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Reimagining the Dream : decolonising Academia by putting the last first

Omarjee, N.

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Reimagining the Dream Decolonising Academia by Putting the Last First

Nadira Omarjee



African Studies Centre
Leiden



Universiteit
Leiden

Reimagining the Dream: Decolonising Academia by Putting the Last First

This book is dedicated to Alex Hotz and Brian Kamanzi, and scholars that are putting the last first.

Reimagining the Dream

**Decolonising Academia by Putting the Last
First**

Nadira Omarjee

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African Studies Centre Leiden
P.O. Box 9555
2300 RB Leiden
The Netherlands
asc@ascleiden.nl
www.ascleiden.nl

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Acknowledgements

Cape Town is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. But it is a space of ambiguity. The historical suffering of the people of the Cape is very palatable. There is a melancholy felt on the Cape Flats where hope is faint. A history of slavery, miscegenation, lost identity, and invisibility all plague this beautiful city. The geographical arrangement of the city alludes to this in the way in which Black¹ people are visibly invisible in the more upmarket areas. Property prices along the coastline reinstitute this painful history, with most locals only dreaming of lives beyond their means, perpetuating the coloniality in the landscape of mountain, sea, and vineyard. And, whilst I feel this divide and pull towards the city, I am aware that my queered Black body occupies white spaces that exoticise me for convenience. Returning to this city after twenty years has been met with mixed emotions. I love the landscape, but I am never too comfortable in my surroundings. In this context, the book is written as a tribute to my earlier self that came to Cape Town to attend the University of Cape Town in search of an education and a hope that I might find more than just myself. I hope this book also offers that hope to others who are in search of something bigger than just themselves, and that we find a connection to community.

On my arrival in Cape Town in December 2016, I made the decision to stay here. I realised I wanted to be home again. As a result of this choice, I had to make many sacrifices and find my way again in a city that was familiar yet alien. I connected with long lost friends and acquaintances. One of whom was Saaliegah Zardad. Saaliegah offered to be my life coach through this transition. My sessions with her kept me focused and got me writing the book out of my head and onto my laptop.

2017 has been a challenging year. I lost someone whom I considered a father figure to me. Uncle Kathy was a dear friend and brought comfort to me in troubled times. When I am wrestling with myself, I still imagine conversations with him and what his advice would be. On the night of his passing, I dreamt of him saying that he was ok. I woke up after the dream and knew he had passed on. Whilst I am deeply saddened by his passing, I am very privileged to have had him and my own father and my uncle, Samad Papa, in my

¹ Black is an inclusive political term borne out of apartheid that includes African, Indian and Coloured people (people of colour), hence it is capitalised.

life. Each of them has instilled in me life lessons that I carry with me to this day.

Moving away from father figures to friendships with women (I write women to reflect cis-gendered women as opposed to womxn which is a more inclusive term of gender non-binary and trans femmes), I have been blessed to have strong and kind women in my life. Some of my girlfriends are part of my extended family and I love them dearly. Some have children and their children are part of my life too. I acknowledge them because I have been through some rough patches in my life and they have brought me great cheer in those dark times. My cousins are included in this as well. The list of names here are not according to hierarchy because each friend holds a special place in my life:

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I also want to thank all my teachers in life. Teachers come in many forms. Each day I learn from people around me.

If I missed anyone, please forgive me. Thank you.

With much love, Nadira

Introduction

I began this research by following Alex Hotz and Brian Kamanzi as members of Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Through their participation in this research and with Brian's invitation for an inter-generational conversation, I too became a participant. My conversations with Alex and Brian became the vehicle for the research becoming intersubjective, meaning that the conversation became the research. The conversations were organic and flowed. As part of our conversations and with deep reflection I have learned that love is the foundation for revolution – 'putting the last first'. Through this experience, I have grown and learned more than I had imagined I would.

The bonds of love are created through mutual recognition² (recognition of self and other) and a feminist ethics of caring. We read a lot about being fully human but for me the experience became a reality when I had to abandon any notion of supremacy over the other to be fully present and recognise the other as the same, whilst being an individual and therefore different from me. This became the basis for the practice of mutual recognition in the conversations. It also leans heavily on understandings of Ubuntu (an Nguni philosophy), 'I am I because you are you'. Ubuntu is premised on an ethics of care. I took these considerations into my conversations. Listening was key to the conversation. The journey that Alex, Brian, and myself have travelled has been a glimpse into how education can shift and allow for lived experiences to be shared. Moreover, education is no longer the preserve of the elite but instead is understood as a human right that is accessible to all. The foundation for this book is however not on the basis of social justice but rather on feminist psychoanalytical leanings of how intrapsychic processes such as mutual recognition impact the way we make meaning of the self and how that meaning is extended outwardly to the other. Therefore, the starting point of the self is where the journey begins. And, to this extent, it is about the process of decolonising the self in order to abandon any notion of supremacy.

2 Mutual recognition is based on the concept of recognition of self and other in the process of individuating in child development. This process allows the child to recognise the importance of the other for the self to become a subject.

All the scholars³ I have engaged with inspired me to look beyond my lived experiences and to think through frameworks that challenged the status quo. They have stretched me and at times this became uncomfortable. However, it also made me re-evaluate who I am and what I was actually doing with this research. Because of this process of self-reflection, oftentimes I was self-indulgent. But this too gave me insight into myself: my own psychoses, conditioning, and colonialities that I was complicit in perpetuating even if they were formerly blind spots. It challenged my notion of critical thinking and the future of education. Through the conversations, I realised the need for understanding and opening myself up without prejudice, to learn something new or something I already knew but from a different perspective. It allowed me to abandon any previously held beliefs as part of the decolonisation process that ultimately leads to a decolonised self.

My ideas on critical pedagogy and sharing lived experiences of others in any space that we occupy whether as activists, educationalist, community organisers, or just conversations at the table (feminist killjoys, see Sara Ahmed, 2004) is where we need to focus our practice of mutual recognition and critical thinking. This book is very much about how learning through sharing, which has become the vehicle for decolonising education and abandoning the idea of supremacies and hierarchies in conversation. The more I learn the more I realise that nuance is the best way to blur the lines of supremacies by making us understand our own vulnerabilities and strengths. It brings us closer to accepting ourselves and others. Both Alex and Brian have been a crucial part of this process (the intersubjective experience of the research). We have all been each other's teachers and for that I am eternally grateful to them for inviting me to have these intergenerational conversations.

The idea of writing this book came from a deep desire to know things differently (see Baruch Spinoza). Initially the idea was to produce articles for publication. I presented my data at a workshop organised by Kathy Davis at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on 30 June 2016. As I was reviewing my notes in the workshop, Kathy asked me what would you really like to do with these conversations? She looked at my notebook and said you have a lot of data – would it not be better to produce a book telling the story of the conversation and where it took you? It was at that moment that the book was realised. I then started presenting parts of my research at conferences and was invited to turn my conference papers into chapters. Each chapter in this book has

3 'Scholars' refers to students, teachers, and researchers.

been presented at a conference as part of making the conversations public as well as testing the ideas in this book before publication. The idea is to make the book accessible and as a result to broaden the conversation on how to decolonise the academy, making it more inclusive.

The book does not flow. The chapters don't fit neatly into each other. I specifically employed this as *vervreemdingseffect*. I relied on Bertolt Brecht's understandings of jarring the audience into consciously knowing and being aware of the writer's presence in the process of reading. This strategy is a way of challenging how we read and write the academy. It is also a way in which to address the question of reading and writing the academy with specific consideration towards Paulo Freire's (1970) understanding of 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'; who is writing; who is reading; who is setting the agenda? These are questions that are part of the criticality that defines the decolonial turn.

As a Black South African woman, growing up during apartheid, my lived experiences have been defined by seminal moments of love and humiliation. I have carried with me traumas based on racial and gender discrimination. The police to this day instil fear in me. Their presence brings up painful memories. I remember one Sunday morning in 1981 I ran into our flat to warn my mom that the police were coming. As they approached I could see my mom preparing herself for the worst possible news. And even though the news was not related to political activity it was painful. My brother had died in a car accident. Usually the presence of the police meant people were being arrested and detained. We were never sure if we would ever see them alive again. Those were especially during the days of the state of emergency in the mid-1980s. As a result, I have not warmed up to authority.

As I think about privilege, history, and settler-colonialism in the context of decolonisation, I realise that I too have to foreground my privilege. I am part of a trajectory of people that came from Gujarat in India as merchants. My ancestors were capitalists in search of new territory to expand their capital. In some ways, apartheid prevented them from advancing through state-sanctioned policies that benefitted white people only. But they were in no way underprivileged. Their lands were appropriated by the apartheid state under the Group Areas Act (1966), but this only tells us that they could afford land. It is disingenuous to talk about decolonisation without taking responsibility for unearned privileges that painted the hierarchy of racial domination. Being Black means being an ally with other Black communities as well as being conscious of class, race, gender, sexuality, and dis/ability (Puar, 2017) and how these function in intersectional ways to maintain systems of domination

(Haraway, 2004). The programme of decolonisation means that nothing is left untouched. All aspects of our lives must be under review for us to be able to move beyond these systems of domination that are the function of coloniality. In that sense, being fully human is a moment of recognition. But it is also a limitation. Being fully human does not mean a supremacy over other beings. I consider animals and the environment as part of the idea of mutual recognition and more so as an exit from the supremacy of being towards a respect for all life, including the air we breathe.

Feminism has been a defining moment for my own self-awareness. Growing up with racial discrimination was a unifying factor. However, homes are political as much as personal spaces. They define the values and ideologies we later espouse in our daily lives: the division of labour, from child rearing to housekeeping to corporatisation. These realities bring home the social injustices in our very intimate spaces. Power becomes defined by a privilege of genitalia. Having four older brothers and an absentee father, I learnt to be self-sufficient and a fighter. I fought for my place in the hierarchy of the home. Even though I couldn't pushback enough against the power of patriarchy, I did manage to gain my own sense of independence when I left home at the age of eighteen to study at the University of Cape Town. Breaking out of conditions that feel wrong in our bones is part of the process of decolonising the self. Leaving home to attend UCT was liberating but it also came with the high cost of losing home. In some ways UCT is a nostalgic longing for home and belonging.

During apartheid and with the Group Areas Act my extended family in Roshnee (Vereeniging) were not often exposed to people other than Muslim Indian South Africans. This struck me as an odd experience because growing up in Durban we lived amongst a range of Black people in a 'grey' area. Our neighbours were predominantly Indian but not predominantly Muslim. We had neighbours who were Coloured and my brother's best friend was 'mixed' race. His mother was African (Xhosa) and his father Indian. We never saw his mother. She was always hidden away in their home because of the Immorality Act (1957) that did not allow people of different 'races/ethnicities' to engage in sexual behaviour as well as anti-black racism. She could never be seen with her family. I understood from early on the tensions around race and how apartheid was a false system that categorised and divided people.

In our own family, there were tensions between the very religious and apolitical versus the political. The politically conscious were seen as dangerous heathens with their ideas of communism and atheism. In my child's mind, I

remember thinking that the politicians in my family were kinder and smarter people. I was suspicious of the religious and the apolitical because they were judgmental and cautious around people who were unlike themselves. Most conversations on politics were censured. Nobody was beyond suspicion, especially because the apartheid security branch had infiltrated all levels of society. It was then that I took an interest in Marxism and feminism albeit I did not understand the little bits that I read (since most books were banned) and my immediate family were not the intellectual types. I knew that things were out of balance and unjust. It was this sense of unfairness that led me on the journey of abandonment and discovery, a duality and tension that I cannot seem to escape. And, perhaps, it is also this tension that has led me to conversations with Alex and Brian on decolonisation. It was my own sense of abandonment of community and discovery of new ways of being that drove me to find answers or more questions as to why things were out of balance.

Social justice remains an increasingly important lens from which to view the world. It has helped me to understand things better even though many times a lack of it has led to despair. Family members who married (whites) across the racial lines were not allowed to live in South Africa. I didn't pass for white and could not accompany my cousins to the pools at the beach. All these madnesses of apartheid closed in on me, sickening me with fear and rage. In many ways, this book is about releasing some of that rage that was the evil of apartheid. And, yet, I find myself thinking how far have we come when we cannot see each other as fully human? Apartheid was smart. But post-apartheid is diabolical. It is a deferred dream with incarnations of new tyrants. It perpetuates the tropes of apartheid through the guise of neoliberalism and coloniality. We see these tropes alive globally. It is for this reason that decolonisation becomes crucial at this particular moment in time.

My wish with this book is not to present answers. Instead, I have more questions about what we imagine our futures to look like? How would we imagine education becoming more inclusive, accessible as well as a public good? How can education become an everyday experience? I am not writing this book as high theory or a brilliant piece of scholarship. That is not my intention. I am writing this book to share my desire of being/becoming fully human in the hope that it might offer another perspective and spark more conversations on this topic. How do we use our spaces to become fully human? How do we build community? How do we find a sense of belonging even though we are

same yet different? How do we decolonise? How do we become the decolonised self?

Decolonisation demands epistemic changes especially after 'genocidal epistemicides' (Grosfoguel, 2013). Using my feminist psychoanalytic lens to read Rhodes Must Fall (RMF), I saw within my own intellectual traditions the gaps around knowledge production and the implicit inference of power in reproducing certain narratives. To this extent, I have tried to find more sincere ways of capturing data not only for myself but also for the student movements. My concerns were around epistemic integrity and the preservation of the voices of the scholars when power was coming down on them from all corners. Therefore, I decided to engage in the use of video conversations (VC) because through these audio-visuals the voices of the participants in the VC could be preserved without fear or favour.

In the video conversation with Ahmed Kathrada (Uncle Kathy), Brian Kamanzi, Alex Hotz, and Simon Rakei, we see an intergenerational conversation around activism. For Uncle Kathy activism was a state of being and a lifelong commitment. He speaks about mass movement mobilisation, political strategy, and the need for hope. Other archival footage consists of a conversation between Brian Kamanzi from RMF at UCT and Khadija Khan from Fees Must Fall (FMF) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). These conversations serve as memory and record a historical moment between the scholars. The interpretations of these conversations will differ according to the audiences, as it should. Yet the integrity of the conversation will be maintained through the VC.

The conversation with 'Uncle Kathy' is reminiscent of a loving grandfather imparting wisdom to the youth. It is a 'memory against forgetting' (see Milan Kundera). It shows how the conversation as a tool for meaning-making serves to inform all the participants – active as well as passive. It is a sentimental article that holds alive a beloved father figure for me. I cherish these conversations not so much as a piece of scholarly work but more as a personal journey for my very own wrestling nature of reclamation of self. This work traverses the confines of the academy as well as notions of community. It is not my work per se but rather the work of all those before me, all those that participated in giving up their time and energy to have these conversations, as well as those that are yet to come to the conversation.

Where are we right now in South Africa with the call by the students for free quality decolonised education? The Heher Commission was established in

2016 by former President Zuma to evaluate the feasibility of free education. The Heher Commission report claims:

That all students at TVET⁴ Colleges should receive fully subsidized free education in the form of grants that cover their full cost of study and that no student should be partially funded. ... No student is obliged to repay a loan unless and until his or her income reaches a specified level. At the lowest specified level the interest rate is at its lowest but will increase in accordance with specified increases in income growth. If the loan is not repaid within a specified number of years the balance can be written off. The State will repay each student loan to the bank at a given date (say five years from the first advance).⁵

Since the report was made public in 2017, former President Zuma announced that free tertiary education would be made available for the poor. The details of this plan entail broadening the range of students qualifying for free education. However, like many other hopes and dreams in post-apartheid South Africa, we wait with baited breath to see if this too will be fully realised. For many, South Africa has become a dream deferred. The students demanded free quality decolonised education for all. It is possible to meet this request. However, it would mean abandoning a neoliberal agenda that the state adopted in the late 1990s for a much larger social welfare programme and a more structured taxing scheme for big business in South Africa. This is in line with many social welfare countries in the global village because companies benefit from a healthy, skilled, and educated citizenry.

Chapter Outline

The book is based on four chapters. These four chapters attempt to understand different aspects of decolonisation of the academy. Chapter one paints an overview of RMF and the University of Colour (UoC) in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Chapter two in particular challenges the power/knowledge nexus from a feminist psychoanalytical reading of the Freudian Oedipal complex against race evacuation. It attempts to show how theory is not outside the decolonisation programme but rather that it is central to the process of decolonising the curricula. Chapter three illustrates the methodology and

⁴ Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET).

⁵ <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/press-statements/release-report-commission-inquiry-feasibility-making-high-education-and-training>.

how the methodology had to be reconceptualised with the instruments of decolonisation of self as part of a theoretical frame that allowed for intergenerational conversations. And, lastly, chapter four looks at why decolonisation is necessary at this point in history.

My journey with this research has been a difficult one. As a visiting scholar at the VU, I applied to the European Union (EU) and the Nederlands Wetenschap Organisatie (NWO) for funding. My EU application was unsuccessful because of an error on my part on their website and whilst my application at the NWO got some interest in the first round it was not successful. I contacted various other funder organisations (including feminist organisations in the Netherlands) – the research proposal did not get any response. This research was initially envisaged as a three-year programme to workshop the ideas and to build onto these ideas. I am disappointed that the project could not be realised to its full extent. Yet this book is testimony to the passion and gratitude I feel for the conversations I have had leading to this moment.

1

Painting the Picture for Decolonising Academia

A reading of two decolonisation movements: Rhodes Must Fall and the University of Colour

‘Decolonising the mind’⁶ before decolonising the space’ #Rhodes Must Fall

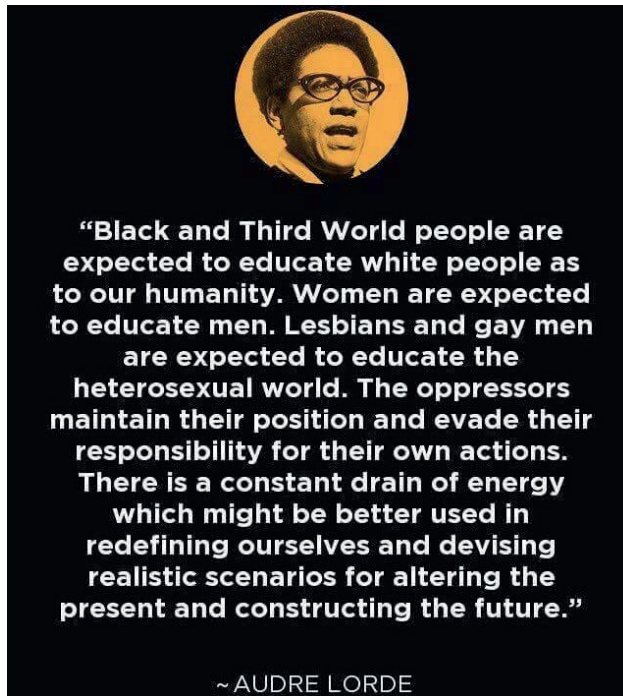


Photo 1

Photograph by Elsa Dorfman (CC-BY-SA)

⁶ This is a term is borrowed from Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's famous book, 'Decolonising the Mind' (2006).

‘Racism is a blight on the human conscience. The idea that any people can be inferior to another, to the point where those who consider themselves superior define and treat the rest as subhuman, denies the humanity even of those who elevate themselves to the status of gods.’ ~ Nelson Mandela speaking during an address to the Joint Houses of Parliament, Westminster Hall, London, England, 11 July 1996#LivingTheLegacy#SayNoToRacism.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on observations of two student movements, Rhodes Must Fall based at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in the global south and the University of Colour (UoC) in Amsterdam including, at the time, my host institution, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU) in the global north. The movement for decolonising academia is based on a nuanced understanding of the effects/affects of coloniality and apartheid (particular to South Africa) towards marginalised communities. RMF at UCT identified the decolonisation programme according to two key aspects: self-determination and self-reliance. Both these key aspects translate into notions of independence both at the community level and at the level of national instruments that translate into policy that is ensured through practice. The reasons for reading RMF at UCT and UoC in Amsterdam are to understand how student concerns are addressed with regard to decolonisation. This was done through conversations about lived experiences, contextualising, and examining how the post-colony and post-empire address issues of social justice, curricula development, and corporatisation of the academy as well as how they imagine the academy becoming more relevant and inclusive.

Keywords: decolonisation, academia, coloniality, mutual recognition, decolonised self, student movements

Historical Background to RMF and UoC

In March 2015, student protests at UCT led to a decolonisation movement, Rhodes Must Fall. During the establishment of RMF, meetings were held and the administration buildings were occupied. One of the (in/visible) markers of RMF was the removal of the Rhodes statue. Other issues of concern involved an end to the practice of outsourcing and free education. RMF was successful in snowballing a nationwide student protest in 2016 and insourcing all UCT workers by 2019. The South African (SA) decolonisa-

tion movements (read here Fallisms; RMF and Fees Must Fall) all share the same vision, 'putting the last first',⁷ which has aligned them in the struggle for free quality decolonised education and an end to outsourcing.⁸ RMF has 3 pillars: ⁹

1. Pan Africanism
2. Black Consciousness
3. Intersectionality through Radical Black Feminism.

In April 2015, De Nieuwe Universiteit (transl. New University) in Amsterdam, opposing the neoliberal university, occupied Maagdenhuis (administration building) and, subsequently, the University of Colour (UoC) was born. The demands of UoC have been added to De Nieuwe Universiteit's demands, which are access to education and decolonisation of the curriculum. UoC states, 'we also believe that autonomy and democratization are meaningless without decolonizing and addressing the exclusionary mechanism within the institution towards women, people of colour, LGTBQIA+, economically disenfranchised, undocumented and differently abled people'.¹⁰



Photo 2

<https://www.change.org/p/university-of-colour-diversify-and-decolonize-the-university>

7 The claims here come from open notebook conversations with Leigh-Ann Naidoo from WITS and Alex Hotz from RMF. Students aligned themselves with the workers' struggle. The term is borrowed from Frantz Fanon (2001).

