacy of Amilcar Cabra*l, ed. Bill Fletcher (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013), 184.
[147] Mignolo (n 38 above) 296.

This shows how Western modernity is seen by the West as the only perspective of the world. Western powers have linked modernity and the West, and this is problematic as it is to the exclusion of other conceptions of modernity. Western modernity thus encapsulates the dominant nature of Eurocentrism and is as integral in the perpetration of epistemological oppression and epistemicide in neocolonial societies. Mignolo provides a further explanation which shows this:

> "The fact that Western civilization was the most recent civilization in human history doesn't mean that it was the best, that the rest of the world should follow suit. However, the idea that European modernity was the point of arrival of human history and the model for the entire planet came to be taken for granted. The darker side of modernity materialized in this belief."[148]

Here Mignolo mentions the darker side of modernity and is referring to the link between Western modernity and colonialism. In order to ensure that colonialism and colonial narratives are accepted they were linked to the notion of Western modernity. This link was used to try and give colonialism legitimacy by promoting the fact that colonialism was simply ensuring that the rest of the world is in line with Western modernity, and that it is to the advantage of the colonised to have Western modernity imposed on them as it would improve their supposedly uncivilised way of life. The imposition of Western modernity was to create a Eurocentric *status quo* which was then imposed on colonised nations.

Furthermore, along with the promotion of Eurocentric perspectives and cultures, Western modernity also served a role in the colonial process by subverting all those paradigms which did not fall within its scope. This also happened at South African universities which have been modelled on the idea of Western universities. The way that campuses were built was to reflect Western modernity and the institutional culture, languages, and knowledge production at South African universities all mirror that of institutions in the West. Thus, Western modernity was permeated throughout South African universities as part of the colonial process to ensure that Eurocentrism became the dominant paradigm. In order to mitigate the effect of Western modernity, Mignolo speaks of delinking from Western modernity which is just like moving the centre away from Eurocentrism. This will be discussed below.

[148] Mignolo (n 38 above) xiv.

3.3.1.2 The process of delinking from Western modernity

Having understood the extent to which Western modernity is problematic and its darker side which connects it to colonialism and neocolonialism, delinking from Western modernity is clearly a vital aspect of the decolonising process.

Mignolo explains that "delinking means not to operate under the same assumptions even while acknowledging that modern categories of thought are dominant, if not hegemonic, and in many, if not in all of us."[149] He explains that one must move away from the idea that Western thought is the only form of thought. It is necessary to delink from this knowledge system because of its hegemonic nature. In the context of decolonising, Mignolo notes that "when Anibal Quijano introduced the concept of coloniality, and suggested disengaging and delinking from Western epistemology, he conceived that project as decolonization: decoloniality became an epistemic and political project."[150] Thus Mignolo is explaining that the project of decolonisation is not just a political one, but also requires epistemic aspects to be present. In terms of the epistemic aspects of decolonisation, the process must undertake to move away from Western epistemologies in the form of delinking from western modernity and thus Eurocentrism.

Moreover, Mignolo states that "decoloniality means decolonial options confronting and delinking from coloniality, or the colonial matrix of power."[151] There is thus a clear shift away from a colonial hegemony towards a process of decolonising which allows for the coexistence of multiple epistemologies, or centres. He explains this through showing that this "is why my argument is built on 'options' and not on 'alternatives'…(f)or that reason, the first decolonial step is delinking from coloniality and not looking for alternative modernities but for alternatives to modernity."[152] The essence of decolonising is captured through this explanation. If there weren't efforts to find the alternatives that Mignolo speaks of, this process would only amount to colonial-decolonisation. This would entail the implementation of a pseudo-decolonisation which is in fact based on colonisation in the form of a single hegemonic paradigm, as was cautioned against above. Instead, there should be a paradigmatic shift whereby it is acknowledged that the project of decolonising is not about adapting the system but rather about changing the whole system. It is about moving the centre through delinking from Western modernity towards a multiplicity of centres. It then follows that this can lead to

[149] Mignolo (n 38 above) 206.
[150] Mignolo (n 38 above) xxv.
[151] Mignolo (n 38 above) xxvii.
[152] Mignolo (n 38 above) xxviii.

the "opening up [of] global but non-capitalist horizons and delinking from the idea that there is a single and primary modernity surrounded by peripheral or alternative ones."[153] In essence this means that there will be a shift away from Eurocentrism, which is hegemonic in nature, towards pluriversity which promotes coexistence and the equality of paradigms.

Mignolo continues this line of thought by illustrating that:

> "Consequently, decolonial thinking and doing focus on the enunciation, engaging in epistemic disobedience and delinking from the colonial matrix in order to open up decolonial options—a vision of life and society that requires decolonial subjects, decolonial knowledges, and decolonial institutions."[154]

Here he explicitly states ways in which delinking can be carried out. He refers to epistemic disobedience which would entail the notion of rejecting the dominant Eurocentric epistemology and acknowledging the existence of other epistemologies. This would lead to delinking and the creation of the decolonial options that he refers to above. These decolonial options are different paradigms which would provide an entirely different system within which to exist, one that is based on people who are decolonised (in mind and body), decolonial epistemologies, and institutions which are decolonising. The decolonial options would need to stem from a multiplicity of centres to be in line with the decolonising framework. The ideas which Mignolo gives are vital building blocks for a decolonising framework which can contribute to the process of decolonial reconstruction.

Another point that Mignolo makes which is relevant to this discussion is that:

> "(C)ivil disobedience, within modern Western epistemology…could only lead to reforms, not to transformations. For this simple reason, the task of decolonial thinking and the enactment of the decolonial option in the twenty-first century starts from epistemic delinking: from acts of epistemic disobedience."[155]

He says that civil disobedience is not enough, and that there has to be epistemic disobedience. The centre must be moved through challenging the *status quo* and the Eurocentric paradigm in order to delink from it and shift towards a multiplicity of centres. Only then is it possible to

[153] Mignolo (n 38 above) 5.
[154] Mignolo (n 38 above) 9.
[155] Mignolo (n 38 above) 139.

overthrow the colonial matrix of power and reimagine society in terms of a paradigm which is pluriversal.

It can thus be seen that Mignolo's concept of delinking is vital to the discussion of moving the centre. Delinking is based on the notion that Western modernity has imposed a hegemonic and Eurocentric culture and knowledge system on colonised peoples. Mignolo further proposes that in order to undo this hegemony and reclaim freedom that decolonisation must manifest through delinking from this Western modernity. However, as Mignolo explains "(d)elinking doesn't mean—let's repeat—to abandon, but instead to invent decolonial visions and horizons, concepts and discourses."[156] This is directly in accordance with the idea of moving towards a multiplicity of centres which allows for the co-existence of different cultures and epistemologies. Delinking is thus synonymous with the idea of moving the centre and there must be further investigation of how other authors have approached this issue in order to conceptualise how it fits into the decolonising process.

3.3.2 Moving the centre

Gordon when talking about how African philosophical thinkers can address the Eurocentric nature of society explains that:

> "The Africana role involves bringing to the fore those dimensions of thought rendered invisible by virtue of the questioned legitimacy of those who formulate them…Here, the project is to articulate political reality itself, which entails a criticism of the centered standpoint and its own particularity: The centered standpoint is a false representation of reality."[157]

This is a call to move away from a Eurocentric world towards one with more decolonising centres. He further explains how the world becomes Eurocentric in that, "(t)he disciplines by which knowledge is produced often hid, by way of being presumed, a Eurocentric and racial prefix in which European and white self-reflection became the supposed story of the world."[158] As seen by the above discussions, this reality is problematic as Eurocentrism is a cornerstone for colonialism and neocolonialism and will ensure that the dominant viewpoint triumphs at the cost of all others. Therefore, it is vital that Eurocentrism is rejected and that the centre is moved. The narrative needs to be changed to one which acknowledges multiple centres and allows for the coexistence of numerous cultures and knowledge systems.

[156] Mignolo (n 38 above) 312.
[157] Gordon (n 46 above) 122-123.
[158] Gordon (n 46 above) 125.

Gordon further explains the issue regarding Eurocentrism through using a metaphor provided by Audre Lorde:

> "[Lorde] argued that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. The result of this insight has, however, been both positive and negative. On the one hand, it has been a rallying cry against Eurocentrism and colonizing concepts, against the dialectics of recognition in which dominating ideals reign. But on the other hand, it has also served the interest of the 'criticisms only' groups, those who regard theory as ultimately imperial and, historically, Western. This response emerges from the negative aspect of the metaphor, namely, tearing down the master's house."[159]

The last part of this quote, which refers to tearing down the master's house, relates to the broader issue in this dissertation of how to decolonise. Total destruction of all that currently exists would be problematic as it would fall within the realm of colonial-decolonisation. This is because it is a colonial concept to completely destroy and remove that which is different. A more decolonising approach would attempt to deconstruct the parts of the system which are harmful and salvage that which is beneficial and incorporate it in a reconstructed decolonising and harmonised society. While absolute destruction is counterproductive, as elements of Western culture are still valuable to a society of coexistence, it is notable that certain aspects of the system must be destroyed. For example, racialisation and the exploitation in light thereof should be destroyed along with other colonial and neocolonial mechanisms and institutions created to impose hegemonic domination. Gordon notes exactly this point by furthering the metaphor and stating:

> "(Y)es, they want to end slavery. But they also want to build freedom. To do that, what they may wish to do with the master's tools is to use them, along with the tools they had brought with them and which facilitated their survival, to build their own homes."[160]

This extension of the metaphor thus encapsulates the crux of decolonial reconstruction: that one should go about deconstructing and then reconstructing a system by only removing that which is harmful, instead of destroying every aspect of the system. The goal is to build Africa's own houses, through the decolonising process, and this can be done by using both the master's tools and those of the slave. In essence, this means that through the decolonising process, certain aspects of European culture are still valuable to the process of creating a pluriversality,

[159] Gordon (n 46 above) 136.
[160] Gordon (n 46 above) 136.

but they must be used in conjunction with African cultures. This is exactly what a multiplicity of centres entails. African centres must be restored alongside the other centres that exist, but which have had any harmful elements removed. This will allow for the coexistence of different cultures and knowledge systems. This metaphor of dismantling and rebuilding also shows that not only is decolonising an ongoing process, but that deconstruction and reconstruction can occur as parallel processes. Very often due to the complexity of the entrenched system it is necessary to be deconstructing and reconstructing at the same time.

De Sousa Santos provides an additional perspective to the issue of moving the centre. He explains that:

> "Alternatives are not lacking in the world. What is indeed missing is an alternative thinking of alternatives…the understanding of the world is much broader than the Western understanding of the world. This means that the progressive transformation of the world may also occur in ways not foreseen by Western thinking."[161]

Here De Sousa Santos has struck at the core of the issue of decolonial reconstruction and the notion of a multiplicity of centres. While a Eurocentric paradigm promotes a single perspective for looking at the world, it also prevents looking at different ways of thinking. Eurocentrism is closed off to any alternative cultures or epistemologies as well as new and different ways of solving problems. This means that a Eurocentric society is limited in the ways in which it can find solutions to its problems. Through moving the centre to a multiplicity of centres, it is possible to see different ways of looking at the world, as well as different ways of challenging the norms and in essence different ways of looking at difference. Instead of seeing difference as a bad thing, difference can be used to coexist and use multiple knowledge systems to solve complex issues. This can be achieved by adopting alternative ways of thinking about alternatives. There can be a plurality of ideas and perspectives. This approach is necessary at South African universities where there has been a very dismissive culture of thinking about alternatives as bad or wrong. Instead, alternatives should be seen as different solutions to the problems that society grapples with. Having students and lecturers with different perspectives working together to solve the same problem will lead to a more multi-faceted and dynamic solution. Therefore, through decolonising it is possible to broaden perspectives beyond the

[161] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 20.

restrictive Western understanding of the world and to enact multiple approaches to create a pluriversal way of living and addressing difference.

In furthering this point De Sousa Santos states that:

> "We need to give credit to other kinds of knowledge, those knowledges that carry such new possibilities. The scientific knowledge that brought us here will not be able to get us out of here, we need other knowledges, we need other conceptions of time, we need other conceptions of productivity, we need other conceptions of spatial scale."[162]

These examples show how important it is to move the centre away from a Western hegemony towards a pluriversal world with many different coexisting knowledge systems. There are so many aspects of neocolonial society that are dominated by Western knowledge systems. If we don't change each and every one of them, we are confined to a singular approach to various issues, an approach that has been shown to be as negative as it is domineering of, and destructive to, all other approaches. This elucidates the extent to which neocolonialism entrenches problematic mechanisms that are counterproductive, and therefore, the decolonising process must be ongoing as well as all-encompassing in order to change these systems. This should be the process that is followed at South African universities whereby knowledge production is driven by the search for new ways of thinking about problems in order to find decolonising solutions. As a result, education and knowledge production can become multi-dimensional and diverse and thus compromise of many different ways to perceive both the society, and those in it, and address the issues in South Africa.

Achille Mbembe, speaking in the context of colonisation in South Africa, with specific reference to recent student movements like #RhodesMustFall, explains that, "bringing Rhodes' statue down is one of the many legitimate ways in which we can, today in South Africa, demythologize that history and put it to rest."[163] This call for demythologising history links to the notion of moving the centre. There needs to be a shift away from a Eurocentric conception of identity and knowledge creation. Furthermore, literal removal of colonial era statues and other aspects of the system is a vital part of the dismantling of the system and it speaks to the above issue around the need for certain aspects of the system to be destroyed.

[162] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 22.
[163] Mbembe (n 17 above) 3.

Mbembe also notes, with reference to Ngũgĩ, that decolonisation is "a project of 're-centring'. It is about rejecting the assumption that the modern West is the central root of Africa's consciousness and cultural heritage. It is about rejecting the notion that Africa is merely an extension of the West."[164] This notion ties into the rewriting of African narratives and moving the centre. The term 're-centre' should not refer to the shift from one dominant centre to another but rather to a shift away from a single dominant centre to one which will make space for African cultures and epistemologies to be seen as legitimate alongside all other cultures. Thus, in rejecting that Africa is a mere extension of the West, African cultures and knowledge systems can become centres of their own, and these centres can then come to coexist with other centres. In turn this will lead to a multiplicity of centres of which Africa is one, unlike the current *status quo* where Africa's cultural heritage is seen in relation to the West.

Mbembe's thoughts on the matter bring together all the above-mentioned authors' views and effectively portrays the epitome of the notion of moving the centre and shows its importance in the decolonising process:

> "Our capacity to make systematic forays beyond our current knowledge horizons will be severely hampered if we rely exclusively on those aspects of the Western archive that disregard other epistemic traditions… Decolonizing knowledge is therefore not simply about de-Westernization. As writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o reminds us, it mostly means developing a perspective which can allow us to see ourselves clearly, but always in relationship to ourselves and to other selves in the universe, nonhumans included."[165]

This quote encapsulates the notion of a multiplicity of centres and a pluriversal world. Mbembe illustrates the importance of acknowledging the interrelationships that we have with others and that in order to decolonise it is necessary to accept and interact with that which is different.

Having understood the above notions and explanation relating to moving the centre it is pertinent to further explore the moving of the centre within South African universities and to provide pragmatic ways of how this can be achieved within the broader decolonising framework.

[164] Mbembe (n 17 above) 16.
[165] Mbembe (n 17 above) 24.

