



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

**An afrodecolonial analysis of the resistance by the widowed women of
Marikana**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Sciences

In the Faculty of

Humanities,

Department of Political Sciences,

University of Pretoria

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30 August 2022

Declaration

I, Dikeledi A. Mokoena, declare that the thesis entitled: An Afrodecolonial Analysis of Resistance by The Widowed Women of Marikana, which I hereby submit for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, is my work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university.

Signed: Dikeledi Andronica Mokoena



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Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

3 October 2019

Dear Ms Mokoena

Project: The resistance and survival of 'Women' of Marikana: a decolonial Political Economy analysis
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Thank you for the revised application that was resubmitted for ethical consideration.

The Research Ethics Committee notes that this is a literature-based study and no human subjects are involved. The application has been **approved** on 27 September 2018 with the assumption that the document(s) are in the public domain. Data collection may therefore commence, along these guidelines.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

PP

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ate: 30 August 2022

Acknowledgement

This journey has been long, challenging, but ultimately rewarding. I thank God for everything hence we say ‘Alhamdulillah.’ The reason this thesis came to fruition is due to the financial support of the National Research Foundation (Doctoral Innovation Fund) and the Andrew Mellon Foundation. I am also grateful to CODERSIA for the doctoral research workshop offered; the institution’s library remains a well of intellectual magic for me. I am also grateful for the support of my family, friends and supervisors. I have no words to describe the gratitude I have for the guidance, wisdom and overall support shown by my supervisors. Thank you, Prof. Oloruntoba and Prof Zondi, for all you have done especially fuelling my zeal to go on. Thank you for the words of encouragement that ignited a fire that had died. You helped me believe in myself when faith had been depleted. I am grateful to my mother, who was a constant torch that lit my pathways during dark days. Thank you for your prayers, your unconditional love and for always being there to nurture me back to life with your love and resilience. To my eleven-year-old son, Thoriso, who extended an ear and asked questions that provided fresh perspectives, thank you, my baby. And, of course, thanks to your younger brothers, Thabang and Bohlale, who also came into this world during Covid to remind and teach me so many more lessons about balance, self-care and patience. Gratitude to my husband, Omar Ilyas, for your encouragement and support; every big gesture and little things you did will always be engraved on my wall of gratitude. I also appreciate the emotional encouragement from my in-laws and my grandmother Magdalene Diphare. I am also thankful to Dr Kingsley Orievulu for providing amazing feedback and taking the time to read my chapter and Brilliant Ngobeni for helping me edit the reference list. To my brother Tshepo Mokoena, thank you so much for all you have done. For taking care of me and always showing up to help when I need it most. The final stages of this thesis were enabled by your presence. And most importantly, to all my ancestors, it was through your prayers, tenacity and visions that this was given breath to manifest. Nkgono Manthatisi, papa, le bohle ba kganyang, kea leboha.

Dedication

To my late father, John Oupa Mokoena, your dreams and prayers were powerful. This is for you and mama, Puleng Martha Mokoena, who was also widowed young due to losing you to the mining extractive sector that claimed too many lives in South Africa.

I also dedicate this to my children, especially Thoriso, whose patience and understanding are immeasurable.

Abstract

In 2012 South Africans were bombarded with audio-visual material that captured the longest protracted strike in mining historiography, including the killing of unarmed striking mine workers. Shortly after, a plethora of publications flooded the market. Most of the publications were silent on women's narratives and those that existed largely focused on the women who lived at Marikana. This thesis set out to excavate the voices of the widowed women of Marikana who resided far away from Marikana but participated in the struggle. Consequently, the thesis offers an Afrodecolonial reading of Marikana and the resistance that transpired through the widowed women who were in labour-sending communities termed the extended social reproductive sphere. The thesis posits the question of how the widowed women partook in resistance, and to answer this question, the thesis focused on the narratives and actions that they engaged in. The researcher found that the widowed women partook in resistance, albeit distinct from the traditional modes of resistance. They invite us to think about resistance linked to the productive economy in ways that do not exclusively privilege class struggles or the immediate community struggles. The thesis developed an Afrodecolonial research paradigm, philosophy, and ontology and expanded on decolonial epistemic debates in research methods. The thesis deployed a hexagonal approach to data by weaving five sources of data to excavate the actions and voices of the widowed women of Marikana. The widows' narratives provide an empirical understanding of the existing global debates about the coloniality of power, knowledge and being.

KEYWORDS: Decolonial Resistance, Women, Marikana, Decolonial Methodology, extended social reproductive sphere

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CHAPTER 1

The Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

Cloaked with an ocean of anxiety, wondering about the well-being and whereabouts of one's husband was paralysing experience families had to endure on a dull winter day in August of 2012. Many people were frantically wondering about the safety of family men partaking in a protracted strike in Rustenburg's platinum-rich mine; heart-wrenching news of men shot dead quickly populated the information and dampened even further the sombre atmosphere of households in far-away lands known for the emigration of labour. Marikana massacre has been etched on the minds of South Africans as a phenomenon that reminded many of the brute force that the dominant economic class exerts as the protection offered by the post-colonial state. The socio-economic strain bred the Marikana strike that the wives and families of the miners felt because of the meagre wages the workers earned. Naturally, the income dynamics at Marikana were exacerbated by labour brokers whose commissions slashed the already strained income workers made. The pressure felt by workers and their families led to the decision to participate in the longest protracted strike in the South Africa extractive sector.

The police profiled the striking miners as dangerous because they carried objects classified as weapons with them. Although the objects, namely sticks and machetes, were taken not as a deliberate plan to harm others but more as symbols of war against exploitation, the police interpreted the objects as a threat, and coupled with the previously reported deaths caused by the strikers, the pressure and instruction from Lonmin management, the police ended up shooting at the mine workers resulting in the deaths of men, young and old. It is irrefutable that violence is an avenue for exercising power, and where there is power, there is resistance. Existing research reveals that the 2012 protracted strike in the mining sector embodied the intersections of labour and community struggles. The focus has primarily been on explaining the strike from a class perspective. The presence of women enabled scholars to illustrate that the strike should not be exclusively explained through a Marxist lens but also subaltern politics, referred to as community struggles (Naicker 2015).

These community struggles led community members, predominantly made up of the wives, siblings, and associates of the mine workers, to organise resistance against the lack of development and improvement of living conditions. These protestors are well known as the

women of Marikana. These women of Marikana operated in the social reproductive sphere and anchored the striking miners in terms of support. These women demonstrated their solidarity by organising their protest against Lonmin, which had promised to build houses for the community of Marikana but failed. Consequently, organised protests ensued due to the pressures felt by women of Marikana from the lack of social infrastructure and the nominal wages of their loved ones. The media and scholars captured and published records and analyses of the Strike and marginally focused on the protests by the women of Marikana. Especially the widowed women were living in labour-sending communities far from the mining site hence the necessity of this study which is aimed at unveiling the taken-for-granted forms of resistance that characterised the Marikana phenomenon. Despite the sparse representation of the women's protests and resistance, scholars such as Naicker (2015), Benya (2013, 2015), Ndibongo (2015), and Ntswana (2016), especially Benya (2013, 2015) and Naicker (2015) visibilized the women of Marikana, including those who worked as miners. Unfortunately, existing scholarships did not focus on the women of Marikana who could not participate in the protests because they lived far away in labour-sending communities. This thesis is intended to fill in that gap.

1.2. Perspectives on Marikana

It was on a Thursday, the 16th of August 2012, when the parched earth at Marikana in Rustenburg, South Africa, was tainted with the blood of 34 mine workers who were engaged in a confrontation with the state and market forces against exploitation. The neoliberal capitalist state did not sanction the strike, thus criminalising the demands for increased wages in a country categorised as the biggest economy in Africa yet an unequal country in the world. South Africa's Gini coefficient was 0.69 in 2015, and the two wealthiest people in the country have an estimated combined wealth equal to the income share of 27 million poor South Africans (Nieftagodien 2015, Marinovich 2016).

In 2014, Stats SA published an extreme poverty report, offering inflation-adjusted data from 2000 until 2011. The report revealed that the money needed for basic dietary requirements and essential items grew from R620 to R779, meaning that 53.8% of South Africans live below the upper-bound poverty line. The report included statistics on people who live below the poverty line in South Africa using three categories. The Food Poverty Line (FPL) comprises those who cannot afford to purchase enough food to meet their minimum energy intake. Second is the Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL), involving those without enough money to buy food and

non-food items such as transport, airtime, etc. The last one is the Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL), which comprises the poor who can afford to buy food and non-food items. In 2011 FPL was R321, LBPL was R443, and UBPL was R620 per person per household.

The continuation of inequalities and poverty is evident in the rock drill miners earning R5600 per month which they had to remit to their families whilst trying to survive their precarious conditions at the mining town. Socio-Economic Research Institute (2016) reported that a total of the 37 miners that were killed had a combination of 326 dependents. Some of the miners who lived with their partners at Marikana supported multiple households, while others were breadwinners in huge families; for instance, the late Mongezeleli Ntenetya from the Eastern Cape was helping 13 people, and he was the sole breadwinner in his family, meaning in 2011 each person in his family lived below the lower bound poverty level. Miners' immense responsibilities forced many to resort to loan sharks and state-certified microfinance sharks known as banks. This led to a vicious cycle of debt that consequently precipitated the demand for R12 500 (Steyn 2012, Bond 2016).

1.2.1. Class Perspectives on Marikana

Alexander, Lekgowa, Mmope, Sinwell and Xezwi (2013) offer an empirical narrative of the massacre that foregrounds a class perspective on the mine workers. The same is true of Jika, Mosamo, Sadiki, Saba, Ludwaba and Dlangamandla (2013). Smith (2013) also provided a Marxist critique of the tripartite alliance and its role in creating the conditions in which the miners found themselves. He argued that this resulted from neglecting a socialist democratic trajectory favouring capitalist monopoly (Boettger and Rathbone 2016). They make the error of reducing the critique of capitalism to a single logic of class without viewing it as a world system, thus falling short of understanding that a global systemic issue cannot be solved solely at the nation-state level.

Frankel (2013) departs from this fixation with the Marxist perspective by focusing on the nexus between capital, traditional leadership and local government in the failure to implement development projects which are part of the changes in post-apartheid mining spatial order. Frankel's insightful political economy analysis is locked within the neoliberal paradigm. It does not consider the systematic crisis anchored by the exploitative mining industry and South Africa's political economy of exclusion. Political economy is about power which offers a better frame of converging the often-dichotomized state vs market analysis; Palan (2001 cited by

Bracking 2003) argued that “power and capital manifest themselves in both state and market necessitating a truly political-economic form analysis” (Palan 2001: 4 in Bracking 2003: 3, Robinson 2004). Frankel (2013) does not interrogate the state’s potency within the global capitalist system outside the typical corruption narrative of the global North discourse on Africa’s underdevelopment. Neoliberalism has dominated development approaches globally and continues to be privileged despite the accentuation of poverty and inequality in core and peripheral countries (Oloruntoba 2017, Stiglitz 2012, Harvey 2007). South Africa’s neoliberal trajectory has also yielded a great crisis of poverty, inequality and unemployment (see Bond 2007, Terreblanche 2002), while the social responsibility of the private sector is weakened through illicit activities such as tax evasion, which also has implications for state revenue needed for welfare (Killian, Karlinsky, Payne and Arendse 2007).

Bell (2016) exposed the influence of traditional authorities, who own much of the land around the mine, in compounding the social challenges that the workers and community members lamented over for years. He criticized the traditional authority for being xenophobic based on their decree reported in the 2011 audit report that “non-Bafokeng could not own, live permanently, or illegally trade on RNB land... non-Bafokeng have less access to water, sanitation and electricity” (Bell 2016: 443). Bell (2016) does not highlight the land owned by Lonmin at the time, which it recently donated for housing infrastructure development because of the community’s pressure. He also does not offer a historical account of the ethnic cleavages and legacies of Bantu reserves, migration and land dispossession by linking it to global capitalist accumulation. He also falls short of critically analysing his displacement of responsibility from the state and market, including noting that many black subjects are marginalised even in the context of inclusion. Including the hyper-exploitation of non-South African immigrants under the norms of global capital.

Moreover, despite the ethnic divisions highlighted by Chinguno (2013c) solidarity was noted amongst the workers from diverse colonial-ethnic groupings. The workers’ solidarity played a pivotal role in advancing collective and cohesive demands concerning the labour struggle that ensued. Despite the differential gains and benefits granted to different ethnic groups, for instance, land and housing are easily given to the Batswana people who are originally from the Rustenburg area and those from labour-sending regions predominantly Xhosa speaking from the Eastern Cape. Understanding that this is the outcome of the Bantu stands that created the legacy of ethnocentric citizenship in South Africa is pivotal. Many Xhosa-speaking natives and mine workers also had access to land in their originally inhabited communities, where many were building or planning to build homes.

1.2.2 Violence, Power and Representation at Marikana

Ngcobo and Edwards (2013) suggested that the violence could have partly been informed by repetitive compulsion, group dynamics and psychic splitting or arise from transgenerational traumatic events and history of oppression as contributory factors. For Dixon (2013, 2015), the violence came from the state apparatus, signaling a failure by the post-apartheid state to deal with the legacy of police brutality and violence in addressing bottom-up responses to structural violence. Swartz (2015) explains the Marikana violence as a manifestation of longstanding black experience with structural violence defined as “processes which include discrimination, dispossession, disenfranchisement, forced removals and confiscation of land and property, humiliation and denigration” (Swartz 2015: 283). But this view does not extensively analyse the system of racialised exploitation, let alone locate it as an element constitutive of the global capitalist system. Power dynamics were salient at Marikana, and Nietzsche’s epistemic philosophical argument concerning the truth is relevant in the narratives about Marikana, particularly when he argued that “all things are subject to interpretation. Whichever interpretation prevails at a given time is a function of power and not the truth” (Nietzsche cited by Cornwall 2007: 471). The narratives about what took place in 2012 at Marikana were mainly in favour of business interests and their associated political elite, who used the apparatus of force in the state to kill, maim and intimidate protesting workers.

How the media framed the violence at Marikana revealed a bias against the struggle of the mine workers and the struggling community, as shown by Hlabangane (2018) and Chiumbu (2016). The South African media reported, “revealed the inherent perceptions of the miner’s worth, thus exposing the axiological lens applied in media representations” (Mokoena 2018, cited by Mokoena 2020). The media also captured the women’s protests at Nkaneng, yet the overall representation of women of Marikana in the press was highly gendered (see Mokoena 2020). The gender gap in the literature about Marikana has been filled by a small number of scholars such as Naicker (2015), Benya (2013, 2015), Ndibongo (2015) and Ntswana (2016). Benya (2013, 2015) and Naicker (2015) focus on the gap between productive and social reproductive arenas of struggle, allowing women’s participation in the Marikana uprising to become salient. The endemic and visible challenges faced by the communities constituted some of the underlying courses of the protest (Benya 2013, 2015, Naicker 2015, Bell 2016). These scholars have indirectly offered a critique against a reductionist analysis by previous political economy analysts of Marikana. Women operate within the mining sector instead of the exclusive gendered social reproductive sphere.

Benya (2017) offers a thesis that investigates the gendered performativity of female underground mine workers and exposes the implications of the gendered policies that subject mine workers who are women to poverty and insecurity. Moreover, the women miners' roles in the platinum belt uprising were captured by Ntswana (2012). She notes the complexities of their role during the 2012 platinum mining dispute even though her research site was not Lonmin at Marikana. Benya (2013) captured the cultural symbolism of the 2012 protest. The social reproductive roles played by women discussed by Benya (2015) are classified as “town” or “country wives”. Naicker (2013) offered a lens that granted the women political agency that challenged their role in the mining sector as mere sexual objects for men. Benya and Ntswana successfully bring women from the productive sphere into mining historiography, unlike many of the publications on Marikana that took on a masculinist approach. Naicker (2013, 2014), including Benya (2013, 2015, 2017) and other scholars' gendered analyses also take on a reductionist analysis failing to factor in different systems of oppression that were at play at Marikana, which a decolonial reading will reveal in this thesis.

Despite the limitations, the existing literature has helped us to see that Marikana is characterized by an interplay of various factors such as precariousness of workers, social reproductive labour, neoliberal domination and financialization, redistributive politics and corruption, violence, particularly state violence under the influence of transnational market forces which led to the massacre. The concept of the massacre is used to highlight the inherent imbalance of power in the incident. However, this valuable knowledge on Marikana, especially the gendered analysis which succeeded in visibilising women in mining historiography, has a shortfall in providing a holistic and systematic study of Marikana as a microcosmic site of a modern/colonial world system made salient by the promulgated struggles. Fragmented analyses in the form of class and/or gender and the silencing of race in Marxist analysis fall short of helping us understand the racist, patriarchal culture, politics and capitalist economy of South Africa embedded within a modern/colonial capitalist world system that underpins Marikana. As Tshoedi and Hlela (2006) also show, there are other gaps, including the relegation of gender to secondary issues in the labour movement, which tends to focus only on class and race as these have historically been mobilising facets for black workers.

As mentioned before, Naicker (2015) explained that the uprising at Marikana should not be solely attributed to labour struggles but community struggles as well. The conceptualisation of Marikana as a community struggle helps elucidate the interplay between the challenges that the community members of Nkaneng faced, and the class struggles that the mine workers faced. Paret (2015) relayed how the products and community spheres intersected in contemporary

South Africa through worker struggles extending beyond wage disputes to struggles over everyday issues of survival. Naicker (2015) critiqued the failure of most class analysts in locating the mobilisation and organization of the miners and community within the subaltern sphere of politics. This critique makes salient the subjectivities of racialised bodies within a context of resistance. Ngwane (2017) explains the uprising as a resurgence of the working-class struggle grounded within lived experiences. Despite the labour dispute being dominated by male workers, narratives about Marikana invisibilised women workers.

Steward (2014) eloquently captures the reaction of the women of Marikana in the form of the organised protest in Rustenburg. Some miners were women who participated in the organising and meetings that led to the platinum belt strike. The other category of women who operated within the reproductive sphere also challenged capital for the shortfalls of providing services. Unlike the service delivery protests, which are often directed at the government, the women of Marikana confronted the mining company through the world bank dispute.

In 2007 the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which is the investment arm of the World Bank, gave Lonmin \$50 million and the \$15 million out of that money was meant for the betterment of the living conditions of the communities around the mine. “That funding was to help improve pollution, sanitation, water, housing, education, and women’s access to employment. An IFC advisory board was established with the stated intention of ensuring these things happened” (Marinovich 2015: no page). Despite the promise to turn communities surrounding the Lonmin mine into the residence of middle-class families, the women of Marikana and others have lamented that there has not been much access to proper roads, housing, water, sanitation and pollution is not addressed. Marinovich (2015) captured women’s organisations against Lonmin through their legal dispute lodged at the world bank. The women managed to do so through their social organisation called Sikhala Sonke. Ndibongo (2015) captures the narratives of the women of Marikana and their organisation through an informal NGO (Sikhala Sonke). The women collaborated with various social organisations such as Soul City to deal with the issues they encountered at Marikana, Nkaneng.

1.2.3 Marikana Resistance, Stratification and power

Magaziner and Jacobs (2013) compared the Marikana protest with the anti-colonial rebellious tradition of the 20th century and viewed it as the catalysis by workers to maximise the valuation of their lives and labour. This analysis fails to acknowledge or make explicit the structured valuation of black lives resultant from embedded racism. Chinguno (2013b) attempted an intersectional reading of Marikana in his analysis of violence by bringing to the fore a case of

intimidation and harassment of females and male workers who were stripped naked for not supporting the Impala platinum strike. This strike ended with three people dead at the hands of mine workers. Chinguno (2013b) believes Impala platinum mine workers inspired the protests at Lonmin, Marikana. Apart from the limitations of Chinguno's (2013b) analysis from a gendered point of view, for instance, the patriarchal deployment of violence in coercion, he could have also interpreted the incident as part of coercive political mobilisation strategy amid frustration and desperation for escaping immiseration.

Violence is a tool for coercing the marginalised to consent their exclusion and the reproduction of the status quo (Fanon 1968, Althusser 1970, Mbembe 2003, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a, 2013b, Maldonado-Torres 2016). Chinguno (2013b) could have also noted that the construction of blackness in the world system was through violence and that black subjection is violence (Bradley, 1978). At least Marinovich (2016) reported that "global capitalism seems to foster such situations of massacre and radical abandonment of populations that do not feel the benefit of a strongly centralised government... At Marikana, shack dwellers collided head-on with big capital in an alliance with the state and the ruling party syndicate" (Marinovich, 2016: 245-246, italics added). This analysis makes us aware of the militaristic nature of the interstate system in which capital thrives. Moreover, "...Marikana became etched in history and memory as a symbol of the willingness of the state to use brutal force against workers in protecting the interests of capital- and of an uncompromising spirit of resistance to the impositions of such power" (Naidoo 2015: 2). As evident from the above review, all the scholars mentioned above provided a partitive analysis of Marikana. As a result, this thesis offers a decolonial analysis by focusing on the extended social reproductive agents/women who were excluded from existing publications.

1.3 Research Problem and Study Rationale

Most of the literature on Marikana explained the uprising as either a labour struggle (focusing on the class analysis) or a community struggle. Most of the literature did not focus on gender when it came to Marikana because the narratives and political symbolism were predominantly about male workers. However, scholars such as Naicker and Benya challenged the class analysis and male-centric view by showing that the Marikana phenomenon was part of community struggles influenced by the presence of women in the mining area, unlike in the past (during colonialism and apartheid) whereby male mine workers were not allowed to bring their families to live with them.

The gendered analysis offered by Naicker and Benya not only foregrounds political struggles but also highlights the social reproductive sphere, which intersects with the productive sphere in ways that expose power asymmetries. Although Naicker and Benya bring to the fore the contributions of women in the struggle at Marikana, their focus is on social movements and gender within the vicinity of the mine where the protracted strike transpired. South African mining sector was and continues to be characterised by a migrant labour system whereby workers semigrated to mining towns. Some of them leave their families behind in labour-sending communities. Those households in labour sending communities are also influenced by the challenges of Marikana as a phenomenon. This thesis focuses on the social reproductive sphere constituted by the women of Marikana who lived far from the mine; the women termed the rural wives as opposed to city wives. It must be noted that the labelling is problematic in that it ossifies the idea of the duality of women as if those who were left behind in labour-sending communities do not move back and forth from the labour-sending community to the mining towns and back (see Ntantala 1958).

By focusing on the extended social reproductive space, the thesis posits that another avenue of resistance needs to be described and analysed to complete the puzzle that helps us holistically understand resistance at Marikana. This means that the thesis is broadly looking at the relationship between coloniality in the South African extractive sector and forms of resistance by those existing in the sub-margins of coloniality (namely, the widowed women of Marikana who were left behind in labour-sending communities). Focusing on the women who were left behind directs the focus towards analysing interlinked resistance within the social reproductive sphere of Marikana. This is explicitly done by addressing non-traditional forms of resistance against coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Focusing on the widows who did not reside at Marikana with their husbands steers focus away from conventional modes of resistance to performative resistance by those who could not organise under the labour or community protests that sprang up in 2012. This aims to extend our knowledge and understanding of forms of resistance that sub-marginalized beings engage in to challenge and consequently expose structures of coloniality.

In this research, I sought to understand decolonial conditions of resistance that marginalized women who exist within specific margins of the modern/colonial capitalist society perform, thus contributing to the theoretical understanding of the broader relationship between coloniality and gendered resistance. To do this, I analysed how the sub-marginalized express political agency through their unique participation in the Marikana (labour and community)

struggle. Before doing so, I raised and addressed philosophical questions regarding conducting decolonial analytical research by asking what constitutes decolonial research, which paradigm frames it, what constitutes decolonial research design, what is the process of decolonial analysis of data and what counts as evidence for political science research? In the process, I call for a shift in our epistemic lens to understand forms of resistance outside the traditional understanding and discourse on resistance.

So, the thesis provides a decolonial analysis of the resistance expressed by the widowed women of Marikana who resided in labour-sending regions such as the Eastern Cape in South Africa and labour exporting countries in Southern Africa, namely Lesotho and Swaziland. This specific research project looked at the agency of the women of Marikana, who are marginalised political subjects operating outside the market and the state. It looks at the women's political agency whilst they were represented as mere appendages to the deceased male workers/proletariat whose resistance is scholastically classified as labour resistance. The males referred to here are the 34 mine workers killed by the South African police during a protracted strike for wages. This thesis focused on the women of Marikana who were based in labour-sending communities far from Marikana's organised political (labour and community) activism. Doing so is meant to help us grasp the forms of resistance which do not adhere to existing typologies of resistance.

1.4 Research Question

How did the widowed women of Marikana express resistance to coloniality of power, knowledge and being?

- What kind of actions did the women exhibit during the period of the Marikana protests and after?
- What constituted the women's narratives about the massacre and other related issues?
- How do they provide us with a different understanding of resistance which can be employed to challenge our traditional modes of resistance?

1.5. Aim and Objectives

To explore and describe ways in which women of Marikana expressed resistance.

- To explore the actions/performances the women exhibited during the period of the Marikana protests and after.
- To analyse the women's narratives about the massacre and the Marikana debacle.

- To describe other taken-for-granted resistance that transpired within the Marikana phenomenon

1.6. Research Methodology

Research methodology entails an overall plan for conducting research; it is a systematic way of resolving a research problem. It involves “a philosophically coherent collection of theories, concepts or ideas as they relate to a particular discipline or field of inquiry” (Goundar 2012: no page). Research methodology steers researchers to think about suitable procedures for research; it “involves the techniques regarding how to go about conducting the research...” (Goundar 2012: no page). This alludes to the myriad of research methodologies commonly divided into qualitative and quantitative. Pragmatists advanced the mixed methods approach, which incorporates both. Scholars such as Becker (2017) have critiqued the usefulness of distinguishing between qualitative and quantitative research. For instance, Aspers and Corte (2019) noted that qualitative research employs a variety of methods such as “intensive interviews or in-depth analysis of historical materials, and it is concerned with a comprehensive account of some event or unit” (King et al. 1994 cited by Aspers and Corte 2019: 146). Comparatively speaking, the same as quantitative research, it can study a variety of issues, “but it tends to focus on meanings and motivations that underlie cultural symbols, personal experiences, phenomena and detailed understanding of processes in the social world” (Aspers and Corte 2019: 146).

On the other hand, other qualitative research methods, such as conversation analysis, do not emphasise the meanings people assign to phenomena (see Denzin, Lincoln and Giardina 2006). Central to Aspers and Corte’s (2019) argument is that upon surveying the literature on qualitative methodology, there is no coherence among scholars regarding the definition of qualitative research. Consequently, they defined it as;

“an iterative process in which improved understanding of the scientific community is achieved by making new significant distinctions resulting from getting closer to the phenomenon studied. Qualitative research, as defined here, is consequently a combination of two criteria: (1) how to do things- namely generating and analysing empirical material, in an iterative process in which one gets closer by making distinctions, and (ii) the outcome- improved understanding novel to the scholarly community... Given this definition, qualitative research is about questioning the pre-given (taken for granted) variables but is thus also about making new

distinctions of any type of phenomenon... by coining new concepts, including the identification of new variables” (Aspers and Corte 2019: 155).

An appropriate research methodology for describing forms of resistance by the widowed women of Marikana is qualitative research design because its primary analytical objective is to describe phenomena. Qualitative research uses interviews or in-depth analysis of historical materials as it was done in this research through analysing Marikana commission transcripts, audio-visual materials from the South African Broadcasting Services and artistic paintings by the widowed women of Marikana. The sampling was purposeful because the widowed women of Marikana who did not reside in Nkaneng helped us understand forms of resistance outside overtly organised protests as witnessed during the Marikana protests.

The sample population is 11 women, the widows of the deceased mine workers who were killed by the police. The entire process began with a proposition of Marikana as a focus for the study; while reviewing the literature, it became evident that few studies focused on the women and those that had a gendered lens did not explicitly focus on the widows of Marikana except for a thesis by Ndibongo (2015) which focused on the widows and other community members who were living at Nkaneng, Marikana. Although there exists media reports especially a reported trip by Sinwell and Mbatha (2016) to the funerals of the mine workers in labour-sending communities, such as Eastern Cape, Lesotho, and Eswatini, none of the reports gave voice to the widows of the mineworkers from those areas. This informed the intentional selection of the sample for the study meaning purposive sampling was employed (see Robinson 2014).

This purposive sampling employed a two-stage process. The first stage entailed a literature referral snowball technique which was also informed by the concept of operational construct sampling shaped by the analysis of the dynamics of the social reproductive sphere in the migrant labour system in SA and engagement of “women of Marikana” as a concept (Ames, Glenton and Lewin 2019). “Theoretical or operational construct sampling involves the “selection of cases representing important theoretical or operational constructs about the phenomenon of interest. Set out operational definitions of key theories or constructs related to the phenomenon of interest...” (Ames, Glenton and Lewin 2019: 2). The selection of transcripts and audio-materials analysed were determined by the Commission hearings on days that allowed the families of the deceased mine workers to speak. The transcripts were from day 273 and day 274 of the Marikana commission. The artwork (body maps) were painted in 2012 and 2013 during workshops but published in 2016.

The second stage involved a process that began with a total sample population of 34 mine workers killed in 2012. This was followed by the process of elimination of deceased miners by marital status of the dead miners. Those who were married at the time of death were listed in a separate column. I then searched through the Marikana transcripts for the names of the mine workers and found their widows' names. From there, I created a list of widows of Marikana, which was not differentiated. After that, I had to eliminate others based on where they lived. All those from Marikana were removed from the sample, and thirteen widows remained. The elimination was based on the data in the transcripts, which included areas they stated they were from. The sample was later reduced to eleven participants/widows because they fit the widow's category from the extended social reproductive sphere. The other two who had initially said they were from the Eastern Cape had to be eliminated because other publications mentioned they lived with their husbands at Marikana. As my contribution to methodological knowledge, this second stage process of sampling can be called purposive elimination sampling.

The engagement with the data collected was heavily informed by decolonial debates concerning the critique of the perennial use of western theories and concepts to understand phenomena outside the empires. There is a methodologically scarce focus on generating knowledge that departs from Western knowledge. Even approaches within the transformative paradigm, for instance, feminism, post-colonial studies, and neo-Marxism, are approaches that “are often based on open or hidden Eurocentric grounds” (see Tlostanova 2010: 3). Consequently, in the attempt to respond to this critique, a grounded theory method was employed. Glaser and Strauss (1967) showed that grounded theory calls for the exploration and description of social life as opposed to the confirmation of existing ideas or the verification of taken-for-granted theories.

A decolonial analysis, in the case of this thesis, is about the generation of a theory or framework of political action from the -sub-marginalized in their interaction with the modern-colonial world. It is pivotal to grasp this as we understand political action from those existing within the outer edges of the modern-colonial world. However, the interaction itself calls for an abductive approach in which the outer edges are theorised and made to interact with the modern-colonial world. This means the interaction of border ontologies with the excluded ontologies. The abductive approach avoids the pitfall of “atomistic inductionism”, which is basically about the isolation of concepts generated. Sociologists traditionally use grounded theory. The scholars who first published on the method located their work within the broader

field of sociological theory. This thesis also entails an attempt to position the theory within the African political science field in the effort to contribute to political theory/philosophy in Africa and empirical research. “Instead of moving from theory to data (as in induction) and data to theory (as in deduction), an abductive approach moves back and forth” (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009:148) which is what characterized the process of this thesis.

1.7. Data Collection Approach

The research relied on data in the form of legal transcripts, selected documentaries and texts capturing the voices of the widows, artwork and audio-visual material. This research provides a new interpretation of resistance performed by the sub-marginalized within the context of coloniality. The thesis entails a descriptive analysis of the forms of resistance by the oppressed using decoloniality as an analytical tool to learn from the standpoint of the peripheralised women of Marikana.

1.8. Research Paradigm

At every research stage, all researchers make assumptions about human knowledge, the realities encountered in their study, “and the extent and ways *one’s* values influence *the* research process” (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009: 124, italics added). This thesis is guided by a decolonial approach which currently does not enjoy explicit association with the transformative paradigm. The transformative research paradigm encourages researchers to be intentional about exposing and responding to marginalisation and discrimination based on disability (disability theories), age, sexuality (queer theory), race (critical race theory), gender (feminism and gender theories), class (Marxism and neo-Marxism), ethnicity, religion and nationality among other factors (Frey 2018). A research paradigm is constitutive of four elements, axiology (what constitutes the values and ethics that guide the research?), epistemology (what is the nature of knowledge, what qualifies as legitimate and valid knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the subject of knowledge?), ontology (what is reality) and methodology (through which means can the knower obtain knowledge?). The axiological position of a researcher is premised on the belief in the importance of advancing human rights and social justice under the respect and acknowledgement of the cultural, religious and other socially constructed norms of those studied. The purpose of this is to counter the axiological tradition of the civilising mission in academic work. Acknowledging the existing norms that shape the women in this study helps one understand concepts such as gender and resistance outside of western framing. The ontological stance assumed is based on the need for recognising the diversity and diverse understandings and perceptions of reality

shaped by people's social positioning. This thesis was driven by the desire to highlight the unique ways the women who were left behind and could not participate in traditional and organised resistance interacted with the Marikana phenomenon. Epistemically speaking, although there was no interaction between myself and the widowed women of Marikana, I recognise my subjective position and consciousness as a daughter of a late mine worker who died from Manganese poisoning when I was thirteen years old, leaving my mother a very young widow.

It is pivotal to always remember that knowledge is situated socially and historically; thus, this study assumes a qualitative method. The thesis entails visual and textual data and incorporates fiction. It is pivotal to understand that the above is shaped by Mertens' (2019) adaptation of the work of Guba and Lincoln (1994, 2005) and Morgan (2007). Mertens (2019) does not factor in decoloniality in the approaches highlighted. There is also a lack of awareness or acknowledgement of Afrikanity and decoloniality as combative ontologies (see Mpofo 2018 and Mafeje 2008) and the epistemic tradition of Afrocentricity (Mazama 2001). Consequently, the paradigm guiding this research is based on a decolonial paradigm advanced and explained in the 3rd chapter of this thesis.

1.9. Definition of Key Concepts

Class, race, spirituality, international division of labour, language, sexuality, knowledge, interstate system, gender, social reproductive labour, motherhood, womanhood, family, struggle, agency, resistance, everyday resistance and Marikana. The choice of these variables is premised on the variables that came up in the review of the literature. However, one cannot claim that they are employed here to measure the way experimental research is conducted; these concepts have relevance in this study to shed light on the question of the forms of resistance deployed by the widowed women of Marikana. To understand the resistance deployed, one ought to understand, at a broader theoretical level, the context in which they operated, how they were shaped and influenced and how they responded. The key concepts are decoloniality, resistance, gender, coloniality of gender and extended social reproductive sphere.

1.9.1 Resistance

The literature is helping with crafting a working definition or conceptualisation of resistance, protest, struggle, uprising... All of these are subsumed by theories of social movements. Yet I'm trying to carve something else. I argue that something else is happening. None of the theories fully explain what transpired with the specific sect of the women of Marikana.

Consequently, resistance is the closest concept to be used to explain better what happened. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) lamented that the concept of resistance tends to be loosely employed in previous publications without a clear definition. Previous scholarship on resistance captures the author's political views as opposed to an analytical concept that can be applied systematically (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Tandon (2014) views resistance as the initial stages of development. This compliments Bush's (1999 cited by Baaz, Lilja, Schulz and Vinthagen 2016) conceptualisation of resistance as any action, individual or collective, violent or lawful, covert or overt, that is critical, opposes, upsets disrupts or challenges colonialism. Scott (1985, 1990) highlighted multiple forms of resistance which he conceived as 'everyday forms of resistance' devised by the marginalised. These strategies, he argued, are informal and covert and often require no coordination or planning (which was not wholly the case for the widowed women of Marikana). Mitchell critiqued Scott's (1989) work by exposing the problematic differentiation between power as a material force and power as a consciousness or cultural phenomenon. He argued that although structure may control the behaviours of the poor, in this case, the overt actions of resistance by the women of Marikana, their consciousness cannot be determined or controlled. This leads to the challenge of Hollander and Einwohner's (2004) insistence that resistance must be characterised by overt action. Mitchell's distinctive framework makes us think of resistance as not exclusive to actions but to thoughts that are harboured or expressed.

Mitchell (1989) also made us think of the limitation of the Gramscian concept of hegemonic power. From this evidence, it is argued that the notion that domination operates at the level of ideology, in particular, Gramsci's explanation of power in terms of hegemony is unhelpful and indeed likely to mislead us seriously in understanding class conflict in most situations. The concept of hegemony ignores the ability of most subordinate classes based on their daily material experience to penetrate and demystify the prevailing ideology.

1.9.2 Gender

Several concepts frame gender in the African context. The first underlying principle is that gender is not fixed; it is an ongoing process; thus, Oyewumi (2011) argued for gendering as a concept to capture this phenomenon as opposed to gender. Another concept in the African context is that of Gender complementarity, which invites scholars to think about gender relationality in the form of a combination of different qualities for the enhancement and support of the other. This logic has been drawn mainly from specific African cosmological frameworks which inspire collaborative efforts among genders as opposed to a European worldview of

gender which is negative relativity in which the relational dependency is hierarchical and reinforced to be unequal. Gender is also a social construct visible through performances and is institutionalised through sex-based stratification of labour rooted in the household division of labour. It is also shaped by the intersections between the sexual and global divisions of labour. The incorporation of women into the labour market is mainly as devalued labour and transnational reproductive labourers. And their exclusion emanates from the historiographic gendering of the extractive sector. Their structural positionalities are shaped by the proximity to core/metropolitan centres or semi-peripheries. The dualism of states, economies and social locations is also evident in the division of labour (divisions between peripheries, core and semi-peripheries). The modern/colonial world is configured through the hierarchisation of spirituality whereby Christianity is privileged over other forms of spirituality and, consequently, other systems of governance, economics and identification.