8 Outsourcing refers to the practice of sub-contracting university workers, resulting in them not being paid a living wage. A distinction is made between workers and academics. Workers refers to people that clean, feed, and provide security on SA campuses.

9 The RMF pillars were identified in an open notebook conversation with Alex Hotz.

10 <http://universityofcolour.com/post/114571407193/the-demands-of-the-university-of-colour>.

Both RMF and UoC share the same aims: a) access to education and b) curricula development. RMF and UoC aspire towards critical pedagogical scholarship and intersectionality with the aim of making academia more inclusive, with access for marginalised groups through social awareness and relevant educational material (read decolonising epistemology) that confronts historical injustices. Critical pedagogy, critical race theory, intersectionality, and feminism are some of the analytical tools that students apply when reading marginalisation within their respective universities or what has been referred to as ‘intersectional decolonization.’¹¹

UCT and VU have both seen parallel demands from their students with regard to becoming more representative, relevant, and inclusive. On 24 October 2015, VU had hosted a conference, ‘Decolonising the University’. And, in London, students demanded free education as in South Africa. Conferences and protests in various international and national contexts highlighted the discontent with neoliberal policies that govern university structures as well as a critique of the Eurocentric curricula and the reification of Western hegemony in epistemological quests. Critiques such as these have been echoed by scholars such as Mahmood Mamdani when he argues that ‘the Enlightenment is said to be an exclusively European phenomenon, then the story of the Enlightenment is one that excludes Africa as it does most of the world. Can it then be the foundation on which we can build university education in Africa?’¹²

Both RMF and UoC have been demanding more accountability and transparency within university structures. RMF in particular has also focused on more African content such as African Philosophy, African Literature, and African intellectual property in curricula development. And, in Amsterdam, UoC has a harsh critique on Eurocentricism and the lack of historically accurate reflections of periods such as the Golden Age.¹³ RMF and UoC are attempting to address the historical relationship between colony and empire by showing how the global south is no longer a geographical location

11 www.universityofcolour.com

12 <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-05-27-africas-postcolonial-scurge>.

13 The Golden Age spans from the 16th to the 17th century and is hailed as the era of entrepreneurship without a critical examination of coloniality and human rights abuses such as slavery and subjugation of the colonised other (<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/race-colonialism-and-the-netherlands-golden-coach>).

(Prasad & Prasad, 2002) through addressing systemic injustices and historical imbalances perpetuated in curricula.

When the Shit Hit the Statue: #RhodesMustFall¹⁴

The nationwide university shutdown¹⁵ in South Africa in October 2015 was offset by the ‘poo protest’ led by Chumani Maxwele at UCT on 9 March 2015. Maxwele, then a master’s student at UCT, threw human excrement at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes that stood at the foot of Jameson stairs leading up to the main campus. His reasoning for doing this was to bring the reality of township life to UCT. Township dwellers live under extremely harsh conditions with limited access to basic human rights such as proper housing and sanitation.¹⁶ Once the ‘shit hit the statue’, students then occupied the administration buildings and renamed them Azania (the Pan African word for Africa) House. This movement was so successful that a sister movement began at Oxford University. This is what the Oxford university students wrote (Rhodes Must Fall Oxford Facebook page):

We find it deplorable that Oriel College continues to glorify an international criminal through its uncritical, deeply violent iconography. As long as the statue remains, Oriel College and Oxford University continue to tacitly identify with Rhodes’s values, and to maintain a toxic culture of domination and oppression. We believe that the colonialism, racism and patriarchy this statue is seeped in has no place in our university - which for many of us is also our home. The removal of this statue would be a welcome first step in the University’s attempt to redress the ways in which it has been an active beneficiary of empire. While it remains standing, the statue of Rhodes remains a celebration not just of the crimes of the man himself, but of the imperialist legacy on which Oxford University has thrived, and continues to thrive. While the statue remains standing, Oxford University continues to condone the persistent racism that shadows this institution.

14 Hashtags are used to show that movements were grassroots-based and employed digital technology as a means to gather and disseminate information. Social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook were seminal in information dissemination. Hashtags are also indicative of the transparency within the student movements because communications based on hashtags can be tracked and mapped.

15 <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/sites/default/files/Commission%20of%20Inquiry%20into%20Higher%20Education%20Report.pdf>.

16 www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/we-love-uct-says-student-who-covered-rhodes-in-shit.

At the University of Cape Town, the statue of Cecil Rhodes has fallen and uncritical memory of his legacy has been discredited. It is at the University of Cape Town where the Rhodes Must Fall movement, a student-led movement to decolonise education, challenges the active influence of colonial relations in Africa, and caused the removal of the statue of Rhodes that overlooked the campus. Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford supports and continues this vital work by looking to critically interrogate the colonial relations on which Oxford University is founded, not just in Africa, but worldwide. We see no reason why here, at the heart of the High Street, at the heart of Oxford, Rhodes cannot also fall.

Brian Kamanzi, one of the members of RME, argues that ‘Rhodes was an avid businessman whose accumulated wealth stemmed largely from mining in Southern Africa, and he was also the colonial driver instigating the creation of the Rhodesian territory. The protest actions, since their inception, have demanded the removal of the statue along with firm commitments to address worker rights, curriculum, and several other issues that have been laid out in full in a petition presented by students, workers, and staff’.¹⁷

Elsewhere Rhodes has been depicted as a British imperialist and a notorious mining magnate that symbolised ‘institutional colonialism’ (Kros, 2015, pp. 150-151). Cynthia Kros (ibid.) has applied Foucauldian logic when reading the fall of Rhodes at UCT. She argues that symbolism in the form of monuments hold a power that translates into documents or policies that maintain colonial dictates. Furthermore, Rhodes believed in maintaining Anglo-Saxon dominance in Africa, the Middle-East, and the United States.¹⁸

Rhodes scholarships are considered prestigious and Oxford-based, with recipients of the Rhodes scholarship being former US President Bill Clinton, and anti-apartheid activists and jurists Bram Fischer and Edwin Cameron. And, now, ironically the Rhodes Foundation has partnered with the Nelson Mandela Foundation to offer African scholars the Mandela Rhodes scholarship for up to two years.

In the 2016 student protests, RMF had been a well-formulated and strategic movement in mobilising students nationally to march on the Union Buildings (Pretoria, South Africa) against fee increases as well as an end to

17 <http://postcolonialist.com/civil-discourse/rhodes-must-fall-decolonisation-symbolism-happening-uct-south-africa/>.

18 http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Cecil_John_Rhodes.aspx.

the practice of outsourcing. In principle, most South African universities have agreed to end outsourcing and the national government agreed to a 0% fee increase for 2016. However, students continued to protest for free education, decolonisation of academia, referring to decolonising epistemology and campus spaces (renaming buildings, gender neutral bathrooms, and examining the content of artworks), free quality education for all (Fallisms), and a wealth tax, which was also proposed by Thomas Piketty at the annual Nelson Mandela lecture on 3 October 2015.¹⁹ Whilst Jacob Zuma was President of the Republic of South Africa, he announced that free education would be granted to students who come from households that earn less than R600,000 per annum. This would mean that cuts would need to be made to other social services programmes. Civil society was outraged because in particular the student movements had set the agenda by 'putting the last first' and this would be counterproductive.²⁰ Nonetheless free education for the poor is a step in the right direction so long as it is a first step towards more quality social services from the cradle to the grave.

The underlying issues leading to the student protests can be understood within a much wider framework on decolonisation with its attendant problems such as curricula development and social injustices brought on by decades of colonial and apartheid oppression. 'The university is perhaps to be approached less as a question of putting knowledge in the service of the public than as a space for inventing the unprecedented' (Premesh Lalu, 'What is the university for?', *Mail & Guardian*, 1 November 2015). Lalu suggests that, in order for the university to survive, it has to reinvent itself within the demands of society and as such it has to become relevant. He suggests that protests in the 1980s (during apartheid) in South Africa led to discussions on 'epistemological access', referring to curricula development. These discussions remain relevant for the evolution and reimagining of the academy, not only in post-apartheid South Africa but also in the former empires in the global north. Furthermore, Lalu (*ibid.*) condemns the 'banality of neoliberal creativity... lends itself to the promise of consumption and fulfilment, but at the same time, drags students into a state of limbo and mere functionality'.

19 <https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/transcript-of-nelson-mandela-annual-lecture-2015>.

20 <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-11-10-00-grant-cuts-to-fund-fee-free-tuition>

Historical Context

Since 1994, post-apartheid South Africa continues to face challenges in dealing with issues around integration and poverty eradication. These issues are not separate from the academy and intersect with the academy through student population, curricula development, and neoliberal policies (Mountz, 2015). Understanding how historical injustices affect current realities is a challenge that needs to be met with decisive action in order to make post-apartheid South Africa relevant, representative, and inclusive. Protests by RMF and UoC have clearly identified these demands as the main objective: an end to financial exclusion, inclusivity of students either stateless or international students (particularly African in the context of South Africa) without hindrance through fees, and addressing language barriers which prevented some students from progressing in certain institutions.

In South Africa and the Netherlands, decolonisation is a pressing issue. In South Africa student protests highlighted inequality and poverty. Middle-income families such as nurses and police (Motala & Vally, 2015) are unable to access government subsidies and grants making access to education impossible for their children. Furthermore, exploitative practices such as outsourcing of university workers prevents them from earning a living wage and so they are unable to afford tertiary education for their children, thus perpetuating poverty and increasing the gap between rich and poor. Therefore an end to the practice of outsourcing of workers at universities in South Africa is a vital gain in the project for decolonisation.

At Stellenbosch University in South Africa, the student movement, OPEN Stellenbosch, demanded a revision on the language policy so that recognition of students from non-Afrikaans speaking backgrounds could also access the university. OPEN Stellenbosch has enabled a shift in language policy with the medium of instruction changing from Afrikaans to English.²¹

Open Stellenbosch 12 November 2015

Language Policy Victory for Open Stellenbosch!

“The doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all”

The Language Policy Has Fallen.

For the last year Open Stellenbosch has been campaigning for equal access to education at Stellenbosch University. We have taken up a struggle that

21 In my opinion, English is the language that allows Southern African Development Community (SADC) scholars to access South African institutions.

began in 1976 and that black students in this country have waged since that time. We have drawn attention to how Stellenbosch University, the birthplace of the ideology of apartheid, has preserved white supremacy through discriminatory policies and practices. We have called for the language policy at the university to be rethought in order to make the institution accessible and welcoming to all who study and work there. Today, after many months of staged interventions by Open Stellenbosch, and particularly after debates and consultation with us, management announced the university's agreement to the resolution made by Open Stellenbosch. That is, from the beginning of the 2016 academic year, English will be the primary medium of instruction at Stellenbosch University!

In addition, English will also be the primary mode of communication for the official business of the university. Moreover, management has agreed to our demand to table this decision at the next Council meeting, to be adopted as the official position of the university from here on out. The radical change from instrumentalising Afrikaans as the primary tool for oppression and exclusion, to adopting a language shared by all as the official language, is a significant victory in this struggle for access to education and for social justice in this country. It is also the first step to undoing the cultural monolith that is Stellenbosch, with its excess baggage from apartheid. The university primarily continues to attract historically privileged members of society, in a post-apartheid context, and has remained complicit with structures that perpetuate injustice and racial discord. This is related to the existing institutional culture, which is insensitive to the social manifestations of language and to the importance of transformation as well as the overall project of the de-privatization of education. Although we note with great concern how the Rector, his management team as well as Council, have been uncooperative with respects to transformation and addressing the continuing hegemony of Afrikaner culture, we nevertheless acknowledge and commend the ultimate gestures that lead to this agreement.

We celebrate this victory and at the same time we remember those who died for this to become possible in the long years of struggle against apartheid. In particular we remember the students of 1976.

Many of the students who were protesting then are workers today, and we stand in solidarity with their struggle to earn a living wage and for their children to have access to the education they were denied. Sadly, the announcement that the language policy at Stellenbosch University has fallen comes in the wake of violent responses to on-going protests at campuses across the country for fees to fall and for outsourcing to end.

Open Stellenbosch stand in solidarity with the on-going protestors of #UJ-Fees Must Fall & #UWC Fees Must Fall and urge their Vice-Chancellor's and

management bodies to engage the students and end the current tension and violence on campus.

Last night we were witness to how the situation at UWC escalated as a result of the presence of large numbers of heavily armed police officers and private security guards. The situation could have been defused had the Vice-Chancellor elected to employ dialogue rather than the threat of violence. For weeks students have been demonstrating and calling for the management of the University to engage with them in open discussions. Instead there have been a number of people injured as a result of the insidious collusion between the state and university machinery, and many students have been traumatised by the violence of the police. A number of students were forced to flee their residences. Among those injured was a security guard who was allegedly assaulted by five students. We condemn the use of violence and call on our comrades to continue to demonstrate peacefully to achieve our goals. At the same time, however, it is critical to draw attention to the conditions that caused this violence. Critics have been quick to accuse students of bringing violence upon themselves. This is a misreading of the situation at UWC and at campuses across the country. Peaceful protest has been criminalised and legitimate demonstrations have been policed and shut down. The right to peaceful protest must be protected and its practices must be encouraged rather than closed down. When legitimate protest is silenced and dissent is met with riot police and the SAPS Tactical Response Unit, it is unsurprising that unarmed protestors will feel threatened. It is difficult to understand the actions of those in positions of leadership at universities who have put their students in harm's way.

So while we celebrate the hard won victory of the fall of the language policy, we must emphasise our refusal to be taken in by victories against the backdrop of these vexed socio-economic and political conditions.²²

#IAmNotStellenbosch, so the fight against racism and white supremacy continues!

#FeesHaveNotFallen, so the struggle for free quality education continues!

#UWCShutDown

#Fees Must Fall

#EndOutsourcing

Amandla!

22 <https://www.facebook.com/openstellenbosch/posts/language-policy-victory-for-open-stellenboschthe-doors-of-learning-and-culture-s/891622440886934/>

OPEN Stellenbosch have also proposed Afrikaans and isiXhosa as supporting languages. The implication for Stellenbosch University, UCT, and Wits University (formerly white liberal institutions) shows that the student movements at South African universities through non-violent protests have affected change.²³ Decolonising academia thus requires universities to become rehearsal spaces for social justice through curricula development, access to education, inclusive policies and programmes, transparency and accountability in governing structures with student representatives on council and decision making bodies, living wages for all staff, and ensuring students' basic needs are met such as food, housing, and transport.

In the Netherlands, decolonisation of academia is a different picture. In a country with nativism and an 'anxious politics' (Modest & De Koning, 2016) towards the other, together with a declining social-welfare state, decolonisation means rethinking the university in relation to the student population and understanding how empire and immigration have affected history and relevance. This implies that spaces like the VU need to be made more inclusive for marginalised communities that have been historically disadvantaged, extending accessibility for stateless people such as refugees and undocumented people.



Photo 3

Unknown photographer
(2008) From: <https://twitter.com/becksplanb/status/578827776591048704>

²³ Violence occurred at UCT on 16 February 2016, with private security tearing down the installation #Shackville and students responded by burning artwork. Arson attacks were also reported with the burning of two vehicles as well as the Vice-Chancellor's offices; however, no suspects were identified in these attacks and it would be discriminatory to cast suspicion solely on RMF.



Photo 4

Banner used by UCT students during #RMF (2015). Unknown photographer

Reflections on Positionality

As a Black South African woman who grew up during apartheid and studied at UCT before the advent of the 1994 South African democratic elections, I have been following the student protests with keen observation because as a scholar²⁴ I have lived through the transition to democracy and have also witnessed daily social injustices due to continued institutional racism and neoliberal policies that favour the rich and perpetuate poverty. I am thus sympathetic towards the student movements. I have also studied in the Netherlands and I have held visiting scholar positions both at the VU and UCT. I live between South Africa and the Netherlands.

Context for understanding RMF and UoC

There are parallels between South Africa and the Netherlands in that both countries have adopted neoliberal policies that govern their respective academies whilst students protest the corporatisation of academia and the Eurocentricism of the curricula. RMF is part of an on-going dialogue within South African student movements on social justice issues and Black Consciousness and, whilst these national debates continue, RMF has inspired global struggles against colonialism. In Amsterdam, UoC was instrumental in critiquing

²⁴ I make a distinction between scholar and academic because for me scholar is beyond hierarchy and refers to learning and engagement in scholarship. The idea of the professor is disrupted, with scholars being a community of students and academics.

the neoliberal university as well as Eurocentricism of the curricula. UoC is continuing its efforts to engage with these issues through public forums on decolonisation. In March 2016, UoC held a decolonial school.

The focus of the book is to explore, understand, and find new ways to make the academy increasingly more relevant and inclusive by examining how each university, UCT and VU, are positioned globally (post-colony or post-empire) and how that affects the discourse on decolonisation. The objective of reading two different contexts is an attempt to offer a way to share, exchange, and collaborate in a manner that allows the academy to become increasingly inclusive and relevant through ensuring a process towards achieving a decolonised university through richer data that could benefit both institutions. Echoing Mahmood Mamdani's words at UCT at the TB Davies Public Lecture in August 2017, 'Global excellence, local relevance'. Furthermore, the hope of the book is to encourage more dialogue amongst the participating institutions by way of offering suggestions on access to education and curricula development, and by examining how the discourse on decolonisation gives a voice to the lived experiences of historically marginalised students and staff.

Theoretical Frame

In the famous Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (2006) dictum, 'decolonising the mind'²⁵ before decolonising the space.

For the purposes of this book the logic of decolonisation is understood to mean the effects (social) and affects (psychological) of colonisation. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015, pp. 23) explains, 'decoloniality is ranged against imperialism, colonialism and coloniality as a constituent part of the modernist politics of dismemberment, alienation, exploitation and alterity. At the centre of decoloniality is the idea of remaking the world such that the enslaved, colonised, and exploited peoples can regain their ontological density, voice, land, history, knowledge and power.' Therefore, following from this logic and understanding, coloniality comprises the effects and affects of colonialism that is reinscribed in power relations that persist in modern day society. Moreover, decolonisation is an epistemological project as well as an undoing and remaking of the self through decolonising the mind (Ngugi wa

²⁵ Ngugi (1986) and Lacan (1977) argued that through language we come into being so that the language of the coloniser shapes our perceptions and affects our sense of self. Therefore it is crucial to decolonise our minds in order to tackle decolonisation in other spheres.

Thiong'o, 2006). Thus decolonisation happens on two levels: societal and personal, making the personal political (Mouffe, 2005).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015, pp. 33-34) further argues that 'One of the continuing struggles in Africa is focused on resisting the objectification and dehumanisation of black people on a world scale. It is a struggle to regain lost subjecthood and eventually citizenship and to answer many other questions to do with being and humanism as politicised states of existence.' 'Making ourselves subjects' (hooks, 1992) requires reversing the social and psychological affects of colonisation. However, a precondition for making ourselves the subject is recognition of self, leading to the possibility for mutual recognition. Mutual recognition is recognition between the self and the other. Subsequently making ourselves the subject is also necessary for the self to occupy the position of the other. But as Fanon (2001) warns, colonisation is a process of dehumanisation,²⁶ robbing the subaltern²⁷ of the position of the other. Following the logic of mutual recognition and heeding Fanon's (2001) cautionary note, the position of the other for the subaltern contradicts self and other relations because these relations are only possible with other subalterns. Therefore, for the subaltern, making ourselves the subject insists on a process of decolonisation requiring a rethinking of the self and other relations.

Object relations theory is useful in trying to make sense of subjectivity (in psychoanalysis object relations theory refers to a child becoming a subject through interactions with others (Omarjee, 2012)). If the suggestion in object-relations theory is that in order to become a subject one has to relate to others who already occupy subject positions, this would imply an appropriation of subject positions for the subaltern through a hostile process of object abandonment or decolonisation. In plain speak, this means that, to

26 Jessica Benjamin (1988) argued that mutual recognition was necessary for an exit from the master/slave dialectic. She argued that the master/slave dialectic was based on a skewed recognition because the master relied on the slave to recognise the master's authority, implying that the master can only occupy a position of authority through recognition. However, if the subaltern rejects the authority of the master through decolonisation, then the subaltern becomes subject and mutual recognition becomes a possibility. Therefore decolonisation becomes a crucial and necessary condition for mutual recognition.

27 Subaltern is a term coined by Antonio Gramsci (1992) and popularised by Gayatri Spivak (1996). It refers to marginalised people who have been subjugated due to systems of domination such as colonialism and most often refers to the subcontinent. I offer 'decolonised self' by way of showing agency amongst marginalised people as a way of subverting any sub-position (the violence of language) in the social imaginary inherent in the process of colonisation in an attempt to appropriate subjectivity in the decolonisation process.

make ourselves the subject, we have to violently abandon an object position (violence or hostility refers here to the intrapsychic process of splitting-off (in the Oedipal complex that splitting-off refers to the m/other/child dyad) or separating, from the colonisers gaze of being/becoming (Mignolo, 2009) the subaltern) and appropriate a subject position to recognise ourselves as subject/self. This is what Fanon refers to as the New Man in *The Wretched of the Earth* (2001) and what bell hooks (1992) refers to as 'making ourselves subject' and, which, I refer to as a process of decolonisation of the mind to become the decolonised self.²⁸

In understanding the conditions for decolonising the mind, it is important to examine the master/slave dialectic. Jessica Benjamin (1988) argues that the Hegelian master/slave dialectic is about skewed recognition. The master is reliant on the slave's recognition of the master's authority. If the slave does not recognise the master's authority, then the master/slave dialectic collapses. Violence is used to reinforce the master's dominance. However, if the slave confronts this violence with more violence, the master's authority is displaced, collapsing the master/slave dialectic. This implies that revolution is an end to the master narrative inherent in colonisation. However, undoing the effects and affects of colonisation (read also as the master/slave dialectic and coloniality), the decolonised self has to appropriate the lens of the coloniser and insert a decolonial lens that imposes subject=subject relations. This appropriation of the lens (which can be read as violence and resistance in what Stuart Hall (1989) refers to as 'The Third Cinema') operates within the symbolic imaginary of language by displacing Eurologocentrism²⁹ perpetuated in all spheres, displacing the dominant discourse of Enlightenment (Mamdani, 2011).³⁰ Decolonising the mind is therefore a restorative process for addressing historical injustices through rethinking the relationship between the coloniser (master/white supremacy) and the decolonised self (enslaved/subaltern/colonised other).³¹ The affects of this relationship in discursive and material realities are implicit and explicit representations that

28 Decolonised self refers to a reclamation/appropriation of self with the advent of stripping subjectivity through colonialism and slavery. It is a term that borrows from feminist psychoanalysis and mutual recognition as an exit to the master/slave dialectic (Benjamin, 1988).