3.4 Moving the centre from universities to pluriversities

Having extensively explored the notion of moving the centre, it is relevant to explore how this can be done at South African universities. Through applying the work of the above authors, it becomes possible to explain how South African universities can undergo the process of moving the centre as part of the decolonising process. South African universities face neocolonialism and a hegemonic Eurocentric paradigm. This is notable as Ngũgĩ explains that "the world of academic study is still almost wholly dominated by that which has been initiated from the languages and centres of power in the West."[166] This is particularly the case in South African universities, which were, and continue to be, modelled on their Western counterparts. Additionally, many South African universities were white only universities during apartheid. They were used to not only promote colonial languages, but also to promote racist ideologies and Eurocentric epistemologies.

One aspect of moving of the centre at South African universities is that of the effect of African languages on critical scholarship. Ngũgĩ notes that "the growth and the development of the new African literature in African languages will have vast implications for critical scholarship. Currently, no expert in so-called 'African literature' need ever show even the slightest acquaintance with any African language."[167] This notion of an African languages based critical scholarship can be viewed as a pragmatic way to embark on decolonising South African universities. Similarly, to Maldonado-Torres' notion of each university creating a centre for the critical analysis of neo-liberalism which was explained in the previous chapter: universities should set up centres and departments for African languages based critical scholarship. How can African universities not have departments and centres that focus on African languages based critical scholarship? This does not make sense as there is no better place to have African languages based critical scholarship than in Africa. In doing so the centre will be moved away from a Eurocentric one and this will have a great impact in the decolonising of universities.

Ngũgĩ uses a powerful metaphor to explain the importance of a multiplicity of centres:

> "The transition in African, Asian, South America, North America and European letters is towards traditions that will freely give and take on the basis of equality and mutual respect, from this vast heritage of human creativity. The wealth of a common global culture will then be expressed in the particularities of our different languages and cultures very much like a

[166] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 28.
[167] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 23.

> universal garden of many-coloured flowers. The 'flowerness' of the different flowers is expressed in their diversity. But there is cross-fertilisation between them. And what is more they all contain in themselves the seeds of a new tomorrow."[168]

This metaphor is extremely relevant to the decolonising process and can be applied to South African universities. The current *status quo* at most South African universities is to approach education and learning in a very positivistic manner with a set curriculum dictated from the top down and very little space for critical thought and analysis. Any perspectives that do not align squarely with the curriculum are rejected and scholars are marked down for questioning that which they are taught to be gospel. Additionally, disciplines are taught in silos whereby students are seldom exposed to any knowledge from outside their field of study. Instead of this closed-off Eurocentric approach, universities should be cross-fertilising all their subjects with one another and allowing for there to be a multiplicity of centres both in their curricula and in their classrooms by promoting multi-disciplinary knowledge production. What better way to understand the complex problems faced by South Africans than to learn from all the differing perspectives that exist in the country.

The promotion of a pluriversal learning system will only encourage better learning and a better understanding of different cultures and perspectives. It will help scholars move away from the idea that there is only one right answer and promote a curiosity about that which is different so that scholars can learn from others and use their newfound knowledge to apply themselves wholeheartedly to multi-faceted knowledge production. To further extend the above metaphor, South African universities are little gardens within the broader society which can make use of the fertilisation between multiple cultures to grow the seeds of different cultures into healthy interconnected knowledge systems. Thus, through accepting different cultures and promoting interlinked knowledge production, universities can be the starting point of decolonising knowledge production, which can then spread the seeds (as multiple centres) of pluriversality throughout South African society.

In furthering his argument for a decolonising university, Ngũgĩ promotes the notion that one's context is vital when approaching studies in Africa. He illustrated this importance through explaining that "knowing oneself and one's environment was the correct basis of absorbing the world; that there could never be only one centre from which to view the world but that different

[168] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 24.

people in the world had their culture and environment as the centre."[169] As a result of this he speaks of how a pluralism of cultures must be accepted by university departments if they are to prioritise African knowledge systems and ensure that there is a multiplicity of centres in universities. Furthermore, emphasis should be placed on the context of both the learners themselves and the context within which they are learning as was discussed in the previous chapter.

There are two aspects to this. There is the fact that South African universities exist within an African context, and, there are also different students who each have their own context within these universities. It does not make sense to have curricula based on foreign concepts and contexts which are difficult for learners to relate to. Instead, the context of the learner and of the university can be used to ground the curriculum in and African context and provide terms of reference that make sense to the learners. Once this context is provided, it is then possible to have a multi-faceted curriculum with different epistemologies. This is directly linked to the notion of prioritising African epistemologies only in so far as they are then allowed to have an equal status to European epistemologies. Once this is the case it will then be possible to have a multiplicity of centres.

This point is well made through the following quote by Ngũgĩ:

> "It is therefore not really a question of studying that which is removed from ourselves wherever we are located in the twentieth century but rather one of understanding all the voices from what is essentially a plurality of centres all over the world. Institutions of higher learning in Africa, Europe, Asia and America should reflect this multiplicity of cultures, literatures and languages in the ways they allocate resources for various studies"[170].

From the above approach each scholar, no matter their origin, should learn about all other cultures while maintaining their own identity. This is how we can build a proper foundation for a pluriversal university and in turn a pluriversal society. Furthermore, Ngũgĩ speaks about the allocation of resources and this is something which universities must take note of. Currently, the allocation of university resources clearly shows where their priorities lie. Universities predominantly allocate resources towards studies in colonial languages with little to no resources allocated to the promotion of scholarship in African languages. Moreover, the resources are also allocated to programs and modules that continue to propagate Eurocentric

[169] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 9.
[170] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 10-11.

curricula and very few, if any, programs truly reflect a decolonising approach to both African history and education. When referring to the curricula of universities, Mbembe notes with concern that "there is something profoundly wrong when, for instance, syllabuses designed to meet the needs of colonialism and Apartheid should continue well into the liberation era."[171] While this is not the case with all curricula at all universities, the fact that curricula still promote apartheid and colonial era knowledge is very problematic and only serves to further entrench a Eurocentric *status quo*. In order to move away from Eurocentrism, and towards a multiplicity of centres at South African universities, universities need to reprioritise their resource allocation to reflect a high regard for a decolonising approach to education.

During the process of decolonising universities and moving towards a multiplicity of centres, it is necessary to be cautious to not fall into the trap of doing this superficially. When referring to the problematic scholar who uses colonial languages and simply borrows from African languages, Ngũgĩ states that such a scholar gives "absolutely nothing back to his languages. This ultimately is the tragedy of the Europhone tradition which has come to wear the mask of African literature. It is now a case of black skins in white masks wearing black masks."[172] This last sentence is profound because it shows that simply referring to African languages or cultures from a Western tradition or incorporating them into such a tradition is still colonial. The centre is still European and thus Eurocentrism remains even where Africans try to incorporate their cultures into a Eurocentric society. Thus, for the centre to truly move, the hegemonic European canon and traditions must be removed from a position of higher importance and be placed on an even footing with all other traditions and cultures. Through doing this Europe will no longer be the single dominant centre and African languages and cultures will be given an equal space to exist in a pluriversal university, a pluriversity.

Ngũgĩ refers to a couple of questions raised in relation to the study of African languages at universities, such as "if there is a need for a 'study of the historic continuity of a single culture', why can't this be African? Why can't African literature be at the centre so that we can view other cultures in relationship to it?"[173] Whilst I don't advocate for any single dominant culture, I do agree with these rhetorical questions. We are in Africa, and therefore it makes sense that an overarching African perspective should steer the agenda. However, this should not be done in a Eurocentric way. Instead, various African cultures and perspectives should provide the

[171] Mbembe (n 17 above) 32.
[172] Wa Thiong'o (n 47 above) 20.
[173] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above).

basis for a coexistence of cultures and there should be a shift away from English as the dominant *lingua franca*. This is particularly important since English often exists as the universal language, usually to the detriment of other languages and cultures. Mbembe addresses this issue by stating that:

> "Crucial in this regard was the need to teach African languages. *A decolonized university in Africa should put African languages at the centre of its teaching and learning project.* Colonialism rhymes with monolingualism. *The African university of tomorrow will be multilingual.* It will teach (in) Swahili, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Shona, Yoruba, Hausa, Lingala, Gĩkũyũ and it will teach all those other African languages French, Portuguese or Arabic have become, while making a space for Chinese, Hindi etc."[174]

By reprioritising African cultures, languages, and epistemologies, they can be used to provide a context within which a multiplicity of centres can coexist.

Mbembe acknowledges the fact that Eurocentrism is purveyed in the contemporary South African university. He states that "today the consensus is that part of what is wrong with our institutions of higher learning is that they are 'Westernized'."[175] This is a problem which needs to be addressed by moving the centre. In order to do this Mbembe also provides several practical ways of decolonising universities. One such way is when he speaks about access to South African universities. He notes the importance of literal access to universities in terms of funding and ensuring that Africans are demographically represented at universities. However, he explains that this is not the only type of access that is important and that when talking about access "we are also saying the possibility to inhabit a space to the extent that one can say, 'This is my home. I am not a foreigner. I belong here'. This is not hospitality. It is not charity."[176]

It is evident that there are two major barriers to access at South African universities. The first is the difficulty of physical access as so few South Africans have access to universities because there is not enough space, and many are not able to afford it. The second barrier is the institutional culture of the university itself. Many students who do have physical access to universities are still seen as second-class citizens and do not feel comfortable within university spaces. The first barrier is difficult to address through a decolonising framework as it has to do with funding and infrastructure development. For this to happen the South African government

[174] Mbembe (n 17 above) 36.
[175] Mbembe (n 17 above) 32.
[176] Mbembe (n 17 above) 30.

must prioritise higher education and allocate resources to make universities more accessible. This has happened to some extent following the #FeesMustFall protests, with more funding being allocated to low income students, but there is still a long way to go. The second barrier, however, can be addressed directly by the decolonising framework. This barrier can be addressed by creating a welcoming space for all, especially Africans, in South African universities. The reason that many students do not feel welcome at universities is because of the Eurocentric institutional culture. Once this is changed, by moving the centre, it will be possible to engender a welcoming space for different identities, and, African students will be able to truly feel that they belong.

Mbembe also talks about the need to promote critical thinking in universities. He explains that most universities teach students to follow a robotic way of learning and not to question and inquire. He goes on to say that this is wrong, and that instead:

> "The aim of higher education is to encourage students to develop their own intellectual and moral lives as independent individuals; to redistribute as equally as possible a capacity of a special type – the capacity to make disciplined inquiries into those things we need to know, but do not know yet."[177]

The promotion of such inquiries will create spaces where students can be critical and can begin to look at things through different perspectives. This will contribute to the moving of the centre away from any single dominant perspective. Thus, South African universities should promote an academic culture which both facilitates and promotes disciplined inquires by its students.

Another aspect of the university that needs to be decolonised is the focus on grades and standardised testing that creates a culture based on performance instead of genuine knowledge production. Mbembe notes that "we have to decolonize this because it is deterring students and teachers from a free pursuit of knowledge. It is substituting this goal of free pursuit of knowledge for another, the pursuit of credits."[178] Many South African universities have become commercialised degree factories that do not take the time to ensure that each student gets a proper education, but rather ensures that they meet the standard requirements to obtain a piece of paper that states that they have met the standard requirements. These objectives align with the colonialist and capitalist goals of many contemporary universities which have become corporatized. They are entrenched in a Eurocentric culture of competitiveness which prioritises

[177] Mbembe (n 17 above) 30.
[178] Mbembe (n 17 above) 30.

quantity and the ability to monetise one's knowledge over the quality of that knowledge. This is a big problem as it means that universities are not creating proper spaces for learning and as a result the knowledge which is acquired at university is very often insufficient or only of professional value. As microcosms of South African society, universities should be providing holistic education to all their students and ensuring that they are equipped with the skills to think independently and understand what they have learnt, and not just acquire functional knowledge that can be used to turn a profit. Therefore, it is necessary for universities to move away from an outcomes-based education model and place more emphasis on genuine teaching and learning that will properly equip students with holistic knowledge.

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni raises another important issue that South African universities need to address. When it comes to education in Africa and specifically when it comes to the pursuit of higher education, too many African scholars seek to gain knowledge abroad. He notes that, "African scholars continue to seek affirmation and validation of their knowledge in Europe and North America."[179] Many scholars only see themselves as legitimate if they have studied at high ranking universities in the northern hemisphere or by publishing in international journals. As a result, the measure of success is once again a Eurocentric one. Western knowledge production is prioritised and placed on a higher level than that of African knowledge production. Instead of continuing in this neocolonial mindset when it comes to affirming one's knowledge production, African scholars should look closer to home. South African universities should be prioritised and seen as the centres of African knowledge production. This should not be to say that there is no merit in Western universities and the knowledge that they produce but rather that African universities are as legitimate and affirming to African scholars. Therefore, promoting a multiplicity of centres of which Africa is one. African universities are equally capable of producing top research (and they do) and thus African academics must reject the view that institutions from the global South are inferior to those in the global North.

In order to truly address the issue of moving the centre in South African universities, Mbembe explains that "knowledge can only be thought of as universal if it is pluriversal…at the end of the decolonizing process, we will no longer have a university. We will have a pluriversity."[180] This idea of a pluriversity has been discussed before but should be addressed once again as it

[179] Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "The Dynamics of Epistemological Decolonisation in the 21st Century: Towards Epistemic Freedom," *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 40, no. 1 (2018): 20.
[180] Mbembe (n 17 above) 36.

links to the broader notion of the pluriversal which is one of the main goals of the decolonising process. As such it is necessary to clearly unpack this notion:

> "By pluriversity, many understand a process of knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity. It is a process that does not necessarily abandon the notion of universal knowledge for humanity, but which embraces it via a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among different epistemic traditions. To decolonize the university is to therefore to reform it with the aim of creating a less provincial and more open critical cosmopolitan pluriversalism – a task that involves the radical refounding of our ways of thinking and a transcendence of our disciplinary divisions."[181]

The concept of creating a pluriversity is what is required to move the centre in South African universities. As has been discussed before, the priority needs to be dialogue between cultures which are given an equal status on a horizontal plane with one another. There needs to be an allowance for interaction between differing cultures to foster cross-fertilisation, understanding, and collaboration. In terms of this strategy a pluriversity is a learning space which promotes openness and acceptance of different epistemologies which can coexist as multiple centres. As Mbembe states, the decolonising of the university also entails the 'radical refounding of our ways of thinking' and this speaks to the notion of decolonial reconstruction as well as the decolonising of the mind. This shows how moving the centre at South African universities will also require decolonising of the mind. This will also be the case when discussing re-membering and Globalectics in the following chapters.

3.5 Conclusion

Having explained the process of decolonising the mind and how it can be undertaken at South African universities, it was possible to explain the second aspect of the decolonising framework, moving the centre. It is evident that Eurocentrism has been integral to colonial and neocolonial domination. It was used as a way to oppress any differing views and entrench Western epistemologies. Furthermore, this led to the epistemicide of many African cultures and thus creates the need for a decolonising process to counteract Eurocentrism and its effects. The proposed countermeasure to address Eurocentrism and its effects is to move the centre towards a multiplicity of centres. This entails numerous epistemologies enjoying an equal standing within South African universities with no single epistemology dominating the others.

[181] Mbembe (n 17 above) 37.