1.9.3 Marikana

Marikana is a microcosm of coloniality. A site of manifestation of neoliberal globalisation producing transnational elites (see Robinson 2014), a site of the globally witnessed nature of neoliberal capitalism and its consequences on communities, families and workers. It is a site characterised by the elements of global coloniality, which classifies the modern world as hegemonic, capitalist, Christocentric, ethicist, racist, and patriarchal. Mignolo argued that in the context of modernity, racism and sexism have a relationship with religion, epistemology and the economy” (Mignolo 2015: 4). In such a system, women are often subject to heterosexist patriarchy and class oppression. Marikana is characterised by intersecting themes of political economy, namely capitalist production, the core/periphery international division of labour, the transnational hegemonic influence of the nation-state, racial/ethnic hierarchy of being, oppositional gender hierarchy, heteronormativity, spiritual hierarchy and epistemic hierarchy. Steady stated that “[t]he overwhelming evidence suggests that gender-based hierarchies and gender subordination, combined with structural racism, are being reinforced by corporate globalisation and African women are among the most severely affected” (Steady 2004: 43).

The category ‘woman’ is underpinned by an African feminist lens championed by Oyewumi (2004). She argued that “[t]he oppositional male/female, man/woman duality and its attendant male privileging in western gender categories is particularly alien to many African cultures.” (Oyewumi 2004: 7). Oyewumi grants us a starting point in terms of epistemically critiquing the notion of gender in the African context. In the African context, it is imperative to grasp it

as a merger between postcolonial realities, continuities of colonial systems and institutions, and some remnants of pre-colonial ethos shaping post-colonial realities. This is evidenced in various literary discussions of African cultures where Amadiume discussed the concept of ‘male daughters and female husbands’, Dangarembga’s ‘Nervous conditions’, which includes a narrative of a Shona woman character, Aunt Tete, deemed to enjoy ‘patriarchal status’ (See Oyewumi, 2004). Gender, as Oyewumi suggested, is a process that fluctuates according to context. In the absence of males, the women are left to perform an array of roles that help them advance the activities and interests of the family space and their own lives. The social reproductive sphere is also shaped by the non-dualistic perspective of the gendered household because it is characterised by roles and performances that expose the complexity of gendered relations within households where husbands are migrant workers. The widowed women of Marikana’s modes of resistance also enable us to conceive of gender through the philosophical prism of Oyewumi’s gendered relationality.

1.9.4 Extended Social Reproductive Sphere

The study of women of Marikana from the labour-sending communities helps us acknowledge the heterogeneous constitution of the indigenes, thus revealing the diversity of modes of resistance that took place within the Marikana phenomenon. The women of Marikana are not a homogenous group; there are those from labour-sending communities (the extended social reproductive sphere- ESRS) and those based near the mine (immediate social reproductive sphere- ISRS). And even the women at the mines are also experiencing marginality in different ways; for instance, the women of Marikana from the immediate sphere are made up of women who lived at Nkaneng, which was without basic social infrastructures like electricity and those who had mortar houses and lived within official mining hostels. This reality creates a phenomenon of differentials of struggles. Diversity of needs influences the community's struggles. Those without homes with electricity are burdened with more household labour in comparison to those with homes that have electricity because of the ability to use electrical appliances in executing household labour. The lived realities of those in the labour-sending communities are also diverse based on geo-location; for instance, some are from rural areas, others from other countries and others from peri-rural areas with diverse infrastructural needs. A decolonial lens helps one in factoring and acknowledging the interlinkages between political, cultural and economic processes of capital accumulation to engage non-traditional modes of resistance. Resistance entails any actions which challenge, question or oppose claims by power, including conditions of subordination. Part of the claims under coloniality is the state of non-

existence/non-being and incomplete humanity of black subjects, which will be apparent in the thesis and has been challenged through the resistance exhibited by the widowed women.

1.9.5 Race

The concept of race in the South African context is interlocked with class, thus rendering race a socio-economic construct that can be measured through income, social status and subordinate power relations. This view is divergent from Seekings and Nattrass (2002) who argue that class differentials characterise the political economy of inequality in South Africa as opposed to an intersection of race, class and other facets of oppression.

1.9.6 Family

Oyewumi (2004) convincingly argued that in some African societies, such as the Yoruba, gender is not an organising category of power. “Power centres within the [Yoruba] family are diffused and not gender-specific. The fundamental organising principle in this family is seniority based on relative age and not gender... Unlike gender, which is rigid or static, the seniority principle is dynamic and fluid.” (Oyewumi 2004: 5). Although Oyewumi (2004) writes in the Yoruba context, the argument she makes draws us back to the conceptualisation of the family, which characterises our conceptualisation of gender. Oyewumi (1997) critiqued that the family unit is the starting point of the feminist conceptualisation of gender as an oppressive category. She argues that the nuclear family unit constituted by a man, woman and children is inherently hierarchical, whereby the man is privileged. Oyewumi’s critique of gender is rooted in the criticism of the Eurocentric family structure, which is distinct from the traditional family structure in many African contexts, including South Africa.

The traditional family structure is constitutive of what Eurocentric family perspectives refer to as relatives. The relatives, who make up aunts, uncles and grandparents, including children born from these mine workers’ families, constitute a single economic household that has not only implications on economics but also gendering and other interlocking organising principles of power. This consequently has implications on how we conceptualise and understand women’s gendered locations in the context where African women are generally socio-economically located within cultural imperials coupled with economic trajectories that are inherently sexist. Culture, race, class, gender, age, sexuality, nationality and other categories intersect and are heightened as part of interrogating the homogenous view of women’s experiences.

Moreover, there is also dual stratification of the world, resulting in the peripheralisation of specific geographic or social locations. The women left behind to offer an avenue to think of

gendering processes and their manifestation in gendered peripheries. The women left behind in labour-sending communities challenged the nuclear-family-based notion of gendered roles. Women's roles are complex and not monotonous in the absence of males who migrate to the mines or other parts. This means, depending on the family structure of the labour-sending household, the roles women perform include those of males, thus challenging the notion of a static conceptualisation of gender.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

To understand what is meant by decoloniality, it is essential to begin with an explanation of coloniality. Coloniality is a power system characterised by a patriarchal, western-centric/Christian-centric, capitalist system. Gender, class, and race, among other hierarchies, are entangled together “within a global geopolitical, geocultural and geoeconomic processes of the modern/colonial world system where the ceaseless accumulation of capital is affected by, integrated to, constitutive of, and constituted by those hierarchies” (Grosfoguel 2002: 216).

“Coloniality... can be understood as racialisation and naturalisation of the non-ethics of war. This non-ethics included the practices of eliminating and slaving certain subjects—e.g., Indigenous and black— as part of colonisation enterprise. The hyperbolic expression of coloniality includes genocide... War includes a particular treatment of sexuality and femininity: rape. Coloniality is an order of things that put people of colour under the murderous and rapist sight of a vigilant ego... racialisation works through gender and sex, and the ego conquiro is constitutively a phallic ego as well” (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 247-248)

Conquiro is a concept used by Maldonado-Torres (2007) to speak of a specific form of the conquest of America. He cited Joshua Goldstein, who explained that conquest is “an extension of the rape and exploitation of women in wartime.” (2007: 248). The conquered become sexualised and racialised subjects coerced into constituting “the economy of sexual abuse, exploitation, and control... The way things supposedly are, emerge from the idea of a world conceived to be in conditions of war and the code of behaviour that is part of it. What happens in modernity is that such a view of the world and code of conduct is transformed – through the idea of race— and becomes naturalised... the emerging modernity comes to be shaped by a paradigm of war” (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 248).

The paradigm of war involves conquest, murder, genocide, rape and death. The darker side of modernity involved the naturalisation of black bodies as rapeable and killable. Death is inscribed into the daily experiences of the colonised. This is what fundamentally constitutes

the foundation of coloniality of being. The capitalist mode of economic relations was infused with the ethics and logic of domination and subordination structured by the hierarchy of race (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 2008). The emergence of the *homo economicus* required “a consolidation of the figure of the racialised Other as symbolic death. This consolidation of the figure of the racialised Other is a symbolic death. This consolidation was initially the task of colonialism, which figured the newly racialised native as an enslaved person, subhuman, and ethically exploitable” (Tsantsoulas 2018: 167).

Coloniality refers to the continuity of colonial arrangements, structures, institutions, philosophies and culture despite the legislative demise of colonialism and apartheid. In short, the relationship between colonialism and coloniality is structural and persisting. However, it is essential to note that a country need not have a history of colonisation for coloniality to exist (Mokoena 2018). Gender inequality resembling the colonial patriarchal configuration of gender relations is a feature of coloniality. Another example of coloniality in South Africa is the privileging of Christianity over other forms of religion or spirituality; for instance, one of the security officers at Lonmin, Marikana, the late Hassan Fundi, was a Muslim, and his family found difficulty in burying him within the 24 hours according to Islamic tradition. “Lonmin pays out bereavement monies seven days after death...” (Budlender 2014: 34855). This captures the institutionalisation of Christianity within the productive economy over Othered religions. Coloniality manifests itself differently in various contexts (Suarez-Krabbe 2015). Of course, in Arab countries, including several African countries, Islam is a dominant religion with its complicated social structure involving some level of women’s subordination, including the history of enslaving Africans; within the global context, the imperial Muslim countries are subordinate to the hegemonic western Christian civilisational order. ≈

This research is guided by Grosfoguel’s (2009) decolonial political economy paradigms to expose coloniality at Marikana and, subsequently, forms of resistance enacted and engendered by the widowed women of Marikana. These paradigms reveal how the capitalist system intersects with specific processes of subordinating women. A decolonial political economy framework takes on a non-binary dichotomises political economy and identity politics. It also makes the locus of enunciation salient, meaning “the geopolitical and body-political location of the subject that speaks” (Grosfoguel 2006: 168), especially that which assumes epistemic superiority and universality in its academic product. Decolonial political economy helps us explain that the arrival of Eurocentric modernists in South Africa in 1652 was not just those

who later established an extractive economic sector that incorporated South Africa into a global class structure and ceaseless capital accumulation. There were/are other entanglements of power structures that yielded and sustained the exploitation of labour entangled with a racial hierarchy that forges a racialised class system (Magubane 1979) in the South African mining political economy. Theorising the capitalist economy from the experiences of the marginalised reveals entangled global power hierarchies that constitute global coloniality.

Decoloniality consists of transformative perspectives and theories with explanatory functionality, and "...good theory in the social sciences is of value precisely because it fulfils one primary purpose: to explain the meaning, nature, and challenges associated with a phenomenon, often experienced but unexplained in the world in which we live, so that we may use that knowledge and understanding to act in more informed and effective ways" (Lynham 2002: 222). Decoloniality deploys an interlinked analytical tool that combines world systems analysis, third-world feminism from the US, coloniality of power and philosophy of liberation as combative perspectives. This and Grosfoguel's research enable us to understand that "race, gender, sexuality, spirituality, epistemology are not additive elements to the economic and political structures of the capitalist world system, but an integral, entangled and constitutive part of the broad entangled "package" called the European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system" (Grosfoguel 2002 cited by Grosfoguel 2006: 172).

Central to Grosfoguel's analysis is the importance of employing heterarchical thinking. Heterarchy is "an entangled articulation of multiple hierarchies, in which subjectivity and the social imaginary is not derivative but constitutive of the structures of the capitalist world-system" (Grosfoguel 2011: no page). Kontopolous (2006) explains that heterarchy captures the concept of a process of structuration that takes place at the micro, meso and macro levels. Kontopolous (2006) was antithetical to hierarchies that privilege other facets of analysis over others through reductionist approaches. "Heterarchies move us beyond closed hierarchies into a language of complexity, open systems, the entanglement of multiple and heterogeneous hierarchies, structural levels, and structuring logics... The idea is that there is neither autonomous logic nor a single logic, but multiple, heterogeneous, entangled, and complex processes within a single historical reality." (Grosfoguel 2002: 217).

A decolonial political economy reading helps us utilise various theories and/or approaches to understand the modern/colonial system that made the Marikana phenomenon possible. What is meant by colonial/modernity because, administratively, colonialism and apartheid ended? Grosfoguel emphasised that "[c]oloniality is not equivalent to colonialism. It is not derivative from or antecedent to modernity. Modernity and coloniality constitute two sides of a single

coin” (Grosfoguel 2006: 173). Grosfoguel added that “[a]lthough colonial administrations have been almost entirely eradicated and most of the periphery is politically organised into independent states, non-European people are still living under crude European-Euro-American exploitation and domination” (Grosfoguel 2007: 219). The current global matrices of power are constitutive of the old structuring of the world into binaries of European/non-Europeans with non-Europeans entangled unfavourably in the international division of labour and accumulation of capital at the world scale (Amin 1989, Quijano 2000, Grosfoguel 2002, Ndlovu-Gatssheni 2013a, Grosfoguel 2009: 22).

The achievements of European modernity result from the process of colonial interaction with and domination and exploitation of non-European people located within peripheral or semi-peripheral zones (Rodriguez 2012). And these colonial forms of domination and exploitation, produced by colonial cultures and structures, have not been eradicated by the demise of formal colonialism. Despite the consequences of imperial and colonial differences, which create conditions of subalternity, there are cases involving the desire to assimilate to become like the superior other. Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006) highlight the assimilation attitude and practice at the meso-level of the state with colonies “yielding to the imperial language, knowledge and subjectivity at the high price of alienating oneself into the imperial Order, for instance, Turkey...” (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006: 212).

This narrative does not negate the resistances amid the modern/colonial dependency relations, for instance, states that reject Western epistemology, language and subjectivity based on defending languages, religion, et cetera. This is the case with many Arab-speaking and Islamic states, but the constitution in the global matrix of power sustains the economic interdependency of those geo-political locations that reject Eurocentrism. A reductionist analysis which solely focuses on earlier mentioned dimensions such as language and religion would make one assume the irrelevancy of modernity in powerful countries such as China and Russia. Yet coloniality exists in those economies which do not have a history of colonisation (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006, Mignolo 2011).

“The fact that today " Eurocentric modernity " is embraced and appropriated in the United Arab Emirates, in China, or Indonesia means that " modernity " is being expropriated from its place of origin. It is indeed the "/" (slash) that in our formulation divides and unites the "modern" with the "colonial" in which otherness was constructed by and through enunciations always situated in the house of the modern...” (Tlostanova and Mignolo 2006: 11). This is evident in the racial relations such as that exposed from the narrative from China about Africans including the continuity of economic relations of subjection and otherness. Moreover, the global trade

imbalances and economic policies imposed to enable these relations are also evidence of this continuity (see Tandon 2014). “Today the core zones of the capitalist world-economy overlap with predominantly white/European/Euro-American societies such as western European, Canada, Australia and the United States” (Grosfoguel 2009: 24). Thus, the importance of a decolonial analysis which employs an engagement of the interlinked hierarchies of power.

According to world systems theory, the capitalist world is constitutive of a binary stratification of states which are ordered hierarchically. The core and peripheral/semi-peripheral divide is a territorial divide, and within the national boundaries of the states, the logic of peripheries and metropolises exists, thus the replication of uneven and combined development globally and within nations as in the case of South Africa. It must be noted that the inter-state/nation-state system is no longer a fundamental organizing principle of world capitalism because of the changing relationship between production/accumulation and geography/space under globalization. “The transnational geographic dispersal of the full range of world production processes suggests that core and peripheral production and accumulation processes correspond increasingly less to the logic of geography and specific territorially defined nation-states” (Robinson, 2001: 18). This is the limitation in Grosfoguel’s (2002, 2009) adoption of the interstate system.

Robinson (2001) suggested that rather than looking at core and peripheries as specific territories, they should be understood in terms of social location in the global society. Nation-states are being transcended by transnational forces as it will be shown in the Marikana case. These transnational forces have the same function of serving the ruling class, in this case, the transnational capitalist elite. An example which also complicates Wallerstein’s (1979) and Grosfoguel’s (2002, 2009) territorialized periphery/semi-periphery and core conceptualization is the fact that South Africa, as a semi-periphery, is home to international conglomerates. Yet, in the same context, there are marginalized people as there are in core economies. Fanon’s concept of the zone of being and the zone of non-being seems to be a better analytical tool. Fanon (1952) lamented, while explaining the reality of colonized people, that “[t]here is a zone of non-being, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity... (Fanon, 1952: 3). These zones are not geographical areas “but rather positionality in racial relations of power” (Grosfoguel cited by Rodriguez 2012: no page) occurring at a global scale between core and peripheries and within socio-metropolises and socio-peripheries/semi-peripheries (Rodriguez 2012: no page), for instance, the social relations of power in South Africa are a good example.

Moreover, to show the interlocking relationship of the system of oppression, in this case, the patriarchal state, feminists such as Pateman (1989) critiqued the social contract of the commonwealth, exposing it to be a fraternal agreement between patriarchs. The institutionalized masculine aggression controlled by European patriarchs also moulded colonial administrations. The post-colonial state in Africa, and other peripheries and semi-peripheries, is a construct of European modernity; it is neo-colonial, racist, heteronormative, patriarchal and capitalist. It plays a functional role in the reproduction of the status quo, including women's subordination. "As is known, within the modern/colonial gender system economic discrimination has gone hand in hand with sexual and other forms of discrimination. In the Russian and particularly Soviet empire, the division of labour was also racist and misogynist" (Tlostanova 2008: 7).

The colonial relations of exploitation and domination between Europeans and non-Europeans produced subjectivities and knowledge that were also hierarchical and dichotomously opposed. The line of distinction between human beings was race revealing a global racial hierarchy which has been an integral part of the development of the capitalist world system's international division of labour. This global racial/ethnic hierarchy privileges European people over non-Europeans (Wallerstein 1974). Grosfoguel (2002) explained that racism can take many forms such as colour, ethnicity, culture, language or religion. The latter highlights a spiritual hierarchy that privileges Christian over non-Christian/non-Western spiritualities and there remains a "linguistic hierarchy between European languages and non-Europeans languages that privileges communication and knowledge/theoretical production in the former and submarginal the latter as sole producers of folklore or culture but not knowledge/theory" (Mignolo cited by Grosfoguel 2009: 20). There is also an epistemic privileging of western knowledge and cosmology over other knowledge and cosmologies (Grosfoguel 2002). Theories of development and the imposition of economic policies are evidence of this epistemic hierarchy whereby local institutions are disregarded and interiorized. Moreover, the interiorization of other knowledge and worldviews is also informed by racism. "Racism is a global hierarchy of human superiority and inferiority, politically, culturally and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the... modern/colonial world-system" (Grosfoguel 2016: 11).

The racialization of beings functioned as a socio-economic tool that served the interests of the ruling class and the modern world. This means that those incorporated into this modern/colonial world as racially inferior were/are subjected to slavery, feudal oppression and/or exploitation. Race in this context becomes a socio-economic construct as Biko (1978)

articulated. Grosfoguel (2002) also debunked the mythical view of a linear succession of modes of production; for instance, the view of progressing from slavery, feudalism, and capitalism is a myth. These modes of production operate simultaneously and in peripheral zones, and the labour of non-European subjects is coerced. This speaks to a global class formation characterized by diverse forms of co-existing labour, such as slavery, semi-serfdom, wage labour, petty-commodity production and so forth, which are organized by capital as a source of production and surplus value (Grosfoguel 2009). All over the modern/colonial world, women anchor the capitalist system with their slave labour performed in the household under feudal arrangements due to the exclusionary and patriarchal nature of the modern/colonial world and its gender system.

The modern/colonial gender system is also dichotomous and hierarchical between men and women. The concept of woman/man refers to gendered beings who have been anatomically assigned the sex, female or male, upon birth and ascribed performances that are associated with surgically constructed anatomical femaleness or maleness. The social assignment of sex under the binary system is followed by channelling the distinguished sexes into constructed genders through socialization into a gender order which became an organizing principle of power under modernity (Oyewumi 1997, Lugones 2008) and it is reified through the socially engineered sexual division of labour. The hegemonic gender in the modern/colonial world is that of the masculine European/white heterosexual, the patriarchal, capitalist man positioned to dominate other gender identities such as that of white bourgeois women and other classes.

In the case of Sojourner Truth, a black female enslaved in 19th century America once asked a discursively dense question, “aren’t I a woman”, revealing to us that the privileges of the oppressed white gendered females (white women) were never extended to black females (Hooks, 1981). In many cases, white women partook in the subjection of black females (see Bambara 1970, Morrison 1971, Bethel 1979). The oppression of black females is not the same as that of white women thus the growth of third-wave feminism is noted in the works of black feminist scholars such as Davis (1981), Lorde (1984) and Crenshaw (2017) and many others. All the above makes us note the darker side of the modern/colonial gender system. Lugones (2008) explains that the darker side of this gender system is thoroughly violent. It constitutes the reduction of black “anemales, anafemales, and “third” genders from their ubiquitous participation in ritual, decision making, and economics; their reduction to animality, to forced sex with white colonizers, to such deep labour exploitation that often people died working.” (Lugones 2008: 16). The engendering of black females was/is not the same as the engendering of white women.

Black feminist scholars such as Collins, Bell, Lorde, Davis and especially African feminists such as McFadden, Mama, Steady, Hassim, Gqola, Magubane and many others help us to locate poor black African women at the bottom of the hierarchy due to the intersectional experiences of racial, class and gender oppression compounded by the legacy of colonial peripheralization and patriarchy? An intersectional analysis distinguishes us from black women in the geographic empire/core and it helps us make visible intra-group differences and experiences of oppression. An intersectional analysis allows us to see the women's experience of coloniality as distinct from the men of Marikana, i.e. the widows' late husbands. They, the widows, were largely excluded from the mainstream economy and left behind in the peripheral rural areas. An intersectional approach to decolonial reading guards against a homogenizing view of the experiences of all indigenous women including homogeneity in how the structures of oppression intersect and manifest in various socio-peripheral/socio-semi-peripheral locations. El Amin (cited by Dastile 2016: 199) "proposes that what is essential is to emphasize micro-level empirical field research that captures Africa's complex realities and..." heterogenous experiences of Africans.

1.11 Delimitation

The conceptual demarcation of the thesis is a decolonial reading of resistance to understand the resistance from the lens of the African subject based on their existential location. The conceptualization of resistance is limited to decolonial analysis of textual and performative subjectivities of the research participants that challenge existential extermination under coloniality. I focus on performances that reclaim the ontological existence of subjects whose humanity has been denied through various forms under coloniality (see Fanon 1952, Biko 1978, Sithole 2016c). The research is temporally demarcated into the period from 2012 until 2016. The year 2012 is when the Marikana massacre happened and the beginning of the women's resistance to authorities and 2016 is chosen for limiting the study's broadness. The demarcation of the subject of the study is the "women" of Marikana which constitutes females who are related to the late mine workers.

1.12 Ethical Appraisal

The "ethical dimension is an important aspect of research governance processes present in institutions of higher learning" (De Wet 2010: 301). This thesis was based on secondary data and permission was obtained for the use of public content from the SABC. The data is available in the public domain which means there was no breach of copyright boundaries in attainment of the footage. The work has been referenced where necessary. The decision to stick to

secondary data as opposed to pursuing the collection of primary data through interviews was in response to respect for the request to protect the widows from the knowledge exploitation they had been subjected to by previous researchers and ofcourse the violence that continued at Marikana post the 2012 massacre.

1.13 Limitations of the Study

The thesis is methodologically limited by reliance on secondary data only. The initial plan of the study was to conduct interviews with the widowed women of Marikana however this attempt was unsuccessful. The targeted participants were subject to internal and private negotiations with Lonmin to grant the widows jobs as a replacement for the loss of income from their husbands. They had been the subject of political agendas and extractive research and projects by many other individuals and organizations that the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) decided to assume the role of gatekeepers to protect them from those taking advantage of them without returning to give back or report back on what they found. Moreover, at the field scheduled for field work, there was inter-trade union rivalry between the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) which resulted in the deaths of union members. I was informed by the AMCU secretariat that they were being targeted by mercenaries and therefore advised I leave the field for my safety.

1.14. Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The first chapter introduces the study, it lays out a contextual background of the study, the focus and briefly captures a discussion of the method employed in the study.

Chapter 2 – Decolonial Philosophy of Research

The second chapter is a critical chapter which sets the ontological, epistemic and axiological foundation of the study for a degree in political studies. It is premised on the argument that decolonial methodological research must by principle be shaped by a decolonial philosophy.

Chapter 3- Decolonial Review of Literature

The third chapter entails an approach to conducting a literature review for decolonial research. The approach factors historical and contextual approaches while applying the notion of epistemic pluriversality in its use of non-academic literature and texts in the review. The chapter also entails the engagement of theoretical concepts that constitute the thesis

Chapter 4- Presentation of findings

The fourth chapter entails biographical information of the research participants. It is premised on the reading of artistic paintings, analysis of print and online media textual content on the women, the transcripts and audio visuals materials. The chapter entails a descriptive presentation and analysis of the data followed by a presentation of themes that emerge from the data.

Chapter 5 -Data Analysis

The fifth chapter entails a theoretical endeavour and philosophical musings of the researcher considering the analysis of the phenomenon.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

CHAPTER 2

Decolonial Philosophy of Research

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is written out of a quest to produce a decolonial research design to conduct a decolonial analysis. The research design refers to a “conceptual blueprint within which research is conducted” (Akhtar 2016: 68). The chapter endeavours to answer the question of what decolonial analysis entails. The starting point of my argument is that a decolonial analysis must, by principle, be facilitated by a decolonial research philosophy, paradigm and methods. To understand what decolonial research entails, the chapter begins with a critique based on work by decolonial thinkers in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi (2016). The chapter offers a critical discussion of existing literature on decolonial methods with a specific focus on the critics of mainstream methods. This criticism is then followed by an engagement with the concepts of decolonial research philosophy, paradigm, methods, design and analysis grounded in a decolonial perspective. Decolonial perspective has in itself a proposal to delink from Western epistemology. A plea for bringing history and context back into research, namely the history and knowledge of the places that have been negated by European modernity” (Wanderley and Faria 2013: 2). Decoloniality and the process of decolonization involves addressing the imposition of hierarchized cultures, epistemologies, psyches in the quest for enabling a pluriversal space for ecologies of knowledge and epistemologies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi 2016). The question that arises for this thesis for a political science degree is, what is the possibility of decolonizing knowledge generation?

2.2 Disciplinary Issues

2.2.1 Critique of disciplinary boundaries

Disciplinary boundaries have been critiqued as perpetuating the coloniality of knowledge (see Sithole, 2016a). Reiterating Savransky’s argument, Sithole (2016a) argued that “disciplinarity constitutes epistemological rigidity and certainty which is fundamental to the foundational canon(s) constitutive to the discipline” (2016a: 109). Although the benefit of disciplinarity is specialized knowledge outcome crafted with the intent to solve modern problems, the weakness is that certain other useful knowledge is subject to exclusion and erasure. Their vantage point is always limited in ways of answering and providing solutions to the crisis of modernity with its darker side constituting “racism, violence and destruction” (Sithole 2016a: 112).

The limitation also entails the use of designs rooted in philosophical assumptions that are Eurocentric. Modern problems cannot be solved using modern methods and instruments, meaning the master's tools cannot be used to dismantle the master's house (Lorde 1984). Modernity constitutes the ethical normalization of oppression and violence against the Othered. Dussel (1995) critiqued the sectional critique by post-modernists who do not take into account that modernity had multiple facets of domination at an ethnic level, gender, epistemic and cultural-spiritual levels along with economic and political hierarchies. These facets are characterized by binaries between "capital-labour, national elite-popular masses and global versus peripheral capitals" (Burton and Osorio 2011: 23). The understanding of these dimensions helps shed light on the fundamental problem of the modern society and its problems. Post-modernism refers to plural theories, philosophies and artistic/literary works "that have appeared after postmodern structuralism, semiotics and linguistics. Postmodernism is to: undermine western metaphysics, and the destruction of the central arguments that dominated ancient and modern western thoughts" (Elaati 2016: 1). Postmodernists challenge metanarratives about culture, politics and economics, they expose the silences of modern perspectives that hide fragments and disorder created by modern society. Postmodernism's epistemic and ontological premise is that there is no absolute truth and constructivism yields multiple and diverse moral codes, identities and views of reality. Postmodernism advances scepticism which consequently denies "social and personal realities and experiences" (Mambrol 2016: no page). Postmodernism has been criticized and does not help us solve the problems of modernity (see Mambrol 2016).

In response to the crisis of modern knowledge failing to solve fundamental problems, multi-transdisciplinary scholarship has emerged to try and grapple with the evolving crises in the prone modern world. It has been posited that "one discipline cannot answer a complex variety of questions pertinent to the existential conditions of the African subject" (Smith cited by Sithole, 2016a: 11). Adesina (2008) argued that transdisciplinarity offers the benefit of methodological strengths from various disciplines. On the other hand, Mafeje (cited by Dastile, 2013) critiqued that transdisciplinarity leads to an epistemic disaster due to a lack of methodological and conceptual rigour. This brings up the question, can the knowledge generation process, outside of disciplinarity, be rigorous? Does going against methods equate to sacrificing the quality of the research process of gathering data and analysing it or the state of being exact, careful or precise? (Cypress, 2017). The question of rigour is a matter of the debate on the scientificity of a research process and the concept itself has been critiqued by scholars such as Robert Dahl who, in response to the demand for studies in politics to be more

rigorous and scientific, “sought to dissuade political scientists from demanding only “rigorous, precise, and quantifiable” knowledge because knowledge of political things cannot possibly be and hence should not try to be clear and precise” (Dahl cited by Bell, 2015: 86). The behaviourist critique of propositions for scientific rigidity and positivist approach to political science lies in the multi-disciplinary background of the field of politics itself.

2.2.2 The Discipline of Political Science

Burnham et al. (2008) stated that the historical foundation of political science as a discipline was influenced by several other disciplines such as economics, sociology, psychology and geography, rendering the DNA of political science multidisciplinary. “The dominant methods used in political science reflect, to a large extent, the historical development of the discipline” (Burnham et. al. 2008: 6). However, Sithole (2016a) critiqued that although interdisciplinary, transdisciplinarity and multi-disciplinary (MIT) studies have the potential to break disciplinary confinements and yield knowledges (plural), they remain colonial. Of course, Political science as a discipline has the potential to create a multiplicity of knowledges but this is not the case – disciplinary knowledge is not free of coloniality, nor are the methods of inquiry utilized within the disciplines. For instance, “scholars who claim membership in a disciplinary group share, for the most part, certain experiences and exposures... They have often read the same “classic” books... The discipline seems to favour certain styles of scholarship over others, and members are rewarded for using the appropriate style” (Wallerstein 2003: 453). “MIT does not solve the problem of coloniality; it is in the trappings of coloniality that MIT is not able to produce subjectivities infused by liberation, but only those informed and structured around emancipation” (Sithole 2016a: 117).

The political science/studies canon and the social sciences, in general, remain overtly Euro-American and thus far, the methods have been a contestation from the worldviews/viewpoints of the empires (see Mafeje 2000, Wallerstein 2003, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi 2016). The argument made by Sithole (2016a) buttresses that knowledge is a political project; it is not valued as neutral, and this extends to the discipline of political science. African political science emerged under the influence of American political science, which is itself heavily influenced by British political science. Still, it diverged from idealism and vigorous Marxism to neo-positivism and empiricism (Allen 2016: 181). American political science has assumed universality and propagates positivism in its various nuances. Other paradigms did, however, gain prominence, for instance, constructivism, critical theory and post-modernism. These elevate subjectivity and are geared to be emancipatory. Still, the American political science

paradigmatic approach remained hegemonic and assumed a universal position within the discipline as these approaches remain marginal within the discipline. Paradigm refers to a research culture with a set of beliefs, values and shared assumptions that researchers have in common regarding the nature and conduct of research.

Most scientists never question the paradigm. They solve "puzzles," problems whose solutions reinforce and extend the scope of the paradigm rather than challenging it. Kuhn (1970) called this "mopping up," or "normal science." There are always anomalies, phenomena that the paradigm cannot account for or that even contradict it. Anomalies are often ignored, but if they accumulate they may trigger a revolution (Horgan 2012: no page). Horgan (2012) also argued that scientists adopt paradigms not based on objective analysis but often based on cultish followership of dominant/popular theorists or groupthink. They are informed by 'everyone-is-doing-it' in the field without fully engaging and critiquing the paradigm itself.

The constructivist approaches within the discipline magnify standpoints against the linearity of historical analysis, totalitarian hierarchies and dominance of certain narratives and science. They advocate for "plurality, heterogeneity, margins or peripheries. Though this will be laudable and seen to have been sharing sentiments with decoloniality, what does not emerge is the locus of enunciation and the critique of epistemology itself" (Sithole 2016a: 120). Thus, resulting in epistemic racism, epistemicide and failed attempts at addressing disciplinary decadence. The problem of the political discipline is the problematization of the African subject as an aberration to the norm and the negation of the African subject as lacking political agency. The norm is Eurocentric – Sithole (2016b) critiqued that even the subject of African politics places more emphasis on "the geopolitical nature of the subject, political institutions, regional issues, political thought and the political dynamics which are affected by the subject. What is often not present is the agency of the African subject and the existential nature of the subject in trying to combat all modes of oppression and remnants of colonization as an ongoing project" (Sithole 2016b: 214). Moreover, political science remains a civilizing project, an Anglo-American project anchored on the dominance of American philosophy (Simon, Romance and Riemer, 2019). The civilizing project silences and omits other epistemes and relegates Othered people to the margins. Does this mean African political science responds to the above critique? To reflect on this, Hountondji (2009) is invoked.

2.2.3 Perspective on African Political Science

Hountondji's (2009) discursive distinction between African studies and studies by Africans highlights the imperative of Mafeje's argument. Hountondji (2009: 2-3) asked the following

question concerning disciplinary studies about Africa. How African are the so-called African studies? By African history, for instance, we usually mean the historical discourse on or about Africa and not necessarily a historical discourse coming from Africa or produced by Africans. In grammatical terms, we mean the history of Africa: *historia Africae* in Latin, where *Africae* the genitive of Africa, would be said to be an objective genitive rather than a subjective genitive. In the same line, African sociology or anthropology means sociology or anthropology of Africa as an objective genitive, that is, a sociological or anthropological discourse on Africa and not a sociological or anthropological tradition developed by Africans within Africa.

The same can be said about African politics, African political science, African philosophy and many others. His logic for asking this question and highlighting this critique is that outsiders can only learn about an entity but are limited in terms of contributing to the development of research tradition in whichever African discipline. He went on to explain that many non-African scholars, particularly those studying African philosophy or African systems of thought assumed that Africans were devoid of an ontology of their own or were unconscious of their philosophy and that only outsiders observing from without could provide a systematic account of their wisdom (Hountondji 2009).

This does not mean that African scholars in Africa are not guilty of studying Africans and not understanding or studying Africans from within Africa. Studying Africans from within Africa entails the utility and application of its traditions of Knowledge. Let us acknowledge that several African scholars have written dissertations on African philosophies or philosophies of Africans, for instance, Hountondji (2009) mentioned Kwame Nkrumah's ethnophilosophical study of the Akan people of Ghana. But this ethnographic undertaking of African Akan people still utilizes western instruments to understand and speak about Africans. We cannot "deny the genealogic filiation that makes African ethno-philosophy the daughter of Western engagement with exotic worldviews" (Hountondji 2009: 5). Thinking about decolonial methods as moving beyond disciplinarity, how then do we move beyond disciplinarity informed by an African centred decolonial feminist paradigm when feminism itself has literary origins in the Euro-American canon? How do we also go beyond disciplinarity in the same sense that Sithole (2016a) suggests when the black canonic corpus is also influenced by western scholars? For instance, consider the influence of Leo Frobenius, a German ethnophilosopher on black scholars such as Aime Cesaire. In response to these dilemmas, Ndlovu (2016) calls for research approaches that move beyond the discipline. What would moving beyond the discipline entail? Premised on the arguments above advocating for a decolonial turn, questioning dominant knowledge claims, origins and locus in which geographically located, and bio-epistemically

bound subjects enunciate, advocating for the plurality of knowledge and the privileging of African existential lens in studies about Africa and its people, displacing western canon and classical texts, debates, logic and science is paramount.

2.2.4 Beyond Disciplinarity

Is it beyond disciplinarity signified by the citation of black authored scholarship, or is it signified by black authored scholarship written from the existential location and experiences of black beings who are objectified within the modern/colonial world, basically researching as an authentic interlocutor? If so, what about Hountondji's (2009) critique that scholarship by blacks on black issues within disciplinary confinements is guilty of ethno-philosophy and analysing Africans using western instruments the very act of analysis suggests that African subjects are not conscious beings with theorization capacities. Are not black/African decolonial researchers not guilty of the culture of extraction of African research subjects' experiences as raw material in need of processing? These questions, although not immediately answered in this section of the chapter, inform methodological issues that scholars pursuing a decolonial paradigm must grapple with. Moreover, the protagonists of African-centred paradigms, except for Ama Mazama with Afrocentricity, have largely been advocating from subjectivities of modern/colonial pathologically gendered male bodies. This is where decolonial feminism helps us better. Decoloniality lays bare the heterosexual, white, capitalist male epistemic influence on dominant male-stream science. Malestream is a widely used concept developed by feminists to simply denote studies conducted from a male perspective.

2.3 Crafting a Decolonial Paradigm

2.3.1 Research Paradigm and the decolonial turn

According to Kuhn (1970: page unknown), a research paradigm is "the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed." Paradigms shape researchers' common understanding and commitment to how research should be conducted, how knowledge should be generated, studied and understood, including what qualifies as scientific knowledge. It shapes common beliefs around what constitutes reality. A paradigm is constitutive of shared philosophical, epistemological and ontological beliefs that guide the research process. This research is meant to offer a decolonial analysis, thus landing itself within the decolonial turn. "The decolonial turn does not refer to a single theoretical school but rather points to a family of diverse positions that share a view of coloniality as a fundamental problem in the modern (as well as postmodern and information

age), and of decolonization or decoloniality as a necessary task that remains unfinished.” (Maldonado-Torres 2011: 2).

The character of diversity within the decolonial turn suggests the absence of a shared set of specific rules that guide research. If that is the case, does the decolonial turn allude to a post-paradigm revolution? The answer is no. Decolonial turn ushers a paradigm revolution because it intrinsically challenges how research has been done within disciplinary boundaries of the western canon (see Sithole 2016a). Paradigms essentially guide research design meant to solve a problem. It has been established that positivism coupled with Eurocentricity limit the efforts of excavating and presenting voices and experiences of those existing within the margins of oppression facilitated by colonization and coloniality.

When we understand that a “paradigm is an object for further articulation and specification under new or more stringent conditions... [and that]... paradigms gain status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that a group of practitioners have come to recognize as acute” (Kuhn 1970: 23) then the paradigmatic status of decoloniality has to be a challenge when it is used as an analytical tool within a single research study and problem. Decoloniality presented one with a conceptual dilemma because it has not proven easy to operationalize in this research in terms of methodology, epistemology and ontology.