29 This term is borrowed from Derrida's work on phallogocentrism. It refers to the logic of Eurocentrism that is embedded in the structure of language and the power/knowledge nexus so that language reifies coloniality and the hierarchical binary of the West and the other.

30 See Mamdani's quote in the Introduction arguing that 'Enlightenment is said to be an exclusively European phenomenon, then the story of the Enlightenment is one that excludes Africa as it does most of the world.

31 A decolonised self is not limited to the colonised other. It also applies to whites that disrupt white supremacy and are in solidarity with Blacks in reimagining a new decolonised world.

are contested and reimagined to create spaces for new expressions of subjectivity. Thus the affects of slavery and colonialism demand a more transparent historical accountability of the past and present.

Decolonising academia is therefore about challenging the power/knowledge nexus³² of colonisation in the curricula. The foundations for which the subaltern is made and given expression to are expressed through the language of the coloniser (Eurologocentrism) and, as such, the subaltern has to unlearn this language to become the decolonised self by finding new ways of expressing him/herself through other forms outside language. Rereading and rewriting the texts of the coloniser allows the decolonised self to deconstruct the text, whilst writing palimpsestic decolonial texts (see Ngugi wa Thiong'o). Thus the process of decolonising academia is to deconstruct the past and reconstruct the present by the making ourselves subject/self through critical pedagogy (Paulo Freire, 1970) and curricula development. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that it is crucial for (my phrasing) the decolonised self to centre him/herself in scholarship, meaning that scholarship should be done by researched subjects on themselves as opposed to marginalised people becoming research objects as part of the reproduction of coloniality in the academy. In South Africa and the Netherlands, decolonisation of academia means access to the academy, in particular, for marginalised people, influencing affective engagement with epistemological projects that help rethink the power/knowledge nexus against coloniality, especially in enabling the decolonised self to emerge.

Below is an excerpt taken from the Johannesburg daily newspaper *The Star* on 8 September 2015. It was written by Athinangamso Esther Nkopo who was an MA student at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg, South Africa. The first Black (African) South African woman full professor was announced by Wits University on 5 September 2015. We

32 Michel Foucault explored the idea of the power/knowledge nexus. In 'The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences' (1977, pp. 29, 62, 65, 87, 100, 118, 158, 203), Foucault argued that the arbitrary system of signs is associated with the influence of power to knowledge or the power/knowledge nexus. This implies that knowledge is directly related to power (McNay, 1992, p. 13). The power/knowledge nexus can also be found in the relationship between theory and practice or discourse and materiality (McNay, 1992). The exit for Foucault from the binary implicit in the power/knowledge nexus is through resistance. Resistance can be sought through making racist perceptions visible and by offering new reparable representations. This means that any claim on truth or knowledge production is not a priori but instead requires a critical examination.

can conclude from the excerpt that Black women as full professors within the South African academy are still an anomaly.

There isn't a single black South African female full professor at Wits. That's also a problem. That there are more senior professors named Johan in Stellenbosch than there are black academics is the problem. That we are still teaching young South Africans that colonialism was the best thing for Africa in international relations is the problem. That our political studies teach that apartheid was a good democracy because black people agreed to oppression and death, is the problem. That the canals of black thought do not form a substantive part of our education is the problem. That poor students can be thrown out onto the street because they recognise these problems and approach alternative discourse and agitate for change is the problem. Because we can't breathe, is the problem. After all, racism, colonialism and apartheid were never the creation of young black students but of all-white councils, senates and academic staff. When we see young black students face blatant, sanctioned racism at our institutions of higher learning, we wonder how, after forgiving over 500 years of brutalisation and dehumanisation, we have been betrayed so transparently.

Patrick Bond who works at both Wits and at the Centre for Civil Society at the University of KwaZulu-Natal argues:

The liberation movement rulers in the African National Congress (ANC) have faced unprecedented socio-economic pressure and unrest. This is the most unequal of any major country, with a working class that the World Economic Forum last month judged to be the most militant on earth for the fourth straight year, and a deregulated corporate elite which enjoys the world's third highest profits, yet which remains intent on looting the economy at a rate as fast as any. All these measures have amplified since the ANC took power in 1994. Suffering a 53 per cent official poverty rate, South Africa witnessed 2300 protests recorded by the police as 'violent' this year, a fifth more than last year. The desperation flash point this month was the announcement of double-digit increases in university tuition fees. Students demonstrated not only against local managers at more than a dozen campuses. Their organizations united across the ideological spectrum, from socialist to nationalist to even the center-right student wing of the main opposition party, and hit national targets (Patrick Bond, 'South African Student Protest: Decolonization, Race and Class Politics', Global Research, 2 November 2015).

Mutual recognition and social movements

Mario Diani (1997) in his article 'Social Movements and Social Capital: A network Perspective on Movement Outcomes' talks about the fluidity of people in social movements. He writes about how various people organise around a common goal even if they come from different social strata. His idea matches that of Hardt and Negri (2000) when they speak of the multitude that consists of individuals that organise around common social justice themes even if they come from different political and social backgrounds. The multitude is organic and fluid. Very much like Hardt, Negri, and Diani, RMF and UoC are very much fluid in that the space to organise is organic and fluid. In RMF it was a point of contention for many that there was no visible leadership. However, that was a specific strategy of the movement not to have a visible leadership. RMF organised on the basis that people signed up to co-ordinate events and talks. It was fluid in that decisions were made at caucus and from there one could lead in that specific moment.³³ Part of the thinking behind that was to also give people the opportunity to find their strengths in the movement. To this extent, it was based on Freire's (1970, 1998) understanding of critical pedagogy, sharing lived experiences, and learning from within the structures of the movement.

UoC organised a summer school at the Vrankrijk on the Spuistraat in Amsterdam in 2016. Vrankrijk is a squat building, mainly used by anarchist groups and social movements to organise social justice projects. I attended one of the events by UoC at Vrankrijk with my colleague Guno Jones. We were welcomed into the space and engaged with participants. The event was organised around self-care for activists as an act of revolution. The people giving presentations spoke about self-care in the context of working with vulnerable groups – how to debrief after hearing very emotional narratives from refugees and migrants. Subsequently people also spoke about cultural appropriation and how to resist white supremacy and coloniality in the Netherlands. The event was very much about building a community on the basis of compassion and on the premise of an ethics of care. It was no different to RMF and their support for ending the practice of outsourcing.

In February 2016, RMF held an imbizo³⁴ on the lawn in front of the residence of Baxter Hall at UCT. The aim of the imbizo was to support and secure a space for workers to engage with UCT management with a focus on 'putting

³³ This point was stressed in conversations with Alex Hotz and Brian Kamanzi.

³⁴ An imbizo is a gathering of people to discuss an issue.

the last first' by ensuring the end to the exploitative practice of outsourcing. RMF stressed the importance of having UCT management hear non-academic staff grievances. The premise of the imbizo was also based on compassion and a feminist ethics of care. Even though RMF and UoC have different strategies, they both seek a more socially just university system that addresses the people in that space so that the university becomes a space of belonging based on a feminist ethics of care. This feminist ethics of care is about ensuring that everyone at the university is made to feel fully human and to engage with the university from a position of empowerment. The university thus becomes a space to rehearse social justice projects and revolution.

Feminist actions of self-care and self-love are nurtured in a space of belonging and thereby extended into a feminist ethics of care towards others. Brian Kamanzi in one of our conversations spoke about the need to 'push further beyond academia into community/society, in particular as non-partisan'. Brian was speaking about bridging the gap between academia and community. This notion was further explored in ideas of belonging and building on research and teaching that addresses real-life solutions so that the community is central to the project of education. To this extent, many RMF activists have graduated and gone on to work in NGOs such as Equal Education, Ndifuna Ukwazi³⁵ (an urban land justice project) and various other community-driven projects. Brian himself is part of 'Pathways to Free Education',³⁶ a forum that produces a publication, holds a weekly radio talk show, bridging the gap between the ivory tower, trade unions, and communities. He comments that power can be surprised through social consciousness programmes whereby disruptions function to pushback the status quo. Gains are made through these constant moments of resistance. Although his position is non-partisan, his ideas are formed by concepts of communitarianism.

I have not mentioned class as a specific category because using concepts like multitude or mutual recognition within social movements allows for fluid arrangements of political solidarity around social justice issues. Nira Yuval-Davis (2010: 266) argues that:

'We live in a world where identity matters.' Stuart Hall argues that what he calls 'a veritable discursive explosion' in recent years around the concept of identity is due to its centrality to the question of agency and politics, including identity politics. In my own work I sharply differentiate between

35 www.nu.org.za.

36 www.groundup.org.za/article/pathways-free-education.

identity and identity politics, describing the first as one analytical dimension in which belonging needs to be understood, and the second as a specific type of project of the politics of belonging.

For Yuval-Davis, identity as a signifier is contextual in collective action. She regards the 'us' and 'them' more around notions of belonging and relations between self and other. Much like Diani, she is using concepts similar to feminist psychoanalytical theory on mutual recognition as a way of thinking through positions of solidarity that are arranged around common issues. In relation to RMF, Brian acknowledges that people have both good and bad, and that white students can support RMF but do not necessarily have to be part of the movement. Here he is speaking about Black Consciousness as an 'attempt to resolve the master/slave dialectic but not to recuse oneself of whiteness without ending the world as we know it'. This means that white students can be allies and support the movement through positions of white privilege. We saw this action in 2016 when white students surrounded Black students outside the South African Parliament, preventing police from attacking Black students. Those white students understood their privilege and responsibility as allies to Black students.

Alex Hotz speaks about Black Radical Feminism as a component of RMF. For her, patriarchy is the violence of a discourse of supremacy. To abandon discursive practices of supremacy, patriarchy has to be dismantled. She is critical of violence as a form of hyper-masculinity that is resistant to change. Yet she admits that with the amount of violence and silence around Black womxn's bodies in which 'our ways of fighting have become characterised by hyper-masculinised militarised forms of violence... we embody the armed wing of liberation movements... there are no safe spaces... rape culture persists... we must act, we must burn, we don't think about how we must act'. Alex is critical of how violence is used to justify an abuse of power in the form of systemic and institutional violence (I use violence in the plural as a way of disrupting the symbolic imaginary of the word violence to show a multiplicity of violence in an intersectional way. Womxn have various forms of violence inflicted on them. Lesbians, transgendered, gender non-binary people, cis-gendered woman are killed in SA through corrective rapes and murders, and intimate femicide) that are meted out on a daily basis that further alienate students at university and in particular womxn and Black students.

Both Brian and Alex are middle-class student activists with strong associations of communitarianism on the basis of self-reliance and self-determination. These notions of identity that they each hold shift beyond narrow understandings of class that presuppose identity politics. Their ideas of political solidarity are forged in notions of mutual recognition, whilst building a strong sense of self-reliance and self-determination within the individual/self and within the community/other. This idea of community extends from the ivory tower towards marginalised communities in terms of finding real-life solutions for addressing social-justice issues.

Research Approach and Methodology

In any empirical study a general (if situated) theoretical position is implied and, while avoiding stating it makes it less visible, it doesn't make it absent. For example, I have both agreed with and had some reservations about Hall's theorization of identity since first hearing him articulate it in the early 1990s. I did not need to carry out new empirical research in order to reach my conclusions; rather, my theoretical approach to identity has determined to a great extent the methodology and methods I have used in empirical research (Nira Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 264).

Nira Yuval-Davis shows us how a theoretical leaning can be a standpoint from which empirical research is conducted. The theoretical leaning from which this book was considered is mutual recognition. The basis for mutual recognition relies on feminist psychoanalytical underpinnings of sameness and difference (Benjamin, 1988). It is based on object relations theory and the notion that we come into being through others – much like the underpinnings of Ubuntu (Chasi & Omarjee, 2014). Mutual recognition is the underpinning assumption behind the conversations that led to this book. It is based on the premise that through conversations participants were altered. Thus participants were influenced by the affect of the conversation. In terms of decolonisation, the theoretical leanings of mutual recognition framed discussions based on the notion of a decolonised self through the key aspects of self-determination and self-reliance.

With regard to RMF and UoC, discussions on decolonising academia have led the way for many scholars to engage with the notion of a decolonised self. Black Academic Caucus (BAC) at UCT supported RMF and vice versa, and to a great extent many Black scholars were promoted at UCT through having raised issues around racial prejudice and exclusion within the insti-

tution. Both RMF and UoC, however different, share the same objective of making the academy accessible, relevant, and inclusive. They have achieved in a short amount of time a social consciousness around the issue of inclusivity or lack thereof within the academy. They have shown how race has been systemically infused in power relations in the academy due to a lack of decolonisation.

In South Africa, reactions from the press and various university managements have been ambiguous. South African campuses saw an escalation of protests that were violently and forcibly suppressed.³⁷ Police were brought onto campuses using teargas and stun grenades. Arson attacks were reported at several campuses. The student protests have polarised post-apartheid South Africa for-or-against decolonising academia; on the one hand, arguments for inclusivity show the lack of substantial transformation in the South African academy and, whilst that is visible, other student movements in South Africa have been weakened by the lack of strategic negotiations with their respective university managements on clear objectives for decolonising academia.

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2001, p. 38) argue that 'exploring how the lifeworld emerges as a result of microprocesses in the form of social interactions, which generate the common-sense knowledge of the participants' highlights how the university population gives meaning to the experiences on campus as well as how that gets reflected in society in general. Lessons learnt from RMF offer an alternate perspective for engagement and in dealing with issues around integration, inclusivity, and relevance for marginalised communities, whilst South Africans could also learn from gains made by UoC.

Since this has been a qualitative research study, it has employed unorthodox research methods such as agential reflexive methodology (ARM) through open notebook conversations (ONC) and video conversations (VC) with participants from RMF, UCT, UoC, and VU by way of understanding and exploring how student protests can contribute towards making academia increasingly inclusive, transparent, and accountable.

ARM is based on the idea that research participants are agents (Smith, 1999) in the research and self-represent so that their voices are preserved with integrity, transparency, and accountability. Ownership of the research belongs

³⁷ theconversation.com/south-african-students-have-much-to-teach-those-who-ignore-injustice-68098.

to the participants and the public. The research becomes part of the public archive and is made available on the Internet and in libraries of participating institutions. For analysing ARM, discourse and narrative analysis was employed.

As a scholar I am not outside the research, I am within the research, and therefore I cannot claim objectivity. I can, however, employ self-reflexivity and contextualisation to make the research transparent and accountable for participants as well as the reader.

Originality and Innovative Aspects of the Research

South African and Amsterdam-based universities are in the process of re-imagining higher education through the context of decolonisation. Notions of equality, human rights, inclusion, decolonisation, and democratic participation are relatively new because of historical positionings, apartheid, and imperialism. The issues are now related to substantive equality, and how institutions deal with inclusion and decolonisation. This means that South African and Amsterdam-based universities are facing challenges regarding institutional reform in the form of decolonisation through staffing issues, access to education, and curricula development. Feelings of discontent have been contextualised and given expression to. Change within the academy can no longer be a deferred dream, a *Waiting for Godot*.³⁸ Real change has to be affected so that students can exercise critical thinking through an understanding of how inclusivity and relevance could be encouraged and supported within the academy with the hope that the participating institutions can build a collaborative programme that encourages more debate and shared ideas on decolonising academia.

My own research as a postdoctoral candidate at two South African universities was to build collaborative research with other scholars on diverse topics such as public health, representation, and the relevance of rereading decolonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon and Mahmood Mamdani. My past experiences have encouraged a turn towards decolonising academia by especially making the academy more relevant and inclusive. This research interest will continue to build onto the theme of critical pedagogy, decolonisation,

38 Reference to Samuel Beckett's play (1956) of an endless wait.

relevance, and inclusivity, looking at how historical injustices relate to epistemology and research relevance opposing the neoliberal global context.

The conversation unfolding in both South Africa and the Netherlands has consequences for scholars in that the benefit to both countries is in the reading of RMF and UoC and shared experiences from both institutions. Future research will continue to be collaborative ensuring richness, multiplicity, as well as diverse approaches to scholarship.

VU has several partnerships in place with South African universities. This book hopes to encourage and strengthen those partnerships by forging new partnerships amongst scholars at various institutions.

Conclusion

This chapter attempted to show how RMF and UoC framed the discourse of decolonisation in relation to systemic injustices that have been inscribed in the academy through historical processes of coloniality. It did this by showing how the occupation of administrative buildings at UCT and the University of Amsterdam became seminal moments in a parallel timeframe for challenging the status quo of coloniality, white supremacy, and neoliberalism at these respective institutions. It further tried to show the need for a discourse on decolonisation as a way in which to become fully human within the space of the university. This understanding of being/becoming fully human was part of the idea of decolonisation of self, based on the notion of belonging and principles of mutual recognition. The conversations that formed the basis of this book have relied on the principles of mutual recognition as a way of engaging in intergenerational conversations as well as in opposing any form of supremacy of being by smashing the patriarchy and normative positions held in society by opening up theoretical assumptions for critique.

2

Reading Oedipus against Rhodes Must Fall

Introduction

David,³⁹ a young Black man belonging to Rhodes Must Fall (RMF), is in the process of wrestling his independence from his father. David's desire for autonomy is an intrapsychic process as well as a need for social justice. He identifies with Adam Habib (Wits VC⁴⁰) because he is Black, has been raised in a social movement, and is not dissimilar to his own father regarding his attitude to social change. David's narrative can be read alongside Oedipus' who had killed his father in order to become king. Killing the father necessitated access to the throne/public domain. But is *Oedipus Rex*⁴¹ a good frame to read David's desire for autonomy, whilst seeking social justice? Should the university not offer David a space for critical thinking instead of reifying him into a gendered, classed, and raced world of white male privilege, always knowing that he is inferiorised because he is Black? Max Price's (former UCT VC⁴²) whiteness seen through a decolonised lens might provide a clue for reformulating a narrative on gender, sexuality, race, class, and dis/ability, looking into how Blackness, femininity and love can be constructed as a strong desire to be othered where othering was not possible.

Keywords: Blackness, Oedipal complex, othering

39 David is a pseudonym.

40 Wits refers to the University of the Witwatersrand in central Johannesburg, South Africa. Professor Adam Habib is the current Vice-Chancellor of Wits University. He was also an activist and was part of the United Democratic Front (UDF) (an umbrella organisation or social movement formed in the 1980s, opposing apartheid South Africa, and the Tricameral Parliament through mass mobilisation such as strikes and marches). In 2006, Adam Habib was banned from the US for being vocal against their foreign policies.

41 Greek mythology/Eurocentricism.

42 Dr Max Price was UCT's Vice-Chancellor during the RMF occupation in 2015. His term ended in 2018. Professor Mamokgethi Phakeng is the latest Vice-Chancellor of UCT.

Reading against race evacuation

David is a young Black man who is part of the RMF generation. Like most young men he is in the process of splitting-off⁴³ from his father to gain autonomy. Achieving autonomy for David is not only an intrapsychic process it is also about social justice in post-apartheid South Africa. David identifies with Adam Habib, whilst Max Price offers a skewed recognition and the master narrative. David (RMF) like Adam (UDF) has experienced being part of a social movement. Both David's father and Adam share many similarities, and thus David's association with Adam as father figure is compelling.

David's narrative is not dissimilar to Sophocles' tragedy, *Oedipus Rex*. Oedipus had to kill his father to become king. The metaphor for killing the father according to Freudian psychoanalysis is an intrapsychic necessity to gain autonomy as well as access to the throne/public domain. But is the Oedipal complex (Greek mythology/Eurocentrism) a good frame to read David's desire for autonomy, whilst seeking social justice? According to the Oedipal lens David could be read as a young man's need for independence. Whilst the Oedipal complex offers a particular perspective on David, the university offers David a limited space for critical thinking because it reifies him into a gendered, classed, raced, and able-bodied world of white male supremacy and Black subordination. Thus David wrestles two forms of hostile authority.

1. Is killing the King (Adam Habib) about heralding a new social order and repositioning autonomy or, in other words, does autonomy and social justice lead to decolonisation?

As Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015, pp. 33- 34) argues 'the continuing struggles in Africa is focused on resisting the objectification and dehumanisation of black people... a struggle to regain lost subjecthood'. Decolonisation is in part based on the struggle for 'making ourselves subjects' (hooks, 1992) or regaining a lost subjecthood, which requires reversing the social and psychological affects of coloniality. A precondition for making ourselves subject is recognition of self, leading to the possibility for recognition of other, which

43 Split-off is a psychoanalytical term describing individuation through splitting-off the mother/child dyad.

in turn leads to mutual recognition. Mutual recognition is thus recognition between self and other.

In the process of undoing the effects (social) and affects (psychological) of colonisation, making ourselves subject becomes a double-edged sword because the self has to occupy the position of other. But as Frantz Fanon (1961) warned, colonisation is a process of dehumanisation robbing the subaltern of the position of other. Thus for Fanon, the position of other for the subaltern is not a possibility unless there is a revolution. However, coloniality persists even after revolution/independence, making the possibility for the subaltern to become subject/other almost impossible. Under these conditions self and other relations are only possible for subalterns with other subalterns unless through decolonisation the subaltern can become the other. Thus revolution does not necessarily lead to decolonisation. Decolonisation is therefore a much more stringent process of undoing the effects and affects of colonisation and coloniality. Making ourselves subject for the subaltern insists on a process of decolonisation requiring a rethinking of self and other relations. This means that for a revolution to be considered successful, decolonisation has had to occur at an individual level as well as within the broader society.