In the initial phase of this process it will be necessary to give some priority to African epistemologies in order for them to regain their stature as legitimate knowledge systems, but thereafter, all epistemologies will coexist. In doing this it is also necessary to delink from Western modernity so that African narratives can be reclaimed. All these processes should find place at South African universities operating as microcosms of the broader society. The universities require decolonising and should take numerous steps to move from Eurocentrism towards a multiplicity of centres. There are many ways in which this can be done, such as prioritising education in African languages; contextualising education within the lives of learners and the broader South African society; allowing for the cross-fertilisation of knowledge; moving away from outcomes-based education models; creating centres for the study of African cultures and epistemologies; and acknowledging South African universities as top research institutions. Overall, through creating a multiplicity of centres, it will be possible for South African universities to become learning spaces where different cultures and epistemologies can coexist and thus these universities can become pluriversities.

Chapter 4 Re-membering Africa

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the third aspect of the decolonising framework: re-membering Africa. In previous chapters, I have dealt with two processes of decolonisation, namely, the imperative to decolonise the mind and the need to move the centre. Decolonising the mind entails a process of relearning, and changing the way one thinks, as well as reconciling a dichotomous identity crisis which was brought about by colonialism and continues under neocolonialism. This process is linked to moving the centre, which is necessary because of the dominance of a Eurocentric *status quo*, and this creates the need to move towards a multiplicity of centres. These two processes are interlinked with the need to re-member. This further addresses the systematic epistemicide that was perpetrated against Africans under colonialism and which continues to be perpetrated under neocolonialism. Colonialism perpetrated a destruction of knowledge systems, traditions, cultures, and ways of life. In order for the decolonising process to remedy the damage caused, there has to be a re-memberment of all that was dismembered. This chapter considers Ngũgĩ's book: *Re-membering Africa*. The book looks at the decolonisation of the memory of Africans as well as the notion of decolonising modernity.[182] Accordingly, this chapter continues the approach set out in the previous chapter in terms of addressing Western modernity.

As has been previously stated, the decolonising process is complex and interconnected. The aspect, or process, of re-membering adds another important dynamic to the previous two chapters. They all work together as an interlinked process towards a decolonising framework. This chapter uses two similar concepts: 'remember' and 're-member'. The former addresses the process of decolonising the memory of Africans. This means that due to the imposed Eurocentric epistemologies, as well as the colonising of the mind, the memories of Africans have become tainted and distorted. Memories thus need to be decolonised to express the true narratives of Africa and its peoples. The latter addresses the epistemicide and dismemberment of African culture and the process of putting it back together. These two processes are closely interlinked and essentially address the same thing in different ways. Remembering is part of the broader process of re-membering Africa. It relates to reclaiming the memory of African narratives and correcting false accounts of African history. Re-membering African society is

[182] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) vi-vii.

integral to the process of decolonial reconstruction, thus creating an African society that is whole, and which can then work towards coexistence with other cultures and creating a pluriversal world. This process is relevant to South African universities as they too have played a role in dismembering and will thus be integral for remembering and re-membering.

Again, using Ngũgĩ's work, this chapter will start by examining the process and effects of dismemberment in Africa. Thereafter the notions of remembering and re-membering Africa will be explored. Finally, re-membering will be addressed in terms of pragmatic changes which should be made within the context of South African universities.

4.2 Understanding the dismembering of Africa

Before unpacking the process of re-membering Africa it is vital that we clearly understand the dismemberment of Africa and the lasting effects it has had on Africa and its peoples.

4.2.1 Dismemberment of Africa

Ngũgĩ writes of the history of Africa and explains what colonialism did to Africa. With reference to the atrocities committed against the African people he explains that:

> "The beheading of King Hintsa and the burial of Waiyaki alive, body upside down, and the removal of the genitalia of the Africans in America, go beyond particular acts of conquest and humiliation: they are enactments of the central character of colonial practice in general and of Europe's contact with Africa in particular since the beginnings of capitalist modernity and bourgeois ascendancy. This contact is characterised by dismemberment. An act of absolute social engineering, the continent's dismemberment was simultaneously the foundation, fuel, and consequence of Europe's capitalist modernity."[183]

From the above quote it can be clearly seen that the dismemberment of Africa was not a side-effect of colonialism, but rather an integral and strategic part of colonial conquest. It was necessary to dismember Africans so that capitalist Western modernity could be easily imposed on the African people. Ngũgĩ goes on to explain that there were two stages of the process of dismemberment in Africa. The first stage was splitting Africans between the African continent and the diaspora. By taking Africans out of Africa through the slave trade the process of dismemberment was started. The purpose of this was to use free African slave labour to provide the necessary human capital resources for Europe's industrialisation and capital

[183] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 2.

accumulation.[184] The exploitation of African slaves sped up the industrialisation process and ensured that the European powers, in the Americas and the Caribbean in particular, were able to develop and accumulate resources and capital very quickly and to the detriment of Africa.

Following this first stage of dismemberment Ngũgĩ notes that "the very needs of the Industrial Revolution—markets for finished goods, sources of raw materials, and strategic requirements in the defence of trade routes—led inexorably to the second stage of the dismemberment of the continent."[185] Here Ngũgĩ is referring to the 1884 Berlin Conference where the colonial superpowers met to agree on how to carve up Africa into different countries and regions so that they could easily identify, control, and exploit the resources of their colonies. As a result, Africa was "literally fragmented and reconstituted" by the British, French, Portuguese, German, Belgian, and Spanish.[186]

In order to explain the effect that this dismemberment has had, Ngũgĩ gives the example of plantations in Africa:

> "The subsequent colonial plantations on the African continent have led to the same result: division of the African from his land, body, and mind. The land is taken away from its owner, and the owner is turned into a worker on the same land, thus losing control of his natural and human resources."[187]

This provides evidence of the severity of the effects of dismemberment on the African people. They had everything taken away from them, and then, to add to their misery, were also oppressed and forced to work as slaves. Not only were they physically separated from their land and loved ones, but the resulting existence and treatment they endured also had the effect of dismembering their minds and souls.

Ngũgĩ illustrates the extent of this dismemberment by explaining that the colonialists "did not literally cut off the heads of the colonized and bury them alive [Unlike with King Hintsa and Waiyaki]. Rather, they dismembered the colonized from memory, turning their heads upside down and burying all the memories they carried."[188] By dismembering the colonised from memory, the African people, their cultures, and their identities became fragmented. This led to the colonising of the minds of African people, as was discussed in the second chapter on

[184] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 3.
[185] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 3.
[186] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 3.
[187] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 3-4.
[188] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 4.

decolonising the mind; and the imposition of a Eurocentric paradigm upon Africa, as was discussed in the third chapter on moving the centre and the promotion of false narratives about Africa and its peoples. These notions will be further developed in this chapter. The far reaching effects of the dismemberment of Africa have been felt for generations and continue to play a prodigious role in neocolonial Africa. It has resulted in Africans becoming a broken people, fighting for their survival in a system that seeks to prevent it.

One major part of dismemberment, which has been addressed previously in this dissertation, is that of epistemicide. As De Sousa Santos explains above, epistemicide entails the destruction of knowledge including cultures, memories, ancestral links, and how people interact with one another.[189] This is exactly what happened through the dismemberment which occurred in Africa as a result of colonisation and is why neocolonial Africa is now broken and fragmented. Epistemicide is particularly relevant when discussing the dismemberment of Africa. This further emphasises the crucial need to restore Africa and its people through re-membering it.

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, when discussing the effects of colonialism and dismemberment, notes that:

> "A struggle for epistemic freedom is raged against silences as an imperial/colonial technology of dismemberment. The first silence cascaded from the very Eurocentric idea of history and the philosophy of history…. Here were born ideas of 'rapture' and 'difference' as constitutive technologies of colonisation of time. Here was also born the monolingual language of social science that obliterated the realities of plural ways of being human and knowing."[190]

Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains how colonialism silenced African history through its acts of epistemicide. Eurocentric history and epistemology usurped its place, and as a result (as has been discussed in previous chapters), there was suppression and destruction of African epistemologies. This resulted in the destruction of a pluriversal Africa and the imposition of a universal Western colonial Africa. This universal Westernised Africa is still maintained through neocolonial mechanisms. Following from this, Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains why it is necessary to restore the concept of Africa as being the home of reason, knowledge and culture. Because of the dismemberment that has occurred:

> "The imperative to shift the geography of reason arises from the reality of dismemberment of black people from the human family, which raises the fundamental problem of 'what it means

[189] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 18.
[190] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 28.

> to be human after the restrictions placed on such a concept by modern conquest and colonization'."[191]

Thus, in addressing this dismemberment through re-membering, it will be possible to restore the humanity of Africans. For too long Africans have been perceived as subhuman or lesser humans by the colonisers, and through re-membering African epistemologies and sources of reason will it be possible to undo this damage and restore their dignity and humanity.

4.2.2 Remapping and renaming Africa in the name of 'discovery'

Ngũgĩ explains how, having dismembered Africa and in turn Africans, the colonisers then went about the process of remapping, renaming, and claiming ownership of Africa.[192] The colonisers used naming to show that they owned a place and did this with total disregard for the African names that already existed. As a result of this "a European memory becomes the new marker of geographical identity, covering up an older memory or, more strictly speaking, burying the native memory of place."[193] The conception that native memory was buried is notable. This concept notion will be further discussed below, but it is an indication that despite all their efforts, the colonisers were not able to totally destroy African memories. They could only oppress and bury them. It is clear that this strategy was used to rewrite the African narrative in a way that paints the colonisers in a good light and puts Europeans at the centre. The narrative portrayed Europeans, not as colonisers, but, as explorers who 'discovered' Africa and other continents. According to their rationale, this then gave them the right to name these 'newfound' places which in turn gave them the right to own these places. This narrative is obviously fallacious as all the places that the so-called explorers 'discovered', already existed and had inhabitants who had named the places already. But:

> "When Europe contemplated Africa through the prism of its bourgeois desire to conquer and dominate, it saw nothing but uninhabited lands. A uniform rationale for European settlements in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa was that the land was empty of human beings. Where inhabited, it was by hordes of savages virtually indistinguishable from nature."[194]

Thus, by promoting the narrative that they had 'discovered' their colonies, colonisers were able to justify their actions as well as attempt to erase the history of African people and other colonised peoples. Furthermore, by viewing any human inhabitants as savages, the coloniser

[191] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 33.
[192] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 5.
[193] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 5-6.
[194] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 17.

diminished the humanity of the colonised. This made it both easier to oppress them, as well as to justify their own actions. In terms of this, "in his attempt to remake the land and its peoples in his image, the conqueror acquires and asserts the right to name the land and its subjects, demanding that the subjugated accept the names and culture of the conqueror."[195] This served the coloniser's purpose of colonial domination and ensured that they could then exploit the colonised as the colonisers saw themselves as the rightful owners of the land and resources that they had in fact stolen.

Following on from the imposition of European names for geographical locations, the colonisers also extended their naming privileges to the giving of names to the colonised. This was used to further dismember African people and separate them from their cultural identities. By taking away their names and imposing colonial names on them they became the perfect colonial subjects, ripe for oppression and exploitation. As a result:

> "A systematic program eliminated their memory of Africa. Their own names and naming systems once again were seen as a barrier to the intended amnesia. So, break up their names. Give them the names of the owners of the plantations to signify their being the property of Brown or Smith or Williams…The result was that everyone in the African diaspora, from the tiniest Caribbean and Pacific island to the American mainland, lost their names: Their bodies became branded with European memory."[196]

This deliberate, systematic program was an effective tool to further oppress African people. They were stripped of their identity and forced to embody European memory. This meant that they were disconnected from their cultures and this made the colonised easier to control. While Ngũgĩ refers to the diaspora in this context, this also happened in Africa where European names were given to Africans in accordance with the same systematic program. Here he explains that "if the diaspora resulted in the death of African names, the continent saw the shadowing of African names by European ones."[197] This clearly shows another aspect of dismemberment, having one's own name taken from them and being left with a broken identity.

Another aspect that links to the diaspora is the notion that the memories of the African diaspora were buried as mentioned in an earlier quote. This is notable since despite the widespread epistemicide that was perpetrated upon African people and the egregious acts committed,

[195] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 6.
[196] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 10.
[197] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 11.

memories could not be destroyed. They can be banned, suppressed, punished, but one cannot destroy a memory. As a result, through the process of remembering it will be necessary to uncover these memories, dig them up so to speak. They do exist in the minds of African peoples. This is because much of the memory and history of African peoples has been accurately passed down through generations. These memories just need to be reclaimed and given their rightful place in history.

4.2.3 Dismemberment through language

Along with the abovementioned colonising methods, this dismemberment was perpetrated against Africans through linguifam (linguistic famine) on the continent and linguicide (linguistic genocide) in the diaspora. Ngũgĩ explains that "linguicide is the linguistic equivalent of genocide. Genocide involves conscious acts of physical massacre; linguicide, conscious acts of language liquidation."[198] This ripped the Africans in the diaspora away from their own languages and forced them to adopt European languages. On the African continent there was linguifam which led to the suppression of African languages:

> "Linguifam is to languages what famine is to the people who speak them—linguistic depravation and, ultimately, starvation…African languages—deprived of the food, water, light, and oxygen of thought, and the constant conceptualizing that facilitates forging of the new and the renewal of the old—underwent slow starvation, linguifam."[199]

Thus, on the African continent the languages of the indigenous people were diminished or discouraged, and colonial languages were imposed upon them. This also meant that Africans were stripped of their cultural identity through their languages being subjected to linguifam. Linguicide in the diaspora and linguifam on the African continent were tools used by the coloniser to further dismember Africa.

Linguifam is particularly relevant to the act of dismembering Africa because as Ngũgĩ explains, "language is [a] communication system and carrier of culture by virtue of being simultaneously the means and carrier of memory—what Franz Fanon calls 'bearing the weight of a civilization.'"[200] By starving a language, which is the carrier of culture and memory, one starves that culture and the memory of it. So even though a person may still have certain links to their culture, by severing their linguistic link you are ensuring that they will slowly forget

[198] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 12-13.
[199] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 14.
[200] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 15.

their cultural identity. Ngũgĩ confirms this by explaining that "to starve or kill a language is to starve and kill a people's memory bank."[201] This was what happened in colonial Africa with many colonised peoples losing their connection to their culture through losing their language. Even to this day, many Africans struggle to connect with their culture because they have lost their language. This is the case at South African schools, as has been discussed in previous chapters. Policies exist in schools which discourage or even punish the use of African languages thus contributing to the linguifam in the education system. In order for Africans to reconnect with their culture, it is important to restore their languages. This also needs to happen in South African universities which still have languages policies that prioritise Western languages and exclude African languages to counteract the neocolonial project of linguifam.

4.2.4 Dismemberment through getting rid of one's blackness

Furthermore, another part of the dismemberment process was to promote the narrative that in order to be accepted within a white, European society, Africans must rid themselves of their blackness. In terms of this, "the view that blackness could be washed off by generous contact with Europe was carried out symbolically with the production of a European-language-speaking elite and the attachment of Europeans names to the body."[202] By doing this the coloniser reaffirmed their control over the colonised by 'promoting' a small elite of the colonised people into the realm of being. Thus, they carried out the colonising of the African people through incorporating some of the colonised into the colonial apparatus. To borrow from Fanon, these European-language-speaking elites came to lose their entire identity and became assimilated black bodies with what were metaphorical white masks. These metaphorical white masks entail the assimilated identity that the European-language-speaking elites take on. The result of this was that the "African elite's continued self-identification with Franco- Anglo-, and Lusophonism attest to the burial of the Afro under layers of Europhonism."[203] Thus, the African identity must be 'dug up' and re-membered so that Africans can restore their identity.