On the other hand, acknowledging that the “paradigm developed for one set of phenomena is ambiguous in its application to other closely related ones” (Kuhn 1970: 29) the dilemma is reduced to minimal significance when we acknowledge that the decolonial turn can be theoretical and experimental in the construction of a paradigm. Although there is no articulation of a standard interpretation or specifically agreed upon rules on what/how decolonial research ought to be conducted, especially in the African context, the very resistance and questioning of existing paradigms is a revolution on its own. The decolonial paradigm entails the philosophies, epistemologies and ontologies that resist coloniality and re-surface marginalized paradigms through advancing pluriversality. And their focus is on indigenous and marginalized voices and ways of being.

2.3.2 Conceptualizing a Decolonial Paradigm

A decolonial paradigm entails disobeying disciplinary boundaries by bridging the dichotomization of cultural studies and political economy; it is informed by grasping capitalism as a modern/colonial world system crafting and reproducing hierarchies which are entangled together to form ‘heterarchies’. It entails the premise that none of these hierarchies exists singularly, thus the importance of analysing the reality of the Othered subject from this

perspective. It entails the understanding that there are other worldviews or world senses. The concept of world senses adheres to Ani's (1994) argument that the African perspective entails an understanding and experience of the world that is temporally and spiritually intertwined, unlike the concept of a worldview which reproduces the belief in a world that is observable.

A decolonial research paradigm takes on a liberatory teleological dimension, and the outcome is to provide African-centred solutions that are styled based on African ways of being, knowing, values and other relevant philosophies rooted and grounded in the location of the agentic subjects. It is more than just about expanding knowledge. It entails the questioning of the expansion itself, for instance, the idea of adding to existing knowledge by way of testing existing theories and concepts rooted in Euro-American epistemology. Its purpose is more than just simply answering questions or acquiring knowledge. It does more than offer descriptions, explanations and/or predictions (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger 2006: 1). Sithole (2016b) reiterates warnings against "the cult of scientific prediction which pervades the study of the African subject. It is this cult, as Vaughan argues, that limits the understanding of the complex African social world and the African subject" (Sithole 2016b: 219).

The decolonial research paradigm must offer liberation to those objectified and under subjection. It involves the materialization of the struggle for liberation through ways of thinking, knowing and doing that are rooted in the African's socio-historical reality" (Sithole 2016b: 220). The process involved in decolonial research must follow a decolonial ethic centred on the idea of a collective and collaborative research process characterized by the participation of the subject and communities involved. Mafeje (2000) reminded us that Africa went through a paradigmatic dominance by the West and Africanity is a response to that. Some have critiqued that decoloniality largely develops from Latin America although it borrows and grounds itself in an Afro-Caribbean scholar, Frantz Fanon. According to Mafeje, although there is a shared sociological history among all black people being oppressed by white racism, he critiqued that African-Americans, Afro-Caribbeans and other Africans in the diaspora have "culturally, socially and historically... long ceased to be Africans" (Mafeje 2011: 37). This perspective is countered by the concept of Afropolitanism which refers to a way of being an African in the world (see Gikandi 2011).

2.3.3 African-centred decolonial paradigm

The two main paradigm camps, namely positivism and interpretivism, are limited in centralizing the complex psycho-social, political and economic existence of the African subject, including what may be considered real and the truth by some African subjects. In

response to this shortfall, Dastile's (2013) African-centred decolonial paradigm is proposed, which calls for explaining Africa from within, see, for instance, endogeneity by Mafeje (2000), which constitutes looking at context, experiences, philosophies, knowledge systems and African heritage. Nabudere (cited by Dastile 2013) calls for looking into oral traditions as an avenue of knowledge, data and evidence. "The call for centring is premised on the fact that, when one is centred in his or her intellectual corpus, any solutions proposed will be culturally relevant to the communities and may result in sustainable problem-solving in line with pan-African ideals" (Dastile 2013: 94). An African centred paradigm calls for a holistic understanding of the African subject. It entails consciousness, it is about quality of thought, an analytical process premised on Africans perceiving themselves as subjects that assert agency (see Ani 1994, Mafeje 2000, Mazama 2007). "An African-centred decolonial paradigm argues for centring, Africanization and decolonization of existing paradigms to analyse and explain Africa from within" (Dastile 2013: 93). Moving from what has been discussed above, a decolonial paradigm is premised on unmasking and understanding the location of the oppressed subject "existing"/dying in the modern/colonial world system. An African-centred decolonial paradigm, therefore, involves the above and excavating the agency of the African in her/his resistance against subjection. Part of this entails understanding the ontological framework that guides notions of reality for the African subject.

2.3.4 Conceiving an Afrodecolonial Paradigm

This section is about conceiving an idea and a concept. It is an attempt to weave and generate a discourse on the conceptualization of the Afrodecolonial paradigm inspired by reading the lives of the widows and women located in rural areas yet oscillate between the urban and rural, oscillate between modernity and Afrocentricity, between the zone of being and zones designed to be spaces of social death wherein the spectacle of black murder is normalized and used for control. Afrodecolonial has both denotational and acknowledgement functions. It signals acknowledgement of the continuation of colonial ideologies, subjectivities, institutions, and systems into the contemporary era despite decolonization. It acknowledges the continuation of structural violence against black people locally and globally including the Afropessimist argument of blackness being equivalent to ontological death enforcing objecthood rather than subjecthood onto black people (Wilderson III 2020). Despite the pessimist outlook, there are also salvageable knowledges and existing ways of being that signify diversion from modern-colonial violence of black objecthood.

An autobiographical reading of the life of Mpho Nthunya helps us understand that other imaginations and experiences move beyond the violent imposition of normative employment. Nthunya (1996) was a matriarchal figure who once worked as a domestic worker financially responsible for 11 people. She quit her job, went into the dressmaking trade and thereafter retired early and relocated to the rural areas in Lesotho. In her narrative, she appraisingly mentions the freshness of the area, the vastness of space and the richness of the land, which is an antagonistic experience compared to her life in the ghettos of the apartheid regime. Employment is interpreted as an imposed normative through violence because “it takes an ocean of violence over several hundred years to discipline workers to the point where they imagine their lives within new constraints: urbanization, mechanization and certain types of labour practices” (Wilderson III cited by Nsele 2020: no page). Mme Nthunya’s positive and refreshing remarks about the rural areas as a place of life, abundance, and richness, helps us begin to acknowledge that outside the Euro-capitalist worldview that elevates urbanization and devalues rural areas through conceiving them as underdeveloped, there are other ways, experiences, and interpretations of rural existence that are more aligned with human wellbeing and ecological relations that are useful to the human. The rural area is certainly on the periphery of modern-colonial urbanity but economically, culturally, and socio-politically central to those living there. This means that from a modern/colonial point of view, rurality is a site of exclusion, marginality, lack and subordination but from maNthunya’s ontological perspective it is a site of freedom, wellbeing and relative prosperity. Thus, Afrodecolonial denotes a balance between the afropessimist and Afro-optimistic perspectives when accentuating all the values, ideologies, ontologies, and epistemes that are genuinely African. An Afrodecolonial paradigm ought to help us understand that irrespective of the fact of black objecthood, there is a semblance and survival of African-centred ways of being that continue to shape and influence African subjectivities as signalling legacy of resistance against the complete obliteration of African ontologies. And that Africans carve identities and lived experiences that are boundary breaking, agentic, innovative and authentically-contemporarily African.

2.4 Ontology

Ontology refers to the assumptions about what constitutes reality. Existing paradigms, namely positivism/post-positivism, constructivism, transformative, postmodernism, pragmatism, et cetera have varying notions of reality. For instance, positivists believe in an objective universal reality, constructivists advance the idea of reality as a product of social construction, yielding multiple realities shaped by diverse identities and cultures (see Lincoln and Guba 2016). The

transformative paradigm denotes multiple research designs informed by theories and the philosophy of emancipation. “The transformative paradigm adopts the stance that social reality is historically bound and is constantly changing. Depending on social, political, cultural and power-based factors... social reality is constantly changing. Reality has multiple layers- the surface reality that is visible and the deep structures that are unobservable. Theories and a historical orientation help to unmask the deep structures” Niemann cited by Chilisa 2012).

Ontological assumptions shape the way we see and study research objects and subjects (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). The ontological assumption made in light of the widowed women of Marikana who were left behind in labour-sending communities is they were not passive during the protests. The data revealed their active auxiliary engagement with the strike from a distance. They participated in the strike-through daily communication and advice given to their husbands. The various pieces of advice they gave had political significance on the values attached to their husbands, partners and kin. The assumption is that there is political consciousness and resistance exhibited by the research subjects albeit distinct from organized labour or community protests, subaltern resistance or everyday resistance. The assumption here is that “resistance as a phenomenon happens all the time” (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009: 127) and the task taken is to analyse and expose that resistance which is understood through an Afrodecolonial prism.

Moreover, Falola (2016) emphasized the importance of pluriversalizing epistemologies which should be grounded in how Africans live and view reality by studying the ritual archive as sources of data.

By ritual archives, I mean the conglomeration of words as well as texts, ideas, symbols, shrines, images, performances, and indeed objects that document as well as speak to those religious experiences and practices that allow us to understand the African world through various bodies of philosophies, works of literature, languages, histories and much more. By implication, ritual archives are huge, unbounded in scale and scope, storing tremendous amounts of data on both natural and supernatural agents, ancestors, gods, good and bad witches, life, death, festivals, and the interactions between the spiritual realms and earth-based human beings. To a large extent, ritual archives constitute and shape knowledge about the visible and invisible world (or what I refer to as the “non-world”), coupled with forces that breathe and are breathless, as well as secular and non-secular, with destinies, and within cities, kingships, medicine, environment, sciences and technologies...” (Falola 2016: 1).

This entails understanding the context in which Africans live their lives, for instance, during my first visit to Marikana, I observed that there were numerous shrines of traditional healers as the taxi drove through on the main road from Rustenburg taxi rank to Nkaneng. The visibility of the shrines and the proliferation thereof, including reference to religion by the research subjects, nudges one to assume that African spirituality has some level of significance in the lives of the locals thus warranting a supra-rational approach that looks beyond the rationalistic ontological premises about social reality. Falola's (2016) ritual archive does not factor the body as an instrument but he eloquently directs us to acknowledge that knowledge is shaped by a multiplicity of factors, realities and realms that positivist science gives no room for.

The above encourages us to understand African cosmologies which have implications for people's sense of being and their relations within society. "[F]rom a historical perspective, the indigenous African socio-political and cultural structures and practices hinged largely on the complementarity of the sexes as opposed to total male domination" (Amaechi and Amaechi 2019: 93). This logic differs from Western binary conceptions of gender characterized by inequality. In indigenous societies of Africa, biological differences between males and females do not translate to inequality but complementarity (see Besong 2021). This logic challenges the biological deterministic trope of the western gender concept (see Oyewumi 1997). This determinism has historically been deployed in rationalizing unequal distribution of resources between men and women rooted in the logic of biologized gender roles. The phenomenon of women of Marikana who did not live with their husbands automatically challenges the Western feminist's logic which is premised on the family as a unit of gender analysis and framing. This unit of analysis has been used as means to explain patriarchy and how power is organized and distributed between men and women (see Oyewumi 2005). This makes one imagine the gendered roles in their households as non-biologized and divided in the same sense as western conceptions of gender roles. This suggests a distinct daily interaction with gender as an organizing principle of power consequently yielding unique realities for women.

Moreover, looking at the concept of gender complementarity from an ontological prism guides one in the analysis of the relations the women had with the deceased male mine workers and consequently their resistance. This should be read in the combative ontological guidance of Mafeje (2008). As opposed to conceptualizing gender from a feminist perspective, even of the African variant, gender should be conceptualized as a process of fluid identity performance influenced by African values and norms guided by the principle of complementarity. This thesis takes on a gynocentric (women-centred) perspective largely because of androcentricity (male focus) around existing work on Marikana and the subject focuses on the widows in

response. It also has a tactical attempt to understand coloniality and resistance through the lens focused on the widows from the extended social reproductive sphere. To be more precise while borrowing from Mafeje's (2008) Afrikanity, this thesis extends a reading of combative ontology as a call for an affirmative and assertive tone. Affirmative of the humanity and identity of Africans as complex and not merely characterized by subjection which is a Eurocentric perspective of marginality and infantilization of the African subject. It is centred on epistemic assertiveness regarding the capacity of Africans to theorize and explain African phenomena. Embedded in this is the idea that African subjects already assign explanatory meanings to the experiences they encounter. Below a discussion on epistemology and science ensue.

2.5 Epistemology

2.5.1 The science of knowledge

There are different ways in which people know what they know. How people know, meaning how they know, is a subject that helps us differentiate between what is called scientific methods of knowing, intuitive ways of knowing including other ways of knowing that are based on authority and/or tenacity (Schoemaker, Tankard and Lasorsa 2004). "Epistemology concerns assumptions about knowledge, what constitutes acceptable, valid and legitimate knowledge, and how we can communicate knowledge to others" (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009: 127). The crux of decoloniality about the coloniality of knowledge is driven by the recognition of epistemic inequality, injustice and marginalization under modern/colonial logic and the consequent call for pluriversality. "The expansion of Western capitalism implied the expansion of western epistemology in all its ramifications..." (Mignolo 2002: 59). This necessitates engagement and interrogation of the concept of science.

Scientific research entails methodological and systematic approaches to draw valid and reliable conclusions (Kaufman and Kaufman, 2005). Galileo Galilei, Roger Bacon, Francis Bacon and Rene Descartes have been somewhat credited for the development of the scientific method of research which entail the following elements: an empirical approach, observations, questions, hypotheses, experiments, analyses, conclusions and replication ((Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger 2006). These elements have been contested by researchers arguing "that it is impossible to define a universal approach to scientific investigation. Nevertheless, for over 100 years, the scientific method has been the defining feature of scientific research" ((Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger 2006: 5). The systematic process of acquiring knowledge that is reliable and valid is considered science and there is a multiplicity of approaches to scientific knowledge acquisition. For instance, some empiricists advocate for a pragmatic philosophy of

science. This means that, what works should be what is believed by scientists and theoretical efficacy must be judged based on accuracy in predictions and provision of a causal explanation of the phenomena under investigation (Burnham et al 2008).

Raju's (2017) lesson on decolonizing science, particularly mathematics and physics, entails a critique of the deductive procedural logic of mathematics that is abstract. He argues for the least complicated process which is natural and empirical (Raju 2017, 2019). Raju (2019) mentioned that there is nothing wrong with the method of deduction... what is problematic is the claim that a) deduction is infallible, b) that it is universal, c) that deductive proof is superior to empirical proof and that (d) it is possible to arrive at valid knowledge without empirical inputs, as in formal mathematics... Empirical proof is rejected by Western mathematics because empirical proof is fallible (Raju 2019). If we draw from the logical criticism made by Raju, what then is the basis of critique on the charter of decolonial research ethics that western teleological privilege cemented by epistemic racism allows the inclusion of other epistemologies only if premised on the terms of empiricism? "The privilege of epistemic perspective is inseparable from the privilege to define what is (exists) and what is not (what does not exist) based on ideas about validity, scientificity and method." (Decoloniality Europe 2013: no page). This epistemic privilege creates and reproduces epistemic exclusions and marginalization.

Another modal of exclusion is the idea of science and rationality, which, understood in the Euro-modern way, excludes and marginalizes African subjects. Sithole (2016) argued that during research, there is a detachment of the African subject from her/his reality by way of epistemic fragmentation. Afrodecolonial research with/for/about the wretched of the earth who continue to experience structural exclusion and marginal inclusion within the modern-colonial world must take the voices of those experiences as a valid representation of coloniality from their epistemic location. The idea of "their epistemic location" must not be confused with the post-structuralist stance on a multiplicity of realities, meaning the perspectives of the economic elites believing neo-liberalization as the route to inclusive development are subjective. There must be a conscious effort to avoid the limitations of epistemic racism, especially when other methodologies are rendered as "inferior, deviant, unscientific, mythological and in crisis" (Sithole 2016b: 216).

The above leads us to think about the subject of data collection through the prism of Western science. There are other instruments of data collection which are disregarded in Western traditional scholarship. For those who are aware of multiple forms of African spiritual divination which entails extracting data, one would realize that the body is also an instrument

of data collection. I mention this because there is already a consensus in the academy about the researcher's subjectivity and influence on research but what has not been debated is the body of the researcher as an instrument of knowing.

This will be discussed further in the following section on the epistemology of the body. For now, it is helpful to acknowledge some of the limitations of Western methods when it comes to researching African subjects. Therefore, in the context of my research, one may sense and discern the unspoken experiences of the research participants and some research questions may be elicited from this process. This is certainly an epistemic conundrum for Eurocentric logic as you cannot prove this process; discernment cannot be validated as a method of data collection and its reliability cannot be assessed by others except the being that experiences and the participants that could validate the data.

2.5.2 An epistemology of Exteriority

The proposed response by decolonial scholars is 'border thinking' which Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006: 206) explained as the epistemology of the "exteriority, that is of the outside created from within."

"Border thinking or theorizing emerged from and as a response to the violence (frontiers) of imperial/colonial epistemology and the rhetoric of modernity (and globalization) of salvation that continues to be implemented on the assumption of the inferiority or devilish intentions of the Other and therefore, continues to justify oppression and exploitation as well as eradication of difference. Border thinking is the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside; and as such, it is always a decolonial project" (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006: 206).

This dismantles the monopolization of theorizing by those on the privileged side of imperial epistemic frontiers (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006). Border theorizing involves theorizing by modern/colonial subjects who bring their own experience, reality and interpretation to the modern world. It is outsiders/the Othered who theorize about what is to be within modernity and what modernity brings. The within refers to the geospatial locations and epistemic locations of the modern world. Let's take the example of Africa the epistemic concept and geographic location. Unlike, for instance, Afrocentricity which would theorize from the reconstituted centre of the African despite Africa's encounter with modernity, border thinking is the bridging of the product of being on the unfortunate side of the colonial difference and the African experience, sometimes the romanticized concept thereof, by highlighting the impact of modernity on the being, knowing and experience of the African.

2.5.3 Epistemology of the body and 'uhalali' as Afrodecolonial

Guided by this perspective, I delve into a proposition of an epistemology of the body from the African perspective. In response to this critique, one draws from the taken-for-granted Afrocentric methods of data collection and delves into a discussion on the epistemology of the body as an Afrodecolonial episteme. This is done by drawing from the concept of Mokhokha as a research method. The decolonial critique of modernity has been grounded on the critique of a Western ideology rooted in the interrogation of the Cartesian conception of the body. Feminists have long been critiquing this binary construction of the world, revealing its flaws. 'I think therefore I am' can no longer go unchallenged or be assumed to underpin western philosophy but rather is seen as highlighting the fact that we have not moved beyond the pre-Christian Greek division of the world. This division into good and bad, black and white, mind and body, human and animal is at the heart of the antagonisms and destructive patterns of Western life (Isherwood and Stuart 1998: 34). Mbembe (2021) recently wrote about sharing the planet with anthropogenies, robots, internet of things, machine learning et cetera as part of the 4th industrial revolution. The focus on machines is also shaping the process of accumulation and further reinforces the onslaught of neoliberal globalization and accumulation on a large scale.

The dichotomous construction of the mind over body is largely traceable in the works of the founding fathers of Western philosophy (see Ani 1994, Mokoena, 2018). The rise of capitalism also cemented the vilification of the body (see Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). However, the claim of homogeneity among modern Western philosophers would be erroneous especially when scholars such as Lacan (1971 cited by Soler 1995) and Carter (1979) deliberately engaged in oppositional discourses of the body by conceptualizing the body as an instrument of protest against capitalist values.

In terms of epistemological debates, European scholars such as Merleau-Ponty (1964) took a phenomenological divergence. They perceived the body as a source of knowledge by arguing that the world, the body and perception are intertwined, and the body is not a passive observer but it is both the seen and the seer. "The world is not a spectacle with the body as an observer; rather, the world is given as a system of possibilities, not an 'I think' but as an, 'I can'" (Merleau-Ponty cited by unknown). However, "[t]he world-as-object-of-knowledge is and will always remain socially constructed" (Harding 1991: 134). This means that Merleau-Ponty's (1945) knowledge is not purged from patriarchal embodiment. Merleau-Ponty's contemporary, De Beauvoir (1949 2010), argued that bodily experience and existence are distinct for men and

women. The universalization of western women's corporeal experience has been subject to critique (Spivak 2015, Oyewumi 1997).

Black bodily experience is distinct from others, and the intersections of class, among other facets, confer diverse understanding. Standpoint theory helps in addressing the limits of understanding that is affected by material structures. In contrast, the feminist standpoint addresses the limitations of an exclusive class critique because knowledge is not value-free. It is not ahistorical; for instance, it is shaped by sexuality, gender, class and race, among other facets. This denotes the existence of epistemologies of the body, which are historically influenced. Another perspective on the body as an instrument of knowledge is derived from African indigenous knowledge practices. To elaborate on this, a suprarational example premised on spirituality and knowledge generation is found in African spiritual practices; the body is, at times, an inscription of knowledge and data. The information is gathered through the absorption of the energies of others through what is known in spiritual circles as Mokhokha. Mokhokha entails diagnosing a client/patient's challenges by experiencing them as your own. For instance, if a person suffers from a headache and one picks up/downloads that data through a spiritual antenna, then one will also suffer from the same headache and until the sick person is assisted, often the healer remains plagued. This slightly differs from empathy as it has been defined as the ability to imagine oneself in another agent's situation and to embody the emotions experienced by that person (Nickerson, Butler and Carlin 2009).

Empathy has been conceived as a method of gaining knowledge of others' minds and it is also regarded as a method of indigenous psychology but has been neglected as a form of knowing (Stueber 2006). Mokhokha, on the other hand, extends beyond empathic knowing, it is also somatic-driven knowledge acquired from others. Coplan and Goldie (2011) have expressed criticism of empathy as a reliable method of knowing. The same critique can be extended to the concept of Mokhokha. Reliability refers to the replicability of the results when tested over time (Joppe 2000, Golafshani 2003, Bolarinwa 2015). About Mokhokha, data acquired through this bodily avenue cannot be guaranteed to tick off the reliability and validity tests. The validity and reliability of a research instrument are hailed as an imperative, especially in quantitative research and the importance thereof has been reviewed in qualitative research (Bolarinwa 2015, Fraenkel and Wallen 2005, Golafshani 2003, Seale 2001). Validity simply refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it was designed to measure, and the truthfulness of the results generated. This of course refers to positivist science and this project takes on an interpretive stance and engages in epistemic disobedience which Burawoy's (1998) extended case method encourages. Epistemic disobedience entails discarding Western epistemology as

supreme and central to other de-colonial epistemologies (Mignolo 2009). Although Mokhokha is not directly used in this thesis as an instrument of data collection, the idea of empathy helps one to relatively understand the pain felt by the widows of Marikana. Moreover, the concept of an epistemology of the body legitimizes the methodological decision to include reading the body language and exercises of the widows during the Farlam commission as forms of data. Validity is also a Eurocentric concept which requires replacement with an African-centred method of validating data., a preferred concept deployed is uhalali drawn from the Kiswahili language. Uhalali simply denotes affirm, “ukuvuma/ho-dumela” when translated into English. Such a method exists in African spirituality practitioners and clients. For instance, in the context of African spiritual consultations, a person is given information about something either using ditaola (traditional bones), the interpretation of ditaola also involves knowing affirmed data psychically. The person who came to consult is then requested to validate any accuracies in what is being revealed. This entails a triad approach to uhalali/ukuvuma/hodumela/affirmation. However, the process of seeking to know through the consultation never ends there, there is always encouragement to pursue a second and third opinion. Such is common practice in African indigenous spiritual health institutions, the affirmation through second and/or third consultations suggesting a pentagonian or heptagonian approach to validating information given is employed. Borrowing from this approach from indigenous healers, this research deployed a pentagonian approach by using five data sets as means to strengthen the uhalali (affirmation) of the interpretation of the results. This means that one employed a ‘pentagonian uhalali’ which refers to an approach that employs five different instruments or data sets to determine and ensure accuracy of the outcome of the experiences interpreted in a study including the accuracy of the representation of reality or supra-reality.

2.6 Methodology

2.6.1 Methodological reflection

Qualitative research gained favour in the social sciences after protracted debates about positivism which for a long time was deemed superior and valid (see Carson et al. 198, 2001). The challenge with this is that these methods are grounded in ways of knowing that are Eurocentric and draw from European logic. Atkinson et al. (2001: 7) explained qualitative research as a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live.” Qualitative researchers assume that people’s experiences are bound by their context. This somewhat follows the logic that all

knowledges are situated and that we speak from a specific locus of enunciation (Harding 1989, 1991, Grosfoguel 2002, Mignolo 2009).

“Afrocentrism can be regarded as a methodological requirement for decolonising knowledge in Africa or as an antidote to Eurocentrism through which all knowledge about Africa has been filtered” (Mafeje 2008: 106). Methodology simply refers to a specific way of conducting research. Feminist scholars such as Ackerly and True (2010) “conceive methodology as the ongoing reflection that guides research. Feminist methodology encompasses reflections about the relationship among the purpose of research, how we tell fact from belief, theory and conceptualization, research design, ethics, methods and analysis” (Ackerly and True 2010: 6). With these in mind, the question about decolonial methodology is: what does its ethic constitute if there is one? what constitutes fact if such matters, and if it does not, why does it not matter and what is a decolonial research design and analysis? The latter questions will be engaged later on in the chapter. According to Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2015), there are multiple ways of doing research, namely the traditional methods which involve intuition, authority, rationalism and empiricism.

The dominant forms of research methods have largely been quantitative and qualitative including a mixed method approach. Deductive research is predominantly associated with quantitative research, while inductive research has an association with qualitative methods. It is important to note that these are not mutually exclusive. They can be understood as two points on a continuum – a qualitative research study may have quantitative elements and vice versa. These methods have been subject to decolonial critique. “Research methods are the techniques that are used by the researchers...they include observations, interviews, surveys and the wide range of measurements made in the sciences and social sciences. A research methodology is a stance that a researcher takes towards understanding or explaining the physical or social world.” (Feldman 1999: no page). Sithole (2016b) argued that “Euro-American canon methodologies – that is, qualitative and quantitative and triangulation – ran out of steam in terms of understanding the African subject” (Sithole 2016b: 216).

When it comes to triangulation, it is difficult to fathom Sithole’s (2016b) critique because triangulation is known as a strategy that utilizes multiple methods or multiple viewpoints to validate results and to offer deeper understanding which may emerge out of comparing data sets to assess divergence and/or similarity in the interpretation of the research question (Denzin 1970, Olsen 2004, Farmer, Robinson and Elliot 2009, Denzin 2012). Perhaps the very process of validating data is tantamount to thingification. But if this were the case, then research subjects who inhabit white bodies and whose truths are subjected to measurement of validity,

by extension, their bodies could also be deemed as thingified. This of course, is a theoretical misnomer because the concept of the thingification of people came with colonialization (see Cesaire 2001, Bradley 1978). Moreover, triangulation cannot be viewed as an adequate response to thingification. Instead, existing research methods, which are perpetuating the thingification of the Anthropos, need to be problematized. The methods themselves remain rooted in the Eurocentric paradigm, which displaces the African subject's complex reality.

2.6.2 Critique of method

Sithole (2016) argued that the “method is restrictive and contextual. It cannot be universal as it disconnects, excludes and silences.” (Sithole 2016b: 218). This position is shared by Giddens (cited by Blaikie 2010), who views social actors as not only having the capacity to rationalize their actions but are also knowledgeable. Blaikie (2010) also mentioned Blumer's critique of the operationalization process in research design. He argued against “measuring concepts by selecting only a limited aspect of the relevant phenomenon and assuming that it reflected all aspects” (Blaikie 2010: 117). Consider the logic of hypothesis testing when choosing a deductive research method or testing research assumptions. This positivist logic involves the construction of variables made from generic statements of observation that will be tested, and in the process of this construction, other variables are excluded. On the other hand, others may argue that this helps in channelling the researcher into a specific direction and guides in a collection of data to avoid capturing “everything”. But what is wrong with ‘everything’ if it can illuminate our understanding of the subject matter/non-matter under study and “unmasks the modern world system and the global order as the broader context from which research methodology are cascading and are influenced” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2017: no page).

Research approaches involve more than the collection of data and its analysis, it also entails philosophical underpinnings about the nature of knowledge.

Sithole (2016b) eloquently argued that the African subject is silenced by Euro-American research methods yet qualitative researchers argue that they give voice to the objectified. The granting of voice has largely been to affirm existing theories of the Euro-American North buttressed through disciplinary foundations and influence. The voice offered does not centralize African ways of being and ways of knowing. The subjectivity of the African being is “that of centredness, which means self-assertion and self-presentation, to understand the discourses central to the African subject” (2016b: 218).

Sithole emphasized that the African subject has not been allowed to emerge in the canals of methodology, instead, the role has been that of providing raw data that is processed somewhere

else (Sithole 2016b: 229). Somewhere else need not be Euro-American universities and institutions of knowledge production/processing, it can be processed inside universities in Africa which thus far, particularly in the South African case, have been exposed for their lack of African-centeredness and consequently in need for decolonization. Thus, the processing on African soil does not automatically lead to the negation of geo-historical and bio-graphical location in the Euro-American North. The locus of enunciation and cultural thought remain exterior to Africa. The “interpretations remain within the same rules of the game (terms of conversation), the control of knowledge is not called into question...” (Mignolo 2009: 4). The locus of enunciation of the knowers shapes interpretation and yields the silencing of African voices.

2.6.3 Afrodecolonial method

Afrodecolonial analysis compels us to view certain research tools, for instance, questionnaires, as silencing because, in their very design, they are exclusionary. In the context of political economy, how do we provide a holistic analysis of the governance of economies if quantitative data is devalued over qualitative data, of which the alternatives offered by decolonial scholars are qualitative? The issue raised against the quantitative method is the dehistoricization of data; for instance, the “poor” performance of Africa’s economic growth needs to be contextualized in its colonial past, and also the obsession with numerical GDP does not factor in Africa’s unique economic environment and other forms of transactions which do not ascribe to what has been deemed the formal economy. The criticism against quantification has validity when considering the quest for hermeneutic justice, however failure to recognize the presence of quantifiable data, for instance, wages earned by workers, is problematic and solely leaving the analysis at quantified data is also problematic, especially when it readily can reveal the workings of coloniality. This suggests that a holistic approach is necessary, but this is not the end of the problem; there is another problem with these methods, as Sithole (2016a) argued.

At the core of Afrodecolonial concerns is the adoption of methodologies that reproduce subjection, epistemicide, axiological disregard and displacement and ontological erasure. It is geared toward responding to subjection, while Afrocentricity helps us centralize the experiences and reality of the Africans in research. It is to respond to the deceptive narrative and normalization of non-European scholars as importers of theory and whose work is for proving and disproving western theories which ought not to be applied to contexts whereby the concepts they elucidate have been disfigured and pathologized. For instance, feminism does not offer illumination and guidance for learning and understanding gender dynamics in Africa.

At the core of feminism, even the African variant, is the DNA of Western civilization's mythologies. Of course, this does not mean that the tool does not help elucidate phenomena in colonial and post-colonies. It can, especially within the metropolitan centres where coloniality is most prevalent as a practice and process, however, it falls short of spaces that are least plugged to the metropolises whereby contest, cultures and norms continue to shape and reshape gendering processes. Hence theorization is crucial as a decolonial endeavour. Moreover, Afro-decoloniality drives us to veer away from meta-narratives from grand theories such as Marxism and feminism, as such does not enable us to learn from the richly nuanced experiences, phenomena and realities of the agents being studied.

Theory generation in Afrodecolonial research is a political necessity. “[T]he word *theory* comes from the Greek *theoria*, which means “a looking at” *other synonyms are meditation or contemplation which simply refer to deep reflective thought ...[a] theory is simply one's understanding of how something works*” (Schoemaker, Tankard and Lasorsa 2004: 6, italics added). Sutton and Staw (1995) argued that theory must be explanatory. It is about connections among phenomena, it is about why acts, events, structures and thoughts occur. They insist that theory building must have descriptive narratives that can be used to generate explanations. Narratives constitute causal thinking that allows us to explore human agency and the explanation of events in retrospect (Sandelowki 1991). Narratives help us pick up the intersecting categories of oppression that are salient in the experiences of the Women of Marikana. The temporality of this approach seems to be premised on linearity, which constitutes a succession of events. Moreover, the logic of causality also, to some extent, denies the multidimensionality of causation and the influence of outcomes. African subjects may not necessarily narrate stories with the same logical framework of coloniality of temporality (Madlingozi 2015).

2.6.4 Narrative approach and woven narrative

Dastile (2016) proposed narratology as a tool because it enables testimonial knowledge that allows the narrator to speak the truth and reveal her truths. According to Meister (2013), narratology is originally concerned with systematic and logical coherence in stories. However, post-modernists and deconstructivists critiqued structural narratology's concern for systematicity exclusively to infusing cultural and philosophical issues of history and ideology (see Jahn 2005). A feminist critique of narratology highlights the ways “narratological concepts, categories, methods and distinctions advance or obscure the exploration of gender and sexuality as signifying aspects of narrative” (Lanser 2013: no page). Dastile (2016) only

mentioned that “oral history is a form of narratology that is epistemologically related to a large part of indigenous knowledge, cultural transmission and community engagement” (Dastile 2016: 201). Oral history entails interviewing a narrator with knowledge of significant past events. “Because it is a primary source, an oral history is not intended to present a final, verified or objective narrative of events...” (Santa Crus University Library 2016: no page). This goes against the decolonial intervention of addressing epistemic hierarchization and privileging the secondary interpreter. What is useful about the narrative approach from a decolonial critique is the potential to enable hermeneutic justice, as Dastile (2016) advocates, through narrative interviews. The commonality between the decolonial and feminist standpoints is the importance of centralizing the voices of the subaltern.

The narrative approach would assist in mapping out the experiences of the women since 2012 to capture the causal outcomes of various events that took place in their lives, particularly probing how crises manifest in the household, how coloniality plays itself out and the institutional mechanisms shaping an agentic response to subjection. This method allows the women to be analysts and theory generators of their own lives without the researcher’s influence. The primary data obtained through narratives is in line with the feminist political economy critique about standpoint and centralizing women’s voices and experiences in political economy discourse. There are multiple methods of narrative interviews; one of them is a biographical narrative interpretive method. This method involves asking one question at a time allowing the narrator to speak for long periods without any interruptions by the researcher. The shortfall of this thesis is that there was no opportunity for interviews and the choice not to pursue interviews was an ethical one in the sense of respecting the argument given by AMCU on the need to protect the women from being exploited for stories and projects that do not materially benefit the women in return. However, this thesis entails narratives woven from secondary data. This means that narratives are generated by weaving concepts from the data to generate stories out of the lives of the widows and women of Marikana. For purposes of conceptual distinction from existing understanding and identification of narrative approaches, how the narrative approach is used in this thesis is methodically specific. The narrative approach speaks to how data is collected and the type of data which is through a specific type of interview. But because the data, in this case, is secondary and narratives are weaved out of the existing data, the concept narrative is attached to the question of what was done with the data. Consequently, the concept of ‘woven narratives’ is presented as better suited as opposed to the narrative approach.

2.6.5 Theory generation as a combative endeavour

Theory building entails creativity in the process of weaving pieces of data together to generate an explanation that has been deeply meditated upon. Theory building is a political phenomenon because it entails who theorizes and where theory is generated from. The politics of theory building are a Afrodecolonial concern because they allude to the intellectual faculties and abilities of non-white African thinkers. The historical fact of research methodology, which centralizes the west as the seat and hub of theory, constitutes the racist colonial arrogance and falsity concerning the absence of capability of logical thought from autochthonous beings. Of course, it is important not to fall within the trap of dancing to the colonial tune of trying to disprove racist narratives about non-whites as a response. Instead, Afrocentricity helps us not to centralize Eurocentricity but centralize Africans in their ways of knowing and exposing and explaining methods of knowing that are indigenous. This means indiscriminately employing different ways of knowing in the name of holistic offering. This specific research is premised on the ambitious quest to formulate a theory of decolonial resistance, even though it is modest in terms of how theory is generated in light of the above argument. The modesty is a result of the type of data that was available for this project. The narrative-weaving serves the purpose of providing descriptive data that will enable the process of generating theory. However, the process of doing this scientifically was through the adoption of the grounded theory method. “Grounded theory sets out to discover or construct theory from data, systematically obtained and analysed using comparative analysis” (Chun Tie, Birks and Francis 2019: 1). Grounded theory was borne out by two researchers, namely Glaser and Strauss, who questioned the scientific method of verification (see Chun Tie et al. 2019). This research project borrows the systematic procedure of engaging, processing and analysing data collected in this study.

The central logic of the grounded theory method renders it decolonial because it excavates and describes social phenomena without centralizing the need to prove existing theories. The grounded theory allows researchers to deviate or abandon the modus of research that foregrounds Eurocentric scholarship, disciplines, paradigms, theories, concepts and constructs generated from very specific contexts yet universalized into other contexts while violently erasing the realities and knowledges in those contexts. However, it is crucial not to assume that decolonial research involves the rejection of all and any presuppositions that are drawn from existing theories. For instance, what makes this research Afrodecolonial is the assumptions made because of a decolonial framework. This framework is explicated in the following chapter. “Even if researchers have no preconceived theories regarding a particular *phenomenon*, aren't they guided by their theoretical framework as they choose contexts, sites,

questions and samples?” (Osanloo and Grant 2016: 7, italics added). Below is a response to the question through the lens and experience specific to this research.

This project began with an ambiguous research objective. I started with the fascination and interest in knowing and understanding the institutions and practices that marginalized communities employ to survive socio-economic subjection. That idea was presented at a research meeting with fellow students and a suggestion to focus on the mining sector was given. I then gravitated to Marikana which was a popular phenomenon. As I read about Marikana I began to notice that the phenomenon was not too distinct from my own family’s experience. My father was a mine worker at a manganese firm and he died from manganese poisoning which led to a fatal liver failure. Although my father’s story is not similar to the violent demise the Marikana miners suffered, these stories made me think about my mother who was very young when she was widowed. Considering her struggles and the concerns raised by the women of Marikana, I was driven to focus on the widows of Marikana. While reading, I wondered how they survived and resisted subjection. The survival aspect of my question could not be answered because it requires specific methodological content, for instance, in meeting and conversing with the women, I exclusively focused on resistance. How this happened will be clarified below.