It follows on from this logic that decolonisation is personal as much as it is a material and epistemological project, making the personal political (Mouffe, 2005) and, undoing and remaking the self through 'decolonising the mind' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006). Even though David and Adam share a history of activism, the current process of decolonisation splits-off their shared histories so that David and Adam have different understandings of social justice. David's need for autonomy, which can be read as killing the father/Adam, is about realising a new social order. But is this new social order that different from what Freud proposed in the Oedipal complex?

Gloria Wekker in *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (2016, pp. 81-107) claims that Freudian psychoanalysis is race evacuated. By this she means that the theoretical frame offered by Freud is lacking and assumes a dehumanisation of Blackness with Blackness relegated to the erotic. She argues this in relation to 'Hottentot nymphae' whereby case studies of white women presenting Hottentot nymphae were seen as opposing female sexual passivity. Therefore, Hottentot nymphae was used as a means to reify white

female sexual passivity by positioning Black female sexuality as abhorrent, active, and over-sexualised (ibid., p. 106):

Given the chain of associations that is set in motion by the women's appropriation of black women's sexuality, its lasciviousness, its excessiveness, the overdevelopment of labia minora and the clitoris, which may very well lead to those excesses that are called 'lesbian love,' the 'unhealthy attention' to the clitoris at the expense of the vagina, and, generally, a too-active sexuality, it stands to reason that van Ophuijsen has to dissociate, and 'cannot acknowledge that these white women are enacting a specifically cross-racial, rather than cross-gendered, identification' (Walton, 1997, p. 234).

Wekker purports that Black female sexuality was seen as socially and biologically different to white female sexuality, 'different races were actually different species with distinct biological and geographical origins' (ibid., p. 101). Furthermore, Wekker argues that this rereading of Freudian psychoanalysis against race evacuation is part of the cultural archive that reifies discursive practices on racial difference. Through Wekker we see how Hottentot nymphae becomes an illustration of Freudian psychoanalysis' race evacuation, which explicitly perpetuates a racist reading of Black female sexuality. Moreover, Wekker argues for a critical reading of the cultural archive. The implication of Wekker's work shows how race evacuation could affect Freud's Oedipal complex when Blackness enters the fray. Therefore, for analysing David it is important to see how race evacuation could affect the rereading of the Oedipal complex when Black male sexuality and racial difference impact identity formation.

Juxtaposing Wekker's arguments against Mamdani's (2011) critique on the Enlightenment, we see how Eurocentricism is encoded into epistemological projects especially when 'the Enlightenment is... an exclusively European phenomenon... that excludes Africa as it does most of the world'. Mamdani's critique of Western epistemology exposes the inherent bias in knowledge production as well as how the academy is complicit in reproducing coloniality. Subsequently Michel Foucault in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1977) speaks of the power/knowledge nexus and how knowledge production is based on the positionings of power. Following this line of thought, Mamdani (2012) talks about a political shift from common citizenship towards recognition of difference as a crisis in colonial rule. This can be read as a crisis from the old way of doing things through a violent transition to a new way of doing things that recognises differences amongst race, class, gender, sexuality (Mamdani, 1998), and dis/ability (Puar, 2017).

This critical repositioning of intersectional intersubjectivities ⁴⁴ opens the space for questioning the power/knowledge nexus. Moreover, Wekker (2016, p. 100) exposes how gender has also been subsumed as a colonial imposition that reifies the cultural archive of the subaltern:

...decolonial feminism arrives at a similar conclusion that gender is not an innocent concept: This school of thought points to gender as a colonial introduction. As a concept, gender did not exist among indigenous and black people; more fluid categorizations prevailed (Wekker 2006), but the non-existence of gender led to the categorization of colonized people as animalistic, nonhuman. The freedom that was allowed the colonized to construct themselves sexually came at an enormous cost: unbridled sexual abuse (Lugones, 2007, 2010).

Scholars like Wekker challenge Freudian psychoanalysis not only from a feminist perspective but also from the perspective of race evacuation and, moreover, from the colonial hangover of the cultural archive. Therefore, it is important to decolonise Freudian psychoanalysis especially against Wekker, Mamdani, and Foucauldian critiques.

In the case of David, rereading Freud's Oedipal complex especially against race evacuation means looking at feminist psychoanalysis for clues. Rosi Braidotti (1991) purports that sexual difference is a metaphor for all difference. Jane Flax (1990, 1994), Jessica Benjamin (1988, 1995), and Adria Schwartz (1998) have argued for mutual recognition. They argue that the Oedipal complex promotes the master/slave dialectic so that the inherent dominance and submission model set-up by the Oedipal complex perpetuates a frame of 'us' and 'them' creating a hierarchical binary that Wekker (2016) argues reifies the cultural archive.

Mutual recognition displaces the dominance and submission model in both gender and race differentiation.⁴⁵ However, this critique is limited due to race evacuation in Freudian psychoanalysis, thus returning to Fanon's (2001/1961) claim that 'us' and 'them' or 'self' and 'other' relations is exclusive only to whiteness because colonisation premised Blackness as 'nonhuman' (Wekker, 2016). This highlights how, through dehumanisation, Blacks/enslaved/sub-

44 The use of intersubjectivity in this context refers to the child becoming a subject through recognition with other subjects. This definition extends towards a multiplicity of identities that intersect or become pronounced in various contexts.

45 Differentiation refers to the hierarchical binary of masculine dominance and feminine submission or white supremacy and Black subordination.

altern/womxn were limited to a skewed recognition with whites/masters/colonisers/men. This skewed recognition is based on the persuasion and success of the master/slave dialectic with the enslaved recognising the master's authority, implying that the master can only occupy a position of authority through the enslaved's recognition of the master's authority. However, if the enslaved rejects the authority of the master through a process of decolonisation, then the enslaved becomes subject and mutual recognition becomes a possibility. Mutual recognition is then a necessary condition for decolonising the mind, leading to the intrapsychic (decolonised self) and material (revolution) emancipation of the enslaved.

2. Could reimagining mutual recognition through the lens of a decolonised self be the revolutionary answer to autonomy and a new social order? In Max Price's whiteness could there be an answer to rethinking the cultural archive by displacing the father/son hostility present in the Oedipal complex? Are constructions of Blackness key to autonomy and social justice? Does Blackness hold an alternate narrative on gender, sexuality, race, class, and dis/ability that constructs love as a strong desire to be othered where othering was not previously possible?

In understanding the conditions for a decolonised self, it is important to re-examine the master/slave dialectic. Jessica Benjamin (1988, 1995) argues that the Hegelian master/slave dialectic is based on violence and a skewed recognition. Violence is used to exert and reinforce the master's dominance. Thus the master is dependent on the enslaved's recognition of his authority to remain a master. This skewed recognition through the use of violence pins the enslaved in his/her inferiorised position. However, if the enslaved confronts the master's violence and repudiates his authority, then the master/slave dialectic collapses. Implying that recognition of self is crucial for resisting the master's violence. Both recognition and revolution are necessary factors in ending the master narrative inherent in colonisation. Furthermore, for understanding violence, recognition, and revolution, in relation to decolonisation, it is important to understand mutual recognition because mutual recognition becomes the foundation for claiming a decolonised self.

A decolonised self refers to a reclamation of self or an appropriation of subjectivity (also read as making ourselves subject or regaining a lost subjecthood). During decolonisation with the stripping-off of subjectivity through slavery and colonialism, recognition and revolution are the pre-conditions for reclamation of self/appropriation of subjectivity for the subaltern. Violence is used in many contexts: violence as a form of exerting the master's

dominance, violence as means of revolution collapsing the master/slave dialectic, and violence as a means for gaining recognition of self.

Violence as a means for recognition of self refers to violence done to the self, by the self, and against the self in order to emancipate the subaltern to achieve a decolonised self. This extremely violent process is a necessary condition for undoing the effects and affects of dehumanisation and inferiorisation endured through colonisation and coloniality. In these acts of self-inflicted violence, the decolonised self has to appropriate the lens of the coloniser and insert a decolonial lens that imposes subject=subject relations. This appropriation of the lens operates within the symbolic imaginary of language, displacing the dominant discourse of the Enlightenment (Mamdani, 2012). Decolonising the mind is therefore a process that is violent yet restorative for self-emancipation by addressing historical injustices through rethinking the relationship between the coloniser (master/white supremacy) and the decolonised self (enslaved/subaltern).

To further expand on this process of self-inflicted violence for achieving a decolonised self, Jacques Derrida's work on deconstruction is helpful. Derrida argued that (1982, p. 195):

An opposition of metaphysical concepts (speech/writing, presence/absence, etc.) is never the face-to-face of two terms, but a hierarchy and an order of subordination. Deconstruction cannot limit itself or proceed immediately to neutralisation: it must, by means of a double gesture, a double science, a double writing, practise an overturning of the classical opposition, and a general displacement of the system. It is on that condition alone that deconstruction will provide the means of intervening in the field of oppositions it criticises.

Derrida shows through deconstruction how the dominance and submission model (master/slave dialectic) is embedded in the ways of thinking, speaking, and representing. However, he offers respite in that he suggests a 'double consciousness' (Du Bois, 1903/1994) to displace the hegemony of the dominance and submission model. The hierarchical binary in the dominance and submission model can be found in discourses on race (white supremacy), class (ruling elite), gender (patriarchy), sexuality (heteronormativity), and dis/ability (able-bodied) and has much to do to with the Enlightenment or Cartesian thought-processes of mind over body and the West over the Rest. The act of collapsing this colonial ordering of the world provides the possibility for a decolonised self and a new social order to emerge. Critiques

of Freudian psychoanalysis are useful in that they help to understand the symbolic imaginary and how to collapse the hierarchical binary.

For decolonisation as much as for deconstruction, it is necessary to displace the system of Eurologocentrism and the hierarchal binary. This displacement is the first phase of an attempt to rid us of the colonial hangover that has been part of a 'genocidal epistemicide' (Grosfoguel, 2013). The affects of the hierarchical binary in discursive and material realities are implicit and explicit representations that must be contested and reimagined to create spaces for new expressions of subjectivity. Thus the affects of slavery and colonialism demand a more transparent historical accountability of the past as well as the present. It is in this moment of repudiation of the master/coloniality that Fanon's meditations on violence become crucial for liberation of self and colony. Similarly in David's repudiation of whiteness and the hostile father (intergenerational dissonance, implying different understandings of social justice) lies his journey for autonomy.

In the Oedipal complex, repudiation of femininity is a critical moment for the boy becoming masculinised and entering the public domain. Repudiation is about turning away. The act of repudiating is key to understanding and shifting the dominance and submission model. It is not about outright rejection because the boy still needs the m/other just like the master needs the enslaved's recognition of his authority. Therefore, repudiation operates by maintaining the hierarchical binary through creating 'us' and 'them' scenarios. With mutual recognition this intrapsychic scenario is displaced. The boy does not repudiate his m/other. Instead he sees his m/other's femininity as a choice in gender constructions without the hierarchical gender binary at play. A very different triadic relationship emerges when the boy sees others like himself as subjects. This allows the boy to individuate through loving social relations with others (also known as intersubjectivity). In this scenario, the child learns through interaction with others that he is an individual, rehearsing mutual recognition, recognition of self and other.

Had David been a girl, a very different picture would have emerged. In Freud's Oedipal complex a girl cannot repudiate her m/other. Instead she has to learn to recognise her position of submission, 'For Freud, woman's renunciation of sexual agency and her acceptance of object status are the very hallmark of the feminine' (Benjamin, 1988, p. 87).⁴⁶ The girl must acknowledge her infe-

⁴⁶ Wekker's analysis of Hottentot nymphae showed how race evacuation was hidden and conflated with gender identification.

riorisation. Thus, for her, differentiation from the m/other is distorted and incomplete. Through identification with her m/other the girl accepts that her lack of the phallus will negate her access to the public domain. Therefore, she has to acknowledge her similarity to her m/other and forego her desire to enter into the public domain as a subject. She realises that like her m/other she lacks subjectivity and must embrace femininity in order to gain access to power via the masculine subject position (ibid., p. 87):

The problem that Freud laid before us with all too painful clarity was the elusiveness of woman's sexual agency. He proposed, in fact, that femininity is constructed through the acceptance of sexual passivity. According to Freud's theory of feminine development, the little girl starts out originally as a 'little man'. She loves her mother actively until she discovers, in the Oedipal phase, that she and mother both lack the phallus. She becomes feminine only when she turns from the mother to her father, from activity to passivity, in the hope of receiving his phallus; her effort to get the missing phallus leads her into the position of being the father's object.

This implies that for the girl to emancipate herself from her inferiorisation, she has to inflict violence towards herself to achieve a decolonised self. Otherwise she idealises her father's power and his access to the external or public domain ('to get the missing phallus') and accepts her inferiorisation/passivity. The inferiorisation of the girl is not dissimilar from the subaltern. Inferiorisation internalised by the subaltern is the violence that is done unto the subaltern. The master/coloniser relies on this internalised inferiorisation to maintain his authority and a skewed recognition. Decolonising the self means self-inflicted violence to undo this internalised inferiorisation.

Imagine if the girl did not have the phallus as her point of differentiation? Imagine if her father was not her only access point to the public domain? Imagine that a decolonised m/other that rejected the symbolic imaginary of the phallus and a father that repudiated male privilege facilitated the girl into her subjecthood through mutual recognition? If so, the girl would not have to face an 'us' and 'them' scenario or have to accept being an object/inferiorised. The same logic applies here when the subaltern (m/other) rejects her inferiorised position and the master/white male repudiates privilege and coloniality, the hierarchical binary of race, class, gender, sexuality, and dis/ability collapses. This rejection of the hierarchical binary is the collapse of both master and enslaved positions in order for a decolonised self to emerge. Moreover, the master (Max Price's whiteness and maleness) has to be self-reflexive of the privilege embedded in the hierarchical binary. Nonetheless with self-

reflection comes responsibility and restorative justice. This implies that if the subaltern is self-inflicting violence to undo the effects and affects of colonisation so too must the master/coloniser/white supremacist be committing self-inflicted violence to undo internalised privilege. Thus Max Price has to act against his privilege bestowed upon him through the violence of coloniality and apartheid by contributing towards conditions for a restorative and socially and sexually just university.

Returning to David, in the Freudian Oedipal complex, Max Price's whiteness and David's father/Adam Habib's authority both present hostility for David because both represent the dominance and submission model. Freeing David from the inherent opposition in his father's authority and Max Price's whiteness is the challenge he faces on an intrapsychic and social level. However, if both Max Price and David's father were to occupy a less hostile position by abandoning the master/slave dialectic inherent in the Oedipal complex for mutual recognition, then David's entrance into the public domain would be less violent and more nurturing. It would also mean that a new social order would be in the making with an imagined utopia of social and sexual justice. However, in the absence of that new social order, feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1988, 1995; Flax, 1990, 1994; Schwartz, 1998) argue for more meaningful triadic relationships as a first step in displacing the hierarchical binary and necessitating the preconditions of that utopia.

For David to displace the Freudian oedipal complex of white supremacy and patriarchy, Blacks, women, womxn, queers, transgendered, and the disabled would need to appropriate the position of subjecthood and 'decolonise the mind' pushing back against systemic and epistemic dominance and submission models (oppositions/hierarchical binary/institutional racism). This repositioning of marginalised people (subaltern) is crucial for creating the conditions necessary for meaningful triadic relationships that oppose Freudian psychoanalysis. It would mean the collapse of a hostile father (and whiteness) in order for a new social order to exist. In the absence of the collapse of the father, repudiating the father, whilst engaging in meaningful and nurturing relationships with others will help facilitate David's individuation and create the conditions for intersubjectivity and a decolonised self. But that comes at the expense of death (losing a meaningful relationship) of the father, thus leading to the intrapsychic death of the father (and whiteness): in other words, a collapse of supremacies (read anthropocene).

Loving relationships are therefore restorative and an intrapsychic necessity. They are crucial for processes such as mutual recognition, a decolonised self,

and restorative justice for marginalised people. Moreover, loving relationships promote a feminist ethics of care with decolonisation addressing the previous lack of intersection of two concurrent strata. This implies that for addressing race evacuation in Freud's Oedipal complex, mutual recognition through a decolonised lens must be a rehearsal space for a new social order to emerge. Decolonisation of the self is then the basis and condition for appropriation of subjectivity against race, class, gender, sexuality, and dis/ability evacuation.

Conclusion

Does Freudian psychoanalysis hold any value when applied against a decolonial lens? The case of Hottentot nymphae has shown us how Freudian psychoanalysis is race evacuated, perpetuating the cultural archive of coloniality. Therefore, we should be suspicious of Western epistemology and the way in which it has cultivated the cultural archive and perpetuated the hierarchical binary. However, that does not mean a total discarding of Western epistemology. Instead a critical decolonial examination of Western epistemology against the cultural archive is important. In fact, Derridean thought offers us the double-writing and from there the double consciousness, implying that by using Freudian psychoanalysis for reading David and Oedipus we have to utilise the cultural archive and read against race evacuation. But a double consciousness also means decolonising the mind. This process of decolonising the mind is about self-inflicted violence to emancipate the self from coloniality, achieving a decolonised self. For decolonisation this means that a new social order is only possible once we have become fully human, making ourselves subjects as well as decolonising Western epistemology, separating it from the poisoned chalice of the hierarchical binary and the cultural archive. Only then can love and revolution become the cornerstone for a new social order.

3

Decolonising Research Methods: Considerations for Scholarship, Pedagogy, and Epistemic Integrity

Introduction

In South Africa decolonisation is a pressing issue with student protests highlighting racial inequality and high levels of poverty amongst Blacks, mitigating accessibility to higher education institutions. RMF drew attention to various issues including the exploitative practice of outsourcing. Conversations primarily with two key participants from RMF, Alex Hotz and Brian Kamamzi, had me rethinking the relationship between the researcher and the researched subject as well as lived experiences of marginalised people and the impact that has for co-producing knowledge. I looked to Paulo Freire (1970) for answers. Freire explains the need for a critical pedagogy that requires a dialogue between scholars so that the teacher is not perpetuating a system of domination (Haraway, 2004) when it comes to knowledge production. Instead the student's lived experience is also brought into the classroom and recognised as a body of knowledge in and of itself. Freire's thesis repositions the oppressed centrally so that, through conscientisation, the conversation is redirected disrupting the power/knowledge nexus (Foucault, 1977). Lessons learnt from these conversations offer a way in which to rethink research methodology as well as pedagogy with a particular focus on decolonisation. As part of the conversation, a research method was developed called Agential Reflexive Methodology (ARM). With ARM, participants (including the researcher) became agents for co-producing knowledge. Self-reflexivity and conscientisation were employed as tools. The conversations were always open-ended and revisited in follow-up conversations. Insights were gained through differing perspectives and positions shifted during the conversations. To this extent, the conversations as part of ARM offer an alternate per-

spective for engaging and dealing with issues around integration, inclusivity, relevance, and curricula development for decolonising the academy.

Keywords: research methods, conversation, reflexivity, intersubjective, agential reflexive methodology, open notebook conversation, video conversation

Framing the Context

With the March 2015 occupation at UCT, concerns were raised to end the practice of outsourcing and for free quality decolonised education. One of RMF's successes, born out of the occupation, was in initiating a nationwide student protest in October 2016 for free education. On 16 February 2016, UCT tore down an RMF installation called Shackville.⁴⁷ Students were brutalised and arrested. Shackville's aim was to bring to UCT the reality that South Africans in the majority live below the poverty line. Shackville highlighted the plight of Black students seeking accommodation in Cape Town either through lack of funds or by racist attitudes that prevent Black students from living in formerly white areas. During the Shackville police clash, paintings from a nearby residence were burned and the Vice-Chancellor's (Max Price) office was petrol bombed.

Media representations of RMF have been ambiguous. Some portrayed a sympathetic and balanced view of RMF, whilst others have demonised the students and misrepresented the issues raised. Since students are a vulnerable group, maintaining the integrity of student voices becomes paramount. To this extent, video conversations were conducted. These conversations are between various student groups such as RMF and Fees Must Fall (FMF) as well as intergenerational. Furthermore, research on RMF questioned the basis for research methods. Therefore, the research has been participatory, reflexive, and self-representational, ensuring transparency and fostering trust. During the conversations, meaning was produced through political education, consciousness-raising, and critical evaluation (McNeil, 1993). The intention with the conversations was to remove hierarchical binaries so as to speak candidly to issues and exercise the practice of decolonising the mind with the hope of

47 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iC_hm_d0hRA.

decolonising the space. The conversations will be publically archived on the web.

A Vignette – An Example of Establishing Trust in Conversations with Participants

Open Notebook Conversation (ONC) and Video Conversation (VC) was a method I used to conduct conversations with participants in the research. I began each conversation by asking permission to take notes and inviting participants during the ONC to review the notes and to correct the notes if they were not satisfied with the notes. I did this by making the notebook visible in the conversation. I placed the notebook between myself and the participant so that the notes would always be visible and could be revised. With the VC, after the video was stopped I invited participants to review my notes. This helped to encourage self-representation in the note-taking and to further foster trust. It was also a way in which to disrupt hierarchical positions between myself, the researcher, and the researched, because the participant was always in control of what was being written in the notebook. That said, I am aware that I was in control of the ONC in that I initiated the conversation and provided direction by posing the initial question for the conversation. This is different to the VC because I did not intervene in the conversation if there were two or more participants.

The transparency in the ONC has made for an honest and at times difficult conversation. The participants have also questioned my motivations and I have had to clarify my interests in the research, which helped with establishing trust. In one instance, Brian Kamanzi from RMF challenged me to think through the endgame for student movements working on decolonisation and asked me to also engage with RMF so that the conversation became inter-generational. I thought about it and, at our next ONC, I agreed to share my views on issues that we were not in agreement about, such as the interpretation of violence. At the end of that ONC we were clearer on our definitions and uses of the word violence in relation to decolonisation. What I found was our ideas were not in opposition as much as the ONC was a process of sharing and learning. With each ONC I learned to see different perspectives.