Fanon speaks about the loss of blackness in terms of the reality of the otherness that is felt by being black in a colonial society. As mentioned above, he explains how, in a colonial (or neocolonial) society, one is banished to the zone of non-being. As a result of this, he shows how it is seemingly impossible to maintain one's identity when viewed as inferior by the

[201] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 15.
[202] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 20.
[203] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 20.

coloniser, "I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together again by another self."[204] This notion is closely linked to the discussion of the decolonising of the mind but also has a dimension related to re-membering. Part of re-membering Africa is re-membering Africans. Therefore, fragmented identities must be restored so that fragmented memories and cultures can also be restored. This, he explains, leads to one's identity becoming fragmented, and it is only through rejecting such a system and freeing oneself of the colonial systems that it is possible to re-member an African identity and become whole again. This is further explained by Sylvia Wynter who notes that:

> "This 'put together' other self then analyzes his experience, seeing it as one common to all black men. The quality of this experience, he recognizes, was new in kind. They had not known it when they had been among themselves, still at home in the French island colony of Martinique. Then, 'he would have had no occasion, ...to experience his being through others.' Here he must directly confront a reality that had not revealed itself in all its starkness, before his arrival--the reality of the 'being of the black man.'"[205]

From this explanation, it is evident that during the process of putting oneself together after becoming fragmented, one is faced with the reality of being black. This reality is starker when existing in the colonial society that is so obsessed with your blackness and making it synonymous with inferiority. This further shows that the reality of being black and feeling inferior is only a reality in a society which has constructed it as such. Black is not innately inferior; it is only made to appear so in order to serve the interests of the colonisers. Thus, for colonised people to overcome this reality they must reject the false identity which has been imposed upon them and re-member their real identity.

In conclusion to the discussion of dismemberment, it is notable that "colonialism attacks and completely distorts a people's relationship to their natural, bodily, economic, political, and cultural base. And with this base destroyed, the wholeness of the African subject in active engagement with his environment is fragmented."[206] This fragmentation/dismemberment has occurred throughout colonial Africa and has continued in neocolonial Africa, as well as in South African universities. This is an endemic crisis and must be urgently addressed in order

[204] Fanon (n 43 above) 109.
[205] Sylvia Wynter, "Towards the Sociogenic Principle: Fanon, Identity, the Puzzle of Conscious Experience, and What It Is Like to Be 'Black'," in *National Identity and Sociopolitical Change: Latin America Between Marginalization and Integration,* eds. Mercedes Durán-Cogan and Antonio Gómez-Moriana (Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 2001), 49.
[206] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 22.

to begin the process of remembering and re-membering Africa. In line with this, Ngũgĩ states the following:

> "It could be argued that the political and cultural struggles of Africans since the great dismemberment wrought by European slavery, and then colonialism, have been driven by the vision of wholeness. These struggles, taken as a whole, have been instrumental as strategies and tactics for remembering the fragmented. Indeed, they have comprised a quest for wholeness."[207]

This quest for wholeness is exactly what re-membering Africa is about and will also be explored further in in the next chapter on globalectics. It needs to be implemented at South African universities in order for them to be part of holistic African life and knowledge production. It is apt to now turn the discussion to how this process can be embarked upon.

4.3 Remembering and re-membering Africa

The next part of the decolonising process is to re-member Africa. This aspect is of vital importance because it seeks to redress the epistemicide and dismemberment of Africa. Having begun the processes of decolonising the mind and moving the centre, it is necessary to put the pieces back together so that Africa can become whole again.

In the foreword to Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, Homi Bhabha writes about remembering Fanon. In his foreword there is reference to remembering and re-membering and an explanation of this process is given:

> "Remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present."[208]

This explanation of the re-membering process is a valuable addition to the discussion of re-membering Africa. It aptly captures the essence of the challenges of re-membering. The process it not an easy one and is not as simple as putting something back together again. Africa and its people were forcefully ripped apart, they were shattered into innumerable pieces, and it is thus painful when it comes to putting these pieces back together. Reference is also made to trauma, and specifically the trauma of the present. The suppression of past trauma is detrimental to the

[207] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 22.
[208] Fanon (n 43 above) xxiii.

individual as well as the collective. However, this quote adds another dimension to the trauma of re-membering. Not only must one address the traumas of the past, but in doing so, more trauma is experienced, thus adding to the overall trauma experienced by African peoples. It becomes a vicious cycle where, in addressing the past traumas, present traumas occur which must then be addressed in the future. This is something which must be kept in mind when embarking on the process of re-membering. However, despite this process being traumatic I would argue that it is nonetheless necessary. Moreover, even though new trauma may be felt through re-membering, this process will also ensure that healing can begin. And, as this process continues, the amount of trauma will minimise until eventually Africa is fully re-membered and its people are healed so that they can all unite to create a holistic Africa. This will then lead to the creation of a world which is pluriversal and allows for all cultures and people groups to coexists harmoniously.

4.3.1 African memory does not disappear quietly

What needs to be determined is how to address this dismemberment. How does one, as part of the decolonising process, re-member Africa? It begins with acknowledging that the African identity has been suppressed and become disjointed, as was discussed in the first two chapters. It is necessary to put it back together in conjunction with decolonising the mind, the body, and society. When talking about this, Ngũgĩ makes reference to the Egyptian myth of Osiris whereby, "out of the fragments and the observance of proper mourning rites comes the wholeness of a body re-membered with itself and with its spirit."[209] Furthermore, he explains with reference to African writers that "the fascination of these writers lies in the quest for wholeness, a quest that has underlain African struggles since the Atlantic slave trade."[210] Thus, it is shown that re-membering is in fact a quest for wholeness, whereby the dismembered African identities and cultures can be put back together and made whole again.

In order to re-member one must also remember. In terms of this Ngũgĩ notes that:

> "Memory is the link between the past and the present, between space and time, and it is the base of our dreams. Writers and intellectuals in these movements are aware that without reconnection with African memory, there is no wholeness…A good number of novelists also start with attempts at historical reconstruction."[211]

[209] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 24-25.
[210] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 25.
[211] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 28.

Therefore, it is seen that part of re-membering is to literally remember and to reclaim African wholeness through this process. It also speaks to historical reconstruction, which is directly linked to the broad approach of reconstruction in this dissertation, whereby, in order to overcome colonialism and neocolonialism, one must reconstruct the systems, or in this case the history. Therefore, remembering plays a part in the decolonising process of destruction, deconstruction, and reconstruction. After destroying the memories that are Western constructs and have been imposed by the coloniser, and deconstructing those elements of history that are problematic, it is possible to begin to reconstruct African history. Part of this is the digging up of suppressed African memories that are tainted, but nonetheless have survived the colonisation of the mind.

Thus, an integral aspect of re-membering is the idea of memory itself. "European memory sprouts on the graveyard of African memory. But African memory does not disappear quietly into that good night. It mounts resistance in both the African continent and the diaspora."[212] The fact that African memory does not disappear quietly is a key aspect of the decolonising process. While there have been attempts to perpetrate an absolute epistemicide on African memory through colonisation and neocolonisation, this has not been successful. This resistance must be capitalised on and be used to remember and bring back African memories to make Africa and its people whole again. This is because:

> "The colonizing presence sought to induce a historical amnesia on the colonized by mutilating the memory of the colonized; and where that failed, it dismembered it, and then tried to re-member it to the colonizer's memory—to his way of defining the world, including his take on the nature of the relations between colonizer and colonized."[213]

Although colonisers supplanted African memory with European memory, they did not succeed in complete epistemicide. African memory still lives on in the minds of the colonised. It must thus be recovered through remembering in order to re-member Africa. This process is interlinked to the previous two chapters. One must decolonise the mind in order to restore African memories; in conjunction with moving away from the Eurocentric paradigms imposed by the coloniser; which occurs in relation to remembering and thus re-membering Africa and Africans. This interlinked process should take place at South African universities which can play an important role in helping to restore memories through decolonising education.

[212] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 32.
[213] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 82.

4.3.2 Mourning as a means to re-member

One of the ways in which it is possible to begin the process of re-membering is to properly mourn all that Africa has lost and continues to lose. Ngũgĩ explains the value of the mourning process in African culture:

> "Underlying the importance of mourning is the African worldview of the unity of the dead, the living, and the unborn…Mourning, then, is a sombre celebration of a rite of passage in the journey of the trinity, but it is also a memory, a re-membering of the ancestors, and honouring of the heritage they have left the living. It is a closure and an opening to a new relationship of being."[214]

There are many scars from colonialism. One of these is the suppression of mourning and thereby the inability to connect with one's culture. Not only has there been so much for the African people to mourn, but they have also been prevented from properly mourning their losses. The result of this has been a denial of loss, and this denial "means no mourning at all, for you cannot mourn a loss you deny."[215] Ngũgĩ further explains that this denial of loss has had a massive negative effect on the people of Africa in that "the trauma can be passed on transgenerationally as 'the unfinished business of a previous generation' to haunt the future."[216] Africans need to overcome this collective trauma through decolonising and being able to mourn and thus re-member themselves. Through properly mourning and breaking the cycle of passing trauma down generations, Africans will be able to move forward towards a whole and united Africa.

Continuing this point, Ngũgĩ notes that in Africa there has never been a proper mourning of the "deaths that occurred in the two traumatic events in its history: slavery and colonialism…Altogether, it was an African holocaust, or horrordom. Those who fell never had a proper burial, nor were they periodically mourned."[217] The fact that no proper mourning occurred has had a massive impact on the African people. How can one hope to look to the future and strive towards a better life when one has not yet overcome the horrors of the past? Ngũgĩ explains that, through a lack of mourning, "(t)here is no healing, no wholeness: only a dislocation of the national psyche, for in not remembering the past, there are no inherited ideals

[214] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 43.
[215] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 43-44.
[216] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 43-44.
[217] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 44-45.

by which to measure the present."[218] Mourning is thus integral to the healing process required for the re-memberment of Africa.

Not only has colonialism caused wounds, but the continued oppression through neocolonialism prevents the healing of these wounds, and in fact, causes them to fester. Many neo-liberals argue that the past is in the past and that it should be left there, but this is not true. In order to move forward from the past, the past must be dealt with properly. First, all accounts of Africa's history must be corrected to reflect the true nature of the atrocities that occurred. Second, there must be a proper recognition that, what has happened and is happening to Africa is fundamentally unjust. Third and finally, there must be space and time to properly mourn all that has happened. Only after this has been done will it be possible to move forward from the past. And even then, the past must not be forgotten but borne in mind lest we repeat the mistakes of the past.

4.3.3 Remembering and the importance of memory and language

Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains the importance of memory and the role that African intellectuals must play in restoring it. He explains that African intellectuals and academics can do this "through reconnecting 'with the buried alluvium of African memory — that must become the base for planting African memory anew in the continent and the world'."[219] So, through planting African memory anew, it will be remembered and thus contribute to the re-membering process.

Therefore, when it comes to the notion of remembering one must understand the role that memory plays in the decolonising process. Colonisation and neocolonialism have had a negative impact on African people by supressing their memories and imposing European memories on them. As was discussed above, one of the methods of dismemberment was through linguifam. In line with this Ngũgĩ explains that:

> "Memory and consciousness are inseparable. But language is the means of memory, or, following Walter Benjamin, it is the medium of memory. It is here, in memory's very medium, that the various movements' quest for wholeness seriously falters: Their relationship to both European and African languages remains problematic."[220]

[218] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 46.
[219] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 39.
[220] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 29.

One of the ways that this is problematic is that many African intellectuals prefer using colonial languages over their mother tongues. This means that even when they attempt to remember Africa, they do so by using a colonial tool. The result is that they essentially just reaffirm the neocolonial system, and this continues to tarnish African memory. The tarnishing of African memory is the best way to describe what has happened. As has already been explained, it was not possible to completely destroy African memory. So instead, colonisers through epistemicide and other oppressive tools, sought to tarnish African memory whereby Africans were forced to suppress their identities and languages and were taught that Africa was inferior. This led to the tarnishing of the memory of Africa for many, but not all, as some Africans were able to hold onto an untarnished memory of Africa. It is these untarnished memories that must be restored in order to remember and thus re-member Africa.

This is seen when "acting as if their native means of memory were dead, or at least unavailable, the continental African chose to use the languages that buried theirs so as to connect with their own memory—a choice that has hobbled their re-membering literary visions and practices."[221] This is a serious obstacle to re-membering Africa and to the decolonising process as a whole. However, the use of colonial languages to attempt to restore African memory is not always the case. In fact, in many places Africans continue to strive to use their own languages to remember Africa. Speaking of continental Africa, Ngũgĩ explains that:

> "African languages may have been shut out of the classroom, marketplace, and administration. They may indeed have been forced to whisper like hungry ghosts. But they did not die; they were kept alive by the peasantry in the culture of the everyday and in the great tradition of orature. Like their counterparts in the field slaves, the peasantry as a whole, speaking Yoruba, Wolof, Akan, and Zulu—and the whole lot of languages in Africa—remain the collective griot, the keepers of communal memory. They do whatever they can to express the world in their own languages, sometimes even absorbing words from the English or French or other tongues, as all living languages tend to do."[222]

Through holding onto their cultural roots, many Africans have kept their languages, and thus their cultures alive in the face of the attempted epistemicide, linguicide, and linguifam. Despite every effort to oppress and dismember African cultures and linguistic traditions, everyday Africans were able to retain their languages through everyday use. This is where one must start when it comes to the re-membering of African languages and cultures. It starts with the

[221] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 30.
[222] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 37.

everyday person who has the tools at their disposable and must simply be encouraged to use them. This way the tradition of African language use can spread and can be used to remember and re-member Africa. Furthermore, from the above quote it is seen that African culture incorporates other cultures and languages into their own, it is decolonising as it does not occur through the oppression of another culture. Rather, there is the sharing of languages and cultures in a communal sense of coexistence. This approach, as well as the cultures themselves, is what needs to be re-membered as they promote the ideal of pluriversality. This needs to happen at South African Universities. As has been discussed in previous chapters, African languages need to be restored to South African university campuses. In the previous chapters there were recommendations that there should be changes to language policies and the use of African languages in tuition. Building on this, African languages need to become commonplace in everyday use on campuses in order for the remembering of African languages and cultures to take place at universities.

Not only does the use of colonial languages have a negative impact on the individual user but Ngũgĩ explains the negative impact this has on the collective and how this furthers the colonial process; "African writers cannibalized African lives and African memory. What they created…[is only]…accessible to the owners of the language and those of the writer's folk who have the linguistic key…Europhone-African literature has stolen the identity of African literature."[223] This exemplifies how many Africans take colonial approaches which require the clear boxing of things, making knowledge exclusive. This is to the detriment of the broader colonised populace who do not have access to this knowledge because they do not speak or understand colonial languages. This ensures that the colonised are kept away from this knowledge, or if they want access to it, they must assimilate into a Eurocentric linguistic tradition. All of this counteracts the decolonising process and is in direct conflict with the notion of re-membering Africa. The exclusivity of knowledge and knowledge production is particularly prevalent at universities. Throughout South Africa, universities act as gatekeepers of teaching and learning. This should be changed in order to share knowledge with the broader population and allow for collective learning and thus remembering. This will facilitate the process of re-membering and endeavour to create pluriversities.

[223] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 38.