While reading about the uprising at Marikana, I realized that the literature focused on the women who were at Nkaneng. The social justice activist in me was irked by the need to share voice to the women who were not included in the existing research. The first source of data that was available on the women was the media report of the women at the Marikana commission. Consequently, I was driven to search for an organization that represented the widows in court. When I made a call, I was informed that the women who were left behind in labour-sending communities had been given jobs at Marikana. This meant that they had been included in the labour struggle as workers, and my interest in them was not as workers but as agents of the extended social reproductive sphere. Nonetheless, I still pursued the quest for interviews which led me to a trip to Marikana. Upon arriving, I was intrigued by the white uniform worn by the mine workers and remembered how my mother used to wash my father’s mining uniform. The water from that process was always filled with black soil, and it was certainly not white. The hardness of the material and the struggle with washing it led to my father buying my mother a washing machine. The crisis of housing at Marikana and the challenges of electricity made me think how different the women of Marikana are in the sense of the social reproductive struggles they face.

I imagined that the women of Marikana, who probably were responsible for washing the miner's uniform, had unique struggles based on access to social infrastructure. Meaning those with houses that have electricity are likely to have it easier because electricity allows them to have washing machines that can lessen the burden of unpaid social reproductive labour. Those living at Nkaneng, which is characterized by deprivation in terms of social services, must have had it harder. When I went there, I got into the wrong taxi and got off very far from the destination I was going to. As a black female, I was cognizant of my vulnerability because I live in a country where GBV is normalized. I had to have a male escort whose name I shall not name for anonymity. We walked through the muddy ground until we reached the famous mountain-like rock where the miners gathered each morning during the protest. We walked for kilometres until we reached the offices of AMCU. When I presented myself and the purpose of being there, I was referred to other people who told me they had to seek permission first before giving me a response to my request for help to find and speak to the women who had begun working at Lonmin. I left Rustenburg, Marikana without an answer and eventually, when I was given a response to come back. The second time when I travelled, I went alone and was unfortunate to choose a day when there was a shooting/killing of one of the AMCU members at their office. AMCU officials were frantic and seemed frightened. In an attempt to figure out what to do, I called a friend of mine who is a journalist in one of the major newspapers in South Africa. I told him where I was, and his response was to advise me to postpone fieldwork and perhaps return in two months. Due to the limitations of time and the feeling of being unsafe I opted to leave the field but the decision about fieldwork was not made. I called my aunt and she suggested I not go home and join her and my cousin for an event in Sandton. Upon arriving in Johannesburg, I went straight to the Gautrain in my dusty field-appropriate attire and attempted to forget about the events of the day. A couple of weeks later I resumed contact with my link at Marikana while trying to find the contact details of Hon. Primrose Sonti who became an EFF member. She tried to assist me to get the opportunity to interview the widows without success. A few more weeks later I spoke to one official from AMCU and he advised I email members in the higher positions at AMCU. That endeavour eventually resulted in the reply of rejection that I cannot see the widows because there have been many other researchers and media people who came and wrote books, made films et cetera yet never returned to give material support to the widows. Therefore, AMCU had assumed the moral responsibility to protect the widows from any possible exploitation. Because my research could not offer material benefits for participation, I abandoned the quest for fieldwork the way the narrative approach and grounded theory method necessitate. Consequently, I had to rely on secondary

data settling for a desktop method. This means the narrative approach and grounded theory were used to help with dealing with the data and they did not guide the method of collecting the data.

2.6.6 Data sampling and collection

I purposively selected data that spoke to the entire population of my research matter, that is women of Marikana. How I collected each of my data sets was different. For instance, for the data in the form of media articles, I collected newspaper articles from Sabinet African Archives, SA media. I used the search title “Women of Marikana”, and the search engine yielded thousands of articles. I then delimited my selection of articles to the years starting from 2012 until 2014 because 2012 is the year when the massacre happened, and 2014 is the year the widows were allowed to speak at the Commission. I limited my search to newspaper titles and by-lines that had women of Marikana. The videos of the women from the SABC archives were selected by searching for the Women of Marikana on YouTube. The media coverage of the women of Marikana was of the women who were based at Marikana meaning the voices of the women and widows who did not live at/near Marikana could be noted when the commission was in session. One of the articles published in 2014 about the widows were “wailed and fainted” when accounts of what happened were recounted during the commission, it became easy to limit my search of all visual media coverage to August 2014 when the families were allowed to present. The data comprising the transcripts from the Marikana commission were selected using the time frame guided by the newspaper report and the SABC video from the news bulletin on the 13th of August 2014. I then went on to search for the transcripts on the South African justice department website. I deliberately selected a transcript that correlated with the date on the said newspaper and read through the transcript. I then counted the number of testimonies of the families of the mine workers and realized they were incomplete, so I downloaded the transcript of the sitting that followed namely day 276 of the commission. Because I did not know the names of the widows of the deceased mine workers, I listed all the 34 names of the mine workers and printed their biographies available online. I also read the testimonies of the families and selected the names of all the widows who spoke. I made a list of their names and subsequently tried to create a distinction between those who were living at Marikana and those who lived in labour-sending communities.

The testimonies in the transcript entailed information about where they were from but not all women/widows testified thus, there were still several women who were missing because some of them, their relatives, testified at the commission as representatives of the family. With the

three types of data I had, I was still short of having a complete population for the study. I decided to throw the request for a solution to my dilemma to my ancestors, and one day, months later, I received an e-mail from Tshepo Madlingozi. He sent me a pdf document of the German publication that included the body art of the widows of Marikana and their biographical narratives. The publication entailed data largely generated from workshops with the women of Marikana in 2012 and 2014. This gave me a total of five sources of data, namely the commission transcripts, news articles, SABC videos from YouTube and the SABC archive, the body art/paintings by the women of Marikana and short biographical narratives captured in the German NGO publication. I began to go read through the news articles that spoke to my study, but they did not have the voices of the widows from the extended social reproductive sphere. I then watched the videos from SABC archives, and as I went through them, I made notes and generated codes from what I was observing. The analysis process had already begun; unlike other data analytical approaches, mine, which was influenced by grounded theory, employed an iterative process of coding and analysis while writing. I then read the transcripts and started with the themes that were coming from the reading and analysis of the data. I read the transcripts four times. The first time was shaped by the decolonial framework as I was specifically looking for themes that spoke to the elements of a decolonial political economy framework (see Grosfoguel 2011). The second reading was more discriminatory because I targeted pages with testimonies of the women whose names I got from the list I generated after sampling the target population for this study. The third round of reading the transcript involved allowing the data to give me themes without being limited by my theoretical framework.

This was then followed by a complete reading of the transcripts for the comparative purpose of the grounded theory method. I was comparing the themes I generated from the themes I was picking up in the responses/testimonies of other women of Marikana and family members of the deceased mineworkers, especially those who had no wives. The themes generated from previously mentioned data sources shaped the analysis of the paintings by the widows while allowing a sense of flirtation with the data. Flirtation is a Freudian concept denoting free association. The reading and engagement with the 4th and 5th sets of data, namely the body art/paintings and the short biographical narratives, were done in the end. The data were interpreted and analysed to generate codes and themes. The details regarding how the data analysis and interpretation were made will be in the data presentation/findings chapter. The process did not constitute a deliberate pre-planned method; the method was largely accidental,

and the audacity to not strive to formulate a clear method before the commencement of data collection was inspired by Sithole's (2016a) 'method without method'.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter introduced a research philosophical debate which is considered paramount for decolonial research. The chapter began with a critical discussion of disciplinary knowledge, especially from the perspective of political science. It presented existing debates on the critique of the discipline of political science from an African-centred perspective. It then offered a discussion of the research paradigm and presented the outcome of the endeavour to construct a decolonial research paradigm for this thesis. An African-centred decolonial paradigm was chosen to set the stage for the concept of Afrodecolonial paradigm. A discussion on the ontological premise of this study was shared and the epistemic debates in decolonial discourse were discussed. The chapter then delved into a discussion and decolonial critique of methodology and method and proposed approaches suitable for this study. This meant that a multi-method approach was presented as a frame for this thesis. This was then followed by a narrative of the experience of the researcher in data collection and the choices of data the study interpreted and analysed. The chapter that follows offers a historical literature review which employs a decolonial approach which will be explained in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Decolonial Review of Literature

3.1 Literature Review

3.1.1 Introduction: A decolonial basis for reviewing the literature

The literature reviewed in this chapter is methodologically informed by the quest to assess what Dussel (2013) deems a world system of globalized exclusion. The manifestation of such is through coloniality of knowledge, among other facets of the global matrices of power (see Mignolo 2007, Grosfoguel 2009, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a). Foucault (1980) shed light on how power is mediated through knowledge, scientific knowledge and truth. Years later, Ake (cited by Arowosegbe 2011) explained that colonialism came with a wholesale importation of mentalities, practices, and routines. Mignolo (2003) followed suit and explained that the imperial expansion of Europe was also intellectual and academic, meaning what is regarded as scientific knowledge and truth is the outcome of the geopolitics of knowledge. Knowledge and truth are subject to power (see Glenn 2004), where there is power there is also resistance (Foucault 1980). Knowledge is indeed power. Decoloniality can, in this context, be employed as a conceptual tool for resistance as part of the decolonial turn. Maldonado-Torres (2011) explained that decoloniality captures all moments of resistance to modern subjection throughout history.

Decolonial turn, specifically epistemic resistance, entails the quest for pluriversal worldviews or world senses to redress exclusions rooted in imperial knowledge. A decolonial literature review is a construction of a festival of literature generated by scholars from the global South and/or whose subjectivities and/or philosophies are purposefully liberatory. They are guided by the epistemic and ontological spirit of resisting the notion of the absence of theory from the margins. It is made up of reviewing literature that highlights border thinking and the pursuit of pluriversality as means of engaging multiple traditions and content. It is about the engagement of sources that ordinarily be discarded from the scientific, academic corpus. It entails a review of a diversity of reviews with multiple epistemes with acknowledgement of the historical context of the subject matter. In the quest for pluriversality, this chapter reviews not only academic literature but some ritual archives. According to Falola (2017), ritual archives entail texts, ideas, symbols, shrines, images, performances and objects that document experiences and practices that help us to understand the African context and world through bodies of

philosophies, works of literature, languages, histories and many more. Although Falola (2017) conceives of an archive as a source of data, in this chapter, it is conceptualized as an object that represents specific interpretations of phenomena. Elucidation, illumination and interpretation of “reality” constitute functionality, evoke thought and further attempt at expanding the boundaries of what is assumed.

Pluriversality is a concept that was introduced to decolonial discourse by Mignolo (2013) and the inspiration for it comes from the concept of pluritopic hermeneutics. Pluritopic hermeneutics “disobey the totalitarianism of monotopic hermeneutics, the other speaks, reasons, argues, invents, and creates while looking into the eyes of *humanitas*.” (Tlostanova and Mignolo 2009: 17). *Humanitas* refers to the opposite of the other, which is a by-product of relativist binary thinking. *Humanitas*, as is civilization, western Christianity, science and so forth are products of modernity and are constructed as superior relative to the *Anthropos* (see Tlostanova and Mignolo 2009). Suarez-Krabbe (2015) explained that pluriversality constitutes the examination of diverse “sociohistorical and economic-political experiences *and* the global articulations of power *that* produce diverse realities and life – or death- projects.” (Suarez-Krabbe 2015: 169, italics added). In this literature review, pluriversality also functions as an analytical procedure to explain the phenomenon at Marikana. The attribute of it to knowledge is that it pays “attention to the different knowledges that constitute our world” (Suarez-Krabbe 2015: 169). Thus pluriversality, in this context, challenges and resists the monotopic hermeneutic pursuits and the dominance of universalized knowledge, particularly with a western genealogy. It is pivotal to understand that pluriversality also means “acting in and with the pluriverse”, and this means engaging all forms of knowledge enunciated from the multiplicity of geo-body-political sensing/knowing/understanding/beings.

It is understood that research texts are a by-product of hermeneutic assessment of phenomena. This is deduced from the disciplinary scholarship of knowledge that has western roots (see Sithole (2016a). The approach of a ritual archive challenges conceptions of what constitutes researched knowledge and what does not. It is also a call to the reader to traverse an experimental and dialogic journey in the philosophical pursuit of granting the Other a voice along with Othered knowledges. The ritual archive is an avenue of resisting the marginality of texts from the modern/colonial world as unworthy of classification as materials for understanding the research problem (Labaree 2009) and granting light to the research theme and context. This means that songs, poetry, novels, academic journals, books and chapters are sources that are used for reviewing content that helps us understand the products of economic and political power, gender and alternative forms of resistance in the modern/colonial world.

After all, “power produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained from him belong to this production” (Foucault 1991: 194). Thus, the archives reviewed in this chapter are an avenue for understanding the reality produced, the epistemic processes linked to studying and the interpretation of it. The materials reviewed in this chapter entail fiction, poetry, theatre performance, music, non-fiction books and academic sources.

A counter-argument against this endeavour would be, of what use would these ritual archival sources be to the quest for understanding resistance from the perspective of women who are extraordinarily marginalized in the context of intersecting struggles within the core of productive and social reproductivity? This is posed because out of academic literature, a scholar searches for theories, concepts and models that are meant to explain the meaning of phenomena. “Theory is an explanatory construct that helps us structure action by identifying key relationships that can be used to explain, predict or change phenomenon” (Jaeger, Dunstan, Thornton, Rockenbach, Gayles and Haley 2013).

Okolo (2007) reminds us of the relationship between philosophy and literature. He argued that literature and philosophy engage in raising consciousness as do theoretical disciplines. “Philosophy and literature, equally, offer a critical evaluation of existing and possible forms of political arrangements, beliefs, and practices. In addition, they provide insights into political concepts and justification of normative judgements about politics and society. They also create awareness of possibilities for change” (Okolo 2007:1). Poetry, novels, songs and theatrical plays are a product of thought as are philosophy and theorization.

If we conceive of these archival sources as literature which means “any written expression or manifestation of thought” (Poggioli 1973: 461 cited by Okolo 2007) the choice to use a ritual archive does not detract from what theory that academic literature offers. Sources from the ritual archive may be utilized to grant an understanding of the “natural world” especially the chosen sources for review in this chapter. And as does theory, the use of the ritual archive is meant for expanding the boundaries of knowledge and existing assumptions whilst adhering to the critical quest by decolonial scholars to work against epistemic injustice and respond to the critique of disciplinary decadence¹.

3.1.2 Three Interlinked Approaches to Literature Review

This literature review chapter constitutes three interlinked approaches to reviewing, namely a thematic review of literature on the political economy of mining in South Africa but starts with

¹ Disciplinary decadence is explained in detail in the methodology chapter.

a broader historical context of the political economy of Africa. This is done in light of exposing the gap in the literature concerning decolonial analysis and the concept of peripheries borrowed from Immanuel Wallerstein. The theory of underdevelopment is a feature that explains the hierarchies of coloniality, thus the importance of reviewing the literature on the political economy of Africa. Moreover, critiques by decolonial scholars has emphasized the ahistorical nature of western epistemic traditions (see Sithole 2016a, 2016b, 2016c) thus, this literature review takes on a historical and contextual approach. This is meant to provide a broader context of the productive and social reproductive interplay during colonial and apartheid times and, consequently, post-apartheid South Africa. This will also elucidate the historical context of the positionality of the cohort of women focused on in this study concerning resistance in the extractive sector.

The second section of the literature review will employ a conceptual framework of decoloniality to a more focused literature on the Marikana phenomenon while simultaneously highlighting the analytical gap this research intends to respond to, including a feminist approach which centralizes women. By reading the literature published about Marikana as a phenomenon through a decolonial conceptual framework, one found the gaps existing in the literature apart from helping one to establish an argument for Marikana being a microcosm of coloniality warranting a decolonial exploration of the research problem. Moreover, a decolonial reading enables one to extract out of the existing literature explanatory concepts that can be brought together for a decolonial framework.

The third section of the review scopes for readings of non-traditional forms of resistance and their gendered components at Marikana. This section serves to highlight the gaps in the existing literature on Marikana about the widowed women's forms of resistance. This section is meant to supplement the shortfalls of the literature explored in the previous sections in terms of explicitly dealing with the concept of resistance. It is also meant to help us add another element to the conceptual framework as well as the theoretical framework constructed for this study. This is done to analyse the data presented later in this thesis. The framework involves an interplay between the following theoretical constructs, coloniality, resistance and gender. The literature reviewed in this section also provides additional concepts useful in this research.

The last section consists of ritual archival sources. The latter position in terms of sections must not be interpreted as a hierarchical endeavour. Other textual ritual archives are weaved into the first, second and third sections of the literature reviewed. This section focuses on four sources of which two are non-textual, namely a song about Marikana and a theatre performance about Marikana. The third source is poetry and the fourth is a novel. These are collectively employed

in this thesis experimentally. They are meant to set a tone for the rest of the thesis, especially concerning the forms of data used in this research. These sources draw from non-traditional sources of literature and offer a narrative from a non-academic understanding of African realities, the location of African women and the gendered configurations of the modern/colonial world. The overarching approach to the literature review chapter is thematic and the choice of sources is premised on the objective of weaving a framework that explains the interplay between coloniality, resistance and gender in the broad context of the extractive sector in South Africa and more specifically Marikana.

3.2 A Review of African Political Economy

3.2.1 Political Economy of Africa

Africa's political economy is characterized by various epochs that have had a significant impact on Africa's contemporary political and economic trajectories. Those epochs disrupted the potential of industrial development of Africa that could have evolved from the Iron Age notable from AD 200 to the late Iron Age in 1840 as we have seen with Great Zimbabwe (Ndzamela 2021). Ndzamela's (2021) historical narrative informs us of precolonial mining enterprises that were characterized by sophisticated skills and artisanry. "Before the Iron Age softer ore, crushed and powdered, was mined in what is now South Africa. This was used for cosmetic products such as hair powder and for smearing the body" (Ndzamela 2021: 16). Ndzamela's archival excavation reveals intriguing gender dynamics because mining ore was not exclusive to males, women and girls also participated in the production process and were not relegated to the private sphere as the colonial economy did to women. He also narrates how women were also participating in the Diamond trade (see Ndzamela 2021: 25).

It is important to note that the mainstream discourse on the political and economic history of Africa has narrated from a Eurocentric perspective thus the normative omission of data that qualifies Africans as agents of history. For instance, Ndzamela's work exhibits an Afrocentric approach which centralizes the vantage point of the African subject. He also narrates market exchanges with the Chinese, Arabs and other Africans indicating Africa's integration into the international trade. This suggests that precolonial Africa was part of an international trade system, but the European racialized expansion morphed Africa into a global trade system that was inhuman (see Zeleza 2002). It is crucial to note in this thesis the words 'international' and 'global' are conceptually used in distinct ways. Globalization is used to refer to the darker side of modernity facilitated by skewed trade relations. International is hereby ascribed to relations before the onslaught of colonialism. It is crucial not to dismiss the probability of unfair trade

regimes before colonialism and the existence of slave labour in Africa, especially during the Iron Age as noted in European history (see Arnold 1988, Patterson 2018, Matar 2019).

3.2.1.1 Slavery in Africa

The epochs that disrupted Africa's trajectory and integrated it into a Euro-globalizing world are the Transatlantic slave trade, colonialism and the structural adjustment era, which reformed post-colonial economies (Olukoshi, Hormeku-Ajei, Balaji and Nayar 2022). "The trans-Atlantic slave trade, which began as early as the 15th century, introduced a system of slavery that was commercialized, racialized and inherited." (Elliot and Hughes 2019: no page). The trans-Atlantic slave trade was one of the epochs of European modernity that disrupted and shaped Africa's trajectory and underdevelopment (Patterson 1979). The significant effects of the slave trade had been, for example, the deprivation of labour in Africa, including the long-term economic, demographic and social development of the continent (Lovejoy 1989, M'baye 2006, Nunn 2008, Whatley 2009, Bertocchi 2016). Africa's slave trade is characterized by four waves starting from 1400 to the 1900s, namely the trans-Saharan, Indian Ocean, Red Sea and Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The latter lasted from 1529-1850, with over 12 million Africans traded (Bertocchi 2016: 2). Nunn (2008a) and Whatley and Gillezeau (2011) showed us that the slave trade retarded the formation of broader ethnic groupings and the homogenization of diverse groups. This led to "fractionalization and weak and fragmented political structures" (Bertocchi 2016: 5) that still have implications for contemporary nation-building in former slave-sending African countries (see Nunn 2008, Whatley and Gillezeau 2011).

Whatley (2012a cited by Bertocchi 2016) reported that in "West Africa...the trans-Atlantic slave trade increased absolutism and reduced democracy and liberalism... British colonies that exported more slaves were subject to a larger degree to indirect rule... the colonial administration relied heavily on local absolutisms as a means of control" (Bertocchi 2016: 6). The slave trade had gendered effects in the sense that most of the slaves traded were males, demographically leading to an imbalanced male-female ratio. Consequently, polygyny increased because of the slave trade and the proliferation of polygyny is higher in West Africa than in the East due to a higher preference for male slaves out of Western Africa at the time (Bertocchi 2016). The work of Sembene (1960) helps us see the intersection between polygyny and the socio-economic struggles of working-class families. In the context of exploited labour where male workers had multiple wives, their wages were not compatible with the structure of the family they had. It can be assumed that a system of exploiting wage labour thrives better with nuclear family structures and possibly reduces the need for higher remuneration of labour.

South Africa's migrant labour system also affected the family structure of natives. And given the fact that nation-states are emulated from the European nuclear family model, Africa's family structures which include pre-colonial polygyny, were stunted in terms of the influence on the formation of the model of the state. This process was further stunted by colonialism.

3.2.1.2 Colonialism in Africa

It has become common knowledge that colonialism had an impact on Africa's development economically and politically (see Settles 1996, Austin 2010, Ocheni and Nwankwo 2012, Heldring and Robinson 2013, Henderson 2013). Rodney's (1972) work helps us understand colonialism as a system of underdevelopment which deprived Africa of its developmental potential. Chinweizu (1978) later helped us understand Africa's colonialism, partly characterized by exports of raw materials, concerning the phenomenon of Europe's changing mode of production to industrial capitalism. The scarcity of labour from the Transatlantic slave trade and peasant economies of Africa led to the institutionalization of forced labour. "The myth of the lazy African male, unresponsive to economic incentives and lethargic due to the labour of his womenfolk, fueled the ideological justification for forced labour as an aspect of progressive rule" (Okia 2012: 1). Forced slave labour and cheap wage labour were sustained by violence through colonial administrations. However, by the 1940s forced labour was ended as a result of the perennial resistance, especially by Africans in West African colonies (Maddox 2018). For us to engage the concept of coloniality, is it crucial to understand the basic colonial configuration of the state and economy in Africa.

Colonialism created enclave capitalism in Africa which had consequences on not only the economy but the production and reproduction of social capital necessary for growth. Ekeh (1975), Ake (1993), and Mamdani (2001) showed that not only was the African economy underdeveloped it also yielded an underdeveloped social class. The binary construction of people along ethnic and racial hierarchies constructed the dominant class (settlers) and subordinate classes (autochthonous) including those who were governed by civic laws and others by traditional authority. On the economic side, those constituted at the bottom of the hierarchy were entangled in social class relations that were sustained by exploitation that leads to the retardation of the working class and coercion by the dominant group through apparatuses of the state. And these relations continue through the colonial state which was overdeveloped in its use of force and violence (see Ekeh 1975, Ake 1985, Mamdani 2001).

The colonial state was crafted in "a dichotomous manner consisting of civil law and native law. It is important to note that the latter was not a reflection of precolonial customary authority.

Precolonial Africa did not have a single customary authority... *there were* age groups, clans, women's groups, chiefs, religious groups and so on. It is worth noting that only one of these chiefs- was sanctioned as a native authority under indirect-rule colonialism, and only its version of custom was declared "genuine" (Mamdani 2001: 655, italics added).

The chiefs became despotic native authorities organized based on the fusion of power as opposed to civil law characterized by functional specificity and balance of power distinguished by the executive, legislature, judiciary, and administration (Mamdani 2001). The native authority constituted a federation of ethnic groups organized on a horizontal basis with subjects relegated at the bottom of the racial hierarchy organized vertically to indicate the superiority of whites at the top, Indians and Coloureds in the middle and natives (Africans) at the bottom (Mamdani 2001). In South Africa, the Bantustans constituted distinct native authorities with subjects deprived of civil rights compared to white South Africans.

3.2.1.3 Post-colonial Africa

Alavi (1972) explained that post-colonies inherited the colonial social structures that were characterized by the subordination of all indigenous classes (indigenous bourgeois, the Metropolitan neo-colonist bourgeoisie and the autochthonous masses). The end of colonialism ushered in post-colonial phenomena characterized by legacies of colonialism, such as underdevelopment (Frank 1969, Rodney 1972, Wallerstein 1979, Ake 1993). There have been insightful studies on political economy globally, regionally and nationally, yet most of the studies have been blind to intersectional issues within the global capitalist economy. For instance, Wallerstein (1979) including Zeleza (1985) gave an insightful analysis of the capitalist world economy by highlighting the dichotomies of core versus peripheries and/or semi-peripheries within the international division of labour of this system, the transnational bourgeois exploit the proletariat and manipulate the controlling of flows across state boundaries. "African societies... produced exports... which only provide a very low and stagnating return to local labour" (Amin 1972: 524). Amin (1972) showed that in this world system, Africa was largely a reservoir of cheap labour in service of white settlers and empires through a migrant labour system sustained and birthed by violence (Amin 1972). The post-colonial state continues to be operating with the colonial logic leading to neocolonialism.

3.2.2 History of Political Economy of South Africa

Since the end of the Anglo-Boer war, South Africa has been thoroughly integrated into the capitalist world economy by every social, economic, cultural and geopolitical bond that history

can bestow” (Magubane 1979: 195). Within the international division of labour, South Africa became a key supplier of gold. However, other sectors of the economy were invested in, such as manufacturing which garnered South Africa semi-peripheral status. And in 1921, women constituted only 7% of the industrial labour force (see South African scholar Cheryl Walker 1982). South Africa’s in-flowing foreign capital investment was enmeshed with racialized political repression. The violence served to facilitate capitalist accumulation by dispossession and the racialized nature witnessed in South African history (Katzen 1964). This system is replicated within national boundaries as Ashman, Fine and Newman (2011) revealed in the case of the South African mining sector.

The burden of the physical production of gold in South Africa, which was a component of the world imperialist system, was shouldered by black cheap labour (Wolpe 1972, Magubane 1979, Natrass 1981). South Africa is founded on political repression and the “super-exploitation of the African workforce” (Magubane 1979: 220). There were also income disparities between racial groups whereby white labour was paid more despite having the same skill as blacks. Wolpe, Natrass and Magubane, cited above, provided insights into the interlinking relationship between race and class yet the gender facet was excluded, for instance, their work did not highlight that not only was the division of labour racialized, but it was also gendered in the sense that women were excluded and largely served as social reproductive laborer in the margins of the economy (see Walker 1990) and productive labour that is uber exploited and cheaper.

This history is important because the socio-historical roots of Marikana lay in the foundations of the extractive industry of South Africa since the 19th century and its incubation of racialized, gendered, violent and super exploitative migrant labour regime (Simons 1961, Katzen 1964, Magubane 2000, Chinguno 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, Frankel, 2013). Premised on the inherited exploitative colonial and apartheid racialized capitalist system, which was/is a world system, Frankel (2013) argued that the Marikana uprising could have happened in any part of the economy or mining industry. Instead of a holistic systematic critique, he said that it is due to neoliberal labour market flexibility facilitated by labour brokers who in this case enable mining houses to reproduce colonial arrangements and circumvent their developmental responsibilities otherwise due to a more fixed working-class community. This analysis, though useful and with merit, does not factor in the seemingly inherent aspect of labour exploitation and the normative nature of precarious living of the anthropological proletariat operating in the zone of non-being.

3.2.3 Political Economy of race and class in post-apartheid South Africa

Racism is a historical feature of the South African mining industry, black mine workers were not only paid lesser, but their white counterparts also always assumed better positions over them regardless of experience (see Simons 1961). The mining industry played a role in the foundation of colonial South Africa and contributed to the sustenance of colonialism and apartheid. “The governments of Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States, in collusion with their business corporations, prop up the South African overall economy by their massive infusion of capital into both the mining of gold and its marketing. Not only have these western countries supplied the investment capital to the Afrikaner industries, but they have also provided administrative, managerial, and technological know-how needed for the efficient operation of the South African apartheid political system” (Katzen 1964 cited by Mokoena 2020: 30). The oppression of black people in South Africa and the aggravated exploitation of labour from black people from other African countries contributed to the success of the mining industry.

Race has largely been removed from the class analysis by scholars who found that post-apartheid South Africa is characterized by decreasing interracial income gaps and growing intra-racial class inequality (see Seekings 2005, Netshitenzhe 2013). The pitfall with statistical reading at the national level by scholars such as Seekings (2005) is that it does not have empirical data on the actual lived experiences of blacks in South Africa and the fact that the black middle class in South Africa drown in debt should reveal the challenges still faced. Moreover, the fact that whites in South Africa earn 6 times more than blacks should be telling of the unending influence of race in South Africa. The South African Human Rights Council found that 68% of inequality complaints filed within a year from 2015 until 2016 were race-related (South African Human Rights Council 2017). The same report revealed that the face of poverty remains black in South Africa even though poverty rates have declined since 1994 (see Seekings and Nattrass, 2006). The 2006 general household survey revealed that 55% of the population in South Africa made up 10% of the total consumption expenditure. The poorest 10% consumed less than 2% compared to the 45% of the richest 10% of households that constitute only 6% of the total population (Armstrong, Lekezwa and Siebrits 2008).

At the dawn of the legal demise of apartheid, 50% of South African households were classified as poor. Between 1999 and 2002, data indicated that poverty was on the increase (see May 1998, Aliber 2003, Meth and Dias 2004). However, a multidimensional poverty index using

data from the 2001 & 2011 census, and the 2007 and 2016 community surveys indicated declines in money-centric poverty. “The decrease in multidimensional poverty between 2001 and 2016 was most rapid for female Africans residing in rural areas in Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces” (Fransman and Yu 2018: 50). Cheteni, Khamfula and Mah (2019) found that African women in rural areas were poorer in comparison to men and that black Africans were generally “poorer compared to coloureds and whites... whites in farm areas were over 143% better off, with whites staying in tribal areas being 30% better than black Africans and coloureds in farm areas 10% better” (Cheteni et. Al. 2019: 17).

South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world. “Top 20% of the population holds over 68 per cent of income... The bottom 40 per cent of the population holds 7 per cent...” (International Monetary Fund 2020: no page). Apart from a limited nation-state analysis, a global analysis of the world economy reveals that the global economy remains white/Euro-American and patriarchal among other facets. Phalane’s (2004) work shows us that globalization and the perennial marginalization of women in the public sphere continued. [G]lobalization is a systematic process whereby the standard of living for poor people is made even worse. The majority of casualties of globalization are women.” (Phalane 2004: 160). Although Phalane’s analysis applies to working-class women, the women of Marikana focused on those who operated in the social reproductive sphere and performed labour that was outside the market exchange. The social reproductive arena has been shaped by poverty reduction strategies that advance investment into social infrastructures such as education and health because of the gendered effects they have. State policies have a significant impact on women and attempt to eliminate inequality (see England, Levine and Mishel 2020).

3.2.4 The post-apartheid state and the reproduction of cheap labour

Magubane (2000) emphasized that states are a product of historical processes, and their origins imprint their evolution. This means that post-apartheid South Africa ought to be understood as a product of white settler colonialism and conquered black labour under a capitalist social formation. “Thus, in 1910, South Africa had a singular distinction in the capitalist world. It was a “slave state” (Magubane, 2000: 42). The pre-1994 state played in the production and reproduction of cheap labour through the regulation of the flow of labour, regulation of geographic mobility and occupational mobility of migrants and the repression of struggles et cetera (Burawoy, 1976). Terblanche (2012) explained that the state, be it democratically elected or authoritarian, represents the dual politico-economic aspect of capitalism. The dispossession

of land, sanctioned by the state, played a fundamental role in the creation of cheap black labour reserves (Dlamini 2016). Terblanche (2012) also explained that capitalism always requires a political authority to create enabling conditions through the law and regulations, without which capitalism would not survive. Gumede (2016), Altman (2015) and Alam, Mokate and Plangemann (2015) highlighted the various development plans by the post-apartheid state, namely the redistribution and development programs, including the national development plan, which is partly geared at addressing the triple threat of poverty, inequality and unemployment. There are perennial interlinkages between capital and the government, which ultimately has bearing on the worker's struggle. That inter-relationship has not enabled the type of public and private partnership that results in meeting the populace's well-being. Poverty and unemployment remain too high in South Africa.

3.2.5 The Labour Market and Financialization in South Africa

Speaking of workers, Chinguno (2013c) argued that the fragmentation of labour had reshaped the labour market in a way that reproduces exploitation and precarity for the working class; Anstey (2013) locates the entire Marikana episode within the compromises of the 1994 transition. The end of apartheid allowed South African conglomerates to re-enter the global economy after the sanctions and crisis of the apartheid regime and economy. “[C]oncentrated corporate capital re-engaged with the increasingly marginalized global economy... and... these forces are driving increasing inequality and generation of surplus populations” (Hart 2013: 156). The post-apartheid state positioned itself to serve capital despite its proclaimed role of redressing past injustices and the triple threat of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Many people are excluded from the mainstream economy, as indicated by a high rate of unemployment. Mohamed (2009) noted that South Africa's economic policies, such as liberalization of capital controls and financialization, have worked against its developmental project. Workers live in precarity, and many have resorted to microfinance to supplement their incomes. Bond (2013) argued that the debt crisis at the household and macroeconomic levels fueled the Marikana miners' protest.

3.2.6 Political Economy of Exclusion, Uneven Combined Development and Migration

The Marikana miners faced the burden of navigating marginal inclusion in their immediate communities and underdevelopment in their migrant-sending communities. The exploited group of workers is forced to engage in 'marginal' or 'informal' income-gathering activities. The informal sector is the pit that absorbs surplus labour (Webster 1979). Moreover, out of the 37 miners killed during the Lonmin strike, 28 were from the Eastern Cape, and others were

from Lesotho and Swaziland. The Eastern Cape remains one of the poorest under-developed provinces in South Africa, echoing Amin's (1995) argument that unequal development yields labour migration and vice versa, especially when active labour flees. The Eastern Cape, Lesotho and Mozambique accounted for over 60% of the labour force in gold mines in South Africa from 1896 to 1996. "The number of workers migrating annually from (Pondoland) increased from about 2000 in 1896 to 10 000 in 1910 and 20 000 in 1921 and 30 000 in 1936." (Beinart 2014: 403). The extractive industry in South Africa thrived on the migratory patterns of domestic and foreign labour. This system was institutionalized through Witwatersrand Labour Organization and the Native Recruiting Corporation and bilateral agreements; for instance, in 1903, the South African government and the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique signed an agreement to enable the flow of Mozambique migrant labour (Munslow, 1983). The migrant labour system was facilitated by passing laws, and it was disproportionately gendered, enabling only male workers to access the mining sector at the exclusion of women and families. The pass-laws controlled the movement of Africans in the sense that women married to the mine workers could not visit or live with their husbands in the mining area without the approval of the apartheid administrators in government.

3.2.7 Political Economy of Migration and Gender

The male workers were contracted for a minimal period exacerbating job insecurity which played a role in the passiveness of the poor living conditions that male miners found themselves in (Harington, McGlashan and Chelkowska, 2004). Burawoy (1979) argued that the ties to migrant-sending rural spaces that male migrants had, accounted for the minimum wage labour paid to them. In these contexts, the women were largely left behind and largely engaged in subsistence farming for survival. The colonial and apartheid governments classified unemployed females living in the rural areas/labour reserves as farm workers (Webster 1979, Walker 1990) when unemployment data was collated.

This also meant that women's livelihood activities and roles were increased, thus burdening them, whereas, before the migration of men, there were some shared responsibilities (Dlamini, 2016). This is a consequence of a gender regime based on the sexual division of labour and exclusion of women revealing male migrants and capital benefiting, albeit differently, from the marginalization of women. The colonial logic concerning women and hard labour was that, a heavy workload is an indication of subordination, and the civilising mission of colonialists was the lessening of this burden on women for them to become 'proper women' whose main preoccupation in life is the domestic sphere (Arnfred 2004). Yet, for black women in the

reserves, this was increasingly made impossible in attaining the imperial idea of an identity of a woman. Meaning in the social reproductive spaces, in their geographic sense, the socially reproductive work of women by biologically giving birth to labour, providing subsistence support to the productive sector and the emotional labour performed, among other social reproductive roles, embodied a distinct identity of womanhood and more research ought to be conducted to theorize on the kind of womanhood that characterised that sector. On the other hand, the absence of men in the rural areas/labour reserves offered women freedom from direct patriarchal control through their husbands (Walker 1990). “Confining women to the rural areas... was also a priority of colonial rule in the region, to prevent permanent African urbanization and retain the rural subsidy of labour-force reproduction” (Wright 1995: 784). “In 1921, the year of the national census, the urban population for the Union as a whole was 28 per cent of the total population, and because of the migrant labour system, the bulk of the rural population was African... African women, by far the largest racial group among women, were thus the least urbanized” (Walker 1990:11). One must be weary of homogenizing the experiences of women living in rural areas in the context of migration. Wright (1995) shows that women in South Africa exercised their agency and sought employment in the mainstream economy as migrants. The concept of the “left behind” is challenged by Buijs (1988), whose research revealed that women in the former Transkei (now the Eastern Cape) migrated to other parts of South Africa in search of employment. She noted that the women were absorbed in other rural and urban sectors. Their inclusion strategies into a patriarchal and discriminatory economy involved working for low wages under poor conditions (Buijs 1988). Walker (1990) also noted how some women who migrated to urban spaces occupied low-skilled and low-paying roles. The low-income migrant jobs they did also allowed them to join their partners, who were also migrants. Under colonial and apartheid South Africa, African women were classified as peasants except for 10-11 per cent that had wage employment, and 65% of that 10-11% worked in the domestic sector serving white women and their families (Walker 1990). By the 1940s, any semblance of a real subsistence economy in the reserves had collapsed under the weight of the migrant labour system, which over the years had drained off the most able-bodied workers from the labour reserves to the mines, and factories and farms of the modern sector. The reserves could not compete against the cheap, mass-produced goods of the towns. Deprived of their most productive labour, without any meaningful capital investment or infrastructure development, they were becoming more and more dependent on the industries of white South Africa to supply them with both basic life support needs and the cash with which to purchase those needs (Walker 1990: 69). Thus, the relationship between the productive

arenas of the economy and the labour reserves changed significantly and the ramifications of such continued in post-apartheid South Africa. The dependency of 400 people on a total number of 37 mine workers, who died in 2012, reflects the socio-economic crises the families of the miners endured, including the implication for the female-dominated social reproductive arena. This means that the widowed women within the household domain linked to the productive extractive arena probably navigate various social reproductive responsibilities for over 350 people.