Moreover, that initial conversation is what led to me becoming a participant in the research.

Becoming a participant in the research: shifting towards self-reflexive participatory research

I was surprised to find myself rethinking the idea of the conversation against a top-down researcher/researched power dynamic. I found myself thinking through the concept of decolonisation as a process that opens instead of closes the way we think of ourselves and everything around us and everything dear to us. As a result of this, I understood that my own investment in the research required a shift in how to conduct this particular research. I realised that I was not outside the research and the research was not an object either. Instead this was intersubjective research (Cook, 2009; Banks et al., 2013; Shuttleworth, 2004), requiring a shift in thinking about the conversations and how they were being conducted as opposed to key informant interviews. As a result of this, I began to be more invested in the conversations as an explorative space for meaning-making. This meant that the conversations were open-ended and, as much as I directed the initial question to the participants, I also allowed myself to become the participant and to answer questions and to explore the space of the conversation. In many ways, this is what Freire (1970) meant by conscientisation. I was allowing myself to be part of the process of conscientisation and simultaneously I was allowing the conversation to become the medium for conscientisation. Thus the conversation became the space for allowing new ideas and new ways of knowing, being, and becoming to unfold (Mupotsa, 2017; Mignolo, 2009). In this sense, the conversation was key for practicing decolonising the space and, in rethinking decolonising methods of data collection, disrupting the inherent power relations of researcher and researched as subject/object relationships.

Contextualising RMF

Twenty-two years post-apartheid and South Africa is still facing challenges in dealing with issues around integration and poverty eradication. These issues are not separate from the academy and intersect with the academy through student population, curricula development, and neoliberal policies (Mountz, 2015). Understanding how historical injustices affect current realities is a challenge that needs to be met with decisive action in order to make post-apartheid South Africa relevant, representative, and inclusive. The RMF

protests have identified key demands such as an end to financial exclusion, inclusivity, and recognition of students from a variety of lived experiences, whilst addressing language barriers.

Understanding Decolonisation with Regard to Research Methods

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) explained decolonisation as a process of recovery of lost subjecthood, whilst Gloria Wekker (2016) argued for understanding the effects and affects of coloniality in the reproduction of the 'cultural archive'.⁴⁸

Frantz Fanon (2001) claims that decolonisation is a violent act, replacing the old with the new without a transition. However, Fanon also implies that decolonisation is about a relationship between the coloniser and the colonised and how that relationship shifts in the violence of decolonisation. Patrick Bond (2015) argues that South Africa has not shifted systemically. Instead, South Africa has entrenched inequality through brazen neoliberal policies. Therefore, for South Africa, decolonisation is an urgent response for changing the material circumstances of the poor.

Gloria Wekker (2016, p. 165) argues that the historical systemic injustices of coloniality and the cultural archive perpetuated 'the violence that was visited on black people overseas went unregistered, was obfuscated and disavowed'. Wekker is referring to the relationship between the metropolis and the colony. Her argument is crucial for rethinking curricula development and the rewriting of history from a decolonised perspective. It is especially significant for histories of oppression that have been written onto Black bodies inhabiting white academic spaces, and the ways in which meanings and knowledge production affect those lived experiences. Moreover, Fanon's understanding of violence can be interpreted as physical violence. But in reading Fanon versus Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, violence can also be interpreted as the systemic violence of coloniality reinforced through the cultural archive with colonised notions of self that must be radically purged for the decolo-

48 Cultural archive is a term coined by Gloria Wekker (2016), arguing that coloniality is reproduced through our experiences and through thoughts that frame our worldview and are considered as the normative.

nised self to emerge. Thus violence can be read as an undoing of the subaltern in the process of decolonisation.

Mahmood Mamdani (2012) talks about a crisis in colonial rule, whilst Walter Mignolo (2009) talks about 'epistemic disobedience', which can also be seen as a crisis from the old way of doing things through a violent transition to a new way of doing things that recognises the lived experiences of oppression. Difference amongst the student body and staff is key to understanding who is being taught, what they are being taught, and by whom. Mamdani would suggest that student movements in post-apartheid South Africa are not having their demands adequately addressed (Mamdani, 1998). And South African scholar Crain Soudien (2011, 2012, 2015) argues that South Africans need to extend their imagination to notions of intersubjectivity, with language being a unifier, whilst identity can be regarded as a form of celebration of difference. Soudien's work complements Mamdani's work and the work of Gloria Wekker and feminist psychoanalysts in that it builds into the notion of sameness and difference,⁴⁹ whilst relating to Freire's (1970) understandings of praxis as a basis for curricula development in an intercultural society. Thus the scholars used for this study build onto the notion that in order for people to flourish in society we need to ensure conditions for mutual recognition so that differences can be learned as well as respected.

The Theory/Methodology Nexus and Mutual Recognition as a Strategy for Intersubjective Research

To reiterate the famous Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2006) dictum, 'decolonising the mind⁵⁰ before decolonising the space'. Furthermore, decolonisation is a precondition for making ourselves the subject through recognition of self, leading to the possibility for mutual recognition.

Critical pedagogical scholarship and feminist psychoanalytical theory on mutual recognition underpins the methodological framework of the research, critiquing institutional culture regarding marginalised communities. Critical pedagogical scholarship is best known through Paolo Freire's (1998) understanding of praxis, 'reflection and action to transform the world,' whilst

49 Sameness and difference implies that others are like the self: subjects, but different because they are autonomous.

50 Ngugi (1986) and Lacan (1977) argued that through language we come into being so that the language of the coloniser shapes our perceptions and affects our sense of self. Therefore it is crucial to decolonise our minds in order to tackle decolonisation in other spheres.

Camarotta's (2011) argument is based on inclusion of marginalised communities in curricula development to secure democracy. Feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1995; Flax, 1994, 1990; Schwartz, 1998) have argued that understandings of sameness and difference are crucial for learning to live in intercultural societies. Understanding the relationship and responsibility between self and other through a nuanced understanding of sameness and difference is the basis for discussions on inclusivity and integration. These theoretical positions together with critical race theory and intersectionality have framed the issues around access to education and curricula development. The difference between RMF and FMF is that RMF together with other student movements on South African campuses grew into FMF. However, RMF will continue to work on the programme of decolonisation even if free education has been achieved because, as Halleh Ghorashi (2014) has shown, change comes through slow revolution.

Object relations theory is useful in trying to make sense of subjectivity. In plain speak, this means that for making ourselves the subject we have to violently abandon an object position (violence or hostility here refers to splitting-off, referring to an intrapsychic process of separating from the colonisers gaze,⁵¹ fixing the subaltern in an object position) and appropriate a subject position to recognise ourselves as subject/self. Fanon refers to this process as the 'New Man' in *The Wretched of the Earth* (2001) and bell hooks (1992) refers to this as 'making ourselves subject'. I prefer the term decolonised self because it contextualises the conditions for decolonising the mind when examining the master/slave dialectic. Benjamin (1988) argued that the Hegelian master/slave dialectic is about skewed recognition because the master is reliant on the slave's recognition of the master's authority. If the slave fails to recognise the master's authority, then the master/slave dialectic collapses. This can also be read as the moment of revolution, implying an end to the master narrative inherent in colonisation.

Academia could be one of the spaces for new expressions of subjectivity. Especially in rethinking decolonising the mind within a possible space of belonging that could be the answer for embracing the decolonised self. Therefore, decolonising academia is crucial for challenging the power/knowledge nexus⁵² (Foucault, 1977) of coloniality inherent in the curricula. The founda-

51 Gaze here refers to Laura Mulvey's (1989) work on the male gaze.

52 Michel Foucault (1977) argued that there was direct relationship between power and knowledge, implying that epistemology is not innocent. Instead, knowledge is produced by people in positions of power. Therefore, for social justice and decolonising the self, it is crucial to debunk the relationship between power and knowledge.

tions of the Enlightenment and coloniality are given expression to through language and, as such, the scholar has to unlearn this language to become the decolonised self. Thus the process in thinking through decolonisation is to deconstruct the past and reconstruct the present by way of making ourselves subject through curricula development, and gaining voice and agency in scholarship. In the South African context, decolonisation of academia means access to the academy, in particular, for previously marginalised people, and, thereafter, affective engagement with epistemological projects for the decolonised self that help rethink the power/knowledge nexus as well as the dominant narrative of coloniality.

Conversation as a Tool for Conscientisation and a Strategy for Decolonising Curricula

Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education. Education which is able to resolve the contradiction between teacher and student takes place in a situation in which both address their act of cognition to the object by which they are mediated. Thus, the dialogical character of education as the practice of freedom does not begin when the teacher-student meets with the students-teachers in a pedagogical situation, but rather when the former first asks herself or himself what she or he will dialogue with the latter about. And the preoccupation with the content of dialogue is really preoccupation with the program content of education (Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1970, pp.73-74).

Paulo Freire explains the need for a critical pedagogy that requires in and of itself a dialogue between scholars so that the teacher is not perpetuating a system of domination when it comes to knowledge production. Instead, students lived experiences are brought into the dialogue to be acknowledged as a body of knowledge in and of itself. Thus Freire demands of us to rethink knowledge production through breaking away from systems of domination that perpetuate themselves in the classroom. Freire's thesis repositions the oppressed centrally so that consciousness and awareness is brought to the lived experience of the oppressed, reframing the way in which dialogue takes place so that the power/knowledge nexus is disrupted.

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2001, p. 38) argue that, 'exploring how the lifeworld emerges as a result of microprocesses in the form of social interactions,

which generate the common-sense knowledge of the participants,' highlights how the university population gives meaning to the experiences on campus as well as how that gets reflected in society in general. Lessons learnt from the South African student movements offer an alternate perspective for engaging and dealing with issues around integration, inclusivity, and relevance for marginalised communities.

This was a qualitative research study employing mutual recognition as a theoretical tool for practicing reflexivity in the form of agential reflexive methodology (ARM) through open notebook conversations (ONC) and video conversations (VC) with participants from RME, and with scholars from the South African and Dutch academes. Conversations attempted to understand and explore how decolonisation can contribute towards making academia increasingly inclusive, transparent, and accountable.

The theoretical and methodological frames intersect by way of understanding decolonisation and the notion of a decolonised self as well as pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 1970). The theoretical framework highlights the ways in which curricula can facilitate the process of inclusion and decolonisation of the self, whilst the struggle for free quality decolonised education can help towards accessibility to the university. The theoretical frame is thus explored in conversation so that the pedagogical part of the study is not hierarchical but rather an exchange of ideas and learning between the researcher and the participants so that the researcher becomes a participant within the study and is not outside of the study.

ARM through further exploration with the participants has come to be understood as participant-based research whereby the participants are agents in the research, self-representing so that their voices are preserved with integrity, transparency, and accountability. Ownership of the research belongs to the participants and the public. The research becomes part of the public archive and is made available on the Internet and in libraries of participating institutions. For analysing ARM, discourse analysis and in particular textual analysis was employed.

Since the research is based on many hours of intense conversations with mainly two key participants, the research can also be read as ethnographic. However, ethnography⁵³ implies a way of looking at the world. If the lens for

53 A conservative understanding of ethnography is an 'anthropological inquiry aimed at the reconstruction of everyday life in specific (sub)cultures by using the terms, concepts, definitions

looking at the world is infused with systems of domination, however, then it is crucial to rethink ethnographic research through the suggestion of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), by placing the other in the position of subject, with agency to control and voice his/her own narrative. To this extent, the use of conversation as a form of meaning-making as well as a process of conscientisation and decolonising the mind is reflexive and open-ended. There was no beginning or end but instead the conversation as a tool was part of a continuum in the practice of decolonisation, which became part of the reflexive aspect of conscientisation. In large part, the function of the conversation was to explore themes, concepts, ideas, notions, and principles that were open for critique or left to be considered further.

The common definitions and understandings that emerged during the conversations were heavily relied on because they were reached through consensus and agreement. However, these too were open for further review and change. Therefore, the conversation as a function of data collection was not limited since as a researcher I was also a participant in intergenerational conversations. This implied that the definitions and meanings were not limited to cultural symbols and signs but instead the reflexive part of the conversation was the more dominant aspect of these intergenerational conversations. During the process of reviewing the notes from the ONC and VC the dominant method of interpretation was based on how meaning was produced during the conversation. Thus the conversation became the medium for consciousness-raising and critical awareness (McNeil, 1993) in how it was envisioned in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970). Therefore, meaning-making in the review process of the ONCs and VCs are reflexive due to personal histories and is thus context specific. Therefore, ARM is not ethnographic research in that the participants including myself as the researcher/participant have become a central focus in the research. Shared voices in the initial conversations give form to broader conversations. As a result of the two key participants, snowballing was used as a way of accessing other participants. It is noteworthy that the two key participants were visible members of RMF and were suspended from UCT post-Shackville. One of the participants through strenuous negotiations was allowed back to UCT only as recently as November 2016.

and understandings of the members of these cultures themselves' (Van Zoonen, 1994. p. 131).

Decolonising Discourse – a Strategy for Analysing Conversations

Discourse is about power and normalisation. Michel Foucault (1977) argued that discourse was about imitation and through repetition (mainstreaming ideas, Van Zoonen, 1994) discourse becomes normalised. Moreover, the discourse of coloniality has been embedded in language so that the Lacanian dictum, 'language speaks us' (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 13) becomes more about how we think of ourselves as subalterns. Barbara Johnstone (2002) claims that discourse contributes towards shaping our worldviews, and therefore colonisation and coloniality reify the position of the subaltern through the imaginings of a colonised language. Furthermore, language and discourse are not static but are fluid and shifting (Foucault, 1977), thus discourse as an imitation of power embedded in language functions to perpetuate the colonisation of the mind. Following that, decolonising the mind is about de-linking discourse and coloniality from the making of the subject, implying that decolonisation is about the subaltern claiming agency to become the decolonised self. This requires the game of undoing language to reflect decolonisation of thought. Subsequently, Johnstone illustrates her point of discourses shifting by claiming that (2002, pp. 30-31):

But the relationship between discourse and the world we think of as outside of and independent of discourse is not this simple. Debate over this relationship has a recurring theme throughout the history of philosophy, and describing how language and thought, language and culture, or discourse and society are interrelated has been one of the major goals for theorists of language throughout the past century. The consensus among discourse analysts is that discourse is both shaped by and helps to shape the human lifeworld, or the world as we experience it. In other words, discourse both reflects and creates human beings' worldviews... The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis holds that the ways in which people categorize things in the world are affected by the ways in which their language categorizes things grammatically. In Sapir's words (1949, p. 162), 'the fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group.' The extreme version of this idea, sometimes referred to as 'linguistic determinism,' is that categories of language determine categories of perception, so that a person would not be able to imagine things in any other way than the way dictated by his or her language.

Johnstone's understanding is that worldviews and lifeworlds are reinforced through discursive practices and those discursive practices are perpetuated by the sheer dominance of perception. Perceptions through repetition be-

come dominant discursive practices or, in other words, become normalised. Perception and persuasion are the results of a language that is embedded in systems of domination so that the subaltern learns to self-hate in the process of becoming the subaltern. In this context, decolonising the self is about unlearning these intrapsychic (symbolic) and material (coloniality) forms of subjugation. Therefore, the conversations were crucial for rethinking the symbolic and material circumstances of coloniality.

In the study of conversations with participants, it was important to note that nuance in the use of language was underscored by an understanding of mutual recognition, a being/becoming of a decolonised self, reinforcing a shared worldview between the participants that led towards more consciousness-raising and a further understanding of the programme of decolonisation. Johnstone (*ibid.*, p. 228) further claims that 'Discourse is fundamentally the result of flexible strategies, not fixed rules: no interaction is exactly like any other, there is always another way of doing things, idiosyncrasy and novelty are always possible and usually interpretable'. Therefore, discourse analysis has no specific rules. Moreover, understanding the lens (theoretical frame) from which analyses and interpretations were conducted became paramount for maintaining transparency and an openness for critique and criticality.

In the act of reading a social movement like RME, the ways in which interpretation works becomes part of the project of criticality. Therefore, in reading the conversations that I participated in means a narrow focus on subjective interpretations of the conversations as texts. Part of the challenge in reading a text is that identity is infused in language so that we never stand outside language or the text but instead we use language to shift contexts and thereby shift our notions of identity (Zizek, 2006, p. 18) or challenge representations within the boundaries of language.

Challenging the status quo⁵⁴ through decolonisation is a specific strategy in that it attempts to highlight normalising practices (Zoonen, 1994, pp. 62-65), whilst simultaneously interpreting the narrative from the theoretical frame of the researcher (Hall, 1999, p. 348), thereby disrupting it. Furthermore, for realising a decolonised self and understanding how language affects notions of identity, the conversation itself becomes a tool for the actualisation of a decolonised self. The attention to language for such purposes is to show how

⁵⁴ Status quo here refers to the perpetuation of coloniality in normalising practices that are subtly reified through institutional and systemic biases.

language can shift to achieve self-awareness. Therefore, the text in the conversation attempts to highlight a level of transparency and accountability within this method of self-actualisation and self-reflection. The text is also open to critique because it is bound to historical context and personal bias, implying that the meaning of a decolonised self might change in a different historical moment. Johnstone elaborates this point (2002, p. 20):

The roots of discourse analysis are in the analysis of traditional texts – in classical philology, literary criticism, and hermeneutics – and the controlling metaphor behind this approach to research, explicit or not, has often been that analyzing human life is a matter of open-ended interpretation rather than fact-finding, more like reading than like identifying data points that bear on pre-formed hypotheses (Geertz, 1973). So, it is especially important for us to be aware of the ways in which we may be tempted to treat all discourse as if it were like the writing in a book. It is crucial to be able to uncover the many ways in which texts are shaped by contexts and the ways in which texts shape contexts.

Since this study is about conversations, crucial markers are highlighted to understand how the conversation has taken shape in the context of decolonisation. Therefore, as Johnstone (2002) claims, the interpretation of a text is always open-ended, implying that if the lens from which the text is analysed shifts, so too will the interpretation of the conversation. To this extent, alternate understandings, consciousness-raising, and critical evaluation are used specifically to resist the status quo. Decolonising the mind is used as a strategy to challenge hierarchical binary oppositions and discourses on race, class, gender, sexuality, and dis/ability. These alternate understandings are part of the transparency of the method of interpretation so that the interpretation is open-ended and can be critically evaluated by other scholars and readers alike.

Discourse analysis, however, also creates a certain space for challenging discursive practices by placing discourse with its baggage of historical context framed by the power/knowledge nexus under the microscope. Teun van Dijk in his book *Discourse as Structure and Process – Volume 1* (1997, pp. 20-21) claims that:

The critical scholars make their social and political position explicit: they take sides, and actively participate in order to uncover, demystify or otherwise challenge dominance with their discourse analyses... Discourse analysis focuses on relevant social problems. That is, their work is more is-

sue-oriented than theory-oriented... their ultimate goal is not only scientific, but also political, namely change.

As Van Dijk states, it is crucial to make the scholar's position explicit so that there is a level of transparency in the analysis that highlights the scholar's agenda. This means that the researcher is never objective but holds a position, a so-called point of view that she wants to debunk. To this extent, I make my position clear as a feminist scholar who supports decolonisation, whilst proposing mutual recognition and a decolonised self as a means to challenge and resist coloniality. Therefore, my goal through the research is to affect change through preserving the epistemic integrity of the voices of the participants.

Discourse analysis encapsulates textual analysis as well as 'language analysis' (*ibid.*, pp. 2-3). Language occupies a virtual space of the symbolic and imaginary realms, but it has very real ramifications for shaping and normalising practices (Zizek, 2006). And, Foucault argues, language is imperfect, 'the theory of language is immediately prescriptive' (Foucault, 1977, p. 205). Language is based on an arbitrary system of signs. It is the meaning that is affected through the relationship between the signs that must be open for critique.

If we think back to Foucault (1977) and his claim about the power/knowledge nexus, this then means that, within the historical context, the relationship of knowledge to power is about who has the power to produce knowledge. Ideology and hegemony are then about normalising practices (Fairclough, 1995, p. 38) and, in the case of academia, it is about what is considered important and how systems of domination and coloniality get reinforced in knowledge production. This implies that language and education can be subversive.

The work of Campbell (2000), McNeil (1993), and Van Zoonen (1994) assert that language can shift through shifts in representation. And, Foucault (1977) suggests, it is in consciousness-raising and critical evaluation of the status quo that normative discursive practices get disrupted. This implies that the choice of words used to describe and understand decolonisation in and of itself is important for critique and consciousness-raising. Therefore, in reading the text it is important to critically evaluate the text in relation to

the power/knowledge nexus and to resist the status quo and, in particular for this study, to disrupt coloniality.

Even though discourses shift, it is wise to be vigilant of these shifts since they determine future worldviews. Again I refer to Johnstone when she claims, 'Discourse is shaped by expectations created by familiar discourse, and new instances of discourse help to shape our expectations about what future discourse will be like and how it should be interpreted' (2002, p. 15). Therefore, the analysis must also provide remedies for what future discourses on decolonisation should look like and, to this end, a decolonised self is seen as a minor remedy for resisting the insidiousness of coloniality and the cultural archive.

Positioning Myself as a Participant in Relation to the Conversation

As a researcher/scholar who occupies a Black cis-woman body, my lived experiences in both the Netherlands and South Africa, working on particularly South African issues, has always placed me on the margins. I feel I need to defend my presence in white spaces (not trailing behind, Ahmed (2004)) by explaining why I occupy such spaces. I usually have to explain the reasons for my research and often they are met with suspicion. The violence of such spaces for a Black cis-woman (and again Black being a political identity – even though I am placed in the woman of colour category in the European context) becomes a violence of race, gender, class, sexuality, and dis/ability. I cannot begin to imagine what further marginalisations such as visual disabilities or a transgendered identity might cause. I know that when students began to protest at my alma mater – UCT – I was ecstatic. This feeling was an outpouring of the years of being at an institution where I was made to feel like a misplaced body (an outsider) invading a space, along with the violences that come with that invasion.