Another important aspect of memory is introduced by De Sousa Santos who goes on to discuss different forms of knowledge creation and different knowledge systems. One such system which is applicable to this chapter is the African idea of philosophic sagacity:

> "It describes the kind of philosophic activity which…[is] a reflective evaluation of thought by an individual African elder who is a repository of wisdom, knowledge and rigorous critical thinking. Philosophic sagacity attempts to articulate the thoughts, ideas and views of individual Africans reputed for exceptional wisdom, presenting them as authentic African philosophy. The real purpose of sage philosophy 'was to help substantiate or invalidate the claim that traditional African peoples were innocent of logical and critical thinking'"[224]

Not only does sage philosophy reaffirm the relevance of African critical thinking, but it also ties in directly with the notion of remembering. In order to piece together the fragmented cultures, languages, and knowledge systems in Africa, the memories of Africans will have to serve as a guide. Sage philosophers, along with everyday African people, have a vital role to play in this. They are the carriers of culture and can thus serve as an invaluable source of African knowledge. They are the key to restoring languages, traditions, and other cultural practices. So, by tapping into their knowledge it will be possible to spread this knowledge and slowly have more people relearning African cultures. De Sousa Santos notes the importance of such people when he explains that "Amadou Hampâté Bâ, another African intellectual, said that in Africa, when an old man dies, it is a library burning."[225] We need to make use of these vast libraries that exist in the minds of African people and access all the information they carry so as to continue the decolonising process through remembering and thus re-membering Africa.

As part of re-membering it is vital to remember the histories of Africans and their cultures in order to restore the African narrative. Fanon also speaks to this and acknowledges that the African people are carriers of memory and that even though colonialism and neocolonialism sought to destroy so much of African culture, it could not remove the memories from the minds of African people:

> "The memory of the anti-colonial period is very much alive in the villages, where women still croon in their children's ears songs to which the warriors marched when they went out to fight the conquerors. At twelve or thirteen years of age the village children know the names of the old men who were in the last rising, and the dreams they dream in the douars or in the villages

[224] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 26.
[225] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 26.

> are not those of money or of getting through their exams like the children of the towns, but dreams of identification with some rebel or another, the story of whose heroic death still today moves them to tears."[226]

It is once again seen that as part of re-membering Africa it is vital to remember its heroes. It is vital for African children to learn their history and know of the great African heroes who have fought against oppression. They can thus come to realise that Africans have the inalienable right to their continent and their cultures, and they will then be able to continue the fight to decolonise and obtain true liberation.

Fanon also explains various phases of the native intellectuals struggling with their identity. He explains that in one of these phases:

> "[W]e find the native is disturbed; he decides to remember what he is. This period of creative work approximately corresponds to that immersion which we have just described. But since the native is not a part of his people, since he only has exterior relations with his people, he is content to recall their life only. Past happenings of the bygone days of his childhood will be brought up out of the depths of his memory; old legends will be reinterpreted in the light of a borrowed aestheticism and of a conception of the world which was discovered under other skies."[227]

Here Fanon refers to memory and remembering and the process that the native undergoes to try and remember their African identity. He notes the challenges that arise due to the disconnect between a colonised person and their people. They have not only been fragmented internally, but the fragmentation of African people adds another obstacle to the process of remembering one's culture and identity in the larger process of re-membering oneself and thus re-membering Africa. Memory is thus seen to play a very important role in this process, but it is not the only aspect of this process. This links to the notion that the decolonising process is multifaceted and reiterates the fact that the four aspects of the decolonising framework are interlinked and operate in conjunction with one another.

4.3.4 African renaissance

Ngũgĩ also discusses the concept of a renaissance in Africa as part of the re-membering process. He explains that the word "renaissance describes a moment when the quantity and quality of intellectual and artistic output are perceived as signalling 'a monumental historical shift' in the

[226] Fanon (n 29 above) 114.
[227] Fanon (n 29 above) 222.

life of a people, nation, or region."[228] Here he refers to the idea of an African renaissance which was prevented from occurring by colonialism, and continues to be prevented by neocolonialism. Africa was robbed of its renaissance because all the energy and resources were stolen and used to jumpstart European development and progress. "The Pan-Africanism that envisaged the ideal of wholeness was gradually cut down to the size of a continent, then a nation, a region, an ethos, a clan, and even a village in some instances."[229] It is evident that the African renaissance and the idea of a holistic Africa was part of the widespread liberation philosophy of African countries. However, it was doomed to fail because true liberation was not achieved, and instead the African elite went on to rule the newly liberated countries. This led to the continuation of the colonial *status quo* as a neocolonial world order in Africa. As a result, in order to properly re-member Africa through the decolonising process, the African renaissance must be revived and carried out properly. This is part of decolonising Africa.

The African renaissance links directly to the process of remembering. As Ngũgĩ notes:

> "Remembering Africa is the only way of ensuring Africa's own full rebirth from the dark ages into which it was plunged by the European Renaissance, Enlightenment, and modernity. The success of Africa's renaissance depends on its commitment and ability to remember itself, guided by the great remembering vision of Pan-Africanism."[230]

In order to achieve this ideal it is necessary to imagine a borderless Africa, both physically and metaphorically. As has been discussed previously, Africa was carved up by the colonial powers in the nineteenth century. In order to re-member Africa these physical borders must be removed so that Africans can move freely around their continent, a continent that should be for all Africans to call home, wherever they are. Along with this, Africans must also change their attitudes towards each other. As a result of colonialism and the adoption of colonial perspectives, Africans have lost touch with their connections to one another. Too many have bought into the nationalism of their colonially designated countries. They have lost their connections to their fellow Africans who would have been part of their immediate community but for these colonial borders. Only once these mental borders, along with the physical ones, have been deconstructed will it be possible for Africa to have its renaissance and move closer to becoming whole.

[228] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 52.
[229] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 61-62.
[230] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 67.

Along with the process of breaking down borders, the African renaissance is also linked to the restoration of African languages that was discussed above. Therefore:

> "African renaissance means, first and foremost, the economic and political recovery of the continent's power, as enshrined in the vision of Pan-Africanism. But this can be brought about effectively only through a collective self-confidence enabled by the resurrection of African memory, which in turn calls for a fundamental change in attitude towards African languages on the part of the African bourgeoisie, the African governments, and the African intellectual community."[231]

It is clear that in order to effectively embark upon the process of remembering Africa it is necessary to restore African languages to a place of importance. Not only must the Eurocentric systems be dismantled but there needs to be an active process of ensuring that African languages are given the same attention that colonial languages have always received. However, this begs the question - how does one begin to do this? Ngũgĩ states that, as part of the African renaissance, and as one of the ways to restore African languages:

> "We must produce knowledge in African languages and then use translation as a means of conversation in and among African languages. We must also translate from European and Asian languages into our own, for our languages must not remain isolated from the mainstream of progressive human thought in the languages and cultures of the globe."[232]

Part of the process is that of restoration, but the question becomes, how can we restore African languages and literature when so much has been written in European languages? Ngũgĩ responds by noting that "restoration would mean translating Europhone literature and Europhone intellectual productions back into the languages and cultures from which the writers have drawn. This would help to restore the works to their original languages and cultures."[233] Ngũgĩ continues by explaining the three processes that should be initiated in order to ensure that translation is effectively used to restore African languages. He states that "mutual exchange among African languages, recovery from the diaspora, and recouping our share from the world would make translation an act of patriotism, a central re-membering practice within the re-membering vision of Greater Pan-Africanism."[234]

[231] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 68.
[232] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 95.
[233] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 96.
[234] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 98.

In doing all three of these things it will be possible to not only begin to lift the hold that colonial languages have on Africa, but to also restore African languages. It will lead to the promotion of African languages and this can lead to the restoration of many other aspects of African cultures. Through the abundant use of African languages, it will become possible to reconnect Africans with each other. Both the physical and mental borders can be broken down, and Africans can be reconnected with one another. This can then flow into the broader process of remembering African history and culture. Furthermore, through remembering African history and culture, active steps will have been taken to re-member Africa and its peoples. The result of this will be the continuation of decolonial reconstruction through the decolonising process which will lead to an Africa which is whole. A holistic Africa can then be a place where multiple centres coexist, and cultures interact to create a pluriversal world.

4.3.5 The restoration of Africa

The process of re-membering also links to the reclamation and restoration of Africa. This is integral to the broader process of decolonial reconstruction which requires Africa to be restored to a position of prosperity through the decolonising framework. In discussing restoration, Ngũgĩ notes that Black Consciousness should play an integral part in restoring the positive image of Africa for Africans. When talking to this idea, Biko explains that:

> "We are of the view that we should operate as one united whole toward attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania. Therefore, entrenchment of tribalistic, racialistic or any form of sectional outlook is abhorred by us. We hate it and we seek to destroy it."[235]

Not only does this address the colonial notions of sectionalism but it also relates to the fragmentation that has happened within African society due to colonial dismemberment. It then follows that in order to undo this fragmentation, and address the resulting sectional outlooks in Africa, it is necessary to work towards a united African people. These ideals align with the re-membering process that has been discussed above. For there to be a restoration of African languages, cultures, and identities Africans need to take active steps to work with one another towards these shared goals. Only through uniting as Africans will it be possible to fight against the colonial and neocolonial systems to restore Africa.

Accordingly, it will be necessary to change the systems that are in place which exist as obstacles to restoring and thus re-membering Africa. The current *status quo* in South Africa

[235] Biko (n 44 above) 148.

serves to keep Africa dismembered; as well as to further dismember it. This happens through continued systems of oppression, racism and neocolonialism. South African society has not changed much since 1994 (as has been discussed in length in previous chapters). The result of this is that South Africans still suffer at the hands of colonial-era laws and neocolonial mechanisms which are meant to ensure that social stratification in South Africa remains firmly in place. In terms of this, Biko explains the dangers of superficial change:

> "If we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor, and you will see a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie. Our society will be run almost as of yesterday. So, for meaningful change to appear there needs to be an attempt at reorganising the whole economic pattern and economic policies within this particular country."[236]

Here, along with acknowledging the dangers of superficial changes to the neocolonial systems, Biko also speaks of reorganising the economic systems of South Africa. This relates directly to the conception of renaissance as set out above that requires a restructuring of the economic systems. It is at this point relevant to recall the close relationship that colonialism and neocolonialism have with capitalism and how the two systems work hand in hand to continue to oppress Africans. This is relevant in the university space where many universities in South Africa have become degree factories and prioritise profit over education. Additionally, they use financial barriers to exclude Africans from their campuses. This makes the universities even more exclusive. Therefore, in order to begin restoring Africa, the economic set up of South Africa and its universities, must be addressed. These changes need to be substantive and not superficial as Biko explained above.

Madlingozi also refers to the decolonising process and the actions that need to be taken in order to restore Africa. He refers to Fanon calling for African people to take back their history and sovereignty but explains that:

> "The claim here is not that things were pristine before colonialism. The claim is rather that African modes of dispute resolution, norms of co-existence and social ordering – and indeed unwritten constitutional law - were displaced and that decolonisation is an occasion to retrieve and valorise them."[237]

[236] Biko (n 44 above) 150.
[237] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 4-5.

Here Madlingozi is showing that through the decolonising process African cultures and identities can be restored. However, this is not done in order to revert back to a romanticised pre-colonial Africa. Instead it is a process which will be able to restore African ways of life, allowing for them to be used to remember African cultures and thus re-member Africa as a whole.

In order to reclaim African cultures through the decolonising process, Madlingozi refers to Cabral's call to 'return to the source'. Madlingozi notes that returning to the source of African culture and heritage "enables a remembering of subjugated indigenous ethics and epistemologies and a re-membering of the fractured triadic community of the living-the living dead-the yet-to be born under the banner of African humanness."[238] This speaks to the discussion above about Ngũgĩ's work on the lost connection between the living and the dead. Madlingozi is thus reaffirming the notion that it is vital for Africans to reconnect the sanctity of the relationship between the living, the dead, and those still to come. This is part of re-membering African culture and thus restoring African communities. Thus, he notes that "[t]he project of post-conquest Constitutionness must re-member the African subject by valorising and centralising African knowledge systems, cosmologies and elements of 'traditional' political culture."[239] The valorising and centralising of African knowledge systems links to the idea of moving the centre, however this must occur within the decolonising framework. Thus, it should entail restoring African knowledge systems to a central position, as one of a multiplicity of centres, and not in a Eurocentric way which makes African knowledge systems the only centre.

Madlingozi also refers to the work of Ramose and the issue of land. Land cannot be left out of the conversation on the restoration process. Not only must cultures and identity be re-membered, but so must the sovereignty of Africa. One of the most violent means of physical dismemberment was to separate Africans from their land, thus further fragmenting them from their homes and cultures. therefore, not only were their cultures and identities fragmented but they were literally separated from the soil they came from. Regarding this, Madlingozi explains that:

> "From a Ramosean perspective the consequences of precluding Africans from asserting their fundamental and natural right to reclaim titles over their territories and sovereignties over them

[238] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 5.
[239] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 18.

> are deadly serious. The effect is to disremember and dis-member through the recasting of the abyssal line, the re-entrenchment of the notion that Africans are below the human line and that being the case, that they are not deserving of reparations, recovery of sovereignties and restoration of titles over land."[240]

This fallacy must be undone, and the narrative must be changed. Africans have every right to their land and their humanity, and this must be achieved through remembering who they are and thus re-membering Africans and Africa by restoring the land to those from whom it was stolen.

4.4 Re-membering in South African universities

From the above it is seen that dismemberment was used by the coloniser as a strategy to neutralise the colonised and ensure that they are easy to oppress. This strategy has also continued in contemporary neocolonial South Africa. As a result, it is necessary to redress these injustices both past and present by re-membering Africa. This is also the case within South African universities. As microcosms of the broader society, universities have been part of the dismemberment of Africa. In fact, they have played an integral role in the process through the exclusive promotion of Western knowledge systems to the detriment of African knowledge systems. They have been used as incubators for Afrikaner nationalism and as spaces to stem African knowledge production. They have also been used to produce damaging research that provides false narratives of Africa's past and that paint Africans in a negative light. Thus, re-membering is as important in South African universities as it is in the broader society.

Ngũgĩ explains the intent of the colonisers when it came to the dismembering of Africa through education. The colonisers sought to "get a few of the natives, empty their hard disk of previous memory, and download into them a software of European memory."[241] This destructive act was just one of many in the process of colonising the mind and dismembering Africans. Ngũgĩ goes on to explain the long-term effects of colonial education. Not only does it ensure that the Eurocentric history is placed above all histories, but it also leads to the loss of African history, one of the main symptoms of dismemberment. This is thus a process:

[240] Madlingozi (n 24 above) 12.
[241] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 16.

> "By which the products of colonial education factories may come to see the illusionary promises of the Europhone memory as the beginning of their history—a process that of course means the loss of their own history."[242]

Referring to Ngũgĩ, Ndlovu-Gatsheni further explains how colonisers used education as a tool to oppress the masses. He quotes Ngũgĩ as saying, "the physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom."[243] This psychological violence contributed to the dismemberment of African cultures, languages, and identities. Therefore, for these to be restored it is necessary to remember them and this will then lead to the re-membering of Africa.

Part of restoring African history is the restoration of the African archive. Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that the "repositioning of our world sensing entails taking the African archive as the starting point in our research, teaching and learning."[244] So, in order to begin restoring African history and identity it is necessary to use the African archive as the basis for research, teaching and learning. These three actions are primarily carried out in universities which must then become places where the African archive is prioritised as the starting point for knowledge production. One of the ways to do this is to reconnect with African history through those Africans who are carriers of history such as the elders in various communities.