3.2.8 Political economy of gender and post-apartheid South Africa

The capitalist mining industry was also dependent on the marginal position of women in society and the social-reproductive labour performed by women (Moyo 2010, Benya 2017). The exclusion of women from the mining labour market and the fact that they were left behind in rural spaces supported the exploitative nature of the mining industry because the women who were left behind in migrant-sending communities and households were relying on subsistence farming thus minimal pressure on the low wages of their partners or families (see Moyo 2010, Benya 2017). The growing presence of families in mining areas signals disruption to the colonial and apartheid migrant labour system that completely separated families. Moreover, women's presence at Marikana brought to light the living conditions of migrant workers (Benya 2013 Naicker, 2015). Their presence visibilized the social maintenance and renewal-of-the-labour-force performed by women, which is a necessary function of the capitalist economy (Burawoy 1976). In the dichotomized productive and reproductive arenas within the gendered migrant labour system, the state and the economy take on different functions. "The state organizes the dependence of the productive worker on the reproductive worker, while the economy organizes the dependence of the reproductive workers on the productive worker" (Burawoy 1976: 1053). The latter transpires through the exclusion of reproductive labourers, usually women, from the labour market, while the former was politically facilitated by migration regulations restricting urban residence and relegating women to the rural periphery (Burawoy 1976). Burawoy (1979) argued that the ties to migrant-sending rural spaces that male migrants had, accounted for the minimum wage labour paid to them. Mckingley (2017) revealed the perennial interlinkages between capital and the government, which ultimately has a bearing on the worker's struggle. Mohamed (2009) noted that South Africa's economic policies, such as liberalization of capital controls and financialization, have worked against its developmental project.

Class formation and struggle in Africa have taken a unique trajectory that differed significantly from other Western industrial economies. In Africa, class formation through industrialisation and urbanization was concretely coupled with poverty and an incoherent and divided proletariat (Zeilig 2009). “The South African labour movement has become well known... for its vibrant brand of social movement unionism’ marked by struggles that extend beyond the workspace. This reputation was forged during the anti-apartheid movement” (Paret 2015: 36). This consequently had and continues to have a bearing on the class struggle and the idea of unity within the working class in Africa and South Africa. For instance, one of the oldest labour grievances in South African mining history was based on race. In the 1870s, white diggers in the diamond industry refuted equal status with black diamond diggers on account of “financial ruin for the whites, moral ruin for the natives... as attempts to elevate in one day the servant to an equality with his master” (Meredith 2007 citing the ‘Diamond Field’ newspaper published in November 1874). This also reveals the intermarriage between resistance and identity politics in South Africa. Meredith (2007) also noted that the white diggers formed committees to protect their “rights” and rally against black competition. Thus, class analysis in the South African context, race is highly salient when viewed from a historical perspective of the labour organization movement.

3.2.8.1 Power and resistance

According to Foucault (1978), where there is power, there is resistance, and consequently, where there is resistance, there is power. This not only raises the dialectical nature of power and resistance but also that the site of resistance is also constitutive of power, albeit relative to the power of the stronger coercive entities. The latter argument shall be engaged later under the theme of resistance from the margins. Foucault (1980) categorised power and its reproduction through three avenues, one of which makes us look at institutions as avenues for the reproduction of the status quo. The state in the South African context played a fundamental role in the formation of cleavages according to bodily identity. Thus the targeted object of rebellion had been the state in the South African context, and the earlier history of organised resistance by South African women has largely been against the state. Unlike the context of the 1779 and 1784 peasant rebellions in America, criticized for their swooping resistance against the English empire and the forming state (Paine 1786 cited by De Benedictis 2014), South Africa’s state formation was capitalist, captured from the very beginning and instrumental in the oppression of black labour and black women. Rupert (2003) argues that the division of the world along class lines with governance is politicized to maintain the interests of the dominant

group (see also Alexander et al., 2013, Steward 2014, Marinovich,2016). Rupert (2003), Grosfoguel (2003) and Robinson (2014) expose the nature of the capitalist system and the hegemonic forces as well as the political norms being resisted. Rupert (2003), Nieftagodien (2015), and Pillay (2015) conceptualized resistance in organized collectives.

3.2.8.2 *Community Struggles gender and women's resistances*

The continuation of social movement unionism has been challenged by the rise of post-apartheid social movements dealing with community issues. The tripartite alliance, which constitutes the ruling party (the African National Congress), the communist party and trade unions, have undermined the idea of contemporary social movement unionism, perhaps due to the government being the target of community protests. "Protest occurs in a convoluted and tension-ridden social reality and is comprised of forces whose politics are themselves complex, fraught with antagonisms and limited by contradictions. Protests take many forms and can have different meanings depending on who is involved, what their demands are, and how they relate to other social and political groups" (Branch and Mampilly 2015: 4).

"The hateful word "rebellion" must indicate only those violent attacks on the laws of a country by sectarians, the perversity of whom is manifested in those very acts" (Mendar 1793 cited by De Benedictis 2014). Community struggles as an avenue of contemporary social movements enable women visibility and a sense of organizing for issues that have gendered implications. "Community struggles... *are* based on fluid forms of organization... *the* protests are popularly referred to as "service delivery" protests because they frequently revolve around the demand that the government provide resources... Communities often demand improved or less expensive access to housing, water, electricity, toilets, roads and refuse removal. These demands are underpinned by the persistent material reality of unemployment and poverty..." (Paret 2015: 40-41). These issues directly affect families and women, and consequently, it may be alluded to be the basis for the salience of women in these kinds of protests. Walker (1990) noted that black women often rallied behind the concept of the family and motherhood. The role that women predominantly played in anti-apartheid struggles was often through issues of concern such as housing. Service delivery protests and women's involvement in contemporary South Africa reflect a similar trajectory as that of the past.

This, however, is not the only narrative about black women's organizing in South Africa. Women also organized themselves as workers as noted through unions such as the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), which was founded by a black woman by the name of Emma Mashinini. Indeed, women organized themselves

formally through unionization, yet race seemed to also affect the outcome of wage disputes. Walker (1990) shared an account of history involving white and coloured women workers who protested separately but for similar issues. Yet the outcome resulted in the requests of white women workers being met whilst the coloured women protesting for similar matters were all dismissed. Trade unionization in the South African context is shaped by race and class relations, yet the age-old analysis of women's triple oppression was typically embraced. However, women's and gender issues within the class struggle tended to be marginalized (Tsoaedi and Hleli 2006). Although women join unions as gendered beings, the dominant organizing principle among workers seems to be race and class at the relegation of gender to secondary status (see Tshoaeidi and Hleli 2006).

This, however, cannot be divorced from the history of mining in South Africa, which was predominantly patriarchal and continue to be so. Thus, women's entry into the industrial zones was limited and gendered and the migrant system, with its gendered configuration of mining residences, excluded women. The second world war and its implication on the prices of food and other basic items had an impact on women's gendered roles of the provision in the homes whereby men emigrated to the mines. This deepened the crises in the reserves consequently, many people, including women, emigrated to the town areas. However, the living standards of black people in towns were poor and the grievances within the general community of black people sparked grassroots mobilization whereby women played a significant role though not as leaders of those movements (Walker 1990). "The situation confronting them [African women] in town forced them to take a more activist role than either tribal women or western bourgeois ideology condoned as natural and desirable for women" (Walker 1990: 75 italics added for emphasis). Some of these women, who were neither members of political parties nor labour unions, became activists. The question of desirability links with gendered politics of respectability and normative concepts of womanhood and women's role in society. The support by African men regarding women's anti-pass laws was premised on the notion of the virtue of womanhood and motherhood (Walker 1990).

3.2.8.3 Gendered subjectivity in the herstory of resistance in the African context

McFadden (1997) brings a critical lens to women's roles in resistance struggles and highlights the gendered element of African politics and the post-colonial state's response to women in Africa. In her article, she mainly provided a critique of the identities formed in the context of the re African women engaged in. McFadden's body of work (1997, 2005, 2007, 2008) helps us understand how women are oppressed within post-colonial African states and how

nationalist movements proved to be highly fraternal, subjecting African women not only to white misogynistic patriarchy but black nationalist men's subordination and oppression of women by continuously denying them rights as citizens (see McFadden 2005, 2007). Struggles for liberation and democracies nurtured the belief that women's lives would be improved, but this has not been the case (McFadden 1997, 2005, 2007, 2011). McFadden (2018) consequently calls for a radical feminist intervention which challenges patriarchy at the personal and political levels by investing subjectivities of resistance to patriarchal oppression and imperialism that warrants women's solidarities (McFadden 2018). African women are faced with not only post-colonial nationalist marginalization, which breeds class struggles enmeshed with gender hierarchies of domination, but imperialism also continues to play a role that reproduces and entrenches African women's marginalization and oppression. All of this, despite existing identities such as mothers etc., is important to forge new identities that are not narrowed for the benefit of the nationalist patriarchal agenda.

Reflecting on the above in light of the Marikana phenomenon, one can see the gendered subjectivities of women in the protests and how they recreate normative identities about womanhood and women's normative roles not only in political spaces but within class struggles. The gendered subjectivities of women in Southern Africa, especially in the context of deploying the identity of motherhood to make arguments for political action, cannot be divorced from history. African women's political involvement in the grassroots movement in the 1940s was due to the direct effects the war period had in South Africa, especially on African lives. "The rising cost of living and periodic food shortages, as well as the urban housing crisis, pressed particularly heavily on women, since they were most immediately involved in feeding and caring for their families with meagre resources" (Walker 1990: 75). Consequently, women were involved in the grassroots and political campaigns of the time as wives and mothers.

Motherhood, as an identity, was a rallying point for women's activism. Though, from a western feminist perspective, this may be abhorred, motherhood ought not to be viewed uncritically without an appreciation of historical and cultural differences that weaved influence into what it constitutes in terms of meaning. Motherhood in the western imperial context has some distinctions from the perspectives of motherhood and mothering for pre-industrial African societies and some contemporary spaces (Walker 1990, Oyewumi 2017). The meaning of motherhood in Africa, especially for the women who participated in the anti-pass strikes in South Africa in 1913 and again in the 1950s, motherhood was a rallying point of call and this is because motherhood and the concept of the family in the pre-industrial African context permeated into the imposed/inherited highly patriarchal bourgeois and working-class family

structures (Walker 1990). The issue of motherhood in the context of women's resistance became salient throughout the history of resistance except in class struggles where women protested as female workers.

The South African migrant labour system had an impact on the reconfiguration of the family unit which in many contexts left women free of male control, especially in the context of migrant work. There were other avenues in which the patriarchal family unit was re-constructed though in ways that enabled women freedom from patriarchal exertion, namely polygamy (Mbatha 2017). Despite these relative freedoms within the primary household unit that women enjoyed or did not in some cases, the overarching state repression affected all women through the institutionalization of laws that were repressive against women (see Walker 1990). The resistance by women against the passes was an attack on the structure of the colonial and apartheid economy that suppressed black people and their freedom. It was an attack on the migrant labour system which the economy heavily relied on as a facilitator of extracting heavily exploitable migrant labour into the mining sector.

Although Meredith's (2007) historical account of the foundations of mining in South Africa does not feature women and consequently any relation to resistance, his work reveals the oppressed strategies of resistance such as theft that black diggers engaged in in the 1800s. Such strategies are classified under what Scott (1989) deemed the weapons of the weak. Weapons of the weak allude to the subversive tactics of the peasant community in Malaysia. Scott's (1989) work looks into a subtle form of resistance which is not spectacular or organized in the sense of traditional resistance. Instead, he argues for everyday forms of resistance and calls for resistance to be "understood as a continuum between public confrontations and hidden subversion. It also suggests a possibility to understand from where open rebellions come, and why sometimes and in some place they don't occur" (Vinthagen and Johansson 2013: 3). In turn the concept of everyday forms of resistance is employed. Scott (1989) critiqued the view of resistance as public, organized and of revolutionary consequence by highlighting the differential power dynamics at play in constraining forms of resistance (Scott 1989). He argued that subaltern cultures provide a lens to understand the coordination of small informal acts of resistance.

Vinthagen and Johansson (2013:7) shared that "everyday resistance is "not a peasant monopoly" (Scott 1989:53), but one that exists among all kinds of subalterns (Scott 1990). Everyday resistance does not necessarily "contest norms of law, custom, politeness, deference, loyalty and so on" (Scott 1989: 57). Marikana protests were a direct public confrontation (the productive sphere), the women of Marikana at Nkaneng (the immediate social reproductive

sphere) were engaged in a public confrontation yet the bereaved women of Marikana (extended reproductive sphere) are yet to be studied to understand other resistances at play. The conceptual distinction provided in this thesis between women within productive industrial geosections of the economy and those in the labour reserve helps one with a focus and sheds light on the forms of struggles that transpired. Premised on the reading of earlier uprisings in the extractive sector of South Africa regarding and the narrative about the thousands of labourers that were attracted to the Kimberly diamond fields back then, African women seemed to be absent as political actors until the women's resistance in 1913 against pass laws that were heavily enforced in the Orange Free state than other parts of the Union of South Africa formed in 1910 (Plaatjie 1915, Walker 1990, Meredith 2007).

Leaping into the present time, what are the responses of women in the reproductive arena in the context of uprisings? There is no existing literature on Marikana which captures the agency of women in such contexts. However, drawing from Gordon (2003) Shaw (2003) and Sithole's (2016) criticisms of disciplinary limitations in understanding social phenomena, in this case, resistance, seeking other epistemic lenses to understand and extend our knowledge about resistance is imperative. This suggests looking into the ritual archive to grant insight into how women in the reproductive sphere feature in the context of subtle forms of resistance if there were any. This is done by drawing from the song Marikana, the theatrical musical Marikana: the musical. The musical, directed by Audrey Sekhabi was an adaptation of the book, "we are going to kill each other today" published in 2012. The musical was about the event that took place during the uprising in 2012 and the widowed women of Marikana, except the one married to the police officer did not have much voice.

The bereaved women were shadowed by patriarchal dominance and artistic articulation of patriarchal dynamics at Marikana. The musical, as in the book attempts to provide a focal lens on the women although with sufficiency. The song on Marikana, the first song released, was by Lilitha titled Marikana. Lilitha is a South African artist from the Eastern Cape and she features Stone who is a musician from the northwest province of South Africa. The song is about the loss of miners from the perspectives of the women who lost their loved ones. It expresses grief and anguish felt by the women over the loss of their loved ones and the impact of the migrant mining system in South Africa. The other song on Marikana is by the economic freedom fighters who also commemorate Marikana though not focusing much on the narratives of the women. Poems on Marikana also predominantly focus on the male workers and their ordeal and hardly give representation to the women.

While on the context of mining in South Africa, a novel by Peter Abrahams titled ‘Mine Boy’ helps us understand the lived experiences of mine workers in extractive communities. The novel captures the dynamics of race, migration, love, and identity crisis amid class dynamics. Another notable novel is by a Senegalese author who wrote and captured the influential role that women play in sustaining protracted strikes. Women’s roles were artistically articulated in a Novel titled ‘God’s bit of Wood’ by Ousmane Sembene (1960). It begins with the interweaving of the productive politics of resistance against colonial labour exploitation with the social reproductive activities of the household through a young girl who intruded a public meeting held by railway station workers planning an industrial strike. It highlights the role market women traders played in supporting the striking men through the supply of food but also physical fighting where necessary, see for instance, “Dieynaba had rallied the women of the marketplace, and like a band of amazons they came to the rescue, armed with clubs, with iron bars and bottles” (Sembene 1960:22) during the confrontation with the security forces deployed to quell the workers’ strike. The novel also highlights the impact of the no-work no-pay policy effect on households of striking employees and how consequently, women become entangled in productive politics.

Moreover, the very same strategy is used as means to pressure workers to return to work as their wives and families would be highly affected by lack of income. The novel helps us imagine the amount of support granted by those operating in the social reproductive sphere (see Moyo 2011). The meagre income of black workers and other precariat gives women the double burden of the roles assigned based on gender but also roles that cannot be facilitated by low income, consequently requiring additional means of income generation as means to avoid extreme poverty within working-class households. Moreover, the novel, including the gendered Marikana phenomena, brings to the fore the reiteration of the feminist analyses that challenge the dichotomous model of the private (family/female-centric sphere) vs the public (state/capital/male-centric). “The public realm cannot be fully understood in the absence of the private sphere” (Pateman 1988: 2).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature using a decolonial approach. It entailed a discussion and conceptualization of the decolonial literature review. It then delved into a review of literature from a regional/continental perspective beginning with the history of African political economy from the time of slavery as means to highlight how that affected Africa’s economic history. It then delved added a discussion on colonialism and post-colonialism as means to help

frame the understanding of post-colonial states and economies in Africa. It then delved into a country-specific analysis focusing on South Africa's political economy of race, class and gender. It discussed the architecture of socio-economic exclusion and migration as well as how gender intersected in that system. It also reviewed literature that highlighted the agentic practices of workers and communities in the historiography of mining. And lastly engaged in a discussion of dynamics around gender and subjectivity in the context of gendered political economy and resistance.

CHAPTER 4

The Woven Narratives

4.1 Introduction

This chapter captures the data concerning the expressions of the widowed women of Marikana. The data is focused on their voices and actions captured through secondary data used in this study. The sources of data constitute electronic media articles archived by the Sabinet South African media reference database and the years retrieved from the database are from 2012 until 2016. The second source of data is the textual representation of paintings created by some of the widows during the Body Maps workshop hosted in May 2013 but published in a report titled ‘plough back the fruits: the struggle for justice and restitution, Body-maps of the widows of Marikana in’ 2016. The third source of data is the actual paintings that the widows of Marikana created during the workshop and published through the previously mentioned reference. The fourth source of data is the short documentary titled ‘Imbokodo: The Widows of Marikana’ published on YouTube on October 29, 2014, and the fifth source is the audio-visual material from 2014 proceedings of the Marikana commission captured by the SABC video recordings found on YouTube. The sixth source is drawn from transcripts of days 273 and 274 during the Marikana/Farlam commission which took place on the 13th and 14th of August 2014. Firstly, the reason for focusing on these days is that only after 21 months, the women of Marikana and other family members related to the deceased present their statements to the commission thus the focus and visibility through the tribunal.

Secondly, the media houses, particularly the SABC, aired snippets of the day’s proceedings during prime-time news reports and focused on the women. The footage was also posted on the SABC digital website and social media. The choice to focus on SABC footage and no other media houses such as eNCA is because it was the only media house which covered the commission from the beginning until its end. The recordings are all found on the SABC Digital YouTube channel. However, it must be noted that not all days recorded were posted on YouTube. Moreover, the ministry of justice and the Socio-Economic Rights Institute, which represented the families of the slain miners, also posted the transcripts of the commission’s proceedings online thus rendering the material public knowledge and easy to access. The Sabinet media database covers the years 2012 until 2016 even though there are other articles from 2017 until 2021 that also capture the interviews of some of the widows, for purposes of

delimitation in terms of time frame, this research did not include those years. The body map workshop took place in 2013, and the publication of the booklet with the paintings is dated 2014. The sources of data grant a perspective of Marikana from the women and their responses to the massacre of their loved ones. The chapter serves as a presentation of the results drawn from the data using themes that came up from the sources. The data analysis process involved going through the material two times before generating themes. After the third time delving into the data, I generated themes that emerged from the data. The presentation of the results chapter focuses on themes found as evidence of resistance exhibited by the widowed women of Marikana.

The Farlam commission, formally known as the Marikana commission of inquiry led by retired judge Ian Farlam, began on the 1st of October 2012 at a community hall in the North-West province where the biggest platinum-producing-London-rooted mining company is based. The Marikana commission was set up by the South African government to investigate the deaths of 44 people at Marikana during the longest protracted strike in the South African mining sector. The commission investigated the culpability of the South African police force, including political figures, in the tragedy that took place in one of South Africa's biggest economic sectors. The sections are each subdivided into themes generated from the data. The first section is the results of the data derived from the transcripts, the newspaper articles and statements made by the women during the body maps art exhibition and the "Imbokodo" documentary, which all took place during the period of the Farlam commission, which culminated in a report that was published in 2015. The second section is from the visual images of the artwork and the SABC footage shot during the commission. The structure of the chapter constitutes two sections, the first presents textual data, and the second presents visual data from artworks and videos captured during the Marikana commission. The chapter begins with the profiles of the widowed women of Marikana, followed by the articulation of the time of the commission.

4.2 Specific Profile Data of the Widows

Below is a table of the widows of the deceased miners who did not live at Marikana with their husbands. The table entails the places of residence at the time of the deaths of their husbands before many of them were recruited by Lonmin to replace the labour of their husbands. The information used to weave the below profiles comes from various sources, namely the Farlam commission transcripts, the media publications found on Sabinet and the publication with the body maps. The table only constitutes the profiles of the widows who were left behind in

labour-sending countries and communities, namely Swaziland, Lesotho and the Eastern Cape. To gather the biographical data of the widows, I listed all the names of the widows and then began to read their testimonies, news articles as well as short profiles in the publication with Body maps. These sources of data enabled me to ascertain which widows to be eliminated from the list. For each widow who stated their place of origin in the transcripts, I added them to a new list and thereafter I read other sources to verify if they were living at Marikana at the time of the miner's protracted strike or in labour-sending communities. After the process of verification and elimination, I ended up with a list of 10 widows namely Mrs Ntsoele, Mrs Gadlela, Mrs Liau, Mrs Zibambele, Mrs Ntonga, Mrs Thelejane, Mrs Mosebetsane, Mrs Nokamba, Mrs Thukuza and Mrs Ntenetya. Below is a table with more information about them including the family responsibilities they have had to fully assume after the deaths of their husbands.

Widow's Name	
Betty Lomasontfo Gadlela	<p>On the death of her husband, Betty Gadlela was living near a poverty-stricken diamond mining-town called Dvokolwako in Swaziland as a customary wife to Stelega Gadlela. News of suddenly becoming a widow after 18 years of marriage reached her at a delapidating house where a roof was collapsing. Her husband scantily sent money home in Swaziland, and he took another wife in Marikana by the name of Lulama Ndabeni whom she had to share the provident money as a legal beneficiary.</p> <p>Betty inherited the responsibility to take care of her mother-in-law and her children. She lamented over the living conditions in which she and her family lived and consequently the death of her husband equated to greater suffering even though the husband was negligent to the financial needs of his family.</p>
Matebang Lucy Ntsoele	<p>Matebang Ntsoele is a widow of Molefi Ntsoele from a densely humid and remote village of Hadibesi located in a mountainous area which requires kilometres of on-foot travel. Hadibesi is located past an area called Semonkong which is a three-hour drive from Maseru in Lesotho. Mrs Ntsoele has four children with her late husband, their names are Tsepang, Moramukoma, Thukelo and Mapote. She and her husband had been married for 20 years in 2012. She used to survive on R3000 which was</p>

	<p>remitted monthly by her husband when he worked at Lonmin. She and her late husband had rooms built to lease out as an additional form of income. The family “had also been investing in livestock since he went away to the mines in 1996. Matsepang can count more than 60 sheep, three horses, seven donkeys, 20 goats and 22 cows milling around in the kraals outside her rondavel in the mountains” (Tolsi 2012: no page).</p>
Masebulai Liau	<p>On mountainous terrain, 2585 above sea level is a village called Hamonyane in Lesotho. The terrain is home to Masebulai Liau who is a widow of Janeveke Raphael Liau who died at the age of 47. Masebulai lives with her 4 children, Sebolai, Mashloma, Motsidisi and Jane. She also lives with her sister-in-law and her children. Her husband was the sole provider.</p>
Nokuthula Evelyn Zibambele	<p>Nokuthula lived in the Eastern Cape, Lusioni and became the sole breadwinner of 11 children. Her family has a history of migrant mineworkers, for instance, her father-in-law and grandfather-in-law used to be mine-workers as well.</p>
Nombulelo Ntonga	<p>Nombulelo is a widow of Bongani Nqongophele who was 31 years old when he died. The responsibility she assumed from her husband was financial provision for their child, her 2 in-laws, and 8 nieces and nephews. In total, she inherited responsibility for 11 people. She mentioned that she lived in a rondavel in Elliotdale, Eastern Cape and the family did not have access to basic services and electricity.</p>
Makopane Thelejane	<p>Mrs Thelejane grew up in a village called Pabalong in Matatiele, Eastern Cape. She is one of the five children born to her parents who could not afford to pay for her education beyond standard 6 which is equivalent to grade 8. Her husband was a mine worker from an early age and narrated that she was once arrested by the apartheid police when she was caught visiting her husband in Stilfontein, North West. Her 830+ kilometres journey to see her husband would occasionally end up in beatings from the police for not having a permit to visit her husband in the mines. Mrs Thelejane is survived by 2 children who were above the age of 30 in 2013 and a grandchild she cares for. Because her husband was a contractor, two</p>

	of her children did not qualify for the education benefits other mine-workers children received.
Ntombizolile Mosebetsane	In a 2013 news report, Ntombizolile Mosebetsane was reported as living in a village called Luqhoqweni near Lusioni in the Eastern Cape. She is the widow of Thabiso Mosebetsane. She remained with the responsibility of taking care of her child with her late husband who was married twice before and had 3 children from his first marriage. The reality of a previous marriage leading to Mosebetsane's predicament is unique in the sense that her in-laws do not recognize her and do not extend support to her and her daughter. Lonmin later employed her as an office cleaner.
Nosake Nokamba	Nosake Nokamba was the wife of Ntandazo Nokamba. They had five children together, namely Koseba, Siziphiwo, Luyabona, Zozebini and Elam. Her husband also assumed financial responsibility for his mother, Keqani Maqaba Madla. Nosake Nokamba is from Libode in the Eastern Cape. Nosake became an employee of Lonmin in 2015 consequently leaving her children behind in the Eastern Cape to live at Marikana where social infrastructure remains an issue.
Nolundi Thukuza	On the day her husband was killed, Nolundi Thukuza was five months pregnant. She too is from the Eastern Cape. She has four children that she is raising as an auxiliary mother working at Lonmin as migrant labour. Her children were taken care of by their grandmother back in the Eastern Cape.
Mosipo Ntenetya	Mosipo Ntenetya was unable to speak at the commission because of being overwhelmed by distress. The commission had to take a short adjournment. She is the widow of Mongelezi Ntenetya and they had three children together, namely Njanalo Umtanda, Inganati Umtanda and Tugela Fundagubi. Mosipo's children saw their father three times a year but he phoned regularly. On one of the days during the television of the strike, she and her family saw her husband on TV and later received news that her husband died from a bullet in his forehead. Mosipo was from Idutywa in the Eastern Cape.

Many of the women inherited the responsibilities of their late husbands. For instance, having lost the main financial provider in the family, Mrs Ntonga mentioned that they will have to survive on her mother-in-law's pension due to unemployment. "I am unemployed and dependent on my husband for financial support. I do not know what I'm going to do. Thobisile has left 10 children, I do not work" How will I afford to take them to school or feed them? The grant money is not enough for the upkeep of the household. I have started begging my neighbours for help" (Nokuthula Zibambeke cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34900).

4.3 The voices of the Widows

4.3.1 Overview of the Voices at the Farlam Commission

In 2012 the lawyers representing the families of the slain miners collected statements from family members, but these were only shared at the commission in 2014. On the days of the family testimonies, twenty out of the 34 family members that spoke were women. They were either mothers, sisters, partners, or wives of the deceased mineworkers, including those killed by the striking miners. The statements were read at the commission on the 13th and 14th of August 2014 by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) lawyers. On the first day of the testimonies from the families, the statements were discredited as non-evidence by the lawyer of the police and the judge at the commission was urged not to consider them as evidence for the case.

During the day of the testimonies, only ten women spoke, namely Mrs Ntombizalile Mosebetsane, Fezile Samphendu's sister, Mrs Thelejane, Matebang Ntsoele the widow of Molefi Ntsoele, Ntombikaya Gwelani sister of Thembinkosi Gwelani, Betty Gadlela who is the widow of Selega Gadlela, one of the widows of Mpangeli Thukuza, Nolundi Thukuza. Zameka Nungu (widow of Jackson Lehupa) and Hester Mabebe (sister of Eric Mabebe) also decided to speak after the statements given in 2012 were read by the lawyers. The rest of the other women declined to speak, while the widow of Bongani Mdze was too distressed to speak. The opportunity to speak was granted after earnest persuasion by SERI for the commission to allow the families to speak (see Mbokodo, the documentary 2015).

4.3.2 The Tone of the Commission

It was 272 days later, during the week of the second anniversary of the massacre of Lonmin mine workers, that the Marikana commission of inquiry listened to the statements made by the

family members of the deceased. The commission began on the 13th of August. It was precisely the day after the second anniversary of the death of a fellow worker, the late Hassan Fundi, who was originally from Malawi and was killed on the 12th of August by striking miners. This is crucial as it sets the tone of the commission on inquiry for the session allocated to the 44 families that died. The 13th of August was the second anniversary of the deaths of six people, two of which were police officers.

“Before we do that I want to say that today is the second anniversary of the six people whose deaths we’re investigating – Mr Langa, Mr Monene, Mr Lapaaku- Monene and Lapaaku of course were members of the police service – Mr Sokanyile, Mr Mati and Jonakisi. So, I ask you to please stand and observe a minute of silence and let us pray that their souls may rest in peace and light perpetually may shine upon them.” (Farlam 2014 cited in Real Time Transcription 2014)

The moment of silence was closely followed by a comprehensive statement made by the widow of the late Hassan Fundi who was a security superintendent at the mine. Mr Hassan and his colleague Frans Mabalane were allegedly killed by the striking mineworkers. Mr Hassan was hacked and burned inside a vehicle for reporting to work as opposed to joining the strikers. “Mr Hassan Fundi was brutally murdered on the 12th of August 2012 by a group of strikers around Wonderkop Hostel at Lonmin’s Western Platinum Mine.” Some body parts of the late Hassan Fundi were chopped off and allegedly used for *muthi*.

Although the presentations are in chronological order, commencing with a commemorative moment of police officers and workers killed by striking mineworkers reiterated the negative perception of the striking miners within the media and the inquiry in general. Mrs Hassan’s presentation was followed by a presentation on behalf of Mr Lepaku who was a member of the police service. Although this thesis is not about the widows of the deceased police officers and non-striking security guards who worked at Lonmin, the commencement of the commission with the presentations from their widowed wives sets a persuasive tone for the commission concerning the statements to be made by the families of the striking miners.

4.3.3 Institutionalized View of the Other

Before the commission began, Judge Farlam asked Ms Baloyi, “I understood that Ms Baloyi wished to make a statement on behalf of the police before we commence. Is that correct, Ms

Baloyi?” to which she replied in the affirmative. But then Judge Farlam proceeded to ask whom from the SERI team, which represented the families of the deceased miners, will begin. However, the appointed evidence leader named advocate Geoff Budlender interjected for the presentations to commence in chronological order of events of deaths beginning on the 12th with the late Hassan Fundi, followed by the police officers. The lawyer, Ms Lewis, of the deceased mineworkers gave Ms Baloyi the go-ahead to make her statement before the presentations of the families she, through SERI, represented.

“The SAPS recognise the wish of the families of the deceased persons represented by SERI to present before the Commission statements on their grief arising from the loss of relatives, the financial and emotional consequences of such loss and their need to use the process afforded by the Commission as part of their healing process

Chairperson, we refer here specifically to the persons that were killed on the 13th in the altercation with the police and those that were killed on the 16th.

The families have elected to present their evidence in the form of a PowerPoint presentation and, as a result, such evidence as is contentious will not be tested in cross-examination in the normal course.

Some of the material contained in the presentation is, 1) hearsay evidence which is not corroborated by any of the evidence before the Commission so far; 2) expression of opinions on questions that the Commission must decide and 3) character evidence, some of which appears to be intended to present that none of the striking employees participated in wrongdoing during the period covered by the Commission’s terms of reference.

We submit that the accounts or statements that fall in the above three categories, 1) fall outside of the personal knowledge of the various persons whose accounts are embodied in the presentation, 2) are irrelevant and/or inadmissible and/or that which is relevant is not tested in cross-examination. That no direct objection is taken to each of such accounts or statements, is not to be construed as an acceptance by the SAPS of their correctness, nor that they should bear any probative value here they are not supported by other independent and admissible evidence.

Chairperson, we will in due course, when we make our legal submissions, our submissions, deal with the specific aspects of the slides that are of concern to the SAPS.” That is the end of our statement, Chair.” (Baloyi cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a)

The statement made by Ms Baloyi, who is a representative of the South African Police Service, reiterates the domineering negative characterization of the mineworkers. The statement attempts to cast aspersion and doubt, if not a suggestion, for dismissal of the arguments to be made by the families of the deceased. The tone of the commission in the preceding days already established a negative characterization of the strikers. “One thing that hurts me, Chairperson, is that they were referred to as criminals, whereas the people who caused their deaths are said to have been doing their work” (Gwelani 2014 cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a). Moreover, the names of the miners were initially stripped of dignity in their referral as bodies with alphabets. It was later at the commission that the deceased were rehumanized and referred to by their names, especially on the day of the presentations with the families. Mrs Nokamba, the widow of Ntandazo Nokamba, mentioned that even “[a]t the mortuary, corpses were piled like they were not human bodies.” The women’s presence had a post-humous rehumanizing effect in the sense that in the past two years, the mine workers were solely referred to as alphabets and only on the day the families and widows were given a chance to speak about their loved ones, the thought to refer to the deceased by their names occurred.

Almost all the widows complained of not being given post-mortems of how their husbands died and they reiterated questions about how their loved ones died. The widow of Thabiso Mosebetsane stated before the commission that “[i]t is important for us to attend the Commission of Inquiry. We have heard in the public that victims of the Marikana tragedy have themselves to blame. Now I am beginning to see and hear that the workers were not fighting, they wanted a wage increase. The Commission has also helped us because it has enabled us to receive the assistance of lawyers. This has enabled us to express how we feel. This is important because it helps us to heal if we know the truth and if we can tell the Commission about our loved ones and how the[ir] deaths have affected us. It helps us to accept the situation.” (Mosebetsane cited in Real Time Transcription 2014: 34919).

Even government officials from the Eastern Cape who were dealing with the families from the Eastern Cape treated the family members with contempt. “At a meeting in June with the department of social development in Lusikisiki, all the families present said they were treated

like freeloaders and a “nuisance” by government officials who are unable to comprehend what the death of their breadwinners means for their survival” (Mail & Guardian 2013: 1).

4.4 The Voice of the Widows (Transcripts and Interviews)

In 2012 the lawyers representing the families of the slain miners took statements from families of the deceased mine workers. The statements were presented at the commission on the 11th and 12th of August 2014 by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) lawyers representing the families. On the days of the testimonies that were discredited as non-evidence, only ten women spoke, namely Mrs Ntombizalile Mosebetsane, Fezile Samphendu’s sister, Mrs Thelejane, Mrs Matebang Ntsoele, Ntombikaya Gwelani sister of Thembinkosi Gwelani, Mrs Betty Gadlela who is the widow of Selega Gadlela, one of the widows of Mpangeli Thukuza, Mrs Nolundi Thukuza. Mrs Zameka Nungu (widow of Jackson Lehupa) and Hester Mabebe (sister of Eric Mabebe) also decided to speak after the statements given in 2012 were read by the lawyers. The rest of the other women chose not to speak, while the widow of Bongani Mdze was too distressed to speak at the commission. This means half of the widows who are sampled in this study spoke for themselves at the commission.

4.4.1 The pain of loss: Suicide, fainting, grief and emotional distress

Mrs Betty Gadlela lamented to the media that “our husbands died like dogs for R12500, which is nothing considering the amount of work that is done in the mines. Our eyes are still filled with tears, and we mourn the deaths of our husbands.” The grief from the loss led to a miscarriage of the late Ntandoza Nakanda’s child. The families were aggrieved and physically affected by the loss of their loved ones. Lunga Jonakisi spoke of experiences of chest pains, extreme sadness and devastation. “The pain of the date the 16th August 2012: I won’t forget the day, the pain is hard, sharp, it is not healed.” (MakopanoThelejane cited in Real Time Transcription 2014). Another widow named Nombulelo Ntonga but reported in the media as Nombulelo Ngongophele shared that “it was painful seeing him injured- our mother’s health deteriorated- she cried a lot and lost her voice” (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time 2014a, 34926). Due to heartbreak, some of the family members were admitted to the hospital. Emotional suffering incurred was highlighted time and again, and the failure to access counselling was lamented over by Lunga Jonakisi. Some of the family members, namely Nombulelo Ntonga (a widow of Bongani Ngongophele), stated that she could not cope with the loss to a point of being suicidal. “I nearly lost my life when the news of my husband’s death

was told to us, as I drank poison...” (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34926). The financial impact of the loss of a loved one was also testified about.

“When I got the news of my husband’s death, I put my hands above my head as you see me in the picture. I could not bear the ache in my heart. I burst out loud with a flood of tears, holding my hands above my head, shocked, amazed, unable to believe that, with a stabbing pain in my heart that nearly took my life. I kept thinking about my children, who are still young. My son and daughter, and my grandson, what would happen to them when they received this terrible news? I am left with the burden of raising my children and of doing whatever was going to be done by my husband. Even now, as we sit here listening to this commission, we are in a state of poverty, we are hungry, and we don’t have anything to give our children. I am still saying I don’t know who is going to take this burden which I have.” (Makopane Thelejane cited in Bonase and Seydman 2016: no page).