When I arrived at UCT in January 1991, I was met by the Rhodes' statue, on the foothills of the mountain. This scene told me, and others like me, that we were all misplaced. But which places did Black bodies have in a transitioning South Africa? Which places were ours to occupy? The feeling of being the subaltern and having the normalisation of whiteness imposed upon me brought with it the violence of a system that misplaced me (always looking for my body in the right place). Fixing me in the position of the subaltern meant I could never truly be at home within the white liberal academy.

When Rhodes fell, I felt vindicated for the years of violence that my body had come under and the internal struggles of wanting to belong in a hostile environment that clearly was tolerating my presence. Up until my arrival at UCT, I was always in Black spaces in apartheid South Africa. Black beaches, Black schools, Black restaurants, Black city spaces for shopping and grooming. UCT was my first real entry into a white space in a country with an 80% Black African population.

For me, engaging in the conversation from an intergenerational perspective created a shared experience and solidarity with the participants from RMF and myself: a bond that was forged on the basis of the violences done unto us – Black bodies in white spaces. I realised my participation in the conversation was also part of my trauma mastery. It gave me a newfound enthusiasm for the research and for my participation. It allowed me to move beyond the power/knowledge nexus of the voyeuristic researcher towards the investment in the conversation as a way of conscientisation leading to a decolonised self. I was in the research for my own need to decolonise my mind. The students knew this investment and, in a way, their generosity with their time and their trust helped me to navigate these new understandings of pedagogy of the oppressed in a way that was explorative and gentle. I am deeply indebted to the participants in the conversations for my own understandings of decolonisation in the intrapsychic and material realms.

Agential Reflexive Methodology (ARM)

Agential Reflexive Methodology is about how participants engage in conversation as a tool for conscientisation. The conversation is the primary mode for pedagogy without hierarchy. There is no teacher/student relationship. Instead, a shared understanding is about knowledge production through conversation. Note-taking became a primary source for marking data points in the conversation. Open notebook conversations (ONC) and video conversations (VC) were an innovative way of conducting transparent research. Participants' agency to self-represent in note-taking allowed me, the researcher as participant as well as other participants, to 'affect each other mutually and continually' (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2001, p. 39). Therefore, the research was not a linear process. Instead it was reflexive.

Sandra Harding (1992, p. 439) argued that 'strong reflexivity as a main source of objectivity' opposes the idea of objective research since researchers are also affected by their situatedness. ARM allows for meaning-making through

a gradual process of reflection and contextualisation. I was very clear about my own historical situatedness and as a researcher I made it clear to the participants (ibid.) why I was invested in these conversations. I did this by stating (a) what the research was about and (b) that the purposes for conducting ARM was to further encourage self-representation. I was aware that stating my situatedness could have affected the content and responses from the participants. However, it also served to foster trust and transparency with the hope that, through trust, a more open and honest exchange could occur in the conversations.

A crucial element of ARM is self-representation, allowing the participant a measure of control in the conversation so that the research is a negotiated process of learning. Meaning-making is thus symptomatic of the conversation. Paulo Freire (1970, p. 62) claims:

The students – no longer docile listeners – are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. The teacher presents the material to the students for their consideration, and re-considers her earlier considerations as the students express their own. The role of the problem-posing educator is to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the doxa is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of the logos.

I am not sure that I fully understand or agree with Freire's understanding of 'true knowledge' because all knowledge is given from a particular perspective and, much like truth, there are many interpretations of knowledge systems or epistemology. However, the idea of co-producing knowledge through dialogue is one that responds to the idea of knowledge of the oppressed by processes of critically evaluating the power/knowledge nexus. Therefore, ARM attempts to maintain centrality to dialogue as a way in which to disrupt dominant discourses.

The conversations were sometimes uncomfortable and awkward. Participants have also questioned my motivations and I had to clarify and restate my interests in the research, which actually helped in re-establishing trust. When Brian Kamanzi from RMF invited me to engage in intergenerational conversation, I realised that I was called upon to be more than an observer/

researcher. Thus, the ONC presented an opportunity for growth and learning.

Critical theory was contested in the conversations for under utilising empirical evidence (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2001, pp. 133-139). Importance was placed on building new ways of thinking and reflecting (new knowledge systems), assisting in changing beliefs and hegemonic positions or worldviews (Johnstone, 2002) held in society, in order to bring about necessary changes for making academia more accessible and relevant in epistemological explorations. Therefore, in the ONC, theoretical positions were not a given but were instead deconstructed and critically evaluated (ibid., p. 243) in order to further develop an ARM. And, in this way, it was possible to shift language to reflect new possibilities for change, '[T]he process of construction thus demands something to construct (out there, so long as we are not talking about pure objects of fantasy), a constructing subject (the researcher) and a social context that constructs the researcher (society, language, paradigms, the local research community). To put it simply: reflexivity, in the research context, means paying attention to these aspects without letting any one of them dominate' (ibid., p. 246).

The methodology of the research was thus multipronged. It was based on reviewing current literature on decolonisation as well as analysing social media responses,⁵⁵ ARM and participant observation.

Data collection:

1. Social media scan
2. Literature review
3. Participant observation
4. Open notebook conversations
5. Video conversations

Participant observation was also employed at an *imbizo*⁵⁶ as a way of observing (Marshall & Rossman, 1989) a gathering/meeting as well as noting the social dynamics that occur in that space without impacting the event. However, this was not without its contradictions. At the *imbizo* at UCT in February 2016, I was acknowledged by UCT management and was also introduced to members of RMF. Thus my presence did not go unnoticed. However, I did not take notes during the *imbizo* and only when it seemed appro-

⁵⁵ Knowledge is not so much outside as it is being contested and lived.

⁵⁶ *Imbizo* is a gathering/meeting of people for a discussion.

priate did I take photos with my mobile phone of the banners and the gathering. I did not photograph workers when they spoke because of issues related to job security. Since the *imbizo* was public, there were photographers from media houses and thus my presence was not confrontational. The *imbizo* was a transparent meeting with an open microphone that allowed students, workers and management to engage in dialogue.

Social media scan is a way of scanning news stories related to the research topic. It looks at social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, including electronic news agencies, relating specifically to topics on decolonisation.

Part of the research design was to workshop the findings with participants so that the research could be disputed or accepted with a level of transparency and accountability. However, due to funding constraints the workshops did not happen.

In summation, ARM is not a top-down approach in data collection with a research subject and a researched object. Instead, ARM highlights a way of doing research that is more self-reflexive, intersubjective, inclusive, transparent, accountable, and public. The way in which I tried to make the research transparent and accountable to the participants was to tell them what I was working on and the ideas I was working with. I also sent versions of my writings to the participants, especially the two key participants/scholars I have followed closely over the past years.

The research questions informing the study were:

1. What value does decolonisation bring to institutions and amongst scholars?
2. How does RMF encourage the space to explore decolonisation?
3. How does RMF encourage inclusivity?
4. Do RMF protests enable effective engagement with UCT?
5. How is RMF influencing the formal and informal curriculum at UCT?

In the Netherlands, I asked questions on the structure and direction of the academy and on racist practices such as *Zwarte Piet*.

Methodology used for the study was a combination of:

- Theoretical frame (mutual recognition) as a lens for understanding decolonisation
- Literature review on decolonisation
- Following and analysing social media streams and discussions
- Selecting and conducting recurring interviews with key participants from RME, UCT, VU and scholars in South Africa and the Netherlands using ONC
- Participant observation

Conclusion

This chapter attempted to show how a rethinking of research methods could be reflexive, intersubjective, inclusive, and transparent. It tried to disrupt discursive practices of normalisation, thereby resisting the status quo and coloniality. I also attempted to break the divide between the researcher and the researched by placing the researcher within the research as a participant so that the researcher was altered and affected by the research. This was the intersubjective aspect of the research method. I did this by showing how the research is not an object. Instead the research in and of itself is a subjective experience whereby the participants including the researcher are engaging in an intersubjective experience that alters and affects all the participants through the process of the conversation. This relies heavily on Freire's understanding of pedagogy of the oppressed as a way of conscientisation and decolonising the mind.

The open-endedness of the conversation allows for fluidity by providing the space to rethink the objectives of the research. The conversation allows for contestation, meaning-making, subversion, provocations, resistance, and disruption of the power/knowledge nexus as a way of shifting discursive practices of normalisation. The conversation then creates new spaces for reimagining a decolonised self through exploring fluid ways of subjectivity. The hope is that, with ARM, the research will facilitate a shift towards decolonising the self through consciousness-raising and critical evaluation as part of the process of the conversations. Thus the research is heavily reliant on feminist research methodologies such as situatedness and self-reflexivity as well as pedagogy of the oppressed. This was a conscious strategy to ensure space for previously marginalised people to use their voice and agency, thereby encouraging self-representation. Therefore, this chapter hopes to

have highlighted the ways in which meaning-making was negotiated in the context of the research.

4

Dehumanisation and the Need for Decolonisation: Observations from Cape Town to Amsterdam

Introduction

In the process of becoming fully human we challenge systems of domination that attempt to dehumanise us through fixing us in positions of subordination. The case of blackface or Zwarte Piet (ZP) in the Netherlands highlights how white supremacy fixes Black oppression through appeasement (Fanon, 1961) and mimicry. In challenging the views on Zwarte Piet in the Netherlands, anti-ZP protesters were violently arrested reasserting the law in the defence of white innocence (Wekker, 2016). These 'benign' traditions reassert very violent histories of white supremacy and Black oppression, reifying coloniality and colonial tropes of subjugation. The need for decolonisation in both the global north and global south, especially with the case of Rhodes Must Fall at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and University of Colour, in Amsterdam, and with subsequent student movements globally, shows us why it is so important to understand how dehumanising practices such as blackface/ZP function. Instruments for conscientisation through curriculum development and critical pedagogy can be realised in how invisibility of dehumanising practices becomes visible. Making visible that which is invisible is part of the project of being/becoming fully human. Connecting the scholar in the classroom to larger networks that govern policies and practices furthers the project of decolonisation of pedagogy in the advancement of criticality.

Keywords: dehumanisation, decolonisation, coloniality, Zwarte Piet, blackface, nano-global

Framing the context

In 2016, a meeting was held in the Maagdenhuis, Amsterdam, the site of the occupation of the administrative offices of the University of Amsterdam in April 2015. The Diversity Commission established as one of four commissions, born out of the occupation of the Maagdenhuis, held this meeting with Professor Philomena Essed facilitating it. One of the most profound moments in this meeting was when a young Black woman cried as she related her experiences of being Black and at university in Amsterdam. I turned around and saw the face of a young Black man who sat diagonally behind me. He looked vacant. It was at this moment that something broke inside me. I felt the profound sadness of years of microaggressions committed against my skin colour and the weight of institutional racism on my shoulders. I grew up in apartheid South Africa. Dowdy old uncles that we thought were boring as kids, I subsequently found out after their deaths, were trained in the former Soviet Union. I grew up in a shroud of smoke and daggers, mystery and fear, violences and silences, all because I was born a darker hue.

During the journey of this book, one of the first people I spoke to from UCT was the regal beauty, Dr Shose Kessi. Shose is Black like me. She started the Black Academic Caucus (BAC) at UCT because on arrival for her position in psychology she was not afforded the same benefits as other (inferred white) international staff arriving at UCT. She was not offered temporary housing and, with three children and being a single mom, her adjustment was made even more challenging. Shose relates this story and, as she speaks, I hear the faint murmur of sorrow – an age-old tale of oppression. For a Black person these tales are common knowledge. We expect that we will be pulled aside in immigration lines entering the West. Our skins are our markers of prejudice and, although we should have become accustomed to the stigma of being Black, we continue to resist this narrative and the internalisation of oppression. This chapter is by way of me making sense of that darker hue and how it has come to be a marker for prejudice, systemic oppression, and resistance.

If racism is manifest at the level of perception itself and in the very domain of visibility, then an amelioration of racism would be apparent in the world we perceive as visible. A reduction of racism will affect perception itself, as well as comportment, body image, and so on. Toward this, our first task, it seems to me, is to make visible the practices of visibility itself, to outline the background from which our knowledge of others and of ourselves appears in relief. From there we may be able to alter the associated meanings ascribed to visible difference (Alcoff, 2006, p. 194).

Linda Alcoff (2006) in *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self* argued that racism is about visible difference and associated perceptions. In this chapter, I attempt to address the issue of racism and, in particular, how the university (institution) structures could shift and transform perceptions that perpetuate racism by making visible those perceptions of racism that 'outline the background from which our knowledge of others and ourselves appears in relief'. It is about showing how everyday racisms (Essed, 1989) can implicitly be accepted as the normal way of doing things, by showing, as in Foucault's (1977, p. 15) dictum, the ways in which 'power lies in monuments and documents', implying how policies and practices form part of systemic and institutional racisms and injustices. In this way, visibility pins down racism, not just in marked difference but also in the symbolic imaginary of language that frames policies – markers of power that uphold the racial binary. Moreover, Linda Alcoff (2006) and Jessica Robles (2015) both offer hope through altering and repairing racist perceptions, firstly, by making visible racist perceptions and, secondly, by challenging 'hearably racist speak' (Robles, 2015). Furthermore, since race is a social construct, we can deduce that racism is something that can be overcome by challenging the power structures that uphold the racial binary (Baldwin, 2017). Therefore, this chapter, through making visible everyday racisms, will look at and attempt to answer the question, why the discourse of decolonisation has now seen a revival amongst student movements.

In 2015, with the occupations at UCT and in Amsterdam, we have to ask, what was it about this particular moment in time, in two different geopolitical contexts, that has led these student bodies to challenge their university administrations and resist the status quo? Why decolonisation and why now?

Understanding Dehumanisation – A Context for the Revival of Decolonisation

The global south is no longer a geographical location (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). It exists globally in the north and the south. Another term for this phenomenon is superdiversity (Crul, 2015). What this means is that the relationship between the centre and the periphery is a relationship we can find globally in how the periphery engages with the centre (Haraway, 2004; Wekker, 2016). This argument is crucial for critical pedagogy. The relationship between the coloniser and the subaltern is relevant when thinking through decolonising the curriculum and rewriting history. It is especially significant for histories that have been written onto bodies that reflect the meanings and knowledge

produced through coloniality, which affect lived experiences. These engagements have ramifications for interpersonal relationships as well.

In *Wretched of The Earth* (1961/2001) Fanon wrote about his *pied noir*⁵⁷ patient in Algeria who became alienated from her father when she found out that he was torturing the *fellahs*⁵⁸ in their village. Knowing that her father became the brutal extension of the colonial state broke the bonds of love for Fanon's patient. In this particular case study, Fanon is intrigued by the collapse of the father/daughter relationship when violence is used as a means to dehumanise the subaltern (*fellahs*) in order to maintain colonial authority and power. The colonial system of domination is disrupted when familial relations are impacted, highlighting how the public intersects with the private, each affecting the other so that one is not without the other. The dysfunctional power relations observed through coloniality through dehumanising practices of stripping the dignity of the subaltern, strips the coloniser of his/her dignity and humanity. The relevance of this example that Fanon flags has a lot to do with the legacy of coloniality in modern day society.

In the recent past, that is, 2013, a case was brought forward to the Dutch courts of a Dutch woman (with Turkish ancestry) called Esra Coskun who was knocked down by a motorcycle when she was 10-years-old. She lay in a coma for a year. When she recovered her insurance awarded the woman only 12,75% of the disability grant because the judge decided that allochtoon⁵⁹ (not of native ancestry, inferring people of colour) women reproduce at an early age and are thus not part of the workforce. *'Reaal Verzekeringen vindt dat het minder schadevergoeding aan haar hoeft uit te keren dan in vergelijkbare gevallen, omdat Esra als Turkse vrouw toch weinig gewerkt zou hebben en vroeg getrouwd zou zijn'*⁶⁰ (transl. Reaal Insurance found against a full settlement because Esra as a Turkish woman will work less because she will get married at any early age). Furthermore, the judge found, *'op haar 26e kinderen zou krijgen, vervolgens eerst tien jaar niet zou werken en daarna nog maar vijftig procent. De vrouw heeft daarom volgens de rechter recht op veel minder geld dan "Nederlandse vrouwen"'*⁶¹ (transl. on her 26th birthday she

57 French subjects born in Algeria for example, Albert Camus.

58 Local young men.

59 This term has been phased out by the Dutch government (see The Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics).

60 <http://denhaagfm.nl/2014/08/20/college-voor-de-rechten-van-de-mens-geeft-haagse-vrouw-gelijk/>.

61 <http://denhaagfm.nl/2014/08/20/college-voor-de-rechten-van-de-mens-geeft-haagse-vrouw-gelijk/>.

will bear children, following these first 10 years she won't be working and then only 50% of the time. This woman according to the judge's decision has been awarded less money than would be awarded a 'Dutch woman').

There are several problems with these statements, firstly, the language of alienation.⁶² Esra is a Dutch citizen but is referred to as a Turkish woman. Secondly, 'Dutch women/Nederlandse vrouwen' implies a white indigenous woman (Adefarakan, 2011), inferring white supremacy and nativism (Jones, 2016). This finding is biased because just before the court case a study conducted by the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics showed that 'allochtoon' women work more than 'autochtoon' (native but inferred as white indigenous) women.⁶³ The verdict highlights the assumptions inherent in the judge's perceptions about Black women (or in European speak, women of colour). It also shows how coloniality reifies itself by framing the subaltern (and in this instance a woman of colour) as slightly less human and thus awarding a much lower disability settlement. Dehumanisation in this case is through policies and imperatives that are biased against Black people. I will show how dehumanisation is part of the project of coloniality and how it operates to continue subordinating the subaltern so that the hierarchical binary of coloniser/subaltern is systemically infused into our lifeworlds. Therefore, in this chapter, I will draw on observations, experiences, and conversations held in South Africa and the Netherlands.

In the twentieth century, in the colonies, resistance to the status quo came with guerrilla warfare, and a fight for self-determination and independence from colonial oppression (Fanon, 1961). Leaders of independence struggles such as Cabral, Lumumba, Sankara, Nyerere, Nkrumah, Sobukwe, Biko, Mandela, and others have resisted white supremacy, facing consequences such as life imprisonment, torture, and in many cases death. It has been a high price to pay to resist colonisation and apartheid. Yet, Ghana was the first African country to have achieved independence in 1957. So why is the word decolonisation being revived in the post-colony (Cape Town) as well as the former empire (Amsterdam)? Why decolonisation and why now? What is it about this moment in our history that has students resisting white

62 The Dutch government uses a classification system that defines 'from the soil' as Willem Schinkel suggested (Willem Schinkel, whilst in conversation with Philomena Essed at the ECREA conference on 19 November 2015 suggested that notions 'from the soil' are problematic because they encompass a sense of entitlement) or indigenous or 'pure' Dutch as *autochtoon* and new Dutch referring to migrants or the subaltern as *allochtoon*.

63 <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2013/39/niet-westerse-vrouwen-hebben-vaker-voltijdbaan-dan-autochtone-vrouwen>.

supremacy in two different global contexts? And why has the university offered a space of resistance and decolonisation? I am using my own frame of reference of living between the Netherlands and South Africa and, in particular, working at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and with students from the University of Cape Town (my alma mater) to understand this specific context. Why in these two different contexts that I inhabit have I found myself observing similarities, whilst asking the question, what is happening, and how do I read this moment in two similar yet different contexts?

James Baldwin ((with Raoul Peck) 2017, p. 107) writes, 'History is not the past. It is the present. We carry our history with us. We *are* our history. If we pretend otherwise, we literally are criminals.' With our history of colonialism, referring to Western dominance and the Enlightenment, philosophers such as Hume, Kant, Hegel, and others claimed that Black people were less human (Grosfoguel, 2013). The power/knowledge nexus based on this rationality set up the binary of white supremacy and Black oppression, a lifeworld which has been determined and constitutes how we relate interpersonally as well as through market related engagements with each other.

Fanon (1961) wrote that the native is dehumanised by colonialism with the settler comparing the native to animals. When the native recognises his/her humanity, it is at this point that decolonisation happens. Therefore, the history that we carry with us is about recognising our own humanness against the memory of colonial oppression. At this point we begin to resist the settler's image of us as animal. We begin to claim our own subjectivity and humanity.

Looking at global events, this reclaiming of our subjectivity becomes urgent. Moreover, technology precipitates this urgency with our history becoming shared. It is at this moment when students at universities in various global contexts (USA, Asia (India, Indonesia), Europe (Britain, the Netherlands), Africa, South America (Brazil) begin to challenge the status quo. The students demand a hiatus from the way of doing things to reflect on how this history is perpetuating itself and why we need to rethink our universities and our curriculum. What is at stake in this particular moment is the reclamation of our subjectivity, a decolonisation of self.

Baldwin (2017, p. 49) continues, 'But what one does realize is that when you try to stand up and look the world in the face like you had a right to be here, you have attacked the entire power structure of the Western world.' Therefore, reclamation of subjectivity/self for the subaltern is a political and violent act. Moreover, making visible perceptions of racism through criti-

cal consciousness and social awareness highlights how the subaltern is dehumanised and stripped of subjectivity and dignity. Dehumanisation is, as Baldwin illustrated, about power. For him, whiteness was a construction that was convenient (Foucault, 1977) for enabling a power structure that was easily visible. This convenience made it possible to reify white supremacy. He goes on to talk about the Black man in the US as someone who is the white man's brother (2017, p. 75), implying a shared kinship, which is erased in the master/slave dialectic of white supremacy.