As was stated above, African elders are libraries of African history and culture and should be treated as such. Universities are well positioned to make the most of these human libraries and to archive their knowledge so that anyone can access African knowledge. Therefore, a practical way to begin remembering Africa and re-membering the pieces of history that have been displaced, and only reside in the minds of few, is to set up archives of African history. These do exist to some extent at some universities, but they are generally digital archives of those sources which can be accessed through literature or the internet. In many cases these sources are also only in colonial languages. Each university in South Africa should set up a centre or a department with the sole task of reaching out to the elders in the surrounding communities and inviting them to share their knowledge in their languages. This knowledge can then be recorded via sound clips or videos and be archived for anyone to access. This will result in the creation of primary sources of African history which everyone will have access to. This will also lead to massive strides being made in creating a comprehensive African archive which will ensure

[242] Wa Thiong'o (n 55 above) 20-21.
[243] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 25.
[244] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 39.

the remembering of Africa and therefore the broader re-membering of Africans and their languages, cultures, and knowledge systems.

Another important aspect of re-membering is restoring African languages to a place of priority. This must happen at universities and a process to do so has begun at some institutions. As has been discussed in previous chapters, there have been changes to languages policies at several universities. However, this tends to be only a shift from Afrikaans to English and not a shift towards African language-based education at universities. African languages still take the backseat at South African universities. Whilst there are moves to incorporate more languages there is still a long way to go before universities start using African languages on a wide scale. Every year more and more PhDs are being completed in African languages and this is a positive shift. But it is not enough, and it is only a few that are doing this within a broadly neocolonial university system. As was discussed in the previous chapter, there needs to be a clear restoration of African languages in South African universities so that they can be used to remember Africa and continue the decolonising process within these institutions and within the country.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni refers to Hopper and Richards who call for the need to change the way of thinking about knowledge production in numerous disciplines such as education, law, and science. They call for rethinking thinking in order to address this issue of 'epistemological disenfranchisement'.[245] Ndlovu-Gatsheni goes on to explain what this entails:

> "Rethinking thinking is fundamentally a decolonial move that requires the cultivation of a decolonial attitude in knowledge production. It is informed by a strong conviction that all human beings are not only born into a knowledge system but are legitimate knowers and producers of legitimate knowledge. Rethinking thinking is also a painstaking decolonial process of 'learning to unlearn in order to re-learn' as well as an opening to other knowledges and thinkers beyond those from Europe and North America that have dominated the academy in the last 500 years."[246]

This ties into a concept addressed in a previous chapter about the idea of changing the way we think about alternatives ways of thinking. Both notions deal with adopting a decolonising attitude to thinking and knowledge production as there is no single universal way of thinking. The process of rethinking thinking is not a simple or easy one. Rather, it is a challenging and

[245] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 32-33.
[246] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 33.

painstaking process as it requires one to reflect on what they know and the shortcomings of this knowledge. Thereafter, there is the need for unlearning that which is false and relearning new knowledge which is from outside the Eurocentric knowledge paradigm. This process incorporates other aspects of the decolonising process, such as decolonising the mind and moving the centre, and once again shows the interconnectedness of the decolonising framework. Through rethinking thinking it is possible to better understand African knowledge and African history. This will also allow one to begin remembering Africa, and this will enable the re-memberment of African knowledge in universities. Thus, universities should adopt the pedagogical approach of promoting rethinking thinking on their campuses and in their classrooms so that African scholars can begin unlearning Eurocentrism and relearning African history and epistemology. This can be done through changing the teaching culture as well as the curricula and will be beneficial to all scholars and enable them to assist with re-membering Africa.

This quote from Ndlovu-Gatsheni aptly summarises the crux of this chapter and how it all links to the broader decolonising framework of decolonial reconstruction at South African universities:

> "Understood from a research and methodological perspective, decolonisation entails 'deconstruction and reconstruction', that is, 'destroying what has wrongly been written — for instance, interrogating distortions of people's life experiences, negative labelling, deficit theorising, genetically deficient or culturally deficient models that pathologises the colonized Other — and retelling the stories of the past and envisioning the future'. At the centre of this process is 'recovery and discovery'."[247]

The process of re-membering at South African universities through remembering and other practices thus consists of the deconstruction and reconstruction of history, memory, and identity. Through relying on the carriers of memory in African communities it will be possible to reconnect with the knowledge of the past as well as better understand African cultures. Additionally, there must be a restoration of African languages and a reprioritisation of African education institutions. This will ensure that the dismemberment that occurred can be redressed and that the true histories of Africa can be remembered at universities. Through this process Africa can be recovered and thus re-membered as part of the decolonising process which is working towards an African future which entails the creation of pluriversities.

[247] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (n 179 above) 38-39.

4.5 Conclusion

Dismemberment was used by colonisers to take apart African cultures, knowledge systems, and identities. The dismembering of Africa was carried out through violence and epistemicide and led to the fragmentation of Africans, their memories, and the society as a whole. This was a clear strategy by colonisers who attempted to make it easier to control Africans and thus impose Western memories on them. The process included the remapping and renaming of Africa and its peoples and was carried out through dismembering African culture. All of this was in an attempt to get rid of blackness and replace it with subjugated Africans under a European system. This is still the case in contemporary South Africa where the society, and its universities, have a neocolonial *status quo*.

In order to remedy this dismemberment, there needs to be a remembering and re-membering of Africa and its peoples, especially at South African universities. Even though the colonisers attempted to destroy African memory, this was not possible, as memories lived on in the minds of many. Those who did succumb to epistemicide did not have their memories destroyed, but they were tarnished. Therefore, as part of the process of re-membering it is vital to restore these memories. Additionally, it is important to make a space for mourning as a way to re-member African cultures and memories. All of this coincides with an African renaissance which can be achieved through the process of re-membering Africa and which should promote the restoration of African cultures and languages. Furthermore, South African universities need to enact a number of processes in order to re-member on their campuses. They need to change the way that students and teachers think about thinking and need to give African languages the proper space to grow and flourish. Crucial to the success of this process at universities, is the creation of centres and departments to create living archives of African languages and memories. This can be done through recording the memories of elders in African communities which will allow for the restoration of these memories and thus the remembering and re-membering of Africa. In taking all of these steps, South African universities will continue the processing of decolonial reconstruction and move closer towards becoming pluriversities which can create a holistic space of coexistence.

Chapter 5 Globalectics

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 explores the fourth aspect of the decolonising process: the concept of globalectics. Following the previous chapters, which focused on the interlinking processes of decolonising the mind, moving the centre, and re-membering Africa; this chapter seeks to show that there should be a process of entering into globalectics. This is in line with a process of ceaselessly decolonising, in order to create a pluriversality within South African universities, and the broader society. In the first chapter there was a discussion that doing this means symbolically becoming a metaphorically connected world which is a pluriversality; just as Pangea was a physically connected world. Through South African universities becoming pluriversities it will become possible to have coexistence and harmonisation of multiple cultures. The implementation of decolonial reconstruction at universities will also ensure that knowledge production can be extended beyond the university and be truly decolonising in nature. Finally, during the process of ceaselessly one must constantly be cautious of the signs of sliding back to a system of hegemony, and pre-emptive steps must be taken to prevent this.

5.2 Defining globalectics

As the first step in approaching the process of globalectics it is important to clearly define what this concept means. Ngũgĩ writes about globalectics as a form of global dialectics. He explains the term in that:

> "Globalectics is derived from the shape of the globe. On its surface, there is no one center; any point is equally a center. As for the internal center of the globe, all points on the surface are equidistant to it—like the spokes of a bicycle wheel that meet at the hub. Globalectics combines the global and the dialectical to describe a mutually affecting dialogue, or multi-logue in the phenomena of nature and nurture in a global space that's rapidly transcending that of the artificially bounded, as nation and region. The global is that which humans in spaceships or on the international space station see: the dialectical is the internal dynamics that they do not see. Globalectics embraces wholeness, interconnectedness, equality of potentiality of parts, tension,

> and motion. It is a way of thinking and relating to the world, particularly in the era of globalism and globalization."[248]

As has been discussed previously, decolonising is about creating coexistence and harmonisation. It is about working towards pluriversality. Globalectics links directly to this. In a neocolonial world, a globalectical approach is necessary in order to overcome the hegemonic power structures of the West and to create spaces for dialogue between different cultures. As is the aim of pluriversality, globalectics seeks to attain wholeness and interconnectedness. Additionally, in the above quote Ngũgĩ refers to the fact that a globe does not have a single centre. This ties directly to the decolonising notion of moving the centre and moving away from a global paradigm with a single centre. The global dimension of globalectics is, therefore, indicative of the decolonising approach to the world which is necessary to overcome Eurocentrism and the neocolonial *status quo*. The second element of the term globalectics is that of the dialectics that are combined to create what Ngũgĩ refers to as a multi-logue. This aspect of globalectics is also vital to the decolonising process as it highlights the necessity for collaboration amongst various cultures and peoples in order to best achieve a holistic world. Globalectics is thus extremely relevant to the reconstruction element of the decolonising process.

Another aspect of the quote that is worth discussing is the last line, in which Ngũgĩ refers to the era of globalisation that is occurring. This idea of the world being connected for profit as a tool of both capitalism and neocolonialism reasserts a certain world order which is Eurocentric and divisive. Instead, rampant globalisation needs to be curbed and replaced with genuine interconnectedness which is based on the shared vision of creating coexistence and not just driven by profits and power. Having explained what globalectics is, it is necessary to understand how it can be achieved and to address the various ways that it can be applied to South African universities.

5.3 Understanding globalectics and how it can be achieved

5.3.1 Contextualising globalectics and its dialectical aspect

In order to contextualise the need for globalectics and the way that we came to need it, Ngũgĩ refers to Fanon who explains how epistemicide is brought about through colonialism:

[248] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 8.

> "'Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native' brains of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it.' Your past must give way to my past, your literature must give way to my literature, my way is the high way, in fact the only way."[249]

Here epistemicide is once again shown to have created a neocolonial *status quo* which has led to a divided world. This was discussed in more detail in previous chapters, but, the fact that Africa and its peoples have been fragmented through colonialism and neocolonialism are also relevant to this chapter. Globalectics should be used to overcome this divide and to contribute to the decolonising process as this will address the injustices of the past, as with the process of re-membering Africa. This also shows how globalectics should be integrated into the other aspects of the decolonising process because all four aspects need to work together for the achievement of decolonial reconstruction.

Following on from this initial discussion of globalectics, it is necessary to further unpack the concept. Part of unpacking globalectics is looking at what dialectics are and how they are used in this context. Two of the most pertinent thinkers on this subject are Karl Marx and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Ngũgĩ refers to them when discussing dialectics. For the purpose of this dissertation dialectics refers to the Marxist concept of dialectical materialism which stems from Hegelian dialectics, and not the general dialectical relating to the logical discussion of ideas and opinions. Ngũgĩ explains that:

> "Marxian dialects were of course essentially Hegelian dialects, but rooted in history and actual social being…in Marx, the ideal could also affect the material, a mutual effect captured in his statement that 'theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.' Mind and body were not separate spheres of the human. They were interwoven. Change was a constant theme in nature, history, and human thought, but it was not mechanical or linear."[250]

As a result of this Ngũgĩ explains that he, "[Ngũgĩ] started, in a conscious way, to see connections in phenomena even in the seemingly unconnected. He challenged the linear development of history."[251] This speaks to the decolonising of the mind and the initial epiphany when one realises that multiple worlds exists, along with multiple histories, and multiple narratives. This then leads to the realisation that so much of what has been learnt in colonial and neocolonial education systems is in fact false or a distorted version of the truth. It is then

[249] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 38.
[250] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 19-20.
[251] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 20.

necessary to begin using a decolonising lens to view all knowledge and sort through what is accurate and what is not. As was discussed in the second chapter, through doing this one can unlearn colonial thought and begin the process of decolonising the mind. Furthermore, as stated above, through this process of looking at the various historical narratives anew, one starts to see their interconnectedness and how interwoven these histories are. Carrying this theme into the arena of epistemology, it is notable that, just as histories are interwoven, so are knowledge systems. This interconnectedness, which becomes apparent when adopting a decolonising perspective, is the exact essence of pluriversality that emerges from globalectics.

It now becomes necessary to briefly discuss the tenets of Hegelian dialectics as the basis for understanding Marxist dialectical materialism which informs the dialectical component of globalectics. Hegelian dialectics can be explained in terms of its application to Hegel's logic in that when there is an issue:

> "(O)ne concept is introduced as a 'thesis' or positive concept, which then develops into a second concept that negates or is opposed to the first or is its 'antithesis', which in turn leads to a third concept, the 'synthesis', that unifies the first two."[252]

From this, it is evident that through approaching the various histories, cultures, and knowledge systems with a decolonising mindset, globalectics can be used with this dialectical approach to synthesise a pluriversal world.

On the concept of synthesis, Ngũgĩ refers to the various literatures that were inspired by European works. He explains that "these literary products were not derivatives. They are a synthesis forged in resistance. Without resistance there is no motion. The resulting synthesis, whether in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, speaks to Africa, the formerly colonized, and the world."[253] This conception, however, has a broader scope than just literature. When it comes to the process of decolonising, the Hegelian dialectical approach could be applied to the other three aspects of the framework to create a synthesis through decolonising. In terms of decolonising the mind; the thesis would be the colonised mind. From this one can extrapolate the antithesis to be the irreconcilable duality of being that the colonized experience. Through the dialectical approach the synthesis would be the process of decolonising the mind. Another example would be where, in an effort to create a multiplicity of centers, the thesis would be a

[252] Julie Maybee, "Hegel's Dialectics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* last modified June 3, 2016. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics/.
[253] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 43.

Eurocentric society which has a single dominant paradigm as its center. The resultant antithesis would be the various other paradigms that have been removed or oppressed. The synthesis would then be the creation of a multiplicity of centers where no single paradigm is at the center and there is the allowance for multiple, co-existing centres. In terms of re-membering Africa, the thesis would be the colonial acts of epistemicide as well as the literal dismemberment of the continent. The antithesis would be the fractured bodies and minds of the African peoples. The synthesis would then be the remembering and re-membering of both the peoples and their epistemologies to create a whole Africa.

Through the application of the Hegelian dialectic to these examples it is evident that the globalectical approach, which incorporates this dialectical approach, is a key tool for the decolonising process. Applying this dialectical approach to the entirety of cultures across the globe to create multi-logues will lead to the creation of a whole world which will metaphorically resemble Pangea. This approach is also pertinent at South African universities which are part of a network of universities in the country, continent, and world. Through taking this globalectical approach, it will become possible for universities to become connected pluriversities which can contribute to a holistic South African society and African continent.

5.3.2 World literature and globalisation

Ngũgĩ refers to the notion of a holistic world with specific reference to literature. He discusses the idea of a world literature and how this can be achieved. Even though the subject matter of this dissertation is not specifically literature, the same principles can be applied when looking at creating a decolonising framework which seeks to create pluriversities. In terms of this world literature, Ngũgĩ speaks of the German dramatist and poet, Goethe, who was "one of the earliest to talk of a possible world literature, he said that it could be fostered only by an untrammelled intercourse among all contemporaries, bearing in mind 'what we have inherited from the past.'"[254] This makes specific reference to world literature, and is a precursor to the dialogue on globalisation. From this the world shifts to a more global focus with industrialization and worldwide communication connecting the globe and beginning to break down national borders. But all of this serves a growing capitalist and globalised consumer economy which exploits the interconnectedness of the world for profit and domination. Instead, the notion of connecting the world should be applied as part of the decolonising process through globalectics. For there to be pluriversities it is necessary for all those involved in the process to collaborate with one

[254] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 44.

another to work towards a shared goal. The globalised world is used to promote capitalist and colonial interests, but the global network could also be used for decolonising and creating coexistence at South African universities which could then flow over into South Africa society.