Another widow expressed their traumatic experience by stating;

The loss of loved ones came as a devastating shock to a point that some of the widows attempted suicide. For instance, Nombulelo Ntonga stated that “when I heard the news I was shocked and devastated that I tried to take my own life by drinking pesticide” (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34913).

Upon hearing the news of her loss, the Eswatini widow said;

“When I received news that my husband was killed in the strike by the police it felt like a dream. When days went by and I realized my husband was dead, I tried to end my life with poison” (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34961).

“We felt severe pain when we heard about his death. My mother was even admitted to hospital” (Nomakepu Mosebetsane cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34918). All of the widows expressed the severity of the pain felt as a result of the loss of their husbands. Ntsoele even exhibited symptoms of depression. The anxiety began before the announcement of the killings of the miners because of deaths that had already occurred. When the widows could not get telephonic feedback or updates from their loved ones, emotional distress ensued.

All the families did not go to the mortuary as the first place to search for missing miner workers, the mortuary was always the last resort except in the case of Jamela Thukuza who was Mpangeli Tuzuka's brother and Nolundi Tukuza's brother in law.

4.4.2 Testimonies of the humanity of miners

The widows' statements predominantly began with serving as character witnesses for the deceased miners, given the context of dehumanization and criminalization. The families explained that the mine workers were family-orientated and responsible men who were dependable. The miners were described as non-violent men. "He didn't like fights or confrontation. The men were described as peaceful and "quiet and did not like violence'. The miners were described as devoted men, for instance, Mrs Mpumza asked her husband Thobile Mpumza to return home but he expressed that he is a leader and therefore cannot leave his fellow miners behind. On the other, Mrs Ntsoele had also asked her husband the same thing and Molefi Ntsoele did not but the reasoning was different. "I asked him to come home, he didn't have money to go home".

The widows went as far as explaining the strangeness of their husbands' decisions and behaviour by highlighting that some of the men were not even politically active. "He was a peaceful man, not a unionist but joined AMCU. He was still a peaceful and well-behaved man" (Xolelwa Mpumza cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34971). The men were described in the following words: hard worker, happy, always smiling, well known in the community as good men, people's person, lover of music and dance, respectful and humble, honest, religious and humorous, community helper, forgiving, loved the church, lover of gospel music et cetera.

Another angle of character witness employed was the representation of the miners as religious suggesting deep ethical and moral grounding. Mrs Nokuthula Zibambele narrated how her husband was well known to be a spiritual person who loved the church. Mrs Nombulelo Ntonga spoke of how her husband was a good man, friendly and never liked fights or disappointed anyone. "My husband was a Christian and a church leader in our church at home. He was a man of peace, full of jokes and just a happy soul. He did not like to fight, and he did not like confrontations. He used to like playing music when he was home. He liked singing too" (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time Transcription 2014: 33982) The miners were also represented as community developers and devoted to their families.

For instance, Mrs Nokamba mentioned the love for soccer her husband had and that he coached a soccer team made up of 11-year-old boys whom he rewarded with soccer boots whenever one of them scored the highest goals. The late Ntandazo was described as one who did not talk about politics but participated in the strike nonetheless. And Nonkululeko Ngxande spoke of how her husband was “a very quiet person who did not like wrongdoings... my husband was everything to us. How are we going to move on with life” (Nokululeko Ngxande cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34924, 34925-34926). He diligently called home each day in the morning before he went to the koppie and upon returning in the evening. He mentioned to his wife his uneasiness caused by the presence of the police and people getting killed.

“I am the wife of Mafolisi Mabiya who was killed in the Marikana tragedy... His community know him as a hard worker, a well-behaved son and a huge soccer fan... He was not happy that they were on strike because of the no-work no-pay method. He was hoping that it would end soon.... He used to complain to me about how hard they worked as rock drill operators and how little their salaries are” (Phumeza Nxolise Mabiya cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34987, 34988).

On the day the husband of Mrs Nokamba died, he called in the morning to ask about his children and promised to call again upon return. The widows emphasized the positionality of the miners in terms of their responsibility to home despite being migrant workers. For instance, Mrs Nosake Nokamba also mentioned that her husband came home three times a year and called home 3 times a day.

“My husband was killed at Marikana. He was well-known and loved by our neighbours. He was an approachable man and easy to talk to. He was a hardworking man and made a difference wherever he was” (Matebang Ntsoele cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34937).

The testament to the work ethic of the deceased miner leads to the contextualization of the political stances the widows expressed. In the section below the political convictions are linked to the justification of the actions of the mine workers. Before commencing with the section on justification, it is pivotal to present the spiritual arguments the widows made as part of their lamentation at the commission.

4.4.3 African spiritual beliefs

The widows spoke of their beliefs and how the deaths and lack of financial capacity have a consequential bearing on their families. Whilst at Marikana and being transported, and before transporting his body to the Eastern Cape, we went to pray at the koppie and spoke to Ntandazo's spirit. We took his body to the koppie and his dwelling in Marikana and informed his spirit, in terms of our customs, that we were taking his body and his spirit home to the Eastern Cape. (Nosake Nokamba cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34895).

In addition, we are required to do the cleansing ceremony for Thabiso's son, Tsepo. To perform the ceremony, we are required to slaughter a cow. We don't have money to buy a cow, which costs approximately R8 000. We are thus unable to perform the ceremony. According to our beliefs, if we don't perform the ceremony, Tsepo may experience difficulties in his life. For example, he may be unable to find a job (Nomakepu Mosebetsane cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34919).

For rituals, I had to stay at home for a month. I must take off the mourning clothes in August 2013, and I have to slaughter two cows and a goat. He was a pastor, and we have to hold a night vigil, and he has no livestock. My mother's mourning clothes must also be removed after six months, and we have to slaughter a goat. His mother did not wear mourning clothes because we would have to buy a cow. After all, she's a sangoma. I would not have money to buy the cow. (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34961)

The widows' lamentation was grounded in the socio-economic circumstances they found themselves in, and the deaths of their husbands represent the intersection between class and spirituality, whereby poverty affects the ability to perform one's African spiritual beliefs.

4.4.4 Class consciousness, rights and justification of cause behind the strike

The families were adamant that the workers were fighting for their human rights. Mrs Makopano Thelejane shared that:

"I was in Rustenburg with my husband Thabiso Johannes Thelejane when they went on strike for better wages, asking to be paid R12500 per month. He told me that it is the

worker's right to fight for a wage increase, so we would be able to afford our basic needs as a family" (Makopano Thelejane Bonase and Seydman 2016: no page).

Nombulelo Ntonga, the widow of Bongani Nqongophele, mentioned the living conditions of her 31-year-old husband at Wonderkop informal settlement. She mentioned that he had no electricity or running water, just like her family's rondavel in the Eastern Cape, which also does not have basic services and electricity.

Some of the widows demanded their husbands to return home as means of preserving their lives despite agreeing with the cause of demanding a wage increment. A state deposed by Betty Gadlela mentioned that:

On t^{he} 12th of August 2012, he told me that the strike started on Friday. Someone had been killed and he would not go to work. On the 13th of August 2012, he phoned again. There was noise and I could hear singing in the background and he was on the koppie. I said he must come home. He said the strike was about a wage increase and they needed a wage increase. I told him that I needed money for one of the children's school trips. He said he did not know if they would be paid since they were on strike. He told me that he could not come back home because he had to fight for his rights. I tried to call him the whole day on the 14th of August 2012 (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014: 34960).

The concept of rights constantly came up in their testimonies; for instance, Phumeza Mabiya, the widow of Mafolisi Mabiya, stated that her husband "complained about low pay but hard work". The salaries were described as meagre "they worked hard with low pay," Mrs Mkhunjwa deposed in her statement. Although there was a belief that the workers were fighting for their rights, some of the widows sought to preserve the lives of the miners by asking them to shun the strike and return home. When asked to come home, he couldn't leave the strike because it is for improving salaries. "He was determined to fight for his rights as a worker" (Phemeza Mabiya cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34912). It was also argued that "it stands out clearly to me that the SA government and Lonmin employers, and the mining industry as a whole, would be very happy to see workers working hard for no income, nothing, as long as they become richer, while workers become poor and poorer, and die with poverty as their reward." The widows were not shot at blaming the capitalist state and corporation as it is captured above.

4.4.5 Confrontation of Lonmin

The widows expressed agentic voices against their perception of Lonmin's role in not only the death of their husbands but in how they have been subsequently treated. Mrs Thelejane expressed the following:

Indeed, my children and I are excluded from the package of promises made to the families of those killed in the massacre, that the government and Lonmin will help the families of the miners killed both financially and with children's education and other support. During that time when they were making promises, there were no conditions that separated us; it was said all families are going to be helped.

I am being discriminated against and victimized by Lonmin. Anyway, I won't give up. I will ask Khulumani and my lawyers to help me and raise this issue with Lonmin, the government and anybody else who can help me, I will put on my husband's boots and fight for my human rights" Makopane Thelejane (cited by Bonase and Seydman 2016: no page).

I am of the view that if Lonmin had agreed to speak to miners they would still be alive today. I also think that the National Union of Mineworkers failed the workers because it did not represent their interests the workers... We want the Commission to get the truth about what happened to my husband. He had only come to Johannesburg to work so that he could support his children. If there was a disagreement regarding the wages and if the employer was unhappy with the behaviour, then the mine should have fired them so they could return home to their families. We want to know how and why he died. Is it a culture in South Africa for someone who wants a raise to be killed? (Nosake Nokamba cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34895, 34896)

"Lonmin must do for my family what my husband used to do because he died at work. I am surprised why Lonmin did what they did when they had a problem with their employees over wages, and why they let them be killed. I want to say to the commission, chairperson, I am blaming Lonmin because my husband was employed by them as their work and when my husband complained about the wage that wasn't sufficient for him to support his family, and then says they don't recognize him, they don't know him.

Thereafter Lonmin went and called the police” (Matsepang Ntsoele cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34991).

“Again and again, Lonmin was not supposed to kill my husband Gadlela. Lonmin was supposed to listen to their cry, allow them just to work, and pay them for the job they did. If he was not killed, he was supposed to be working, getting payment. We would not be where we are now, with no income, with nothing... I hold the SA government and Lonmin and the chamber of miners as a whole responsible for this brutal action” (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34960).

The statement by Mrs Gadlela indicates judgement of culpability of the state and Lonmin rendering the women political widows. She went on to state that she wants “to hear why my husband was killed. What wrong did he do to the government or Lonmin” Betty Gadlela.

“Lonmin doesn’t care for us, they don’t know what it is that we are eating... As it is now, we don’t know what to do, we are all over the place, into cases, people who want to win certain things using our names. People are planting, who are ploughing our gardens, promising that they would support us and whilst not doing so. I will always respect the police, I will always respect the police, I have nothing against them” (Nolundi Thukuza, cited in cited in Real Time Transcription 2014b: 34991, 34983).

The state apparatus was also critiqued, for instance, Mrs Gadlela also stated the following:

“Coming to the other widows together with me, what I want to say to them is that today as we are laughable widows of Marikana I have hope that God will carry us, even during the difficulties that we are now facing, together with the orphans that remained with us. Some do not even know their fathers because of the police of this country.” (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014, 34964).

4.4.6 Valued lives of miners

The political stance expressed during the commission was also one that contradicted the support of participation during the strike. For instance, Mrs Zibambele argued:

My husband also told me that he was concerned about the presence of the police during the strike. He told me how the workers gathered at the koppie. He informed me that the

strike was about the workers' demand for a wage increase. Further, he said the workers had invited Lonmin to come and speak to the workers about their grievances, but Lonmin had refused to co-operate and refused to meet with them. My husband informed me that some people had died. I became more concerned and requested him to come home. He told me he was unable to leave the strike as it was about his rights as a worker. I last spoke to him on Thursday the 16th of August 2012. I again had asked him to come back home until the strike was over. He told that he could not just leave the strike because he was fighting for his rights. He said he was enforcing his rights as a worker. It was clear that he felt strongly about this. My husband had often complained about how hard he worked and how little he was paid. He said his measly salary prevented him from giving his children a decent life. He spoke of this all the time. (Nokuthula Zibambele cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34902).

Mrs Zibambele placed more value on the life of her husband than on the increment of salary. Other widows expressed their demand for their husbands to return home instead of participating in the protracted strike. For instance, Nombulelo Ntonga also asked her husband to return home until the strike ended. However, he replied that "he could not leave because he was determined to fight for his rights as a worker" (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34912).

Consequently, the culpability of the State in the deaths of the miners who were also husbands to their wives was relentlessly highlighted. Demands for reparations were directed at the state, for instance, Mrs Ntonga argued that the government killed her husband consequently it must pay compensation. "The government must bear all Bongani's financial obligations in the family. The compensation will not bring him back but it will help alleviate poverty and fulfil Bongani's responsibilities in the family" (Nombulelo Ntonga cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34913-34914).

The widows also touched on the injustice of the entire Marikana saga especially when pegged against the role of specific political actors in the culmination of events that transpired in 2012. For instance, Mrs Mosebetsane stated the following:

"I want to tell the commission that I have the last born who is three years old. I cannot even buy a doll for the child to play with, but some people can afford to buy buffalos at

a price of 18 million, although my husband was working hard and he died for a better wage” (Ntombizolile Mosebetsane cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34920).

Betty Gadlela used to urge her husband to return home, stating that his life was worth more than the money they needed.

4.4.7 Culpability of the State

The widows expressed a critique of the state and capital when they commented on the overall tragedy.

“What I wish to say to the Commission, Chairperson, I am blaming Lonmin because my husband was employed by them as their worker and when my husband complained about the wage that it wasn’t sufficient for him to support his family, and then say they don’t recognize him, they don’t know him. Thereafter Lonmin went and called the police. What is hurting in my life, Chairperson, is that the police are part of the government of the country. They are educated people. They took steps even if Lonmin told them these are faceless people and the police killed them despite their training and education. Why is it that the police would kill in a country when they are properly trained? Because it is believed that it is uneducated people that do wrong things.

‘I am saying this, Chairperson, because they, the employees of Lonmin Mine, are something to laugh at to the government of this country, because even the government that is sitting in this Commission gave certain names that are unknown to us to [inaudible, speaking simultaneously with interpreter], that they are called makarapas, that they were called as mineworkers and also refer to them as criminals. I am not learned. It’s hurting to me very much, hurting. I cannot forget the death of my husband because he came to this country to work, Mr Chairperson, and for that, he was killed, killed for his rights.’”

While seated in this Commission, I heard the evidence that came from the leaders of the police, praising the police for doing a very good job in the way in which they were trained. My question is the following; when they were trained as policemen and received certificates, therefore, was it for killing? Today the police are saying they acted in self-defence when the workers on the mountain were attacking them. How many police remained on the mountain? Because 34 people who were workers of Lonmin remained on the mountain (Betty Gadlela cited in Real Time Transcription 2014a: 34962-34964).

The remedial actions proposed by the widows through the intervention of other mediators such as the Thabo Mbeki Foundation, the widows sought to replace the miners as workers or demanded the government assume the responsibility of taking care of their families.

4.4.8 Survival Plans

The majority of the widows expressed willingness to work as means of providing for their families. Their socio-economic deprivation led to the need for alternative sources of income, given the fact that their providers were deceased.

“Me as a wife, I am not working. I have been thinking about starting a business, a project that has long been in my mind. I want to raise chickens to sell to get something to put food on the table... Even if Lonmin can make me work, I will do so, so I can raise my children and care for the family that my husband has left” (Betty Gadlela cited by Bonase and Seydman 2016: no page).

Besides the proposition of being absorbed as workers at Lonmin, the widows expressed other alternative means of income. For instance, Mrs Ntonga stated that she knows how to sow but still requires other skills to start her project. “I need the skills I can start my project; I can have my business which will help me to go forward” (Nombulelo Ntonga cited by Bonase and Seydman 2016: no page). Many of the widows were employed by Lonmin except for one widow whose husband was not directly employed by Lonmin but by a contractor which served as a labour broker thus highlighting the dynamics of labour in the mining sector. The middleman phenomenon had great implications on the income earned by the miners which subsequently fuelled the protest.

4.5 The Voice of the Widows (The media)

The data analysed in this section is acquired from the Sabinet reference website under the South African archived media database. Due to limitations of access, the research could not investigate other news sources, namely the SAPA database. The selection of data was through media search using the following keywords, Marikana, women, widows, and families to narrow down the search results, the author searched Marikana women, Marikana families and Marikana widows separately under the period of 1 January 2012 and 31 December 2012. The most significant aspect of the dates is that they represent the year of the massacre and the

commencement of the commission which was initially thought to only take 4 months, but it ended in 2014. The second sub-section of this section on the media entails data from the media articles which directly quoted the widows who are the focus of this study. The period for the search was 2012 until 2016. The following keywords were used to search for articles that quoted the widows; Gadlela Marikana, Ntonga Marikana, Thelejane Marikana, Mosebetsane Marikana, Nokamba Marikana, Thukuza Marikana, Ntenetya Marikana, Ntsoele Marikana and Liau Marikana. The widows who are predominantly featured in the media are Betty Gadlela with 6 mentions across various news articles, and Mosebetsane, who was mentioned in 7 newspaper articles.

4.5.1 Representation of Widows in Written Media

Newspaper articles were purposively sampled. As mentioned above, the search looked for articles that privileged reporting about widowed women by systematically searching using keywords. The selection of articles that were analysed was based on the existence of the keywords in the headlines and sub-headlines of the articles. The total number of news articles was derived from using specific keywords during the search, namely widow/s, women or families in the titles and/or subtitles. The second section of the search involved using specific names of the widows in search of their personal opinions, words and views shared/quoted in the media. It is worth noting that there were articles that do not explicitly have the above-mentioned keywords but the titles link to the three categories. However, they were excluded from the overall data. The titles of the said articles are ‘Mom dies after hearing of the death of miner son’ published by the star on 21 August 2012. The second is ‘[m]y son, my son’ published by the City Press on the 26th of August 2012, ‘He was my brother, he was my hope...’ published by the star on the 29th of August and lastly ‘Marikana wives listen in’ published by the New Age on the 23rd of October 2012.

A headline is very important, considering that most readers hardly indulge or go through the content of the news article. There are different types of headlines, there are some that summarize the story while others focus on a specific detail of a story which speaks to media framing. The articles that had the keywords Women/woman, families and widows in the headlines/ or sub-title are captured below with the chart. Below is a visual representation of the keyword search results out of the media reporting in the South African mainstream print media found on the Sabinet database.

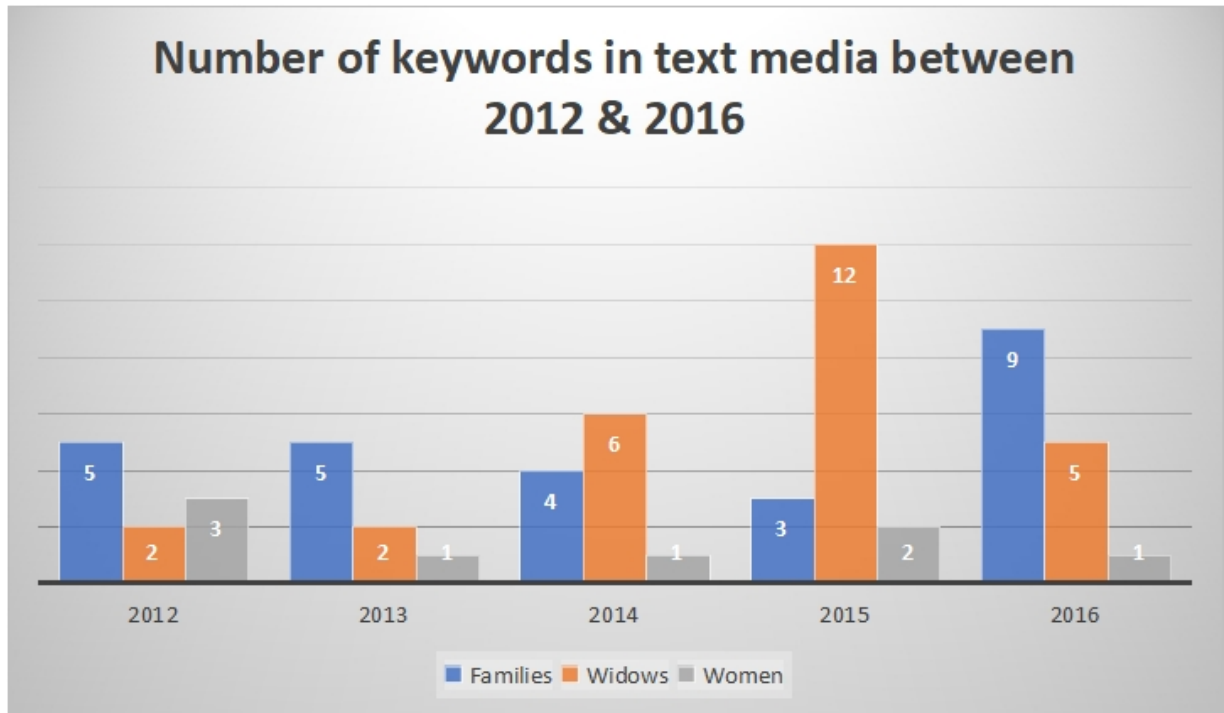


Figure 1: Number of Keywords in text media between 2012 and 2016

Most of the media articles reporting about Marikana with the keywords in the titles or sub-titles reported on the emotiveness of the women. Based on the search on the Sabinet reference database, out of all the newspaper titles published from 2012 until 2016 about Marikana, only 26 had the keywords families, 27 had widows and 8 mentioned ‘women’ in news publications that were about Marikana. The women, largely reported on, were the widowed women of the deceased miners, the women who protested in support of the mineworker’s struggles linking it with community struggles, and the women whose husbands were arrested in connection with the allegations of criminality concerning the deaths of security guards, the police, and some workers. The overall media representation of the widows was scant during the first three years and then in 2015, the number of mentions increased. The commission concluded in 2015 and the widows were able to freely comment on the media. Below is a graphic representation of the number of direct quotes from the media by each widow focused on in this study during a specific period. The chart captures the number of times the widows were mentioned and quoted in the media between 2012 and 2016

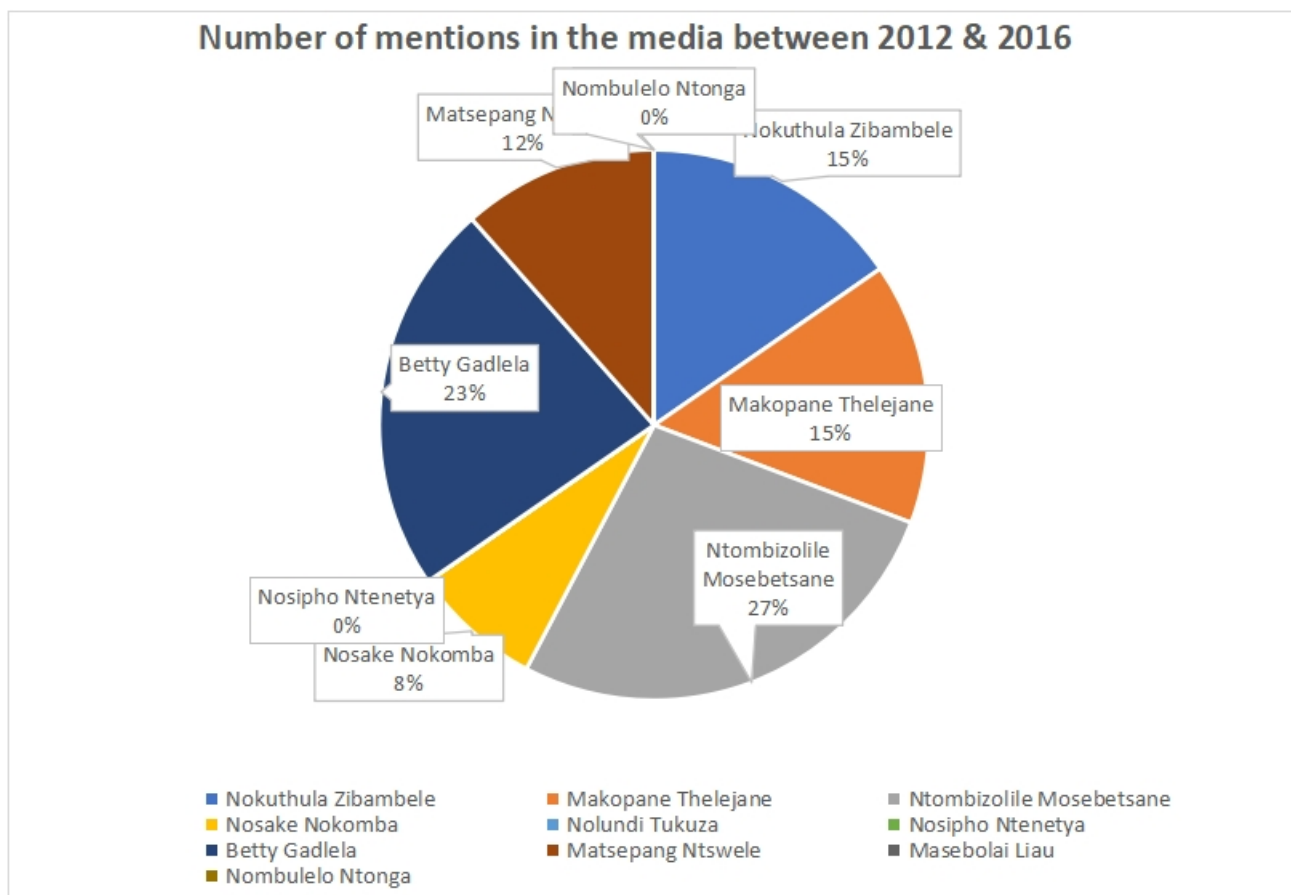


Figure 2: Number of mentions in the media between 2012 and 2016

Ntombizolile Mosebetsane was mostly quoted compared to other widows. Betty Gadlela was quoted 6 times whereas Mosebetsane was quoted 7 times during the interviews she had with the media. Nokuthula Zibambele and Makopane Thelejane have the same number of quotations in the media followed by Matebang Ntsoele with 3 quotations from being interviewed and Nosake Nokomba with 2 mentions and the other widows do not have their voices and opinions captured in the media constitutive of media 24, independent news, Sabinet clips of various newspaper sources, the Citizen, Arena Holdings and the Mail and Guardian. The publications captured the quotes from these widows in 2013. According to the data analysed from these sources, the theme of truth predominantly came out of the textual media articles that were published.

4.5.2 Demand for truth

"There is no amount of words and grief that can bring back my beloved husband... My husband died on this ground and I am still hurting today...All of us here are still waiting for the truth to

be told on what happened on "that day." (Betty Gadlela cited by Thakali 2013: 4). The issue of demand or request for the truth is a recurring theme in all the thoughts expressed by the widows. The need for truth occurred numerous times compared to the theme of culpability, struggles inherited, valuation of miners' lives and recollection of trauma which occurred once in the quotes.

There are things we didn't know about what happened on that day. "We don't know where it's that mountain. · The video (footage) shows that husbands were killed by the police. But the police have not told the truth. Without that, we are confused," said Betty Gadlela (cited by Seale 2014: 5). Mrs Gadlela went onto say "My husband died a day after his 52nd birthday. The post-mortem shows that he was killed by a police bullet. But the police don't want to admit they killed him and other mine workers" (Betty Gadlela cited by Seale 2014: 5).

Another widow, Mrs Matsepang Ntsoele, was quoted as follows' "We don't know where it's leading. The problem is that nobody wants to tell the truth. I can't say many of us will get to give our answers to give to our children about how their fathers died when we go back home. We are confused." In August 2014, she also added that "Riah Phiyega did not answer all the questions. The way she was answering the question, when you look at her face, she was full of herself and arrogant. She even thanked the police for doing a good job. She was impressed by what they did. Mthethwa didn't say anything." (Matsepang Ntsoele cited by Seale 2014b: no page).

On the same commemorative day, Mrs Betty Gadlela lamented, "the way the police killed our husbands and listening to his evidence, it was like the police were revenging the killing of their colleagues. But that can't be true because there is no evidence of our husbands killing the police or other people..." But he (Ramaphosa) is not like Phiyega. Phiyega and Mthethwa's language shows that they did this deliberately. They were only concerned about their jobs. They showed that they were prepared and ready to do what they did. There was no apology or forgiveness asked" (Betty Gadlela cited by Seale 2014b: no page).

4.5.4 The Absence of Truth

There was no respite from the loss and absorption as workers following the loss of income. The end of the commission and the Marikana report did not offer refuge to the widows. Even after the commission proceeded, the widows were aggrieved by the failure to obtain the truth.

“For two years, I have given up my life for this. I literally abandoned my children coming to this commission, hoping we would get an answer to what happened to their father. Yet today we still don't know” she said. ...“The report says nothing about who killed my husband or why the police believed that any of them should have died... Would it be too much to ask Zuma to come to us personally, as the president of this country, to address us? Because this cannot be the final chapter of our people’s lives” (Ntombizolile Mosebetsane cited by Saba 2015a: no page).

Nosake Nokamba "Instead of giving us closure, the commission is giving us more misery. Lonmin must be sued," declared Nokamba (cited by Saba 2015a: no page).

4.5.4 The revelation of truth

Makopano Thelejane was told that her husband Thabiso was fighting with security guards when he was shot dead at Lonmin's Marikana mine on August 16 but eventually she learnt the truth.

"He was only running away' He didn't even have a weapon on him. There was no reason for them to shoot him...I saw the picture, which showed how much he bled. There was so much blood close to his body. There was no way he could have survived: that... Ever since I saw the pictures, I've had a pain in my heart.

The revelations that he was not fighting with anyone - instead, he was running away from them - have hurt me more deeply than seeing his bloody body. I don't understand why they would do that to someone who was running away. They wanted to kill him.

We were first told that he was fighting with security, and that's why he was shot. But [lawyer Dumisa) Ntsebeza finally made them see that he was only running away' He didn't even have a weapon on him. There was 'no reason for them to shoot him" said Thelejane (cited by Saba 2014b: 1).

The revelation of the truth strengthened the widows’ argument of culpability of Lonmin and the state given that the miners were fleeing. On the other hand, the thought of innocence fuelled pain over the unwarranted loss.

4.5.5 Views of the working-class widows: Marikana, a site of slavery

The traumatic experience and haunting memories of the Marikana massacre have led to the women seeking to leave the employment opportunity granted. For instance, Nokuthula Zibambele said “As soon as I get the compensation, I will leave; I cannot take it anymore; this place has bad memories. I feel cursed being here because this is where his life ended. Sometimes I hear his piercing screams.” (Nokamba cited by Nene 2016 5).

“Although they gave us jobs. We are grateful that Lonmin is paying for education, but we still want the R12 500, which our husbands died for. Were they flies or dogs? This would not be happening if it was white people who had been killed,” Nosakhe Nokamba continued.

“We had to leave our homes and children to work so we can put food on the table. We are living a bad life here at Marikana. Don't make fool“ of us. “Until today we have not been paid for their deaths. They said we were going to get compensation, but we have not seen a thing.” Nosakhe said their children had to go to school without uniforms even after Lonmin had publicly announced it would educate them. “Our children were like goats among sheep. It was hard for me.” She thanked AMCU president (Nosakhe Nokambe cited by Nare 2016: 1).

Mosebetsane – “We need to make them aware of the struggles we have gone through as the widows of the Marikana massacre. They also will get to hear how our government has gone quiet on the matter as though nothing ever happened,” (Ntombizolile Mosebetsane cited by Dube “016:2).

“He used to break down to me and say that mining work is slavery, that his superiors never bothered to care about the miners. But he worked to make an example to his children. He worked to better their lives,” (Matsepang Ntsoele cited by Dube 2016: 2).

In the Imbokodo documentary, Mrs Betty Gadlela is recorded as stating “Impilo angi phathegi kahle. Ntiyazebenza kodwa angi phatheke kahle. Impilo inzima, kupheli tena engathi angi sebenzi” which simply means “I am not okay, Life is not treating me well. I work but life remains hard. The month ends as if I do not have a job”. She went on to say “I wonder if those

who instructed miners to be killed know what it's like to be underground” (Betty Gadlela recorded by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute 2016: no page)

4.6 The Widows in Action

Mrs Mosebetsane stated, “I have no words. There are no words. I am tired, from here to here” (she said, pointing from her heart to her head. Her exhaustion was also evident on her face. She said she heard the news that the report was going to be released as she was finishing her shift Lonmin's Karee mine on Thursday afternoon. "I felt very weak. I still do. But there is so much I need to understand," said the woman who works as a general cleaner. (Ntombizolile Mosebetsane cited by Saba 2015b: 4).

4.6.1 Representation in audio-visual media

The widows openly expressed their grief and sorrow. During the commission's proceedings, some of the widows cried when the audio-visual material of their husbands was exhibited. The Marikana session had to be suspended because of the need for medical intervention due to the distress and grief. An unnamed widow was recorded wailing during her testimony. While crying she buried her face between her arms, and the SERI lawyer tried to console her. The testimony aired in the media on the last day of the commission, which had moved to Centurion, entailed the lamentation of a woman whose family member was killed by the striking miners. The second widow whose testimony was briefly captured in the media was Mrs Thukuza. Noluntu Thukuza, while folding her arms with a face of despair, speaking on the microphone, she said “Ngineskhalo nge Lonmin because ibulele amadoda wethu. Abantwana bethu bazo khula banga yazi abazali babo. Ngoba namhlanje si bizwa nje ga mafelokazi sise mgcinci.” This means, “today I have a complaint against Lonmin, it is them who killed our husbands, and our children will grow up not knowing their fathers. Today we are known as widows at a young age” (Noluntu Thukuza cited by SABC 2014: no page). The material used during the SABC news was from 2014. The same material/recording was used when the Imbokodo documentary was recorded.

Although many of the proceedings of the Marikana commission were recorded, televised and posted on the digital web, the days of the testimonies of the families were not afforded full-day recording and publication on television. The data search process indicated that there were recordings for preceding days, namely day 272 and others before which were centred on the

cross-examination of the then deputy-president Cyril Ramaphosa who was then a board member at Lonmin. However, the proceedings of Day 273 and 274 were televised during prime-time news where the subject was not centred on the widows but on what transpired on the day. For instance, SABC news reported that the day was emotional as families and widows of the deceased mineworkers shared testimonies. This reporting was not accompanied by visual data and the SABC correspondent in the field (at the commission) reported on the day under the tagline “Widows shared their stories at the Marikana Commission” (YouTube 2014). Although she was describing what transpired with the widows, for instance, the fact that one of the widows fainted and needed medical attention including the demands by the widows regarding knowledge of what happened as well as their pleas for the judge to deal with those culpable for the deaths of their husbands, the visual material showed a man testifying and none of the women. However, the representation changed when the headline included the word “widows” in the title.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter has presented and interpreted the results by drawing the various themes that emerged as a result of patterns noted in the responses of the participants. The chapter began with a brief discussion of the tone of the commission in light of the relation with the families. The chapter also noted the othering that transpired at the commission in terms of how the testimonies from the families were confronted. This was followed by profiling the 10 widows who were the focus of the study this was followed by a presentation of the various themes that emerged coupled with concrete quotes that anchored the themes and included the direct voice of the widows in the study. The final section of the chapter focused on media representation, including a presentation of the actions that transpired at the commission.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis of Results

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to share the analysis done through the interpretation of the results yielded from the data. Its purpose is to explicitly use the data generated to respond to the research question of this study, namely what the widowed women of Marikana were how expressed resistance which manifested as defiance and challenge to coloniality of power, being and knowledge. The sub-questions of the study were as follows; 1) what actions did the women exhibit from 2014 until the end of 2016, 2) what constituted the narratives that the women shared about the massacre and other related issues and 3) how did the women provide us with a different understanding of resistance which can be employed to broaden our knowledge of non-traditional modes of resistance? This chapter serves as the first section of the analysis of the data and provides a contextual response to the bold assumption that Marikana is a microcosm of coloniality. The chapter provides a perspective from the modern-colonial subjects, namely the widowed women of Marikana as well as the miners who embody the inter-relations that contribute to shaping the identities and struggles of the widows. The chapter will commence by providing an overview of the South African mining sector to remind the reader of the specific context this study conceptualizes Marikana. It is then followed by arguing that Marikana is a microcosm of coloniality.

5.2 Marikana: Microcosm of Coloniality

5.2.1 Overview of the Mining Sector in South Africa: The Worker's Perspective

South Africa's capital accumulation was anchored by a political system that devalued and dehumanized Africans. State laws ensured that African workers do not benefit equally with white employees. The South African mining industry was integrated into the global system in ways that benefited the west at the expense and exploitation of South African labour and minerals. This speaks to the coloniality of power in which the global capitalist system assigned Africans the status of the exploited. This exploitation that was rampant in apartheid South Africa was a form of violence, structural violence. The black person's economic condition was worse than death. Unfortunately continues in post-apartheid South Africa because the economic patterns of colonial-apartheid continue to characterize the economy just as the ownership patterns continue irrespective of the government being dominated and led by black

elites. The social environment and institutional arrangements affecting black people are systematically structured to deny black people their humanity. They declare the categorical belonging of the black person in what Fanon referred to as the zone of non-being, shackled into an existential crisis suffering from social death and sub-human status. Most of the workers lived in “appalling conditions without basic services”, Mkhonjwa told the commission. Some of the miners come from poor backgrounds, while others are second and third-generation migrant workers. Others ended up in the mines because they could not afford tertiary education; thus, they settled.

The dreams of many young black people are shattered by financial exclusion. Post-apartheid South Africa promised an era of dreaming possibilities. The commodities and conspicuous consumption documented in the media present ideas about upward mobility and construct notions of arrival and happiness, whereas this is systematically made impossible for many people. The media presents signifiers of the zone of being which is not reachable for the majority of the excluded. For the young deceased, mining was not part of their dreams, thus rendering mining space for the wounded and excluded. The wounding is from shattered dreams, and the exclusion is a result of the inability to achieve one’s dreams. It is a space with no room for self-actualization, and the underdevelopment makes it worse. This suggests that lower-ranking mining jobs render the extractive sector a site that reinforces black social death and suffering. Marikana as a phenomenon has unveiled and anchored this perspective.