According to the United Nations Geneva Convention, loss of dignity constitutes genocide because dignity is understood as a fundamental right to life. In the international legal context genocide in its broadest definition is an 'outrage upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment.'⁶⁴ If we associate dehumanisation and the loss of dignity with the violence of colonialism and apartheid it would then follow that these violences are part of a systemic genocide. Furthermore, Baldwin's notion of power and the convenience of white supremacy is part of a systemic injustice that has been normalised to the extent that we have internalised our own oppression and become masters of it.

When Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) speaks of 'decolonising the mind', he is speaking about the way in which colonialism has stripped the subaltern of subjectivity and dignity, an unmaking of the subject. This unmaking of the subject is another way of looking at the subaltern as having lost dignity and, thus, genocide of the subject. If we use this very violent frame for rethinking colonialism and apartheid, we then see white supremacy as a successful project for normalising the race sciences (Hubinette & Lundstrom, 2015). Whites have come to believe themselves superior to Blacks, whilst Blacks view themselves through a colonial lens of lack (Mignolo, 2009).

This racial binary of white domination/Black subordination has come to explain how movements such as 'Black Lives Matter' have emerged or why the fear of the subaltern in the West has given rise to right-wing populists such as Donald Trump in the US, Theresa May in the UK, and Geert Wilders in the Netherlands. Again Baldwin's iteration holds (2017, p. 60): 'The root of the white man's hatred is terror, a bottomless and nameless terror, which focuses on this dreaded figure, an entity which lives only in his mind.' To this extent, examples of dehumanisation attempt to show how white supremacy

64 Article 4 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/ij/icty/3.htm>.

is reified as the normative position in society with traditions such as blackface (Zwarte Piet/Black Pete in the Netherlands) or Helen Zille's tweets on the benefits of colonialism⁶⁵ in South Africa.

Sara Ahmed (2004) argues in *Queer Phenomenology* that in Husserl's understanding of phenomenology as the study of objects, some objects trail behind because they fall within a straight line of hegemonic spaces. However, some objects fail to trail behind because they lie outside hegemonic spaces. Instead those failed objects stand apart and require a turning or orienting towards the West (Said, 1978). Objects that require a conscious turning towards are objects that are queer. In this understanding of phenomenology, queer phenomenology is then about bodies that stand apart and must be oriented towards. Blackness within this context becomes a queer matter (Ahmed, 2004) because unlike hegemonic whiteness, Blackness does not trail behind. This lack of trailing behind is where the argument on blackface lies, within the tradition of Sinterklaas (with the Zwarte Piet figure) in the Netherlands and within post-apartheid South Africa. It is in the turning towards the hegemonic space wherein a resistance lies.

In South Africa in 2014, two white women students from the University of Pretoria dressed-up as domestic workers in blackface for a 21st birthday party.⁶⁶ In South Africa, blackface constitutes a racist act (*crimen injuria*) and people can be prosecuted for it. Dressing-up in blackface for fancy dress parties has subsequently occurred at Stellenbosch University as well as at Wits University. Photos of the students at their respective parties turned up on Facebook. In post-apartheid South Africa, blackface occurs in the private domain only becoming public when it enters social media sites. Because the photos were made public on social media sites, the respective universities were obliged to investigate these cases. The photo of the students from the University of Pretoria was then reported to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC).

With over twenty years of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa, blackface still rears its ugly head, indicating a resistance to change and a way of upholding white supremacy by playfully objectifying Blackness. In the case of the students at the University of Pretoria, these students were removed

65 Helen Zille is the Western Cape Premier in South Africa. In 2017 she had tweeted: 'Getting on to an aeroplane now and won't get on to the wi-fi so that I can cut off those who think every aspect of colonial legacy was bad.' <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/colonialism-tweet-backlash-anti-white-zille-20170501>.

66 <http://www.enca.com/south-africa/students-apologise-blackface-incident>.

from their university residence and were given community service.⁶⁷ Social media responses from Blacks indicated hurt and anger.⁶⁸ Some people were offended because their mothers were domestic workers who had raised white children in order to support their own families. Sacrifices made by Black women/domestic workers seemed to be blatantly disregarded by these students. The case of domestic workers in South Africa leads to a 'libidinal economy of apartheid'⁶⁹ (Shefer, 2018) drawing on the need for decolonisation in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus social media responses to blackface in post-apartheid South Africa shows how structural racism affects the ways in which white entitlement works in representations such as blackface.

Canham and Williams (2017) argue that both white and black gazes are a way of policing Blackness, whilst keeping Blackness in a subordinate position. The perception associated with blackface regulates, polices, and exhibits for certain festivities Blackness thus maintaining Blackness as a subordinate position in hegemonic white spaces. However, the resistance to racism in post-apartheid South Africa also offers an opportunity to recognise the space for repair of racist perceptions by presenting a moment of reflection and learning for both Blacks and whites alike.

Zwarte Piet in the Netherlands: White Supremacy in Crisis

The Dutch are known for tolerance and antiracist traditions such as support for the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.⁷⁰ Yet, the Netherlands maintains a tradition of blackface. Zwarte Piet is the Netherlands' Achilles' heel.

Zwarte Piet is celebrated in the Netherlands on December 5th. It is similar to Christmas in that a Father Christmas/Saint Nicholas like-figure Sinterklaas delivers gifts to children. Legend has it that he arrives on a boat from Spain with his blackface/Zwarte Piet helpers. Claire Weeda (2012) argues that Zwarte Piet (ZP) has been imported into Dutch society from an old-German tradition and as such is an invented tradition, implying that Zwarte Piet can

67 <https://mg.co.za/article/2014-08-09-blackface-students-suspended-from-residences/>.

68 <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Students-face-action-after-black-face-20140806>.

69 Hook, 2012a, p. 41: In Shefer, Tamara "Troubling' stories of apartheid: reflections on the making of meaning of shame/ful narrative and memory in the (post)apartheid' 2018.

70 Operation Vula was supported by the Dutch anti-apartheid movement in collaboration with the ANC (<http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/conny-braam>) (<https://socialhistory.org/en/dossiers/anti-apartheid/1960s-1>; <http://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization.php?name=Anti-Apartheids+Beweging+Nederland>).

therefore be open to change. Resistance to changing the tradition has more to do with the social imaginary of what it means to be autochthonous Dutch (indigenous (Jones, 2016: Adefarakan, 2011)), assuming a hegemonic white normative position in society that is embedded in the power/knowledge nexus. This could also explain why Esra Coskun could be seen as qualifying for less insurance money because she is not a beneficiary of white supremacy.

The Dutch government's classification system of *autochtoon* and *allochtoon*⁷¹ are problematic terms because they normalise white Dutch⁷² so that *allochtoons* are 'not-quite Dutch', supplicating a social imaginary that is hierarchical with white Dutch privileged over the not-quite Dutch/*allochtoons*. In this context, the symbolism of *Zwarte Piet* (ZP) and Esra Coskun as an *allochtoon* woman are significant in that the Dutch history of colonialism and slavery is ignored, perpetuating white supremacy through state sanctioning. This is in reference to the verdict on 24 April 2015 (NU.nl reports) that the Netherlands' Public Prosecutor decided that he would not prosecute organisations that make use of the ZP figure, arguing that ZP cannot be proven to provoke racism, discrimination, or offence. However, in 2017, cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam have chosen to shift the representation of *Zwarte Piet* away from blackface towards a tradition that is more inclusive. Amsterdam and Rotterdam have chosen to have *Roet Piet*/Soot Pete. *Roet Piet* does not wear big gold earrings and bright red lips associated with ZP and slavery. Instead *Roet Piet* wears clothes associated with the times of the tradition and has soot on his face because he comes down a chimney to deliver gifts. Thus we see attempts at shifting the tradition as well as a pushback to these changes. In November 2017, in Dokkum, the Netherlands, anti-ZP protesters riding in a bus were obstructed from reaching their destination by drivers who had barricaded the road.

In the book *Dutch Racism*, Rebecca Brienen (2015, p. 185) argues that the character of *Zwarte Piet* is more closely aligned with 'the idea that blacks were arrested in terms of their development and were therefore ruled by base desires and impulses, rather than reason, as well as the idea that blacks were not members of the same species as white people, but were rather closer to apes (see Fanon). Opinions like these were used to justify slavery, colonial

71 Subsequently, the terms *autochtoon* and *allechtoon* are being erased from official policy documents.

72 Hubinette and Lundstrom (2104) argue that the Swedes live with a contradiction whereby they consider themselves antiracist yet they are also anti-immigration and cannot accept that being an integrated and multicultural society means giving-up the notion of being a pure white society.

rule, and segregation into the twentieth century.’ Brienens’s argument highlights the perceptions associated with ZP that get hidden behind discourses that claim innocence and deny the racist historical context of blackface. She shows how Zwarte Piet cannot be separated from a historical context that underpins the Sinterklaas tradition. She thus highlights the need to confront notions of white innocence (Wekker, 2016) associated with Zwarte Piet and, with reference to Alcoff’s (2006) argument, to make visible perceptions of racism. Therefore, in order for change to occur around policies and practices such as the Sinterklaas tradition, autochthonous Dutch need to embrace an intercultural society that rethinks the history of Dutch colonialism and slavery.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1995) in his book *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* shows how Western representations through history have depicted Blacks as submissive, subordinate, and humorous. He claimed that since the world is becoming smaller, the need for interculturalism is greater and at the same time Western culture should be more self-critical. In the US in the 1970s with the civil rights movement, representations of blackface began to be removed. And, in the 1980s, the British had removed the Golliwogs from Enid Blyton’s children’s books.⁷³ However, a resistance to change representations of Zwarte Piet shows how some forms of white innocence embedded in a colonial lens lend themselves to perceptions that perpetuate white supremacy.

Mutual recognition offers a way beyond the ‘us’ and ‘them’ narratives (Omarjee, 2012). It offers a way in which to exit normative practices that perpetuate hegemonic spaces. It does this by disrupting the social imaginary of hierarchical binaries implicit in the Oedipal complex (repudiating the m/other (femininity)) through re-presentations and by offering an understanding of sameness and difference (intersubjectivity). Not dissimilar to what Alcoff and Robles offer in terms of repair of racist or other biased perceptions.

Frantz Fanon enters the discussion on blackface when he locates the historical context of blackface by claiming in a footnote (Footnote, p. 38) in *Black Skins White Masks* (1961, p. 136) that blackface is used to appease blacks against white domination:

It is unusual to be told in the United States, when one calls for the real freedom of the Negro: ‘That’s all they’re waiting for, is to jump our women.’ Since the white man behaves in an offensive manner toward the Negro, he recog-

73 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/6359248/Noddy-returns-without-the-golliwogs.html>.

nizes that in the Negro's place he would have no mercy on his oppressors. Therefore it is not surprising to see that he identifies himself with the Negro: white 'hot-jazz' orchestras, white blues and spiritual singers, white authors writing novels in which the Negro proclaims his grievances, whites in black-face.

Fanon's historical location of blackface is an understanding of white domination and Black subordination, but there is a more nuanced way of understanding blackface in relation to intercultural contexts. In the Netherlands, Zwarte Piet is understood within the frame of white innocence (Wekker, 2016) and denial (Essed, 2015). The fact that the Dutch associate racism with 'right-extremism' (Essed, 2015, p. 21) highlights how Blackness is rendered invisible by framing Zwarte Piet as innocent and thereby denying the racist history of Dutch colonialism and slavery associated with the image of Zwarte Piet (Brienen, 2015).

Melissa Steyn (2014, p. 17) argues that marginalised communities attempt to be 'invisible' for fear of consequence, suffering 'shame and humiliation, threats to their mental and physical health'. The logic behind invisibility is to maintain safety and not confront the power and privilege behind whiteness. Within this context, Steyn suggests that allies amongst ethnic and racial groups in society help to bridge the gap. She also purports that normative positions in society such as whiteness and patriarchy are hegemonic positions that go unquestioned (2007, pp. 3-4):

Where a great deal of status and privilege attaches to the cultural positionality, the invisibility of the assumptions deepens into assumptions that these 'normal' ways of doing things are, in fact, appropriate for all people, and that they can, and even should, be universalised. Other ways are seen as deficient, as falling away from the norm, and therefore a problem which needs to be fixed, altered, and educated away. 'Default identities' are characterised by a lack of reflexivity about how power underpins the privilege which defines the norms.

Furthermore, Steyn purports in her reading of white privilege in Sweden that the case of 'melancholy in Sweden' (in Hubinette & Lundstrom, 2014) is due to a contradiction in Swedish notions of moral impeccability and anti-immigration sentiments. Steyn (2014), and Hubinette and Lundstrom (2014) argue that the melancholia which the Swedes experience results from notions of being a pure white, indigenous society with antiracist traditions which

are being challenged by the influx of people of colour⁷⁴ (Black) immigrants. Hubinette and Lundstrom (2014) suggest that by accepting that the world is not focused towards notions of purity, Swedes themselves should accept that in order to maintain their antiracist traditions they have to let go of the idea of white purity and instead embrace the idea of being an integrated society.

Passing narratives (whereby people of colour (Blacks) can pass as white) (Pattynama, 1998) destabilise the notion of race and, with more passing narratives becoming visible (*re* Rachel Dolezal case (Tuvel, 2017)) albeit the problematics of power with a white woman passing as Black), the fixedness of racial purity shifts towards a more nuanced understanding of race as a social construct. However, as I have argued earlier, the affects of white supremacy on marginalised communities tends to make those communities invisible. Therefore, the power differentials for Black and white people are very different, which is why Rachel Dolezal's transracial passing is problematic because she appropriates Blackness for her convenience and can revert to white privilege whenever she chooses. However, Tuvel (2017) argued that transracial identities must be treated similarly to transgendered identities. By giving up privilege, the white-to-Black transracial person experiences everyday racisms in very much the same way as a Black light-skinned woman would. Therefore with transracials there should be a freedom to choose one's racial self-identification. In this way race becomes fluid or, as Baldwin (2017) claimed, there is no white without Black or Black without white. Our histories don't allow for racial purity.

Within the frame of white supremacy, Zwarte Piet is understood as a way for whites to appease Blacks. But blackface does not appease. The inherent subordination of Blackness in the playful act of blackface removes the subjectivity of the Black person (Benjamin, 1988). ZP perpetuates coloniality by fixing white dominance and Black submission. If mutual recognition were employed as a lens to exit Hegel's master/slave dialectic, would this not offer the opportunity for repair of a racist representation in the form of ZP? Would that not mean that the public display of blackface would be removed from the tradition? However, if conditions for mutual recognition were to occur, it would mean that the power/knowledge nexus and a revision of history

74 In the West people of colour are people who are not quite white but are not Black either. In South Africa, Black is a political term that is inclusive of African, Indian, and Coloured people.

would have to be brought to the fore with an understanding of the function of blackface.

Removing blackface from the Sinterklaas festivities is also about a much deeper anxiety in autochthonous Dutch society. Regarding this anxiety, normative and familiar old tropes and traditions are being eroded so that the future seems precarious for white supremacy with the influx of others (Essed & Hoving, 2015; Hubinette & Lundstrom, 2014). Resistance is then about maintaining and fixing an identity in a highly migratory global community whereby culture and traditions have become ever changing, fluid, and rehearsed through the use of new technologies so that the old is no longer familiar or pure but is instead a hybrid. In this instance, the 'autochthonous' Dutch are required to rethink identity as fixed and instead embrace the unknown, uncomfortable, awkward, inbetweenness of the other that is part of the Dutch nation. It requires a retelling of history so that the new is forged without a repeat of the old injustices. It is about understanding and accepting that, to be an intercultural society, some notions of Dutch (pure or not-quite) have to be done away with to create space for a more integrated and inclusive society. It requires an understanding of the self and the other without a hierarchical binary in place. Thus the obvious opportunities for repair are to scrap the hierarchical binary of white dominance and Black subordination in everyday speak and all other forms, and to revisit the history of Dutch colonialism and slavery.

Shifting Narratives – How Zwarte Piet Is Becoming an Awkward Moment for the Dutch

On 15 September 2016, I spoke with Jasmijn Slootjes in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Jasmijn was at the time a doctoral candidate at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She spoke to me about her experiences of Zwarte Piet. Jasmijn grew up in a small town in Northern Holland. Even though her parents were politically progressive, her town was predominantly white and 'Zwarte Piet was Zwarte Piet'. It was a festivity that was awaited with great excitement. She always wanted to be Zwarte Piet instead of Sinterklaas. Zwarte Piet was also gender neutral so that both girls and boys alike could partake in dressing up as Zwarte Piet. And, of course, Zwarte Piet was full of mischief and fun. But she was also aware of the contradictions of whiteness and Zwarte Piet. She talks about a movie with a boy that goes to Spain and gets very sunburnt and wants to be Zwarte Piet but is told that he cannot because Zwarte Piet are whites in blackface. For Jasmijn, the contradiction be-

tween Blackness and blackface was not clear. She thought that anyone could be Zwarte Piet as long as they paint themselves black. This innocence associated with children is what makes the tradition so damaging when adults uphold and perpetuate the myth of blackface.

Jasmijn explained to me how she became increasingly aware of the racial contradictions with Zwarte Piet. Her cousins were adopted and were of colour (Black). For them the Sinterklaas tradition with Zwarte Piet was a source of anxiety. During the festivities they would be teased. Only on travelling outside the Netherlands and having to show representations of Dutch culture did Jasmijn begin to feel awkward when it came to representing Zwarte Piet. Non-Dutch people find the tradition racist and having to explain the innocence around the tradition becomes increasingly uncomfortable with notions of cultural appropriation and histories of colonialism and slavery. This perspective of looking in from the outside is what gave Jasmijn the courage to re-evaluate her beliefs of white innocence surrounding the tradition as well as her decision to part ways with the tradition. Jasmijn's experience showed how traditions that can be very dear to one might also be abandoned once consciousness-raising and critical evaluation happens. My conversation with Jasmijn was hopeful. Through a process of self-reflexivity, Jasmijn was able to resist the tradition.

Identity Politics

Over the past two years (2015-2017) I have had numerous conversations with various people on decolonising the academy and eventually mostly with Alex Hotz and Brian Kamanzi (RMF activists). These conversations were fluid and explored issues around identity, epistemology, decolonisation, self-determination, self-reliance, alliances, allies, comrades, and academia. The most fascinating for me were the topics on how identity politics and activism were closely intertwined. We spoke about the topic of hair and pigmentation. Both Alex and Brian are interracial. Even writing interracial is problematic since it infers that there is some racial fixedness. Through Baldwin's (2017) writings on racial identity in the US we know that racial purity is illusory. Moreover, Baldwin's idea of whiteness is about visible power differentials.

In South Africa, identity politics played out in apartheid in the same ways as whiteness played out in the US. It was passing as white and maintaining a visible power base around whiteness that gave apartheid the boundaries and

neat madness that came to define a perverse system of domination. However, this neat madness was very messy once the surface was scratched.

On meeting Alex for the first time on 29 January 2016, I was taken aback by how she passed for white. One of my first considerations was to ask her how she negotiated her racial positioning in relation to RMF. Her answer was very precise. She was a Black womxn and as such her racial positioning was clear even though she knew that she passed for white. In fact, it seemed to annoy her that she did pass for white. Alex is a feisty, confident, young woman. It was refreshing to meet such a powerhouse who also celebrated her femininity.

Passing for white can be seen as a dance. Ghorashi and Wels (2009) describe stepping aside (or making space for disrupting racial tropes) as a dance by giving a/way, showing a/way, for new spaces devoid of power. This knowing and stepping aside from whiteness was part of how Alex understood and positioned her Blackness. This dance around fluid identity was also a conscious choice to undo the normalising power of whiteness. Thus her positionality relied on the narrative of her enslaved ancestry that was bound by the sheer force of total oppression that made her resistance to whiteness visceral.

Brian Kamanzi, on the other hand, was very clear about his position as a Black man. He passes for Indian yet he speaks about hair as a signifier for anti-black racism. His understandings of anti-black racism and the neat madness of racial hierarchy is something he too explores in order to disrupt categories of Blackness. In doing so, he exposes the fractures in the argument of racial hierarchy by creating safe spaces for Black bodies to undo the systemic violence of racism. In this way, it becomes clear why RMF separated the space for Black activists by excluding whites. The act was criticised as violent and racist. Yet from a perspective of reclaiming a decolonised self for the subaltern, it seemed a perfectly legitimate way for creating a safe space for Black bodies in white spaces, living under attack in a white supremacist world. If UCT is viewed as part of a legacy of white supremacy, referring to the legacy of Cecil John Rhodes, then creating a safe space for Black bodies on campus was crucial for understanding the history of Black students being carried forward.

As much as Blackness is a unifying aspect of RMF, tensions have arisen amongst RMF members. That said, decolonisation also lends itself to re-viewing all systems of domination and, as such, gender, class, sexuality, and dis/ability have been raised. On 9 March 2016, a year after the poo protest,

CAS (Centre for African Studies) organised an exhibition on RMF called 'Echoing Voices From Within.' The Trans Collective⁷⁵ (a group of Black Trans students from UCT) shutdown the exhibition by smearing red paint on the photographs in protest of their exclusion from the exhibition, exposing the fractures of inclusion/exclusion within RMF. Patriarchy and other systems of domination have led to these fractures with Black Radical Feminists from RMF creating distance within RMF.

Class has also been one of the more problematic issues presenting tensions. Some RMF members are upper-middle-class. This tension presents itself in the lived experience and through geography (where people live in the city, posh suburbs versus townships). The visibility of class can be observed through access to resources such as cars and technology. And, as much as Blackness is a unifier, tensions continue. Shackville⁷⁶ highlighted some of these differences by bringing the lived experience of township dwellers everyday existence to the university.

Some RMF members speak of comrades and allies, placing the tension squarely on class. However, this too flattens the issue, making comrades allies in certain contexts and allies comrades in other contexts. 'Putting the last first' is a spin on RMF attempting to address the issue of class by way of creating alliances with workers and broader churches of political activism and by way of making resources available from the haves to the have-nots through intellectual property with initiatives such as the newsletter 'Pathways to Free Education' and other collaborative projects. That said, RMF is well aware of the tensions of class and many well-resourced RMFers have dedicated their post-university work life to building stronger mass movements.⁷⁷ Still RMF is a privileged group because of the ways in which attending a white liberal university makes certain privileges accessible. Nonetheless, RMF has raised pertinent issues. And, as issues get addressed, more issues will arise as part of an evolutionary programme of decolonisation with the ultimate goal of a decolonised self.