Continuing in this vein, Ngũgĩ notes the dangers of globalisation by acknowledging that "the universal interdependence in the reign of industrial capital that they talked about in 1848 has become globalization, the global reign of financial capital."[255] As discussed above, globalisation has had a negative impact on the world and has led to power and profit driving the global agenda, all to the detriment of those who are in the developing or underdeveloped world. This is also the case in a neocolonial world, which has the same drives. Even the classification of countries plays into this narrative, wherein countries are classified as developed, developing, and underdeveloped. This classification is problematic and exacerbates the issue as it does not take the colonial historical contexts of countries into consideration. These global power dynamics ensure that the countries who gained an unfair developmental advantage through colonial expansion continue to benefit from the injustices they perpetrated. Those countries that were the victims of colonialism continue to suffer, and globalisation is a tool used by capital to perpetrate further injustices upon them through neocolonialism. These effects are also felt at universities, which are driven by the profit motive and the competition for global research rankings. South African universities should rather focus on decolonising and becoming holistic learning spaces where different knowledge systems can coexist, and knowledge production is to the benefit of everyone.

Furthering the conception of world literature, it can be noted that "world literature must include what's already formed in the world as well as what's now informed by the world, at once a coalition, a cohesion, and coalescence of literatures in world languages into global consciousness. It is a process." With reference to this conception, Ngũgĩ explains that postcolonialism is the closest to this conception of world literature but also goes on to problematise the notion of 'postcolonialism'. As has been stated before, the premise of this dissertation is that the 'post' colony does not exist but rather that South African society is neocolonial. I will therefore not delve deeper into this discussion, but simply agree that the term postcolonial is problematic as per my discussion of the matter in previous chapters. Moving on from this, it is evident that the above conception of world literature as a process of global coalition, cohesion, and coalescence is applicable to the decolonising process. It is the

[255] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 46.

type of process which should be adopted as part of globalectics at South African universities to promote global multi-logues that can lead to a pluriversality and a world of coexistence.

Ngũgĩ provides an excellent metaphor to explain how a world literature would operate, and for the purposes of this dissertation, this metaphor can also be applied to globalectics and its role in the decolonising process. He explains that:

> "Goethe and Marx did not see or mean that any one national literature would constitute world literature. World literature would be like the sea or the ocean into which all streams from all corners of the globe would flow. The sea is constituted of many rivers. The result is the vastness of the sea and the ocean…the traditional organization of literature along national boundaries is like bathing in a river instead of sailing in the ocean, or trying to contain a river's flow within a specific territory."[256]

This ocean metaphor is extremely apt to describe the decolonising process. Just as there should not be a single centre there also isn't a single way to get to the decolonising process. Globalectics and the interconnectedness it creates can be compared to the role of the oceans of the world, it connects continents and touches all corners of the globe. Additionally, there are numerous sources of the multi-logue; dialogues that flow from everywhere across the world just as rivers flow into the ocean. This metaphor is also appropriate in the context of South African universities because, just like a river, the flow of dialogue and the sharing of cultures and knowledge systems should flow unimpeded by colonial boundaries or standards. The flow of shared knowledge should be as easy as the flow of water in a river and should nourish all that it encounters. To extend this metaphor further; just as rivers are the lifeblood of civilisations, so too streams of knowledge are the new lifeblood of a decolonising universities whereby knowledge and culture nourish all those who interact with universities thus contributing to the creation of pluriversities.

5.3.3 Intercultural translation and harmony

De Sousa Santos explains that:

> "In order to bring together different knowledges without compromising their specificity, we need intercultural translation. Intercultural translation consists in searching for isomorphic concerns and underlying assumptions among cultures, identifying differences and similarities, and developing, whenever appropriate, new hybrid forms of cultural understanding and

[256] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 55-56.

> intercommunication that may be useful in favouring interactions and strengthening alliances among social movements fighting, in different cultural contexts, against capitalism, colonialism, and sexism, and for social justice, human dignity, or human decency."[257]

This is an explanation of another way in which globalectics can be created. Through implementing intercultural translation, it will be possible for different cultures to interact by coming to understand each other. The clashing of different cultures is one of the major obstacles to creating a society where cultures interact freely. Within a Eurocentric paradigm, cultures are often played off against each other as part of the colonial or neocolonial process. It must be noted that many conflicts did exist between cultural groups prior to colonisation but they have been exacerbated by colonial oppression. Furthermore, due to Eurocentrism the colonisers create conflict with any culture that does not conform to their paradigm. Instead of this conflict, the decolonising process needs to promote understanding.

As De Sousa Santos mentions above, this can be done through intercultural translation. He provides a way to achieve this; first, he speaks of finding concerns and underlying assumptions which exist across cultures. Second, he suggests that there should be the identification of differences and similarities amongst these cultures and relating to their concerns and assumptions. Thereafter, De Sousa Santos explains that it will be possible in appropriate circumstances to develop new forms of cultural understanding. This process can be used to create communication and understanding across cultures so that they can work together to address various issues. Along with this, different cultures can create alliances to work together to fight capitalism and neocolonialism. This process is in line with that of the globalectical process of multi-logues. It is therefore an additional way in which globalectics can be achieved and can help prevent conflict between cultures and promote coexistence, thus contributing to the decolonising process and the creation of a pluriversality. This is relevant to South African universities where there is often a clash of different cultures where their traditions are different or there have historically been negative interactions between various cultures. Thus, intercultural translation is a dynamic of globalectics which will be useful on university campuses to promote positive interactions between cultures and further the goal of creating pluriversities.

In his work on decolonising the mind, Ngũgĩ refers to the concept of harmony. It is appropriate to discuss the concept of harmony in this chapter given that a critical aspect of the decolonising

[257] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 22.

process, and specifically globalectics, is to promote harmony. On harmony in Africa, Ngũgĩ writes of how post-independence, African languages refused to die as the peasantry kept them alive and in harmony with one another:

> "They saw no necessary antagonistic contradiction between belonging to their immediate nationality, to their multinational state along the Berlin-drawn boundaries, and to Africa as a whole. These people happily spoke Wolof, Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Arabic, Amharic, Kiswahili, Gĩkũyũ, Luo, Luhya, Shona, Ndebele, Kimbundu, Zulu, or Lingala without this fact tearing the multinational states apart. During the anti-colonial struggle they showed an unlimited capacity to unite around whatever leader or party best and most consistently articulated an anti-imperialist position."[258]

This form of harmony came about through uniting against a common enemy; in this case, imperialism/colonialism. It is possible to learn some things from this approach that the post-independence peasantry took. The first thing which should be noted is the disregard for the imposed national boundaries that were created by the various colonising countries in Africa. These national borders, as has been discussed in previous chapters, were drawn by colonisers with no understanding of the local cultural dynamics. As result it is necessary to disregard them completely if there is to be cultural harmony. These borders act as dividers of cultures so, in order to unite cultures, they must be ignored. This will allow the decolonising process to make progress towards achieving a holistic Africa with harmony amongst cultures. Whilst South African universities do not necessarily operate across African borders, it is still crucial that the way that knowledge is produced at universities acknowledges that these borders exist, and that they shouldn't. Students and lecturers alike should promote knowledge production across borders and interact with fellow scholars across the continent by entering into globalectics and thus achieving harmony with fellow African academics.

Ngũgĩ provides another perspective to harmony by referring to the theatre and drama:

> "Drama encapsulates within itself this principle of the struggle of opposites which generates movement. There is in drama a movement from apparent harmony, a kind of rest, through conflict to a comic or tragic resolution of that conflict. We end with harmony at a different level, a kind of temporary rest, which of course is the beginning of another movement. The

[258] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 23

> balance of opposing ideas and social forces, of all the contending forces is important in shaping the form of drama and theatre"[259]

This interplay between conflict and harmony, constantly shifting from one to the other, is a good analogy for a ceaseless decolonising process. Just as a drama will have temporary rest which will achieve harmony, so will the decolonising process. The ongoing process of dialectics constantly forming a synthesis, which will then become a thesis and interact with an antithesis to become a new synthesis, also follows this format. This also speaks to the danger of backsliding which can occur during the decolonising process and once again reaffirms the need for the process to be ceaseless. Whilst there will be moments of temporary rest during the decolonising process, where harmony has been achieved, this may not last indefinitely. New conflicts will arise and the possibility of neocolonialism returning may become a reality. In such cases it is important to continue with the decolonising process and address the conflicts that have arisen in order to prevent backsliding.

5.4 Globalectics and South African pluriversities

In the previous sections there was a discussion of the meaning of the term globalectics and how it relates to creating global dialogues. This can be done through creating multi-logues, using Marxist and Hegelian dialectical methods, as well as intercultural translation. All of this is in order to create harmony and to move towards pluriversality. The discussion now shifts to how this can be done at South African universities to change universities to pluriversities.

Mbembe speaks to how interaction between different cultures is important and discusses the notion of pluriversity in the context of the university. He explains that:

> "A pluriversity is not merely the extension throughout the world of a Eurocentric model presumed to be universal and now being reproduced almost everywhere thanks to commercial internationalism. By pluriversity, many understand a process of knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity. It is a process that does not necessarily abandon the notion of universal knowledge for humanity, but which embraces it via a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among different epistemic traditions."[260]

A pluriversity is what every university should be striving towards. As was discussed in previous chapters, Mbembe states that there can't be universal knowledge, instead pluriversal

[259] Wa Thiong'o (n 40 above) 54.
[260] Mbembe (n 17 above) 19.

knowledge comes about through a decolonising process which moves away from Eurocentrism. Therefore, universities as we currently conceive them, are problematic because they promote a Eurocentric model of education which is dominating and divisive. Instead we should move towards a culture of openness in South African universities. This is addressed in the last part of the quote which refers to a horizontal strategy which promotes an openness to dialogue. This connects with the impetus behind globalectics, which is to create dialogue across cultures and epistemic traditions. Thus, the conception of the pluriversity is the perfect link between the broader concepts related to globalectics and the practical application of this aspect of the decolonising framework to South African universities.

The above quote by Mbembe adds a further dimension to the conversation by promoting the concept of a pluriversity as opposed to university. In order to further contextualise the challenges that exist, and which impede the decolonising process in South African universities, it is important to once again discuss how the colonial project affected the education system. With reference to the education system being integral to colonisation Ngũgĩ gives an example by Tolstoy which illustrates the effect the education system has on those within the system:

> "I sit on a man's back and persuade him that I am doing everything necessary for him except for getting off his back, said Tolstoy. The persuasion lies in the education system. Whether the situation of the rider and the horse continues and in what form may depend on the extent to which the rider is able to convince the sat-upon of that view, through content, form, and organization of knowledge."[261]

Most South African universities were started during colonial times by the colonial powers with specific aims in mind. Many of the institutions were used to educate only white settlers, and, where people of colour were able to attend, they were taught in a Eurocentric manner. This meant that universities were part of the broader colonial institutional architecture and were tools for furthering Eurocentrism. As with the Tolstoy example that Ngũgĩ refers to, the education system in South Africa has been a mechanism of oppression. The colonial education system is 'sitting on the back' of South Africans and appears to belong there. This is what must be changed. There is no need for a colonial education system in contemporary South Africa and the only reason that it still exists is that South Africa is neocolonial. Therefore, as is the aim of this dissertation, a decolonising framework must be used to remove the oppressive neocolonial education system and create an education system which is decolonising. This has

[261] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 31-32.

been addressed in previous chapters using the other three aspects of the decolonising framework and must now be addressed in terms of globalectics.

In the previous section the ocean metaphor was used to explain the interconnection of cultures and knowledge systems. This metaphor was also be applied to a university context but can be extended even more here. Whilst the above discussion refers to the flow of knowledge and culture within society and the world, this can also be applied in a university context on many levels. Universities, in and of themselves, should operate in terms of this metaphor. There should be a natural flow of information between all those within the university, from different departments and centres, and between staff and students. Furthermore, universities should be seen as lakes (not dams as this would be a Eurocentric construct that impedes the natural flow) which should create a flow of knowledge in the form of rivers that flow between different universities as lakes. This should be the case with the sharing of knowledge and cultures amongst South African universities. Finally, this metaphor can be extended one step further. South African universities, as lakes, should also be connected to the rest of the world, the ocean. Thus, universities can share information and knowledge across borders and continents to contribute to the global ocean of knowledge in a way that benefits all. Through this South African universities will no longer be universities but rather become pluriversities.

In line with this ocean metaphor, Ngũgĩ notes that we should strive to create networks in African societies. He explains that this is important because "in a network there is no one centre, all are points balanced and related to one another by the principle of giving and receiving."[262] So just as the world is made up of a network of rivers and streams, universities in South Africa should be part of a global network of universities as well as sharing knowledge outside of the institution of a university. These networks should undertake multi-logues and intercultural translation in order to employ globalectics. It should be a collaborative process of giving and receiving knowledge, to the mutual benefit of everyone. This would be a globalectical approach and continue to create pluriversities.

When it comes to the university as an academic institution it is also necessary to address the content of the university as well as the approach to the knowledge which is created and taught so that it can become part of globalectics. In previous chapters there was discussion of the need to change the content and to update the curricula as well as change how we see curricula. In

[262] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 61.

addition to this, globalectics provides a decolonising approach to reading and understanding within a university context. Ngũgĩ explains that:

> "Globalectical reading means breaking open the prison house of imagination built by theories and outlooks that would seem to signify the content within is classified, open to only a few. This involves declassifying theory in the sense of making it accessible—a tool for clarifying interactive connections and interconnections of social phenomena and their mutual impact in the local and global space, a means of illuminating the internal and the external, the local and the global dynamics of social being. This may also mean the act of reading becoming also a process of self-examination."[263]

This process of reading as self-examination ties into the reflective nature of the decolonising of the mind aspect of the decolonising framework. Therefore, the idea of globalectical reading should be promoted within universities to further shift them towards becoming pluriversities. Through adopting this approach, knowledge production will open knowledge, and knowledge creation, to all and no longer confine it to an elite few. Just as the borders were ignored by the post-independence African peasantry, pluriversities can be created through ignoring the 'borders' of institutions and extending the knowledge creation process beyond the gates of the university. In doing this language remains a crucial element and the promotion of knowledge production in indigenous African languages will further the goals of extending the university into the community.

The borderless pursuit of knowledge production can further be promoted through ensuring that mechanisms are put in place in order to make information accessible to all. A practical example of this is the grassroots movement, *Abahlali baseMjondolo (Abahlali),* who are a shack-dwellers movement in the Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) province of South Africa. They take it upon themselves to be part of their own knowledge creation process, outside of the confines of a formal university, as they speak of attending the university of *Abahlali*. One of their founders, Sbu Zikodi, explains that "our struggle is thought in action and it is thought from the ground at the University of Abahlali baseMjondolo. We define ourselves and our struggle."[264] Another social group that promotes this type of learning is the Blackhouse Kollective which operates in Soweto and teaches children decolonial theory. According to its Facebook page the Blackhouse Kollective "wishes to establish itself as both an ideological home for black radical thought as

[263] Wa Thiong'o (n 57 above) 61.
[264] Sbu Zikodi, "University of Abahlali baseMjondolo," Abahlali, last modified 2006, http://abahlali.org/university-of-abahlali-basemjondolo/.

advocated by both recognized and emerging black scholars in an era characterised by the attacks against black thought both within and outside academia."[265] Both movements have created spaces for knowledge production outside of the formal university and are therefore employing a decolonising approach to learning and knowledge creation. This is the type of education and learning that should work in collaboration with what is seen as the formal university. By doing this, universities will be further decolonising their knowledge production process and become more of a pluriversity that encompasses globalectics.