5.2.2 Marikana: An Epitome of Coloniality

Marikana is a site of power struggles constituting the state, capital, organized labour, and informal labour movement centered on the confluence of worker and community struggles. Marikana as a phenomenon that began with the protracted strike and issues leading up to it is the spectacle that helps us understand coloniality in the context of the South African extractive sector. It helps us understand the manifestation of the darker side of modernity characterized by a patriarchal capitalist modern/colonial world system sustained by coloniality of power, knowledge and being. For purposes of recollection, the reader ought to note that coloniality constitutes a “colonial situation of exploitation and domination... characterized by cultural, political, and economic oppression of subordinate racialized ethnic groups by dominant racial/ethnic group” (Grosfoguel, 2004: 320). Coloniality comes with a Eurocentric logic that inherently subordinates, dehumanize and erases the ways of being and knowing of those who have been othered. The entire Marikana debacle is an expression of how coloniality manifests at micro levels of national economies. The following sections will discuss the following as

analyzed through the results from the data presented previously, namely power, being, and knowledge.

5.2.3 Marikana in Context

Marikana is home to families of black people living in squalor. The 2012 strike was not about labour struggles but the community's state of underdevelopment, where families live in shacks (corrugated iron houses) without running water, electricity, housing, roads, and other basic services. There is only one clinic and school built by the company Lonmin. The company failed to keep its promise in 2006 to build 5500 houses as part of its corporate social responsibility program. The mine workers, largely Rock Drill Operators, were earning between R6400 and R7400 per month, which included housing allowance. This amount had to be shared with over 400 dependents, which means on average, each of the 34 mine workers had 11.7 dependents to share the R7400 with. This highlights the violence of poverty that the mine workers and their families experienced in post-apartheid South Africa while the London-rooted company continued to make income. Black mine In 2012, South Africans were bombarded with audio-visual material that captured the longest protracted strike in mining historiography, including the killing of unarmed striking mine workers. Shortly after, a plethora of publications flooded the market about the phenomenon. Most publications were silent on women's narratives and those that existed primarily focused on the women who lived at Marikana. This dissertation sets out to excavate the voices of the widowed women of Marikana who resided far from Marikana but participated in the struggle. Consequently, the dissertation offers an Afrodecolonial reading of Marikana and the resistance that transpired through the widowed women from labour-sending communities termed the extended social reproductive sphere. The thesis posits the question of how the widowed women partook in resistance, and to answer this question; the thesis focused on the narratives and actions they engaged in. The researcher found that the widowed women partook in resistance, albeit distinct from the traditional modes of resistance. The widowed women invite us to think about resistance linked to the productive economy in ways that do not exclusively privilege class struggles or the immediate community struggles. The thesis developed an Afrodecolonial research paradigm, philosophy, and ontology and expanded on decolonial epistemic debates in research methods. The thesis deployed a hexagonal approach to data by weaving five data sets to excavate the actions and voices of the widowed women of Marikana. The widows' narratives provide an empirical understanding of global debates about the coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Workers endured physical violence in the mines and were susceptible to somatic death.

The Marikana residents at Nkaneng lived without electricity, running and safe drinking water. The social reproductive work, which is predominantly performed by women, increased the gender burdens the women of Nkaneng lived by. Marikana residents were subjected to an inhumane sanitation system of pit toilets amid the platinum-rich pits extracted for the global market. This has been largely blamed on neoliberal capitalism (see Harvey 2000, Stiglitz, 2013). Despite the criticism of neoliberalism, it remains widely accepted that a market economy and liberal democracies are necessary conditions for development and socio-economic inclusion through the trickle-down effect. However, this has not been so for most people who continue to suffer at the hands of inequality and poverty worldwide (see Arndt 1983; Nayyar 2003; Etebari 2003; Odhiambo 2011; Dabla-Norris, Kochhar, Suphaphiphat, Ricka, Tsounta, 2015). Even for those who are employed as mine workers, life remains hard. For instance, Nombulelo Ntonga the widow of Bongani Nqongophele, mentioned the living conditions of her 31-year-old husband at Wonderkop informal settlement. She mentioned that he had no electricity or running water just like her family's rondavel in the Eastern Cape, which also does not have basic services and electricity.

Betty Gadlela, a widow who now works at Marikana, also explained “I work but life remains hard. The month ends as if I do not have a job”. Mafea-Nkhalai (2017) shared that the gender wage gap in South Africa is on average 15-17%. “Mining and other heavy industries lag in terms of gender pay equity” (Mafea-Nkhalai 2017: 2).

Khan (2012) and Mafea-Nkhalai (2017) compared the wages of South African miners with that of other developing countries such as China and India. They found that South African mine workers were relatively paid better even though they earn below the R6000/\$730 minimum wage (Stats SA 2014). But when compared to developed countries such as the USA, Canada, and Australia, South African mine workers compared dismally (see Khan 2012). “A miner in Canada with 6–10 years’ experience will earn a base pay (excluding benefits) of around \$4150 (R53 610.64) a month” (Mafea-Nkhalai 2017:1). These forms of inequalities “cannot be understood outside the nature of the world system that came into being since the advent of Euro-modernity about 450 years ago” (Ndlovu and Makoni, 2014: 509). This world system is Euro-American-centric, capitalist, patriarchal, hetero-normative, racially hierarchized, and Christian-centric and the modernity project classified the Euro-modern world politically, economically, religiously, epistemologically, aesthetically, racially and it is configured per

hierarchized and relativized ethnicity, sexuality and gender subjectivities (Mignolo, 2000). The disparities in the South African mining sector reflect coloniality.

5.2.4 Geo-Conceptual Marikana and Border-Being

In this thesis, Marikana is understood as a geographical and conceptual phenomenon which grants us an empirical understanding of the modern-colonial capitalist system. This means that Marikana is not just a geographic site constitutive of communities and the mining company, is it also a phenomenon which captures the dynamics of power and struggle in the modern colonial economy as experienced in the extractive sector of South Africa.

Below is a diagram depicting the conceptualization of Marikana as a microcosm of coloniality. The diagram captures the idea of Marikana as a concept and geographic location. In the diagram, the productive sphere is on the interior part of the border relatively proximity to the center represented by the nexus of capital and the state. This indicates the marginal location of workers relative to the modern-colonial capitalist economic locus. Their positionality is hereby described as the medial margin because it is border existence that is relatively closer to the modern colonial capitalist center. There are two social reproductive spheres namely the immediate one which sits on the border to indicate the dynamic of marginal inclusion of outsiders. This is hereby conceptualized as exterior interiority. That exterior interiority is occupied and better explained by the lived and political experiences of the widows and women of Marikana who lived at Marikana, Nkaneng. The other social reproductive sphere circle captures the location of the marginality of the widowed women of Marikana who were far from the geographic location of Marikana but remained part of it through a form of social reproductive labour offered to productive labour and the miners during the protracted strike and through other contexts. This is conceptualized as extreme exterior interiority in terms of onto-epistemic location.

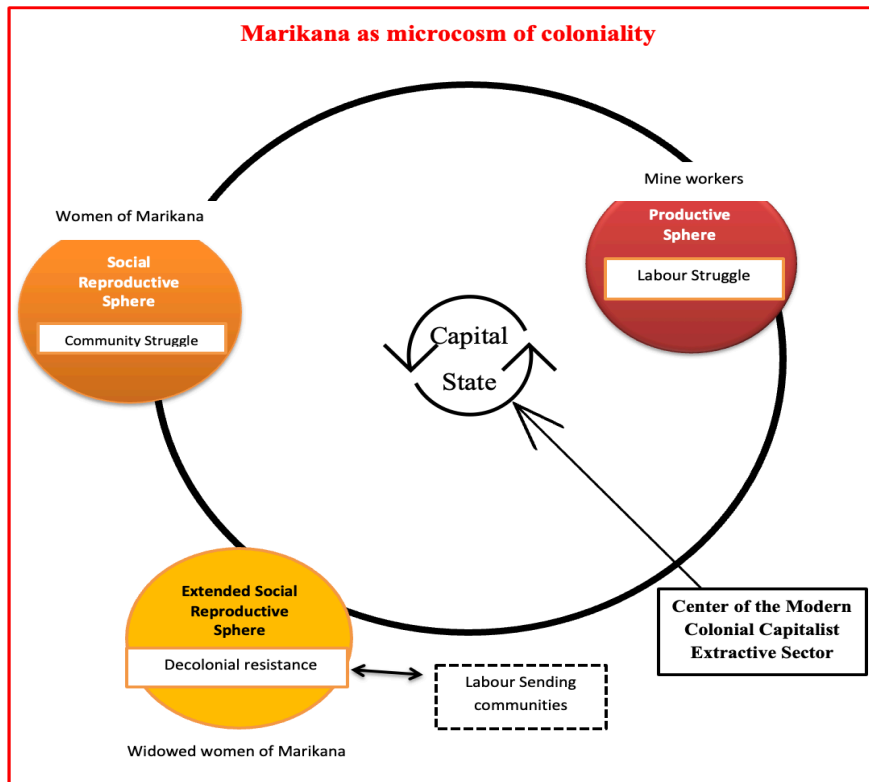


Figure 3: Marikana as microcosm of coloniality

What this helps us understand is that border thinking is not homogenous. It is useful to recall that “border thinking is the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside; and as such, it is always a decolonial project.” (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2007: 206). Like border thinking, border-being is the ontology of the marginal experiences within the system dominated by the hegemonic bios of the capitalist homo-economicus. It is important to also understand and acknowledge the heterogenous bio-locations that decolonial agents find themselves because proximity to the capitalist core distinguishes the experiences and consequently the epistemic location of those who are marginalized within the broader habitus of the modern colonial capitalist system, which deceitfully manifests as omnipresent whereas it is globalized within specific locales. This means that when we seek to understand other ways of being relatively least tainted and least shaped spaces by coloniality, the extended social reproductive sphere is a perfect place to begin to also understand the complexity of coloniality of power.

5.3 Coloniality of Power

Quijano (2000) explained coloniality of power as racial and epistemic hierarchies embedded within structural hierarchies of global capitalism that became covertly evident through the colonial project and continue to characterize post-colonial economies. There are dichotomies

arranged hierarchically, whereby race is the dividing line. Even the widows articulated this racialized world when speaking out. For instance, Mrs Nokamba stated the following, “Although they gave us jobs. We are grateful that Lonmin is paying for education, but we still want the R12 500, which our husbands died for. Were they flies or dogs? This would not be happening if it was white people who had been killed.” This modern-colonial hierarchical dichotomy manifests itself through the logic of capitalist relations of production. “Although colonial administrations have been almost entirely eradicated and the majority of the periphery is politically organized into independent states, non-European people are still living under crude European-Euro-American exploitation and domination.” (Grosfoguel 2009: 22). The current global matrices of power are constitutive of the old structuring of the world into binaries of European/non-Europeans with non-Europeans entangled unfavorably in the international division of labour and accumulation of capital at the world scale (Amin 1989, Quijano 2000, Grosfoguel 2002, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a, 2013b).

5.3.1 Racist Capital

South African capitalism is hand in glove with racism. The race/colour bar was instituted through the mining regulations commissions, which legalized the discrimination of black miners and privileging whites in terms of positions and superiority over black mine workers (Simons 1961). “In the gold and coal mines, the white mine worker is essentially a supervisor and instructor. His role is made necessary and guaranteed by the enormous turnover of African workers under migrant labour system” (Simons 1961: 46). The lower ranking roles for black mine workers were cemented through various regulations such as the Mines and Workers Act No. 12 of 1911 and the Mines and Works Act No 25 of 1926 which granted “certificates of competency for several skilled mining occupations to Whites and Coloureds only” (SA History Online, no date, no page) and when black workers were employed it was for purposes of cutting costs of labour, black bodies were synonymous to hyper-exploitation. Black mineworkers earned about a tenth of the wages of a skilled white worker (see SA History Online, no date).

“I was in Rustenburg with my husband Thabiso Johannes Thelejane when they went on strike for better wages, asking to be paid R12500 per month. He told me that it is the worker’s right to fight for a wage increase, so we would be able to afford our basic needs as a family” Mrs Thelejane lamented

Historically, black miners were deprived of formal training and resultant of the request by fellow white mine workers, they were barred from obtaining certification for their skills including those acquired through experiential learning. Formal training was exclusive to white miners however this state-sanctioned position was not sustainable due to safety concerns.

“The myth of an innate racial deficiency in the black man served to hide the real problem and the actual culprit. It was certainly not the illiterate peasant, inexperienced in industrial and mechanical arts, and unable to understand orders given in English or pidgin “fanakalo”. The responsibility lay with mine owners and managers who sent Africans underground...without training or instruction... Formal instruction, when provided, was limited to whites...” (Simons 1961: 43,44).

Eventually, black mine workers were granted some level of training on safety (see Simons 1961; Ndzabela 2021). But they were never spared from doing dangerous work assigned by their fellow white miners cum supervisors. The death or injury of a black mine worker was worth a £10 fine or 2 months imprisonment for breaking safety regulations (Simons 1961). However, in 1911 the regulation changed and any supervisory roles that were eventually accorded to black mine workers were infantilized, for instance, a black supervisor was referred to as a “boss boy”.

Racial hierarchies are a feature of racism and Grosfoguel (2011) conceptualizes racism as a “global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the ‘line of the human’... People above the human line of the human are in, what Fanon calls, the zone of being, and the humanity of these people is socially recognized through human, social, civil, and labour rights. Those who are below the line of the human are in the zone of non-being and are considered sub-human or non-human... and do not have their humanity socially recognized” (Grosfoguel 2011: 10).

Grosfoguel (2011, 2016) argues that racism can take many forms, such as colour, ethnicity, language, culture and/or religion. “Racism is a global hierarchy of human superiority and inferiority, politically, culturally and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the ‘capitalist/patriarchal western-centric/Christian-centric modern/colonial world-system” (Grosfoguel 2016: 11). Oppressive relations in the modern world, such as gender, sexuality and class, are racially constituted.

This means that race is a dividing line between the zone of being and the zone of non-being, thus making the experiences of the Other based on class, gender, and sexuality distinct. The Others existing in the zone of being is racially privileged, and the Other in the zone of non-

being is rendered inferior and subjected to racial oppression. It is pivotal to note that zones are not geographical areas “but rather positionality in racial relations of power” occurring at a global scale between centres and peripheries (Grosfoguel 2015 cited by Rodriguez 2012: no page). The concept of the other comes from the social process in which social identities are constructed. Identities are predicated on notions of similarities and differences, meaning that exclusive identity is a product of differentiation and relativizing. This is largely true in the European cultural thought evident in Aristotle’s either/or logic which is contradictory, combative and excludes grey areas or the middle area (Mokoena 2018). Social identities/categories are also constructed using this similar logic in which those with power become normative and otherize the rest of the excluded society.

The Other and Other in this case are relative constructs of the ‘I’, meaning the I versus the Other and Other. “The ‘I’, in the imperialist/capitalist/patriarchal global system, are Western, heterosexual, masculine, metropolitan elites and/or westernized, heterosexual, masculine elites in the peripheries of the world system (Grosfoguel, 2009). I wish to correct Grosfoguel (2009) and highlight that ‘I’ is the Western, heterosexual, hegemonic masculine metropolitan elite or westernized, heterosexual, masculine elites in the peripheries of the world system. It is crucial to note that masculinities are variegated and those in the core embody hegemonic forms of masculinity compared to those located in the periphery. The Marikana miners embodied subordinate masculinities which were racialized to the level of the non-human. The deaths they suffered were described by one of the widows as inhumane. “Our husbands died like dogs for R12500, which is nothing considering the amount of work that is done in the mines. Our eyes are still filled with tears, and we mourn the deaths of our husbands,” Mrs Gadlela stated. The valuation of bodies within the South African extractive sector continues to devalue the lives of black workers meaning the valuation of bodies remains racialized.

5.3.2 Rurality as a technology of oppression

At the time of the protracted strike, the widows in this study were residing in labour-sending communities/ labour reserves, which are rural, albeit diversely so. The widows in this study form part of an extended social reproductive sphere wherein remittances are sent but also form part of the rationale for meagre wages offered by the colonial and apartheid mining sector. Joseph (2015) critiqued intersectionality for excluding rural identity as part of the technologies of oppression. The thesis of uneven combined development within African economies legitimizes this assertion. The theory of urban bias, which was formulated to explain the

reasons behind poverty in rural areas, revealed an inherent bias in state policies (see Lipton 1977, 1993, Bates 1993), also anchors Joseph's (2015) critique. Bates (1993) explained that rural underdevelopment and lack of development could also be attributed to the prejudices and biases of the political elite who tend to appropriate resources to urban areas where they are based. Bate's (1993) argument is questionable when considering the poverty-stricken and least developed Eastern Cape province where two former South African presidents came from. On the other hand, the actions of a certain former Tanzanian president who built stadiums and an airport in one of the rural areas he comes from affirms this theory albeit differently because, in the case of Tanzania, the late president made a unanimous decision to develop infrastructure at the town of his origin/birth. Other political elites in the same country seem to have concentrated on the existing urban city irrespective of not being originally from there.

Joseph's (2015) critique can be extended to the existing decolonial framework which also omits rurality as a facet of coloniality. Such could be because of the fluidity of rurality due to migration yet in the case of Marikana, rural identities of those from the labour-sending rural communities are characterized by scant opportunities for employment. Joseph (2015) also forces one to problematize the rural versus working class women dichotomy when analyzing the widows of Marikana who have now become employees at Marikana yet still, as do many migrants, perceive the Eastern Cape as home. The fact that the women were previously left behind in the rural Eastern Cape and rural areas of neighboring countries while their husbands were absorbed into the labour market through Lonmin reveals the distinct experiences of the gendered bodies existing within the zone of non-being. It is also problematic to state that the women of Marikana who were left behind were gendered without problematizing their engendering mainly because the family institutions in which their gendered roles and identities are performed and reified were hardly the case for migrant families.

Nonetheless, the women of Marikana left behind in the reserves were systematically rendered the most neglected in a capitalist society. Moreover, underdeveloped places "continue to be violently intervened through practices that claim the need to 'develop' and homogenize life in all its forms, while negating ancestral knowledges' potential for political transformation" (Varela and Rojas 2020: 42). This means that rurality contributes to the marginalization of women in labour-sending families, their inclusion into the modern-capitalist system is through marginal inclusion. Rurality is an economic and political byproduct of a globalizing nation-state and its evolving functionality that serves transnational capitalist elites located within the

metropolises. Rurality is a structural mode of exclusion and the women lamented that the loss of their husbands resulted in the loss of support which can be interpreted as the loss of potential to move up the ladder on the hierarchy of the human.

At the same time, the absorption of the widows into the labour market through employment at Lonmin did not necessarily yield improvement. In fact, “life is hard.” Nombulelo Ntonga, the widow of Bongani Nqongophele mentioned the living conditions of her 31-year-old husband at Wonderkop informal settlement. She mentioned that he had no electricity or running water, just like her family’s rondavel in the Eastern Cape, which also does not have basic services and electricity. This indicates the continuities of suffering and subjection, suggesting that black people are from the labour reserves. Moreover, the relationship between the nation-state and global capital has implications for redistributive politics/social welfare amid market failures to address social issues, thus reproducing the zones that perpetually deny humanity to black female bodies/anafemales.

5.3.3 Inclusive Dehumanization

“There is overwhelming evidence that suggests that gender-based hierarchies and gender subordination, combined with structural racism, are being reinforced by corporate globalization and African women are among the most severely affected” (Steady 2004: 43). Women’s oppression in Africa is also grounded in traditional African culture (for instance dispossession of property from widows) which has consequences on the livelihood resources available for widowed women. This thesis does not cover the topic of dispossessing widows, perhaps other scholars could investigate this. Inclusion, from a neoclassical perspective, involves participation in the mainstream economy without necessarily addressing the hierarchical and unequal power dynamics embedded in inclusion within the modern world system.

The inclusion of women/females of Marikana as formal workers at Lonmin is characterized by mobility from extreme exclusion, as in the poor Eastern Cape, to inclusion within the margins of capitalist productivity resulting in the oscillation of border-being. This variegated incorporation into the state, market and/or civil society exposes the multiple levels of variegated inclusion (Leonard 1984, Bracking 2003, Du Toit 2003). This brings about a notion of an inclusion-exclusion continuum which social agents may traverse in response to market forces and political opportunities which result in border thinking and border being. Social exclusion and/or differential levels of inclusion are a subject of institutional power structures, as is the persistence or exacerbation of inequalities, marginality, and poverty (Bracking 2003).

The widowed women of Marikana have been incorporated into an exclusionary neoliberal globalized capitalist system in which neoliberal states are complicit in the reproduction of the hegemonic status of transnational elites (Harvey 2000, Robinson 2001, Amin 1989, Ashman, Fine and Newman, 2011, Bond 2013, Ndlovu and Makoni 2014, Piketty 2015, Stiglitz 2015). Those who are unemployed can be said to be excluded, while the working-class poor's precarious existence can be viewed as marginal inclusion. The analytical lens of coloniality of gender structurally locates women at the margins, particularly racially oppressed women; it structures the exclusion of women from evenly benefiting and/or participating in formal development processes and inclusion is often always marginal creating outsider insiders also conceptualized as border-beings.

5.3.4.1 Mining Work is slavery

Although the widowed women were incorporated into the capitalist mode of production as workers at the Lonmin mine, they exhibited the desire to leave because the system was unjust and operated like what they termed slavery.

“Mining work is slavery...his superiors (referring to her late husband) never cared about the miners...” Mrs Liau. This sentiment was shared by the deceased; for instance, Mrs Ntsoele stated that her husband “used to break down to me and say that mining work is slavery.”

This critique by the widows helps us vividly understand the critique made by Grosfoguel (2013) that the linear progressive argument explaining capitalism being a result of the demise of feudalism, which was preceded by slavery that supposedly ended, is false because capitalism, feudalism and slavery co-exist within the modern-colonial capitalist system.

This analysis of the widows shows us that there is a fundamental gap in the capitalist wage labour wherein remuneration is not only super-exploitative, but it also does not allow one to live or escape social death. Their critique using the concept of slavery helps us understand the devaluation of capitalist productive labour in the sense that workers seemingly work for nothing in the sense that they cannot do much with the wages they earn. The wages are exhausted in the process of preparation for going to work. Meaning wages cover basic social reproductive functions that maintain productive labour at the exclusion of other human needs, functions, and responsibilities. For instance, during the strike, when Mrs Ntsoele asked her husband to come home after hearing people died during the strike, the late Molefi Ntsoele could not. “I asked him to come home, he didn't have money to go home”. Mrs Gadlela lamented by stating the following, “our husbands died like dogs for R12500, which is nothing considering

the amount of work that is done in the mines.” This statement also helps us realize to think about the labour theory of value along with the erroneous logic of a free market which presupposes agency of the worker in terms of selling their labour.

5.3.4.2 Drudgerous capitalist wage

Drudgerous capitalist labour refers to labour that is not remunerated according to the energy put into it. It involves the socio-economic crisis of income that does not only meet basic needs but is also incompatible with inflation. It is characterized by extreme compensation stagnation. The super-exploitation of drudgerous capitalist wage labour is likened to slavery, for the income earned is in service of the basic sustenance of the capitalist system. The Drudgerous wages qualify as income for the upper middle class. According to Mail & Guardian (2012), Lonmin mine workers took home between R6700 and R7400 per month, this is R100 short of being a member of the middle class based on data for the year 2022 (see Business Insider 2022). Nonetheless, miners, including the employed widows, seem not to be remunerated sufficiently to enable proper social reproduction.

Wages are “necessary for the reproduction of labour power is determined not by the needs of a ‘biological’ guaranteed minimum wage alone, but by the needs of a historical minimum... historical needs of the working class ‘recognized’ by the capitalist class, but by the historical needs imposed by the proletarian class struggle” (Althusser 1970: no page)

This means that the value of wages is influenced by the proletariat struggles however, historically for white miners, the valuation of their humanity played a role, as well as the normalization of the devaluation of black workers, shapes the income perceived to be fair for black miners. Moreover, the conditions of labour reproduction for black workers were akin to slavery which is an argument made by the widows. Althusser (1970) noted that the expenditure of labour-power is indispensable for its reproduction.

“so indispensable to the reconstitution of the labour-power of the wage-earner (the wherewithal to pay for housing, food and clothing, in short, to enable the wage earner to present himself again at the factory gate the next day- and every other day...and we should add: indispensable for raising and educating the children in whom the proletarian reproduces himself as labour power” (Althusser 1970, no page).

However, in the context of Marikana is it not the wages that simply force the wage earner to present herself/himself at the firm irrespective of the wages failing to fund self-reproduction and that of her/his children. Mrs. Zibambele argued that “My husband had often complained

about how hard he worked and how little he was paid. He said his measly salary prevented him from giving his children a decent life. He spoke of this all the time.” The same struggles were experienced by the widows. Mrs Nokamba lamented “We had to leave our homes and children to work so we can put food on the table. We are living a bad life here at Marikana.”

Regardless of working hard, the workers are not able to cater to the needs of their children. For instance Mrs Gadlela shared;

On the 13th of August 2012, he phoned again. There was noise and I could hear singing in the background and he was on the koppie. I said he must come home. He said the strike was about a wage increase and they needed a wage increase. I told him that I needed money for one of the children’s school trips. He said he did not know if they would be paid since they were on strike. He told me that he could not come back home because he had to fight for his rights.

Despite the hardship and failure of the promise of wages that offer a better life, there continues to be a normative suffering of blackness that renders soul crushing lifestyles tolerable. For instance, Mrs. Gadlela later shared the following statement as a worker at Lonmin.

Mrs. Gadlela reiterated “Impilo angi phathegi kahle. Ntiyazebenza kodwa angi phatheke kahle. Impilo inzima, kupheli tena engathi angi sebenzi” which simply means “I am not okay, Life is not treating me well. I work but life remains hard. The month ends as if I do not have a job”.

The question that springs up is why this is occurring and continuing. Why do the workers continue to work in these conditions? Althusser’s explanation clearly cannot help us understand this. Perhaps the issue lies in a tendency toward ‘auto-genocidal mimeticism’ which refers to a compulsion to “not only to desire against myself but also to work against the emancipatory interest of the world-systematic subordinated and inferiorized Negro population to which I belong” (Wynter cited by Tsantsoulas 2018: 170). The fact of labour struggles and uprisings is an indication of worker consciousness, but worker consciousness is insufficient, wherein the humanity of black bodies is non-existent.

5.3.4.3 Capitalist Reproduction at the expense of worker's children

Even the children of the workers are not regarded as worthy because the meagre wages of 34 mine workers could not have aided in providing dignity to 400 dependents.

I want to tell the commission that I have the last born, who is three years old. I cannot even buy a doll for the child to play with, but there are people who can afford to buy buffalos at a price of 18 million, although my husband was working hard, and he died for a better wage,” as argued by Mrs Mosebetsane.

The wages of the black miners not only stunt reproductive power, but they lead to the reproduction of children who are already rendered the damned of the earth. Another widow expressed a shared argument that “mining work is slavery...but the hardship was endured for the sake of the children. “He worked hard to better their lives”, Mrs Liau averred.

Although labour value is also determined by the prospects of social reproductive affordability, social reproduction remains central to the wage struggle, but for the exploited, endurance of exploitative wages coupled with hard drudgerous labour is mainly to afford to provide children of the exploited an avenue for escape. Mrs Nosakhe argued, “we had to leave our homes and children to work so we could put food on the table. We are living a bad life here at Marikana.” And the basis for contesting the drudgerous wages is motherhood in this instance.

5.3.5 Middle Classness as Proximity to Humanity

The “middle classes... institutionally legitimate their own ostensible analogically selected genetic superiority, as a group category over the non-middle class.” (Wynter 1994: 51). In the case of the humanity of the white working class, the race was a redemptive category for poor whites as this enabled them to assume superior positions in the workplace over the black working class. For instance, in the mining sector, white mine workers assumed higher positions within the working-class category suggesting variations of working-class privilege enabled by race. The genetic valuation of white bodies and “the representation of eugenic descent on whose basis the global middle classes legitimate their ontological hegemonic social status” (Wynter 1994: 51-52). This means that race enables whites to continuously occupy positions of privilege concerning black bodies, race goes hand in hand with economic categorization. What is at play is the intersection of race and class whereby class becomes an avenue for acquisition and access to humanness. Wynter (1994) noted that the genetic value of white bodies categorically classified whites as superior and blacks as inferior.

Those in the middle had their relative worth assessed based on proximity to whiteness. This is evident in apartheid South Africa, especially when looking at geospatial planning also known as the geography of apartheid, for the various races and within institutions such as prisons. Prisoners on robin island were treated differently as noted by Nelson Mandela when he was imprisoned at Robin Island. Black people were treated differently vis a vis mixed raced individuals and the Indian prison population. The differential treatment had this logic to it about those who are in close proximity to whiteness/humanity. The suffering that is still endured by the workers at Marikana indicates that middle-classness does not afford black bodies humanity as Wynter (1994) theorized in her work. Middle-classness is at the exclusive benefit of white workers.

Moreover, employment offers an opportunity to move up the hierarchy of the human, however employment for a black being does not enable transcendence into the side of the human. Class mobility can only make the intersecting oppressions relatively bearable. For instance, Mrs. Ntonga, the widow of Bongani Ngongophele, earlier revealed to us that there were changes in the living conditions of the mine worker. The inclusion of the widowed women of Marikana should be understood in the context of grasping the marginal positionality of black women within the market whereby race, class, and gender are facets of oppression that shape black women's realities on the market. It is crucial to keep in mind that "race is not independent of gender or sexuality... the emergence of race and its entanglement with gender and sexuality can be explained in part by their relation to war ethics and their naturalization in the colonial world" (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 259).

5.4 Coloniality of Being

The globalized blueprint of power emerged from the conquest and colonization of America, wherein conquest became synonymous with non-ethics of war. The conquered were stripped of their humanity based on skin colour and rendered permanently inferior and non-deserving of the treatment and ethical standards that were used to govern the subjects of the European crown. In the context of resistance of this subordinated status, violence was deployed. The violence manifested in various ways, one of which is through structural violence, which have had a direct impact on the domestic affairs and family structures of the working migrants.

5.4.1 Reclaiming the Gendered Family Under Coloniality

The non-ethics of war suggest that women not only become victims of violence, but their humanity is also completely stripped. The widowed women of Marikana, who are black women, exist in a world where their humanity is fundamentally questionable. Their sense of

being and the ontological experiences of their non-being reveals contested subordination. At the core of coloniality and slavery, black women's bodies were rapeable objects of economic reproduction. This experience attaches colonial violence and trauma to motherhood. The following section highlights how motherhood is a complex phenomenon of both subjection and resistance in the context of coloniality for black marginalized women. The concept of motherhood, not solely a biological occurrence but an influential component in the sociogenic journey of human beings, is gendered. The concept is discussed below after a brief reflection of the concept of family in this context.

The hellish condition of coloniality renders motherhood a phobia which is common within white patriarchal circles. The widowed women of Marikana are mothers and in their testimonies, they frequently highlight their children and the socio-economic challenges that come with raising their children. The question that also came up was what the children would be told concerning the deaths of their fathers.

This can be understood from a context of familial love but also provision and some socio-economic buffer for the meagre income of the miners provided for their children. The centrality of the family also highlights the surviving ethos and value of familyhood that colonialism in South Africa sought to destroy. The family, in this case, can be referred to as bifurcated long-distance familyhood because the migrant labour system in South Africa created such, which consequently shaped gendering processes. Mrs Nokamba mentioned that her late husband only afforded to return home three times a year but called his wife and children three times a day. On top of the fact of absence due to migrancy, Mrs Thukuza lamented at the commission that "today I have a complaint against Lonmin, it is them who killed our husbands, and our children will grow up not knowing their fathers. Today we are known as widows at a young age." On top of the fact of families being torn apart and knitted together through long-distance relationships, the physical deaths of the mine workers and the incorporation of the widows as workers also meant that the children would also lose another parent to migrancy. Mrs Thelejane said, "I am left with the burden of raising my children and of doing whatever was going to be done by my husband."

5.4.2 Motherhood Under Coloniality

The hellish conditions of coloniality suffocate the joy of motherhood in the sense that the marginalized continued to have children not directly with the thought of reproducing labour power but as extensions of families and fulfilment of the promises and work of the ancestors.

Having children is also always a metaphysical affair that enables some level of transcendence of the violence of coloniality. The modern-colonial capitalist economy of deprivation renders motherhood torturous in the sense that parents feel anguish over the inability to provide for the somatic needs of their children. For instance, Mrs. Nokamba, lamented that her children had to go to school without uniforms despite the statement of promised support by Lonmin. “Our children were like goats among sheep. It was hard for me.”

Drudgerous wages contribute to this horrifying experience of hunger and deprivation that affects the provision of necessities for the healthy development of children. Thus, motherhood under coloniality is a hellish experience that reproduces economic suffering from already strained household economic resources. Outside of institutions of coloniality, i.e.: poor nuclear families, motherhood is a tool that granted women some form of authority (see Oyewumi 2016). South African liberal capitalism and precarity make motherhood outside matrifocal settings unbearable. The widowed women exhibit resistance and consciousness that places value on their children and families, which is counter to what colonialism did to black families in South Africa.

5.4.3 Botho ba Gender

It is certainly crucial that any analysis of women of Marikana as women who are geo-socially located in Africa must be sensitive to criticisms by African and decolonial feminists, particularly in the conceptualization of gender. Colonial gender hierarchies were integral to the patterns of domination with negative consequences on indigenous women and other subordinated groups. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that Mikell (1997) highlighted that sex duality had been exaggerated by the western colonial intrusion. Moreover, “[t]he oppositional male/female, man/woman duality and its attendant male privileging in western gender categories are particularly alien to many African cultures.” (Oyewumi 2004: 7). Oyewumi (2004) convincingly argued that in some African societies such as the Yoruba, gender is not an organizing category of power. “Power centers within the [Yoruba] family are diffused and not gender specific. The fundamental organizing principle in this family is seniority based on relative age and not gender... Unlike gender, which is rigid or static, the seniority principle is dynamic and fluid.” (Oyewumi 2004: 5).

African women are socio-economically located within cultural imperials coupled with economic trajectories that are inherently sexist and their incorporation into the capitalist system locates them at the margins (Mikell 1997: 4). Culture, race, class, gender, age, sexuality,

nationality and other categories intersect and are heightened as part of interrogating the homogenous view of women's experiences. Moreover, gender remains "an organizing principle of accumulation and operation of post/colonial and transnational capital and in the allocation of resources and privilege" (Steady 2005: 314). The widows centralized their identities as mothers and wives. The narratives from the widows were not indicative of the oppositional perspective held by western feminist perspectives. The gender order is not oppositional but relational and complimentary. Moreover, the status of migrancy of their late husbands also meant that the western gender order heavily premised on the idea of gender roles is challenged by the Marikana phenomenon. Of course, Marikana is a microcosm of modern-colonial capitalism, gender is deployed and historically relied upon to advance productive interests, but the gendering experiences differ. Institutionally, gender is oppressive as notable through the culture of excluding women from the mining sector but at the primary level of the family, the extended social reproductive sphere orders gender distinctly for women.

Women of Marikana, particularly the widows, bring an added dimension in the sense that Collins' (2000) argument can be extended within the rural/urban discursive divide. For instance, the widows inhabit both rural and working-class identities and realities. This thesis has sparked the quest to problematize the historical divide between rurality and working-class identity. Working class women are subjected to exploitation in the workplace and slavery within the household (Engel and Gartner 1999). One of the themes of feminist political economy entails the critique of the malestream economy's devaluation of women's roles in the private sphere. Marikana features the interconnected relationship between productive and social reproductive labour in which the malestream economy is dependent on gendered roles and the care economy. The widows who have been incorporated are included within the same patriarchal order which also depends on unpaid social reproductive labour and in this context, the children of the widowed women have been left behind in labour-sending communities. There interconnections and interdependence of migrant-sending households in serving as extended arenas of social reproductive labour to support the incorporated working-class women persist.

5.4.4 Coloniality of the spirit and humanization

The civilizing mission of colonialists was a spiritual redemption of feudal-Christian religion, which Wynter (2003) argues was replaced by the material redemption securing economic well-being. The discursive language used by the families of the deceased in their eulogical testimonies of the deceased characters indicates that for those whose material conditions

continue to relegate their status of humanity to the lower levels of the human hierarchy, the Christian religion continues to be a humanizing and redemptive tool and this co-functions with other facets of humanization tools which include the economic aspect. This is rooted in the idea proliferated notion of humanness viewed and classified in “optimally white terms, and also in optimally middle-class... variants” (Wynter 1994: 44). Moreover, the widows emphasized their African spiritual beliefs, which intersect with Christian religious beliefs. This is best captured in the following statement.

I must take off the mourning clothes in August 2013, and I have to slaughter two cows and a goat. He (the late miner) was a pastor, and we have to hold a night vigil and he has no livestock. His mother did not wear mourning clothes. Because we would have to buy a cow. After all, she is a sangoma. I do not have money to buy the cow”

Rituals are an important element of Africa belief systems in the sense that they are about cleansing what is perceived to be darkness that has befallen an individual of the family. Cleansing rituals after a funeral not only have spiritual gravitas, but they also have psycho-material implications in the sense that a person who does not cleanse is believed to have bad omen and bad luck follow them which would have implications for their social and economic wellbeing. Rituals are an important element of healing and psychological relief for those who suffer grief. They are a conduit through which new beginnings are possible. What also appears in above quote is a hybridization of faiths, African spirituality, which coincides with Christianity. This can be read as a depiction of interlinked universes co-existing at once. However, the modern capitalist industrial economy, smallholder agrarian issues and the neoliberal ethic of commercializing everything thwart the practice and full embrace of African spiritual practices, consequently privileging Christianity over African spirituality. However, the widows’ beliefs and view of the importance of the cleansing rituals necessary after the death of a family member re-emphasizes African spirituality as crucial and render it a conduit through which the homo-economicus rehumanization is enabled or birthed. For instance,

Mrs Mosebetsane argued, “we are required to do the cleansing ceremony for Thabiso’s son, Tsepo. To perform the ceremony, we are required to slaughter a cow... According to our beliefs, if we don’t perform the ceremony, Tsepo may experience difficulties in his life. For instance, he may be unable to find a job”

This also helps us understand that colonial imposition of Christianity was met with an Africanization of Christianity, meaning the identities and ritual beliefs and practices were not erased by the onslaught of Christian missionary imposition.

5.4 Coloniality of Knowledge

Coloniality of knowledge is characterized by the negation of knowledges and ways of knowing that are not commensurable with the European knowledge system (Hoagland 2020). “Coloniality of knowledge is a theoretical concept adapted from the Latin American intellectual Aníbal Quijano into recent decolonial thinking in North America. It is based on the insight that colonial societies have systematically banished indigenous forms of knowledge from their archives, together with rejecting the media in which this knowledge was (and is) transported (Mackenthun 2016: no page). Eurocentrism led to the negation of other forms of imagining, perceiving, sensing, seeing, and knowing the world, consequently privileging the Western ways of knowing/epistemes (Mignolo 2017, Ndlovu 2018). Ndlovu (2018) critiqued that coloniality of knowledge, characterized by destroying, demonizing, devaluing and/or disregarding indigenous knowledges, has implications for re-imagining African futures. It is averred here that the widows of Marikana ignite the quest to think differently about African futures, considering the capitalist mode of production facilitated through the South African education system historically designed to reproduce a workforce meant to sustain and reproduce the capitalist economy. Mignolo (2017) advocated for delinking, which is a decolonial imperative. “Decoloniality means to delink (to detach) from ... structure of knowledge to engage in an epistemic reconstitution. Reconstitution of the ways of thinking, languages, ways of life and being in the world...” (Mignolo 2017: 2). Given this conceptualization of decoloniality, it is crucial to grasp that decoloniality is a process, and it begins with awareness, a decolonial consciousness characterized by detachment or attempts to detach. The sections that follow will show what the widowed women were confronted with to ascertain if their engagement was decolonial.

5.4.1 The consciousness of State Violence

Dissent against dehumanization is met with violence. It is crucial to understand that state violence is a response to the transgression of a specific consciousness and order, which is sustained by a specific western bourgeois education system. Violence is of course, a tool for coercing the marginalized to consent to exclusion and the reproduction of the status quo (Fanon 1963, Althusser 1970, Mbembe 2003, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013a, 2013b, Maldonado-Torres 2016, Neocosmos 2016). Violence is also a counterstrategy against the resistance by those who

try to locate themselves closer to humanity, but this is not possible for the working class that earns drudgerous capitalist wages. Nonetheless, the widows show that this violence is not received and interpreted as a normal part of their existence. In fact, the widows sought to hold the capitalists/Lonmin and the state accountable. Mrs Gadlela said the following:

I want to say to the commission chairperson that I am blaming Lonmin because my husband was employed by them as their work and when my husband complained about the wage that wasn't sufficient for him to support his family and then says they don't recognize him, they don't know him. Thereafter Lonmin went and called the police."

"Again and again, Lonmin was not supposed to kill my husband, Gadlela. Lonmin was supposed to listen to their cry, allow them just to work, and pay them for the job they did. If he was not killed, he was supposed to be working, getting payment. We would not be where we are now, with no income, with nothing... I hold the SA government and Lonmin and the chamber of miners as a whole responsible for this brutal action" (Betty Gadlela).

She reiterated that many of the widow's children would never know their fathers because of the actions of the police. She went on to ask if the police's education and training meant they have conferred certificates for killing. A question was asked by one of the widows, "Why is it that the police would kill in a country where they are properly trained? Because it is believed that it is uneducated people that do wrong things." This quotation reels in class status again as a humanizing tool that privileges some people. Mrs Nokamba also posed a question, "Is it culture in South Africa for someone who wants a raise to be killed?"

Despite the education and training noted by the widows and the falsified justification of being attacked by the miners, the widows continued to question the motive behind the police's decision to open fire on the miners. The articulation of the perception of the poor working class by the elites can serve as window to partly answer the inquiries by the widows. Namely the lens through which the mine workers were perceived was highlighted by the widows. For instance, Mrs. Gadlela counter-argued the anti-mine workers narrative by the state, Lonmin, police and media by stating the following:

"I am saying this, Chairperson, because they, the employees of Lonmin Mine, are something to laugh at to the government of this country, because even the government

that is sitting in this Commission gave certain names that are unknown to us to [inaudible, speaking simultaneously with interpreter], that they are called makarapas, that they were called as mineworkers and also refer to them as criminals... Mr Chairperson and for that, he was killed, killed for his rights.”

The above suggests that the police also serve as agents of repression in service of the exploiters. They embody the consciousness of coloniality that “produced dehumanization during colonial expansion...now operational in defining a global poor as unworthy of the conditions for a livable life, and thus as expendable for the sake of securing the livability of those who figuratively embody homo economicus, who are thereby misrepresented as representative of humanity-itself” (Wynter cited by Tsantsoulas 2018). This means the police in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa continues to embody the anti-black sentiment of the colonial and apartheid regimes. The predominantly black South African police Service in agreement with the black political elites also easily resort to the use of guns in dealing with black devalued bodies. The axiological politics of apartheid when it comes to black bodies continue to characterize the anti-black post-colonial and post-apartheid modern colonial capitalist hyper-commercialized state which bows to capital more than the struggling citizens (Ndlovu 2013). The South African police have historically been entangled in political affairs meaning the service was integral to “apartheid’s primary imperatives of securing ‘racial political supremacy’ for whites in general, ensuring capitalist economic development; or promoting the interests of Afrikaans-speaking whites”

A counterargument to the assertion that the police exhibited anti-black consciousness could be premised on the fact that the mine workers allegedly killed police officers, security guards working for Lonmin and other fellow workers who did not support the strike by not staying away from work as demanded. Meaning a logical response by the police who are more in solidarity with their deceased colleagues and more loyal to one another, shooting the mine workers was like a knee-jerk reaction given the assumption that on the 16th of August one of the mine workers is accused to have fired a gun first. However, placing police brutality in a broader context, whenever black bodies protest dehumanizing conditions under neo-colonial South Africa, violence is easily administered. Apart from the inherited cultural consciousness of devaluing black bodies resultant from internalized racism (see Williams 2008) and sustained by the failure of the justice system to accord all citizens equal value and worth, there is a materialist link to the normalization of the unjust treatment. Access to the law in a hyper-commercialized system of the modern homo-economicus is not easily accessible to the working

class let alone the poor thus acts of injustice are conducted with impunity. It is also worth noting that the black members of the South African Police, even during apartheid, were more loyal to the anti-black force than to the freedom fighters at the time (Shear 2012).

Moreover, the police acted with a callousness to the suffering of the workers by the black elite who were in cahoots with capital. The elites' complacency can be interpreted because of desperation for inclusion into the zone of being and approval from the white oligarchs. Despite the possession of political power, there seems to be a reluctance to radically challenge white supremacy. This can partly be explained by internalized racism manifests in black people as "idealizing whites and white culture while blaming members of their group for their oppression... internalized racism reveals dynamics by which oppression is reproduced by people of colour towards people of colour..." Green 1994 and Rosenwasser 2002 cited by Williams 2008: 2, 3).

5.4.2 Negationism

Another modality through which coloniality of knowledge manifests and is institutionalized is through distortion, erasure, and silence. The modern Euro-society is premised on the erasure of not only the histories and ways of existence of many indigenous people but also the falsification and distortion of that history, including the distortion of knowledge meant to functionally serve the social, economic, political, and spiritual components of the oppressed. The erasure of pasts, cultures, and powers of the otherised functions as a concretizing modern imperial subordination of others has manifested itself at Marikana through the attempted distortion of the truth about the culpability of the state and the mine workers. The widows of the mine workers were insistent on the demand for the truth about what transpired at the koppie on the days of the massacre. This is so because the widows noted the dominant narrative, which painted the miners as violent and blood-crazed strikers whose deaths were justifiable. Meaning the distortion of truth was a justification tool for the capitalist state-sanctioned police brutality and massacre of workers. Negation is an avenue of distortion and denial of the past and augmentation of public memory, but the widows' insistence on the truth is fundamentally a form of resistance to the element of coloniality of knowledge, especially knowledge about the miners and what transpired at the koppie. Moreover, the widows kept on insisting on post-mortems as a form of resisting the narrative about the blood-crazed mine workers. They sought to be given information about the causes of death but also, apart from requesting information, this enabled individuation of the deceased miners "A post-mortem is an examination of

something that has recently happened, especially something that has gone wrong” (Collins dictionary).

The Marikana commission is a sight of contestation of the humanity of the miners and that of the women. The widows’ struggles do not take on a liberal separatist approach to identity, they position themselves as relational subjects whose relationship with the miners is not expressed as oppressive. At the Farlam commission, the humanity of the miners remained challenged and deprived, including the integrity of the widows. There were deliberate attempts to cast doubt on the testimonies of the widows. Even in the experiences of trauma, the agents of the modern colonial capitalist violent system seek to mute the damaging narratives of the testimonies of the widows to the violence of the state and capital in South Africa. The question of believability is the outcome of the logic of the modern-colonial capitalist system sustained on deception. The deception regarding people’s identities, people’s land, and many other lies sustain the hierarchies of the capitalist world. The projection that women’s voices cannot be believed comes from the self-projection of the essence of a heterosexual western bourgeois male whose entire superiority is premised on the lies talked about not only individuals but entire civilizations and people.

5.4.3 Contesting the Centred and Over-Represented Man

Globalized Eurocentric modernity has resulted in the universalization of the bourgeois model of being human as normative (Wynter cited by McKittrick 2014). This model of being human that is overly commercialized has become the common lens through which many measure progress and active citizenry through employment albeit exploitative. It is crucial to recall that in many contexts Africans refused to be employed and opted to live and exist as they did outside the industrial capitalist mode of dehumanization and disempowering labour. The quest for employment is a form of giving in to the modern-colonial capitalist agenda of turning black bodies into productive stocks for commerce. The normative perspective on unemployment is characterized by pathologizing unemployment, especially voluntary unemployment. Often the pathologizing tactics have involved labelling those who refuse to work as lazy despite this being a projection onto black people by those who survive through the subjugation of others’ hard labour. Within the modern-colonial logic, work is a signifier of proximity to the bourgeois model of humanity, the homo-economicus. It is a way of looking, understanding and knowing about the world’s value judgements over people. Here I wish for us to think and approach this differently in the sense of inviting the reader to think differently as means to reject the

universalization and normalization of the bourgeois man/homo economicus by focusing on aspects of the profiles of the widows.

The widows remaining in the labour-sending communities, including their decision and desire to quit working for Lonmin, should also be read as a reflection that the homo-economicus conception of humanity is being rejected as a normative model in favour of alternative forms of existing outside the exploitative regime of modern capital which is protected by the semi-structural neo-liberal state. This means there are ways of being human outside commercialized bodies that are trapped within the neoliberal cultural, economic and philosophical system where everything is transactional. The alternative human modelling by the widowed women who decide to escape the trap of modern-colonial labour which deprives them of being with their families and children, is an avenue for further research. The choice to leave work should not simply be read through liberal feminist logic, which shuns unemployment as a patriarchal outcome but shunning employment as a response to challenging precarity, exploitation and subjection as well as pursuits of alternative ways of being. Such research would enable us to grasp other ways of being human outside the commercial model. Doing so would aid in challenging the perception of voluntary unemployment as a pathology needing fixing especially fixing, without fundamentally addressing the pathological nature of the modern capitalist system of production and labour relations. Thus the choice to be unemployed while the men worked could also be read as a form of resistance as opposed to exclusively using the usual feminist critique of simply attributing women's existence outside the labour market as the cause of patriarchy. Rejecting work, especially exploitative labour, is an act of resistance, even the thought of quitting is a reflection of consciousness distinct from Marx's worker consciousness but a decolonial consciousness for the realization and desire to quit also signals rejection of the bourgeois model of being that is pathologized when it comes to black people.

5.5 Towards a Decolonial Resistance

Resistance is simply characterized by the unwillingness to submit to a power which creates conditions that social agents choose not to abide by this resistance is any actions that challenge, question, and oppose claims by power, including conditions of subordination to ultimately yield non-subordinate relations and realities. This conceptualization of resistance is meant to be encompassing the idea of actors, in the sense of who is resisting who for what purposes. This may also include who is resisting what and in what manner. This leads us to think about multiple targets of resistance, including the methods thereof; for instance, not adhering to prescribed expectations of identity performance could be an intentional form of resistance.

Attempting to be human within the context of dehumanization inherent within coloniality, creating zones of non-being imprisoning most people could be a form of resistance.

Combative breathing is yet another form of resistance as is with strategizing and strategies of survival, one way being challenging elites to forge opportunities for inclusion, as has been the case with the Women of Marikana. One can simply deduce that resistance is about action and opposition. This means that resistance speaks to actions that express opposition, and in the case of the subaltern, it is opposition to power or that which represents the embodiment of power. The authors suggest that resistance entails actions that are recognized by the opposition and observers. Therefore, decolonial resistance is characterized by resistances that exhibit attempts at detaching/delinking in ways that present or pursue different ways of being, existing and thinking about the world. Decolonial resistance is a process which begins with a consciousness geared toward delinking. For this to happen there must be awareness, meaning thinking about conditions of subjection. It requires a decision to seek or opt for a different way of knowing and existing in the world and lastly requires action for the process of delinking to begin.

5.5.1 Resuscitation and Rehumanization as Resistance

Marikana commission is a contentious site of resistance wherein the widows were confronting and challenging the inhuman narratives used to embellish the characters of the miners. The widows engaged in ontogenic resuscitation of their humanity by breathing life into the humanity of the miners. The widows were engaged in the process of excavating the humanity of not only themselves but that of the miners. They did this through the testimonies that sought to anchor the characters of their husbands. In the media as well as during the commission, the mine workers were projected as criminals and violent savages and the widows were aware of this. The widows countered this projection by narrating that their husbands were peaceful men who were also responsible citizens who contributed to building their communities and were also family men. They did this by re-emphasizing the workers' struggle with their husbands. They attempted to construct Sylvia Wynter's Man 1 out of their deceased husbands through the Christian modality of being man 1. The Christian-centric design of man was a means of explicating and using modern tools and frameworks to attest to and affirm the humanity of the miners. It was as if the widows were stating, "by the standards of the Euro-modern-colonial standards of man, their husbands were also qualifying to be man 1. But this of course is challenged by the homo oeconomicus framework of humanity which the miners were not meeting in terms of criteria.

Unfortunately, the mine workers were devalued homo economicus as notable by the sentiment that the death of black bodies is nothing worth frowning upon (see Simons 1961). The quote shared by Simons reiterates the theoretical arguments made about black lives in the modern colonial capitalist economy indicating that the life of black mine workers was not deemed important. The death of black miners was synonymous with nothingness and non-significance as events within the extractive sector. However, there was a great effort to counter this view when assessing the efforts by the widows to rehumanize their husbands. We can conceptualize this as engagement in ontogenic resuscitation from the social death experienced by the miners. In a world where bodies are made to suffer, especially with impunity, deviation from the perspective of devalued and normalized death that is not contestable is a powerful existential act of resistance. The resistance is enacted through the rejection of the acceptance of the devaluation and character assassination ascribed to the beings of the late mine workers.

5.5.2 Demanding Truth for Resistance

The widows were also in constant demand of truth. The insistence on seeking the truth had a rehumanizing element through the healing implication it had. For instance, during the commission, Mrs Mosebetsane argued that the;

“Commission has also helped us because it has enabled us to receive the assistance of lawyers. This has enabled us to express how we feel. This is important because it helps us to heal if we know the truth and if we can tell the Commission about our loved ones and how the[ir] deaths have affected us. It helps us to accept the situation.”

The widows insisted on hearing the truth about what transpired especially given the fact that the killing of their husbands was justified by the accusations made against them, rendering them culpable in their deaths. There is a commonly argued notion that truth is a subject of power but also truth can be read and understood as an act of liberation. Knowing the truth has cognitive benefits that have health implications. The quest for healing brings up attributes of post-modern colonial humanity. The emergence of a new mode of bothofication opens a different consciousness that transcends black subjectivity of being trapped within the systematic circle of anti-blackness. To demand the truth for healing and the quest to become better and healthier makes up fundamentally somatic healing with existential implications for botho of the miners. Others may critique that the modern colonial capitalist system continued to suffocate and heal while in a damaging and toxic environment creating cul-de-sac resistance, meaning it does not achieve much. The counterpoint to such is the widows’ quest to heal as

well as the suggestions to quit their jobs showing that they fundamentally deal with a deeply existential form of resistance which sought to free the self from the clutches of modern-colonial capitalist constant and cyclical violation. Above all, the demand for truth is indicative of an awareness that anchors the basis for rejecting the demonizing descriptions and labels assigned to their husbands.

The tendency to conceal the truth is historically an economical logic applied based on the assumption that people conceal the truth if lying maximizes their material dividends (Abeler, Nosenzo and Raymond 2019). The widows understood that the police were lying when they accused their husbands. Lies are “speech acts which the speaker knows are misleading or false, are intended to deceive, and where evidence to the contrary is known to the observer... Lies include excuses, which deny full responsibility for an act but acknowledge its immorality, and justifications, which accept responsibility by denying blameworthiness” (Hunt and Manning 1991: 51). another study on police lying is by Klockars (1984), who showed how police attach moral meanings to lying. Morality is context and culture-specific. Similar to ethics, as we noted earlier, coloniality has its code of morality where commerce supersedes all else. The police denied the widows' ethical exigency required for them to move on; the demand for the truth to an extent, can be viewed as a form of displacing power and granting authority to the police in the sense of reliance on their avowal to reveal the truth.

Foucault (2014), while studying avowal, argued that refusal to publicly proclaim wrongdoing was an act of civil disobedience in a specific context for avowal to grant power to the figure being confessed to. The police and state's refusal to tell the truth as the widows claimed is indicative of the multifaceted resistances that characterized the Marikana commission including resistance against the widows and bereaved families. This further shows that Marikana was indeed a contested site wherein the bodies of the deceased miners and the humanity of the widowed women and their families were collateral damage in a war for protecting capitalism as it has historically been the mandate of the assignment given to the south African police during apartheid and the South African Police Service in post-apartheid South Africa. The continuities are evident.

The demand for truth can also be read as a political struggle against the capitalist state which tries to disguise its hostility towards the black working class by attempting to claim zero wrongdoing by justifying the deaths of the mine workers. Unlike before when killing black bodies was done with impunity, the post-apartheid promise forces the state to also be mindful

not to appear anti-black especially because the state is governed by a black political elite. However, the other apparatuses of the modern colonial capitalist state deployed media framing that demonized the mine workers (see Mokoena 2020). What the media and the police, including the legal representatives of the police, did was shape public discourse and, consequently, public memory concerning the politics and economics of Marikana in a pro-capitalist way. The widows, by rejecting the dominant narrative and testimonies at the time, were rejecting the way of seeing the demand for better wages and the lives and labour of the mine workers as worth responding to with violence as is normative for capitalist states (see Marinovich 2016).

5.5.3 Axiologenic Struggle as Resistance

The widows were engaged in the valorization of the miners within the context of the “world systemic capitalist free-market economic system that exploits and excludes. The widows were engaging in an axiologenic struggle to not only resuscitate the humanity of their late husbands but their humanity in the process. The concept of axiologenic struggle is generated from the concepts of genic, which refers to biology, and axiology which simply refers to the criteria of values and value judgement made. As it has been noted throughout the thesis, the valuation of black bodies signals a crisis of Eurocentric humanism. An axiologenic struggle refers to the struggle against the poor valuation of bodies that are othered within the modern capitalist economy. Axiologenic struggle refers to resistances and multifaceted rejections and challenges to the devaluation of othered bodies. These othered bodies can be racialized, gendered and subjected to sexism, ableism, ageism, classism, xenophobia and/or religious discrimination. Axiologenic struggle responds to the phenomenon of the immediate appearance of black bodies as a threat, it responds to the residues of the overt fear tactic used by the segregationist regime of apartheid in the form of *swart gevaar/black danger* to justify oppression that enabled the survival of the western specie.

The widowed women managed to expose and express how the world-systemic free market cum politically liberal-democratic south Africa deprived the miners, and them as workers, the capacity to decently and completely become homo-economicus. The widows, in their attack on capital as enslavement and the verbalization of their desire to escape indicate not only resistance to the notion of the modern-bourgeois consumerist subject model of humanity as the pinnacle of humanity as false. The suggestions of decentralization of the bourgeois modality of humanizing people. The widows also draw on the linguistic framework of human rights. Suarez-Krabbe (2016) did critique the idea of human rights as a modern colonial project. Still,

she explains that in as much as it is problematic, it serves as an intermediary tool for helping address existing socio-economic struggles of the marginalized. The widows also drew upon the language of human rights by stating, “fighting for my human rights”. This is a philosophically significant moment in the sense that the widows claim their humanity and recognize themselves as human, and demand to be treated as human hence the threat to fight for their human rights. What we see here is a deliberate act of resistance against dehumanization that comes with modern coloniality. Although the human of human rights is constituted within coloniality, the demand for those rights, similar to the initial quest to be given work to make a living, can be interpreted as transition requests for there is recognition that the right to work in this context of the modern-colonial economy is not adequate for rehumanization hence the desire to quit which can be viewed as a form of detaching and therefore decolonial.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the data and began with showing how Marikana is a sectoral reflection of coloniality which manifested various facets of coloniality, namely coloniality of power, being and knowledge. The chapter aimed to help the reader better understand the context, which helps us understand how coloniality manifests itself in the South African extractive sector. The realities and challenges faced at Marikana are not exclusive to the geospatial area of Marikana. Still, it is reflective of the realities of too many black working classes and poor people in many South African peri-urban spaces. The chapter discussed the continuation of racist colonial capital in the extractive sector; it argued for urban bias conceptualized as rurality to be an integral part of the decolonial framework. Urban bias is not a uniquely South African phenomenon. Many countries, especially developing countries, have exhibited asymmetries of privilege in terms of development. There continues to be a great rural and urban divide which exposes how colonialism was concentrated in urban areas. The quest for delinking can help us think differently about rurality in the sense that it can be understood as a negative phenomenon when considering the demand for inclusion into the modern colonial economy in which rurality signals exclusion.

But when we detach from the homo-economicus centric way of being, then the rural areas become avenues for engaging in the least tainted spaces that can help us understand and know about decolonial ways of being for these are assumed to be detached or least influenced by modern-colonial cosmopolitan existence. The women’s resistance is a contentious journey in the sense that it began with quests for inclusion as means to becoming human but there is quick

awareness and verbalization of the dehumanizing nature of modern capitalist economies and their productive relations. Modern capitalism is sustained by what has been conceptualized as drudgerous labour and wages and the reinforcement of the false idea that humanity is equivalent to the bourgeois notion of humanity. The chapter also highlighted how the women's testimonies were rescuing the miners from being dehumanized and the family unit which has historically been under destruction by apartheid and the colonial migrant labour system, the widowed women reconstitute the importance of family in the African context but emphasizing familyhood and how capitalist violence has affected familyhood.

Moreover, this analysis by the widows also highlights how not only gendering as a process has elements of relativity but it is also complimentary. Meaning there is a cooperative outlook on gender identities and roles as opposed to oppositional. Another avenue of coloniality of being is the concept of spirituality which the widows deployed as an avenue to rehumanize the miners. This rehumanization happens within the modern colonial habitus of logic and being wherein Christianized black bodies are assigned value and perceived to be rendered, worthy humans.

The chapter continued to show how the apartheid and colonial consciousness permeates contemporary South Africa and how violence against black bodies is embedded in the capitalist state and how it is understood/known to function vis a vis a role of protecting capitalism as an economy. Within capitalist economies, deception is a common phenomenon especially when the purpose is to protect capitalism. Meaning the truth was augmented when representing the miners as crazed violent protestors. Such a representation was geared at protecting the state and Lonmin's actions that led to the death of mine workers. Consequently, the widows were adamant for the truth to be told as opposed to the common act of spreading misinformation about colonized and neo-colonized people. The widows engaged in decolonial work by demanding the truth to be told. The chapter ended with conceptualizing decolonial resistance and showed the multiple ways in which the widowed women engaged in resistance and a case was made, albeit at the existential and consciousness levels, that the widowed women of Marikana were engaged in a decolonial form of resistance.

The Conclusion of the Study

6.1 Introduction

This chapter brings the thesis to completion. It begins with a reminder to the reader of the focus of this research and the overall enrichment due to the lessons from the widows. The chapter thereafter provides a synthesis of the entire thesis, followed by reflections inspired by what the entire research managed to elucidate. Recommendations for further research precede a summary of the contribution to knowledge that this thesis provides. The thesis began with the intention to unmute the silence on the voices of resistance that took place in the context of Marikana. The interest was in trying to understand how women who are left to struggle in the labour reserves, conceptualized as the extended social reproductive sphere, participated in the most memorable and bloody strike during post-apartheid South Africa.

I was interested in learning more about the role the taken-for-granted women played in the strike. There was already existing focus on the participation of the women who resided at Marikana. Mindful of South Africa's perennial migrancy system, my interest culminated in a quest to find out how were the widows, situated in the far labour-sending communities in and outside South Africa, engaged in resistance. I sought to explore the actions the widowed women exhibited, the narratives they shared and how they enacted resistance. Upon reading through the literature on Marikana, it occurred to me that existing studies offered partitive analyses rooted in meta-theories, and there was no published research that analysed Marikana using a decolonial lens which informed this thesis. Afrodecolonial frame meant to help us analyse and understand Marikana as a geo-conceptual politico-economic-cultural phenomenon. This meant the application of decoloniality as an analytical lens, a task which proved troubling in the beginning, for there was no helpful literature on research methods that provided a guide on how to do decolonial research and analysis. Consequently, one had to develop a practical methodology for doing decolonial research.

Doing so helped one to assess if the resistance undertaken by the widowed women can be classified as decolonial. The research process revealed that the widowed women of Marikana were involved in resistance. They resisted and openly challenged negative narratives peddled about their late husbands. Their words provided this study with empirical data that anchored the global debates about modern capitalism and how it shapes personal identities, deploys violence to reproduce itself, and the nexus between the state and capital. These themes

constitute debates that are pursued by decolonial scholars. What is unique is that the widowed women help decolonial scholars to realize the nuances in seemingly homogenizing concepts; for instance, they help us grasp border thinking from a heterogenous perspective. The widowed women have assisted in advancing empirical understanding of coloniality, and their views shared provide hope and inspiration for crafting Afrodecolonial resistance that can fundamentally respond to the crisis of globalized capitalism.

6.2 Synthesis of the thesis

The philosophical argument advanced in this project is that decolonial research must abide by the various intellectual critiques and suggestions made by various decolonial scholars regarding decoloniality as an epistemic tradition. Arguments advanced have entailed the importance of the historical and contextual location of phenomena under study. This consequently meant that the thesis begins with a contextual presentation of literary debates about Marikana to socio-geo-conceptually locate the subjects of this study which are the widowed women of Marikana located in the labour-sending communities conceptualized as the extended social reproductive spheres. The thesis aimed at extending knowledge on the forms of resistance that transpired at Marikana outside the traditional modes of resistance enacted through labour and community struggles. This rendered the thesis a descriptive-analytical project which deployed decolonial reading of resistances. However, this decolonial inquiry necessitated a methodological innovation that would legitimize the study as a decolonial project.

To do that, the thesis delved into a philosophical debate which is considered paramount for decolonial research. This meant that the structure of the thesis alters to provide a framework for perceiving and engaging the work of this project. The structural alteration is made up of commencing with a contextual literature review found in the introductory chapter followed by a methodology chapter that entails philosophical arguments about what constitutes decolonial research. The methodological chapter began with a critical discussion of disciplinary knowledge, especially from the perspective of political science. It presented existing debates on the critique of the discipline of political science from an African-centred perspective. It then offered a discussion of the research paradigm and presented the outcome of the endeavour to construct a decolonial research paradigm for this thesis. An African-centred decolonial paradigm was chosen as a springboard for introducing an Afro-decolonial paradigm as a concept. This set the stage for the discussion on the ontological premise of this study, including the epistemic debates in decolonial discourse. The chapter then delved into a discussion and decolonial critique of methodology and method and proposed approaches suitable for this

study. Consequently, a multi-method approach was presented as a frame for this thesis. This was then followed by a narrative of the experience of the researcher in data collection and the choices of data the study interpreted and analysed. The chapter that followed responded to the imperative of a historical context conducted through a presentation of literature review, which employed a decolonial approach. The third chapter titled a decolonial review of literature, entailed a discussion and conceptualization of a decolonial literature review, which makes up part of the plethora of unique contributions this study has added. The historical approach was merged with a broader contextual one by reviewing literature from a regional/continental perspective beginning with the history of African political economy from the time of slavery as means to highlight how that affected Africa's economic history.

The thesis thereafter delved into a discussion on colonialism and post-colonialism as means to help frame the understanding of post-colonial states and economies in Africa. Thereafter, it zoomed into a country-specific analysis focusing on South Africa's political economy of race, class and gender. It discussed the architecture of socio-economic exclusion and migration, which helps us understand the context of South Africa's extractive sector wherein the widows are linked. The review reminded the reader how gender intersected in that migrant labour system and the dynamics around gender and subjectivity in the context of gendered political economy and resistance. The thesis also entails highlights the agentic practices of workers and communities in the historiography of mining. And lastly engaged in discussion. This was followed by the presentation and interpretation of the results by drawing the various themes that emerged as a result of patterns noted in the responses of the participants.

The research has furnished the reader with the analysis of the Marikana commission, especially the tone that foregrounded the testimonies of the bereaved families and widows. The tone was hostile and dismissive of the legitimacy of the statements made by the families of the deceased miners. There was evidence of othering that transpired at the commission in terms of how the testimonies from the families were confronted. As part of a focus on the widows, the biographical information of the widows was summarized and presented in a table format. The data for the biographies were collated from various sources used as data in this research. The widowed women's stories about their experiences have contributed to shedding light on the lived experience of the modern colonial capitalist system. The analysis of the data has yielded various themes that have been presented in the fourth chapter and the fifth chapter entails an analysis of the relevant results that helped shed light on how the widowed women of Africa who were left behind in the labour-sending communities and households classified as the

extended social reproductive sphere exhibited resistance that confronts coloniality of power, knowledge and being.

6.3 Reflections

At the core of coloniality is the power asymmetries accrued to capitalist states. South Africa has been declared a neoliberal state even though such a classification does not a disservice by disregarding some level of state planning and interventions through its public policies geared at responding to the socio-economic needs of the citizens, industrial policy and attempts for economic restructuring. The concept of a semi-structured neoliberal state appears to be more conceptually befitting than a simply neoliberal state. Nonetheless, the criticisms against neoliberalism continue to be highly relevant in the South African context. The South African economy has worsened in terms of inequalities. The marginal position of too many women is reflected in the Marikana phenomenon, wherein women continue to be dependent on the single and often meagre income of their husbands. The Marikana phenomenon helps us see how the migrant labour system in South Africa continues to be exploitative and consequently reproduces precarious existence for too many families. The case of Marikana also enabled us to understand that the capitalist mode of production is not only dependent on productive labour but unpaid social reproductive labour.

But more than this, the thesis has shown how migrant workers' income is split between multiple units of financial responsibility, namely the immediate social reproductive sphere and extended social reproductive arenas, where family units also depend on the income accrued by the workers. The outcome of the negotiations with Lonmin concerning? the loss of mineworkers and, subsequently, the financial support for the families of the miners, the decision was carried out to absorb the widows. This absorption as employees of Lonmin came as a result of the criticism hailed at Lonmin by the widows was centred on how they would survive to post the deaths of their husbands. We already witnessed these during the commission, which indicates the critique and combative spirit against subjection. Marikana is a site of power struggles constituting the state, capital, organized labour, and informal labour movement centered on the confluence of worker and community struggles. Marikana as a phenomenon that began with the protracted strike and issues leading up to it is a spectacle that helps us understand coloniality in the context of the South African extractive sector. It helps us understand the manifestation of the darker side of modernity characterized by a patriarchal capitalist modern/colonial world system sustained by coloniality of power, knowledge and being.

The housing dilemma and failure of Lonmin to follow through on its promises to build and develop the communities in which it operates reflects poor governance and complacency in the leadership of the post-apartheid state. There need to be tougher repercussions for failure to comply as well as effective monitoring instruments to assess the corporate responsibilities companies have. Capitalist logic of exploitation is destructive innovation for purposes of expansion which yields more employment however it is crucial to ensure that human dignity is not compromised as a such signal violation of human rights of the workers that governments and states have greater responsibility over. The logic of companies being above reproach, even when they fail to comply with recommendations and socio-developmental policies, should cease being a normative feature of public-private sector relations. Of course, the South African state is fundamentally pro-capital, its foundational DNA was designed to serve the interests of capital and not the populace. Be as it may, the onus remains on this government to seriously pursue and advance structural transformation in favor of altering historical patterns of economic injustice and post-apartheid dehumanization.

There is a need to urgently respond to the continued pathologizing of black bodies and challenge the normalized suffering and subjection to squalor conditions of living. Capitalist development is characterized by enclaves of wealth geospatially located in relative proximity to the cheapest form of exploitable labour and bodies easily available to them. The exploitable bodies often living in dehumanizing squalor/squatter camps oscillate between social death existence and attempts to escape. The enclaves of wealth are ethno-class sites dominated by bourgeois man exist to show the exploited models of bourgeois humanity they ought to aspire towards. This entails trappings into a cycle of dehumanization because the economic structures of modern-colonial capital intrinsically construct and reproduce structures that keep the dehumanized outside the zone of humanity despite them working and helping produce conditions of humanity in the western bourgeois sense.

6.4 Recommendations

The research heavily relied on secondary data meaning there were no direct interviews conducted with the widows. The reason for such was due to the lethargy felt by the widows and those representing them that everyone was exploiting their stories for their benefit, and the widows did not receive anything in return. The critique was similar to the criticisms against exploitative practice normalized in the extractive sector. Moreover, at the time this research began, the wounds of the widows were still bleeding in the sense that there remained many unresolved issues, suggesting that there was a greater chance of triggering the widows.

Consequently, the study had to rely solely on secondary data, and five different sources with the voices of the widows in them had to be used.

I also recommend that future studies invest more into expanding on the various arguments and concepts introduced in the methodology of this study, for instance, the Afrodecolonial paradigm, including an expansion on the framework for decolonial research praxis. There is also a need for the expansion and work to be done regarding decolonial research ethics and the consequence of making certain decisions such as the one done in this research, to respect the rejection by the gatekeepers/representatives of the widows and not ask any of the widows to participate in this study. The empathy concerning the pain felt by the widows and the awareness of not having any material benefits to accrue to the widows became part of the basis for not asking the widows for interviews.

There is also a greater need for a concise and clear conceptualization of heterarchy, including the concepts constitutive thereof; for instance, race assumes multiple meanings and interpretations in Latin America and Africa, specifically South Africa. Latin American decolonial scholarship cited in this thesis renders language a category of race, whereas, in South African scholarship, race is a socio-economic construct. For purposes of mutual intelligibility, concepts must be differentiated and defined. This would make it easier for other students of decoloniality to grasp the framework and be able to differentiate it from other theories and fields, such as post-colonial studies. I also recommend that research be conducted on alternative conceptions of doing human that is outside the habitus of the modern colonial capitalist system, and the undeveloped areas can provide a better avenue. A comparative analysis of those who have worked and left mines to return to emakhaya to make a living would help excavate alternative modes of doing human.

6.5 Contribution to Knowledge

Existing research on Marikana provided analysis that was partitive based on meta-narratives wielded from grand theories such as Marxism. The majority of the scholarship did not privilege the voices of the women of Marikana except for a few scholars whose focus was on women based at Marikana either as workers or wives and partners of the late mine workers. The research on the women showed us that the women's presence at the mines played an influential role in the strike. Existing research did not privilege knowledge production from the perspective of the widowed women who were not physically present at Marikana during the protracted strike. All of the above means that there was an empirical and theoretical gap that this study aimed to respond to. The empirical gap was in the form of non-existing studies that

focused on the widowed women who lived in labour-sending communities far from Marikana. The fact that none of the existing studies analysed Marikana through a decolonial lens meant that there was also a theoretical gap that this study had to respond to. This research did not simply import a decolonial framework, it developed a novel concept termed Afrodecolonial that was specifically tailored for this study and expanded the decolonial framework to include rurality as a technology of oppression in modern societies. There are a number of other concepts that coincide in this study based on the data and analysis of the research, namely, drudgerous wages, border-being among others.

It was imperative for me to first understand and define what a decolonial analysis entails to develop approaches to conducting a decolonial study. This manifested in the adherence to the imperative of historical and contextual approaches as means to locate, explain and understand black subjectivity. This was achieved by engaging literature that provided context and history to the political economy of mining in South Africa. This was characterized by reading, analysing and citing literature that was specific to Marikana, including literature that broadly spoke to the political and economic concepts that are relevant. Doing so ensured that the thesis is characterized by applied decoloniality in terms of research methods and approach. The work also contributes a better understanding of what decolonial philosophy, method and approach constitute. Furthermore, the study contributed knowledge in terms of descriptions of other taken-for-granted acts and words of resistance that transpire in what I call the extended social reproductive sphere. Existing feminist political economy research has social reproduction as a category, and it does not factor in migrant family dynamics. Even the dominant conceptualization of gender is premised on the nuclear family, whereas the case of this research complicates as a view of the family and consequently gendered roles. It is also worth noting that the research provided a more nuanced interpretation of decolonial resistance as opposed to Maldonado-Torres' conceptualization which renders all forms of resistance against colonialism as decolonial. This, of course, does not suggest that that resistance was not decolonial; what is unique here is that there is a better-nuanced articulation of what constitutes decolonial resistance, including an attempt to better conceptualize it rather than simply suggest that all forms of anti-colonial resistance are decolonial.

6.7 Conclusion

Decolonial resistance is a process which begins with a consciousness geared toward delinking. For this to happen, there must be awareness, meaning thinking about conditions of subjection.

It requires a decision to seek or opt for a different way of knowing and existing in the world and, lastly, requires action for the process of delinking to begin. The narratives shared by the widowed women of Marikana exhibited a consciousness and awareness of the inhumane conditions of the capitalist labour market. Instead of fighting for extended inclusion in the form of better wages within the modern-colonial economy, the widows signalled desire and intention to quit in pursuit of alternative ways of doing human. Thus one can argue that the struggles of the widows were decolonial because their resistance responded to coloniality of power (confrontation with Lonmin and the state), being (reinforcing their sense of human rights, familyhood and motherhood) and knowledge (by suggesting interest in alternative ways of doing human outside the homo-economicus model).

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