De Sousa Santos also provides several practical ways that knowledge production can be promoted in order to achieve harmony and collaboration within universities. He refers to a project which looks at methodological innovation called the ALICE project:

> "In the ALICE project we engage in what I call the 'Conversations of the World'. These conversations place together men and women from different parts of the world and different experiences that share the struggle for human dignity and the belief that another world is possible and necessary…Why do we entertain the conversation? Because when we talk, we de-monumentalise written knowledge. We hesitate, repeat ourselves, there are no footnotes. By being oralised, so to speak, written knowledge becomes de-monumentalised and allows for horizontal exchanges in which nonwritten parts of written knowledge emerge."[266]

These conversations of the world link back to the multi-logues that Ngũgĩ describes as part of globalectics. Also, the promotion of oral exchanges within these dialogues is vital and speaks to the oral traditions of African knowledge production and adds to the decolonising process. One of the ways in which knowledge is kept away from the people is through having it written down in languages or complex words that are not understood by all. Through promoting orature this is avoided, and more people can have access to knowledge. South African universities should create projects similar to the ALICE projects where students and the broader community can participate in 'Conversations of the World'. In doing so universities will be embracing a decolonising approach to knowledge production which is globalectical in nature and creates pluriversities.

De Sousa Santos also speaks of another project which is applicable to this conversation. He explains that the Popular University of Social Movements (PUSM) was created within the World Social Forum (WSF) in 2003. It was created "with the aim of promoting shared

[265] The Blackhouse Kollective, "Blackhouse Kollective- Soweto," Facebook, accessed December 15, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/groups/783746018350675/about/.
[266] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 27.

knowledge and extending, linking and strengthening forms of resistance to neoliberal globalisation, capitalism, colonialism, sexism and other relations based on domination and oppression."[267] These conceptions of shared knowledge are part of the decolonising mindset and go hand in hand with a globalectical approach. There is also a more specific application of this project to universities as De Sousa Santos explains:

> "The PUSM concept of co-learning seeks to bridge two divides, the one between academic knowledge and popular knowledge, and the one among different popular knowledges generated by different social groups in their struggles against different modes or intensities of domination, mainly capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy….The dialogues established between academic knowledge and popular knowledge aims to reduce the distance between them and make academic knowledge more relevant to concrete social struggles."[268]

The principle of co-learning is vital to decolonising knowledge production and this should be adopted by South African universities in order for them to become pluriversities. Active steps must be taken in order to address the two divides that De Sousa Santos mentions, namely, that between academic and popular knowledge; and that between different iterations of popular knowledge. This means that there needs to be more collaboration beyond the formal university as well as more intercultural communication. This can occur through dialogues and through the intercultural translation which was discussed earlier. All these approaches should be adopted by South African universities by opening knowledge production to the broader community and working with community groups such as *Abahlali* and the Blackhouse Kollective to ensure that there are a variety of stakeholders involved in the process.

Finally, De Sousa Santos explains the practicalities of the project:

> "The PUSM operates by holding workshops, preferably lasting two days, in which discussion periods alternate with time dedicated to study and reflection, and leisure activities. The PUSM is a collective asset. Anyone may take the initiative to organise workshops, provided that they respect the two fundamental PUSM documents: The Charter of Principles and the Methodology Guidelines. These workshops are a co-learning experience. They are also inspired by Paulo Freire´s pedagogy of the oppressed, but go beyond more conventional popular education insofar as they focus on learning through exchange among different and diversely incomplete knowledges."[269]

[267] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 27-28.
[268] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 27-28.
[269] De Sousa Santos (n 18 above) 27-28.

These guidelines set out exactly how to go about conducting PUSM workshops. Thus, all South African universities should take it upon themselves to either conduct these types of workshops or create their own which are similar. This would mean that they would be taking action to create spaces of decolonising knowledge production and collaboration which can directly contribute to opening their gates and creating dialogue within, amongst, and outside of formal universities in South Africa. All of this will lead to great strides being taken towards creating a country of pluriversities.

A final example of how South African universities should take a globalectical approach to decolonising is in the sphere of conferences, specifically decolonial conferences. Many of the decolonial conferences which universities host are held on campuses or at exclusive conference centres which are inaccessible to the broader community. These conferences generally require attendees to pay and often primarily invite senior academics. The conferences tend to also hold sessions where academics present their work and some panel discussions or plenaries take place. Some conferences may have more informal elements, but the Eurocentric conference model is generally followed. In order to create decolonial conferences which are truly decolonising it is necessary for universities to adopt a more globalectical approach. Conferences should be open to all staff and students as well as the broader community. Instead of having academics present in closed sessions on fancy campuses, conference participants should go into the surrounding communities and have discussions with fellow South Africans. This will allow for the sharing of knowledge and the intercultural interaction between people with differing perspectives. Furthermore, the lived realities of members of the local communities can help to contextualise the issues that the academics are wiring about. Through adopting this approach, academics can learn from community members and vice versa. Thus, the adoption of decolonising conferences (whilst still retaining certain formal elements of Eurocentric conferences as is in line with having multiple centres) will further the goals of creating South African pluriversities.

5.5 Conclusion

From the above it is evident that globalectics is another relevant aspect of the decolonising framework. Globalectics can be understood as multi-logues based on dialectics which encompass the globe and have no single centre. These conversations are used to connect people and build unity and collaboration all with the goal of creating harmony and coexistence. Globalectics adopts a dialectical approach which leads to the synthesis of different

perspectives. Intercultural translation, as introduced by De Sousa Santos, is necessary in order to connect people and can play an additional role in the globalectical approach. Mbembe adds his voice to the conversation by speaking of the pluriversity which is based on the horizontal strategy of openness and also aims to connect people and systems of knowledge production. Therefore, South African universities should take steps towards adopting the various practical ways to implement globalectics on their campuses in order to connect with one another and the world, as lakes with rivers of knowledge, would connect to the ocean. These practical steps include extending knowledge production beyond the borders of the university, ensuring that South African have access to universities both linguistically ad physically, working with community groups, and creating truly decolonial conferences. All of this should be done in an effort to create pluriversities. Furthermore, the ceaseless nature of the decolonising process is necessary in order to ensure that constant changes are made and that there is no stagnation or backsliding into a neocolonial paradigm. Finally, it can be seen that through decolonising the mind, moving the centre, re-membering Africa, and globalectics, a decolonising framework can be applied to South African universities in order to move them, as microcosms of South African society, towards decolonial reconstruction of a Pangea-like metaphorically connected world.

6 Conclusion

This dissertation began with the story of Pangea and the discussion of a process of decolonial reconstruction. This is a process which can create a pluriversal African society that is a land for all. South African universities are the focus of this process as they exist as microcosms of the broader South African society. In order to eventually bring about decolonial reconstruction in South African society, it is first necessary to apply a decolonising framework to universities. Once this process has been applied at South African universities, it can be extended to the broader society. The blueprint for this decolonising framework was inspired by the tetralogy of Ngũgĩ books which constitute the four pillars for this framework. Ngũgĩ's tetralogy dealt with decolonising the mind, moving the centre, re-membering Africa, and globalectics, respectively. Although the four elements were discussed in separate chapters, the nature of the decolonising process is non-linear and therefore the elements interlink and operate in conjunction with one another, and not in a simple chronological process.

The first chapter introduces the motivations behind the research topic of this dissertation and explains how decolonial reconstruction can add to the discourse on decolonisation. The idea to study decolonial reconstruction came about through interaction with the student protests in 2015. These protests were driven by a Fallism ideology. In adherence with Fallism, students prioritised decolonial destruction and deconstruction by calling for the decolonisation of South African universities and the broader society. Following this discourse, it was necessary to extend the discussion to focus on decolonial reconstruction as a means to create a ceaselessly decolonising process for South African universities. The first chapter also provides terminology and explains the structure of the paper. Finally, the first chapter began to explain that South Africa is a neocolonial society. The continued existence of neocolonial institutions, and the socioeconomic inequality that purveys South Africa, justifies the need for decolonisation.

The second chapter focuses on the process of decolonising the mind and began by exploring how the minds of Africans and other colonised peoples have been colonised. Colonisers deliberately colonised the minds of the African people in order to make it easier to oppress and exploit them. This was also the case at South African universities which have been integral to the neocolonial apparatus. The colonising of the mind was a violent process which had the effect of fracturing the identities and cultures of Africans. One of the most effective ways that this was done was through languages, whereby colonial languages were imposed upon the

colonised, and their indigenous languages were suppressed and even outlawed. This resulted in many of the colonised losing a connection with their languages and cultures. In addition, the colonising of the mind caused the colonised to assume dichotomous identities and a double-consciousness as explained by Du Bois. Fanon explained that the colonised are banished to a zone of nonbeing where they struggle to reconcile their cultural identity with the Eurocentric society. The colonised were seen as inferior for being African but no matter what they did to assimilate, they would never truly be seen as Western. This inferiority complex gave rise to the need to overcome their colonised minds by reclaiming their African identities. Biko's conception of Black Consciousness is integral to the process of decolonising the mind and the disalienation of Africans. By restoring belief in themselves, Africans can begin to reconcile their identities. Additionally, in terms of the psychology of decolonising the mind, Hook explains the need to reclaim one's identity. He suggests doing this by creating a hybrid identity which is pluriversal and allows for one to have more than one identity.

The decolonising of the mind at South African universities should be implemented in several practical ways. First, universities should address the language policies at their institutions to promote African languages. Second, universities need to address the institutional culture so that it can be more accepting of Africans and other cultures. Third, curricula need to be decolonised by addressing the context of the content as well as the individuals who are learning it, and the perspective from which it is taught. Fourth, it cannot be ignored that the university and its education play a part in the national liberation of Africans. Finally, as per Maldonado-Torres' suggestion, each university should create a center for the critical studies of liberalism so that the current *status quo* can be better understood.

The third chapter addresses moving the centre which entails moving away from Eurocentrism and towards a multiplicity of centres. This process is decolonising and therefore when moving away from Eurocentrism there should be no single dominant centre but rather multiple centres which can coexist. Notably, in the initial stages of this process it will be necessary to prioritise African centres in order for them to gain equal standing with the other centres. This prioritisation of African centres may seem Eurocentric but is necessary to counteract the neocolonial and Eurocentric *status quo*. Western epistemologies have been prioritised at the expense of other epistemologies. Part of this was the epistemicide perpetrated by the coloniser in an attempt to destroy indigenous epistemologies in order to replace them with Eurocentric ones. Mignolo promotes delinking from Western modernity as one way to do this in order to move away from the ideal that Western knowledge is the best and only knowledge.

Additionally, Gordon explains that when moving towards a multiplicity of centres this requires both deconstructing and reconstructing the system simultaneously. De Sousa Santos promotes alternative ways of thinking of alternatives as a way to move the centre. Finally, Mbembe explains how to move the centre in South African universities through changing the approach to knowledge production.

There needs to be a shift towards a multiplicity of centres at South African universities. Universities should change their approach to teaching and learning to one which allows for multi-disciplinary scholarship. Additionally, the way universities teach African languages needs to change. Pluriversal learning can facilitate the decolonising of South African universities. Therefore, universities should promote learning from an African perspective which allows for the understanding of other perspectives and epistemologies. African language education should be at the centre of this, but not as a single dominant centre. Access to universities also needs to be addressed by improving physical access to universities as well as changing the culture on campuses so that Africans can feel welcome. Mbembe also highlights the necessity to promote critical thinking at universities. A critical component of this is moving away from an outcomes-based education system towards one which prioritises quality knowledge production. Finally, Ndlovu-Gatsheni highlights the importance of African scholars envisaging South African universities as destinations and not constantly flocking to Western institutions widely perceived as better.

The fourth chapter focuses on the process of re-membering Africa following its dismemberment by colonisation and neocolonialism. This dismemberment happened in a number of ways including epistemicide which fragmented African cultures; the dismemberment of the mind and the soul through oppression of languages and identities; the tainting of African history; the suppression of memories; the renaming and remapping of Africa; dismemberment through language imposition and suppression in the form of linguifam; and the dismemberment of blackness through forced assimilation. This dismemberment needs to be remedied through remembering in terms of regaining memories, and re-membering by restoring Africa and its peoples to a position of prosperity.

African memories were not destroyed, but suppressed and buried and they need to be restored through remembering. Another important aspect of re-membering is mourning which has not properly taken place in Africa. Proper mourning is needed to heal the wounds of the past, and present, in order for Africans to re-member their cultures and identities. African memories of

languages and cultures also need to be restored, and an African renaissance needs to be enacted to re-member African knowledges and cultures. This process culminates in the restoration of Africa cultures and identities.

Re-membering should take place in a number of ways at South African universities. First, it is necessary to restore the African archive by working with elders in local communities. Centres or departments should be set up to work with these elders and record the knowledge they have in order to archive African oral traditions in indigenous languages for all to access. It is important to prioritise African languages by prioritising them in everyday use on university campuses. Finally, universities also need to change the way they think about knowledge production in order to be more decolonising.

The fifth and final chapter deals with globalectics. Globalectics promotes global dialects in the form of multi-logues between different peoples and cultures. Globalectics is linked to Marxist and Hegelian dialectics which have a thesis and antithesis that interact to form a synthesis. This globalectical process challenges the linear development of history, encourages cultural interaction, and consequently leads to synthesis into a pluriversality. World literature and the effects of globalisation are also linked to globalectics and it is necessary to counteract capital driven globalisation by using the connectedness of the world to promote multi-logues. De Sousa Santos also speaks of intercultural translation and this works to promote harmony across various cultures. This approach of striving for harmony works toward globalectics and creating a pluriversal world.

In terms of globalectics, South African universities should strive to become pluriversities. Mbembe explains that this means universities embracing epistemic diversity. Universities can achieve this by approaching knowledge production in a globalectical way. Universities can become pluriversities by operating in giant networks like connected rivers of knowledge, whereby knowledge is passed freely between universities and across borders. The content of universities should also operate as a dialectical free flow of knowledge. Universities also need to change the way they teach by sharing knowledge with the wider community. This should be done through working with community groups and sharing knowledge as open pluriversities instead of being closed off as Eurocentric universities. Various projects should be started at universities like the ALICE and PUSM projects which De Sousa Santos has been involved with. They entail conversations of the world and holding workshops which promote decolonising knowledge production, respectively. Finally, when it comes to decolonial

conferences, universities need to change the way they host conferences and extend their scope to the wider community in order to be pluriversal and globalectical.

Through taking a decolonising approach to decolonial reconstruction by implementing the practical elements of the decolonising framework, South African universities can shift to become pluriversities. By decolonising the mind, moving the centre, re-membering Africa, and entering into globalectics, South African pluriversities can promote a ceaseless process of decolonial reconstruction. This decolonising framework can be extended from pluriversities to the broader South African society, thereby creating a pluriversal society which embodies a metaphorical shift to a Pangea-like world which is a land for all.

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