A realisation that has haunted me whilst chatting to Alex and Brian is that my generation has failed. We failed because we didn't take the issues forward. Instead we rested on our laurels and expected that change would come

75 <http://www.thejournalist.org.za/art/disrupting-the-silencing-of-voices>.

76 <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/shackville-erected-uct-protest-lack-housing-black-students>.

77 Some RMF members have joined NGOs such as Equal Education, Reclaim the City, Ndifuna Ukwazi, Right2Know Campaign, etc.

through goodwill. Implying that people would take it upon themselves to do the work of undoing racism instead of shifting the structural positionings of power in society to undo the historical legacy of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid. Moreover, if the foundation for change is corrupted through obfuscation, then change won't come as we imagine it; it will remain a dream deferred. Thus RMF has picked up the mantle and brought the issues to the fore by placing them under the microscope. It is their energy and dream for a better tomorrow – putting the last first – which is what is needed to continue the struggle, not empty populism.

Understanding the Bigger Picture of University Administrations, Scholars,⁷⁸ and the Nano Global

On 20 May 2016, I interviewed Professor Jan van der Akker. At the time, Jan was recently retired. Jan has been in curricula research development for the past forty years and shared his experiences in the academy, reflecting on global shifts that need to be understood as a way in which to rethink the changing landscape of education. Jan headed up the Specifieke Lerarenopleiding (SLO) or the Netherlands Institute for Curriculum Development. The SLO deals with policy, practice, and research in the field of curriculum development.⁷⁹ There are five levels of curriculum development: supra, macro, meso, micro, and nano. The supra operates at the global level, whilst the macro functions at the national level. The meso is targeted at universities and schools and the micro focuses on the classroom. The nano looks at the scholar. All five levels are interconnected so that the nano is directly affected by the supra, macro, meso, and micro levels.

Jan speaks of how education is shifting, with the university no longer providing the labour market with successful people. Instead scholars should rethink the design of curricula whilst teaching so that programmes are constantly evaluated, tested, and improved to meet the needs of a rapidly changing globally technological world. He suggests that curricula design needs to be interdisciplinary, focusing on addressing relevant questions that affect our societies with the scholar/researcher responding to real-life problems. His comments on how the neoliberal university has shifted focus from teaching towards research highlights how the nano gets lost in

78 'Scholar' refers to both academicians and students. I use the term interchangeably to collapse the hierarchy between teacher and student (Freire, 1970).

79 https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Source2010_ForumGeneva/SLO_persp2010_EN.pdf.

the bigger picture. He cautions that when universities are research dominant, quality scholars are diminished in numbers because of a lack of balance between research and teaching. He suggests finding this balance through linking research back into teaching with the classroom offering a dynamic space for critical thinking, solutions, and innovation. In this way, neither research nor teaching is given more importance. Instead, both are held at equal value because of the interdependency between research and teaching. Focusing on the balance between research and teaching also opens up the discussion for more engaged scholarship with researchers practicing self-reflexivity in the research process because researchers stand within the research if the research question is focused on real-life problems. Thus research is not self-serving but is a public good.

Publish or perish – that is the question? According to Jan this pervasive global trending model is part of the problem. When locating research as central to the neoliberal university, financial incentives drive the research focus instead of academic concerns. These financial incentives motivate superficial concerns such as corporate promotions (Motala & Vally, 2015). If the emphasis shifted to quality research instead of quantifying research, the long-term benefits of such research would impact the quality of teaching. But for this to happen, the neoliberal system of the university would have to radically transform⁸⁰ in order for the university to become a public good. This imagined radical transformation/decolonisation would shift the university from a corporate model of profit-seeking to a community-oriented space for scholarship that is dependent on interpersonal relationships, contributing towards knowledge production. Thus the community (international and national) of scholars are peers that grow (intersubjectivity/affectation) through scholarship and mutual recognition. He refers to this notion as the nano glocal, scholars that are connected to communities through global and local networks. This idea of a community of scholars, nano glocal, lends itself to building international programmes that connect real-life solutions from different global perspectives, linking them to local contexts. To this extent, Jan and Mahmood Mamdani (2017) share the notion of global excellence and local relevance with the university as a public good, shifting the corporate structural entity towards the idea of the university as a community initiative

80 Radical transformation can also be read as decolonisation.

much like other community initiatives that rely on goodwill and interconnectedness of networks of people.

Jan continues by asking the question: what value does a university as a public good have for our community, family, and friends alike? For him, the university must be able to address the question of personal development. This is paramount for community development because the personal is political. However, resistance from politicians and state interference hinder gains such as freedom of education (see RMF – free quality decolonised education) at the cost of evading other important discussions on the environment and integration. Inequalities that arise through these political resistances are part of more pervasive globalisation trends that secure only a small percentage of the population. Thus decolonisation of universities is to reimagine an exit from the limits of globalisation towards more strategic measures for policy shifts ensuring freedom of education.

This model of freedom of education views the nano glocal with agency to assert and effect/affect knowledge production. The nano glocal is not controlled but given the space to impact the meso, micro, macro, and supra levels. Therefore the nano glocal as part of a larger community of scholars affects policies at macro and supra levels. Hence the nano glocal is always part of larger political issues and, as Julio Camarotta (2011) has argued, ensures the best way to secure democracy. An example of the nano glocal can be found in global networks of student movements that have developed in the past years connecting student struggles globally.

On the question of decolonisation, Jan considers this a crucial aspect for radical transformation of the university. He sees decolonisation as a form of emancipation that recognises the nano glocal and offers an opportunity for repair and social justice within the structural inconsistencies of the university. He adds that decolonisation presupposes a hegemony that attempts to dominate and suppress people through a system of hierarchy. This power structure is not easily identifiable but is rather diffused. With a decolonisation approach to academia, emphasis is placed on ideas, returning to the original notion of the university. Furthermore, he mentions that the nano glocal is based on the idea of heterogeneity. Moreover, Maurice Crul (2015)⁸¹ has argued that in large metropolitan cities the inhabitants constitute super-

81 Crul argues that whiteness creates the separationist discourse, whilst still working within the frame of majority/minority. I would argue shifting away from this language that perpetuates the hierarchical binary of whiteness/Blackness.

diversity with a 'majority minority'. The university in such 'majority minority' cities needs to reflect this superdiversity in its population. Therefore for Jan, decolonisation is the best way for improving education and securing the economy and democracy in what have become urban hubs of heterogeneity.

Notions of 'Majority Minority' and the Problematics of Such Assumptions in Terms of Scholarship and Belonging

Maurice Crul's reliance on the theoretical frame of superdiversity, with its language bias in the assumption of a 'majority', relies on the notion of a white indigenous male subject in Europe as the standard and is a very different notion to indigenous in the colonised world. For one, Europe was not colonised so indigeneity does not carry the same history of settler-colonialism, displacement, oppression, and genocide. Therefore, a white indigenous European male subject (Jones, 2016) is set up to maintain a notion of white innocence (Wekker, 2016), erasing the power implications implicit in colonisation. With the white indigenous European Man⁸² (and white settler-colonial male subject in the colonies) as the standard, the issue then becomes about whiteness and maleness, with the other measuring disproportionately against this standard. In Europe this problematic perpetuates the other as queer and always trailing behind (Ahmed, 2004). We see this bias in the case of Esra Coskum in that she is lacking vis-à-vis the majority/standard of the indigenous white European Man, setting-up a system of abuse against the other.

In South Africa, this concept of the indigenous majority community is somewhat more complicated in that there are many 'majorities' (and here the assumption is specifically indigenous with regard to displacement and settler-colonialism) such as San, Khoi, Zulu, Xhosa, Venda, Ndebele, to name but a few. Thus majority loses the fixed position of indigenous when there are variations on indigeneity. Crul's argument then becomes particular to the narrative of Western assumptions of whiteness.

Following that, in South Africa, hangovers from apartheid with the four-nation identity are still fixed, with immigrant communities such as Indians and Chinese being part of the landscape of the South African nation. Africans

82 Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni writes: 'the decolonial theorists have unmasked the person behind the "I" as not just any human being, but the European "Man" in The Conversation. <https://the-conversation.com/decolonising-research-methodology-must-include-undoing-its-dirty-history-83912>.

are flattened into a group, removing their tribal/ethnic identities, and the so-called 'Coloured' identity is an historical identity particular to slavery and colonialism with the implication of miscegenation. 'Majority minority' and the notion of superdiversity become redundant in the South African context. Thus for South Africans, a more nuanced understanding of identity politics and the broader understanding of politically Black become significant in order to traverse the landscape of racial groupings.

Decolonisation as a term is more applicable than notions of diversity because, within a post-apartheid context, South Africans are more in need of a decolonisation of the self to be able to reclaim subjectivity and hence to reassert a position of being fully human. Furthermore, decolonisation is based on the premise of putting the last first, emphasising self-determination and self-reliance. Superdiversity with its blind spot is thus not a useful tool for undoing the violences and injustices of colonialism and apartheid. Moreover, the term 'majority minority' it is not a useful term in the European context either, because the blind spot inherent in the term perpetuates white male supremacy in the form of policies and actions that stigmatise politically Black womxn.

With settler-colonialism and Jan's suggestion for the need to decolonise the academy, hegemonic whiteness from the global north can assume certain positions within scholarship that are assumed as universal truths but are not particularly so in the global south. Therefore, superdiversity as an example shows how a term in the global north, at a particular moment in history, might have been useful. However, with the nano glocal we see how superdiversity becomes redundant even in the European context. It is especially interesting that the nano glocal can push the boundary of imagined thought to a new scholarly nouveau. The nano glocal can create the space for more rigour in scholarship through extensive exchanges and by bridging the global divide of north/south differences. Superdiversity's lesson to the global south can offer a nugget because it also hangs on the premise that interculturality is based on richness in lived experience through cultural expansion in the form of urbanisation and migration.

In the South African landscape, if free quality decolonised education is realised, how would this affect understandings of superdiversity? What would South Africa look like within a generation or two if urban migration increases and, with it, access to resources, implying poverty eradication? Moreover, this picture also assumes reimagining urban design to accommodate more people. Furthermore, it also assumes that access to resources such as social services like education and healthcare would have to be more inclusive and

relevant and that the macroeconomic policies will have to shift towards a social welfare state.

In conversation with Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza from the University of Cape Town's Centre for African Studies, the conversation moves from notions of, 'majority minority' to understandings of belonging. Lungisile talks about the South African context and in particular the university as a space of belonging. For him, the university has to reflect the demographics of the country. In this he states that the university should also be a space for rethinking itself and the notion of education. This is important for inclusivity and letting go of fixed notions of how the university should be structured. This does not mean that the university lets go of administration or people but rather that it rethinks institutional racism and the affects that it has on the ways in which the university operates on a daily basis. This also refers to the power/knowledge nexus and the ways in which curricula is reflexive of the demographics of the country as well as the issues that people are grappling with. In one of his articles on Archie Mafeje, Ntsebeza (2016, p. 931) writes, 'White liberals used the issue of racism to co-opt large sections of the Black middle class in particular. This was especially the case after Africans formed political opposition to racial oppression and white supremacy.'

In more imaginative terms, this means that the university becomes a friendlier and more compassionate space that helps to negotiate the radical transformations/decolonisation that Jan mentions in order for the nano glocal to have a sense of belonging to the university as a glocal space for the exchange of ideas. It also means that research and teaching focuses on addressing issues and concerns that could lead to community engagement with real-life solutions for real-life problems. In this way, critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970) bridges the gap between the university and the community. Critical pedagogy becomes the space for collapsing the hierarchy between teacher and student whereby the lived experience of the scholar is part of classroom education in the notion of sharing and learning through shared experiences and a culture of belonging. Thus the community becomes part of the classroom,

and community experiences are acknowledged and part of relevant and inclusive knowledge.

The Benefits of Critical Pedagogy in a Changing Educational Landscape

Paulo Freire's seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) opposed the banking model of learning. For Freire an important part of conscientisation was to rethink the relationship between the coloniser and the subaltern by collapsing the hierarchy between teacher and student and, thereby, breaking out of the coloniser's hold on the education system. Freire has been criticised for not being able to offer a substantial method that can be replicated for critical pedagogy (Knudson, 1971; Rafferty, 1993; Egerton, 1973). However, Freire's opposition to the banking model of learning has been the cornerstone for open dialogue and bringing lived experiences of scholars into the process of knowledge production as a means for decolonising the curriculum.

In recent years, Joe Kincheloe (2004, 2008) wrote on critical pedagogy as a way of evolving criticality, implying that within critical pedagogy the idea that pedagogy is constantly evolving and changing requires a continued critique of pedagogy. In South Africa, in the 1980s, the People's Education Movement (Kallaway, 2004; Harley, 2015) worked against the banking model of learning and used Freireian methods to make education and literacy accessible. In particular, critical pedagogy was used as a way of bringing marginalised and oppressed people into the classroom as a way of resisting apartheid and its attendant systems of domination (Kallaway, 2004; Harley, 2015). However, the People's Education Movement was lost with the advent of democracy and worker education was obfuscated with neoliberal tendencies (Harley, 2015).

Subsequently with more accessibility to information through technology there are more self-taught scholars, suggesting that education and learning are changing. Therefore research on critical pedagogy in the South African context needs to take these developments into account by reflecting and reimagining evolutionary processes of criticality. Moreover, Aronowitz, and Giroux (1991) have argued that the more salient moment for critical pedagogy is focusing on the relationship between power and knowledge. The power/knowledge nexus highlights the banking model of learning and shows why it is so important to breakout of the dependency created by the banking model. Furthermore, Tony Monchinski comments on the US education system suggesting in *Critical pedagogy and the everyday classroom* (2008) that

the classroom should be a space for collapsing hierarchy and reimagining democracy, implying that critical pedagogy should respond to the continuous changes in both local and global contexts.

In the global north, detractors of Friere's method of critical pedagogy accuse Freire of being pedantic and vague without an identifiable oppressor (colonialism) making the reader the oppressor (Knudson, 1971; Rafferty, 1993; Egerton, 1973). However, for these naysayers, without an identifiable oppressor or coloniser, there still lacks a criticality of historical systems of oppression such as slavery, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy, perpetuating blind spots around critical pedagogy. These attempts at including marginalised voices within the academy is meant to oppose coloniality by re-appropriating the colonial gaze and inserting a critical pedagogical lens to destabilise the power/knowledge nexus of the banking model of learning. Critical pedagogy and decolonisation are therefore restorative processes for addressing historical injustices through rethinking the curriculum as an inclusive and relevant space for marginalised voices to emerge.

The complementarity between critical pedagogy and decolonisation in Africa is steeped in a history of independence. Kwame Nkrumah reflected, at the opening of the Organisation of African Unity on 24 May 1963, that 'Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist control and interference.'⁸³ Nkrumah's speech resonates with RMF and the need for self-determination and self-reliance because if 'we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us' (ibid.).

Lisa Lowe (1996, p. 73) argues that 'One of the more remarkable turns in Fanon's argument occurs when he identifies both bourgeois assimilation and bourgeois nationalism as conforming to the same logic, a being responses to colonialism and reproducing the same structure of domination. It is in this sense that Fanon warns against the nationalism practiced by bourgeois post-colonial governments: the national bourgeoisie replaces the colonizer, yet the social and economic structure remains the same.' And Ntsebeza (2016) argues that in South Africa the African National Congress (ANC) is 'protecting the interests of private capital, mainly controlled by whites and an aspirant

⁸³ <http://newafricanmagazine.com/we-must-unite-now-or-perish>.

and emerging class of black capitalists.' Nkrumah's argument resonates with how Ntsebeza understands capital and the idea that self-determination and self-reliance go beyond contemporary coloniality leading towards a 'decolonisation of the mind' and the possibility to become fully human.

Following the logic of mutual recognition and by opening dialogue for the lived experiences of scholars, allowing for discussions on mutual recognition, and making ourselves subjects to enter into scholarship through praxis (applying critical consciousness to historical oppression) (Ismail 2009), the scholar as part of two communities (university and society) becomes a representative for both the university and the broader society. Thereby encouraging community engagement. Therefore scholarship through critical pedagogy builds onto the notion that in order for people to flourish in society we need to ensure conditions for mutual recognition so that difference can be learnt as well as respected. And to reiterate Jan's words, the university should be a space for personal development, making the personal political.

Conclusion

Decolonising the curriculum is about making education a process for self-determination and self-reliance, whilst realising our potential for being/becoming fully human beyond the master/slave dialect of white supremacy and Black oppression. Being/becoming fully human is a way in which to realise mutual recognition in the classroom through scholarship and by collapsing the hierarchy between teacher and student. This critical pedagogical inclination that opposes the banking model of learning through the recognition of lived experiences of scholars helps to connect the dots between the local and the global. Education then becomes the conduit for ensuring that scholars find a sense of belonging through community engagement and finding real-life solutions that can enhance research and teaching.

Decolonisation offers us the opportunity for then being/becoming connected to local and global communities by problem solving and sharing real-life solutions that might help in various contexts. Technology and social media have ensured that the nano glocal remains connected to a larger community. This already new way of connecting scholars will see education changing in ways that we have not yet imagined. Self-determination and self-reliance will lead the way in terms of how we co-produce knowledge as a public good. This process of knowledge sharing will decolonise how we think of ourselves and the world at large because our lifeworlds will be more connected; global

excellence/local relevance. To this extent, we must challenge ourselves to imagine a new unfolding world that is based on social justice with decolonisation being the central focal point for understanding the opposition to supremacies of being. Thus decolonisation will allow us to rethink the university from a lens that is more in line with the environment as well as with all sentient beings.

Concluding Remarks

This book looked at how decolonisation has become an integral conversation in scholarship globally. From Cape Town to Amsterdam, and across the continents, students are demanding a revision of the curricula to be more reflexive of the power/knowledge nexus and how it perpetuates coloniality and white supremacy. Mutual recognition (recognition of self and other) as a practice has been argued as a way in which to decolonise the self. The decolonisation of self is a process by which systems of domination that lead to coloniality are constantly critiqued and abandoned. Furthermore, mutual recognition can enhance the practice of critical pedagogy through sharing and learning by creating space for lived experiences of scholars to be part of the process of co-producing knowledge.

RMF in Cape Town and UoC in Amsterdam have focused on making the university a public good. More importantly, this critique focuses on the corporatisation of the academy, removing it from its role as a public good. This argument is built on the basis that the university produces scholars for the market and not scholars that address real-life solutions in a world of ideas, furthering scholarship. Demands made by RMF and UoC are for inclusivity in rethinking the academy, whilst bridging the gap between the academy and the community – ‘putting the last first’. Part of this challenge of decolonising the academy is about making the academy interconnected to solutions in the global village through global excellence and local relevance. This means networking through technology to find solutions for real-life problems. Community engagement through engaged scholarship is proposed as a way forward in bridging this gap. Moreover, technology has a significant part to play in bridging geographical divides.

Technology will change the way we engage as scholars because education will no longer be limited to the realm of the academy. Instead, education will be accessible through the touch of the fingertip with mobile technologies becoming increasingly accessible even in poorer communities. The challenge for scholars is to meet this changing nature of education through community engagement. This requires an understanding of the notion of the nano global – the scholar as part of a community (family, friends, social networks), connected to larger communities (civic, religious, sports, etc.) which are connected to bigger institutions through micro, meso, macro, and supra connec-

tions. These connections (*glocal*) allow for more meaningful engagements in finding real-life solutions to local/community engagements. If we are to imagine a future, we have to fantasise how technology will shift the landscape of education and, especially, research and teaching.

Part of these connections is to also continue critiquing the narrow definitions of terms that are specific to a context in a changing world such as, in the case of superdiversity, those whereby the standard set-up in the term 'majority' is no longer useful in a global context because it refers to European indigeneity and is mired in coloniality. In the South African landscape, superdiversity is lost because indigeneity is based on many different groups. With flows of migration, these terms become prejudiced for newcomers and established immigrant communities because it erodes their value in and belonging to the landscape. Instead we should be reimagining how to make social services *like education*, healthcare, housing, and food public goods? How can we make the world more inclusive and relevant for the self and the other? How can a decolonisation of self lead to a more emancipatory political shift? Some scholars argue that in order for the university to be a public good, the balance must be found in the link between teaching and research. Both teaching and research must have a strong component of community engagement for the university to stay relevant and inclusive.

Decolonisation of the academy is presented as an option for radical shifts from the corporate model of profit-seeking to a community-oriented space for scholarship that is dependent on interpersonal relationships, contributing towards co-producing knowledge. Moreover, decolonisation of the academy is based on the idea of rigorous self-reflexivity as well as critical pedagogy through lived experiences of the scholar being made relevant in the learning, sharing, and co-production of knowledge. Thus mutual recognition (recognition of self and other) contributes towards the growth of the community (international and national) of scholars through a process of intersubjectivity whereby we are affected by our interactions with each other. The nano glocal is thus connected to communities through global and local networks, building international programmes that connect real-life solutions from different global perspectives linking them to local contexts.

The university should rethink its positionality as an intersubjective space that contributes towards the co-production of knowledge through reflexive processes. This would mean that ideas on how and what education will look like in years to come must encourage the university as a space of belonging for a community of scholars in the world of ideas and real-life solutions. Thus it

is important for the university to embrace inclusivity by opposing regressive notions of hierarchy and structure. Moreover, this requires that institutional racism and systems of domination be constantly reviewed and critiqued to evaluate whether the decolonisation programme continues to move the university into a space of belonging. This can be done through a critique of the power/knowledge nexus and the way in which curricula is reflexive of the demographics of the country.

RMF and UoC have taken us down this road of decolonisation of which we cannot turn back. We must embrace this challenge of ridding ourselves of all systems of domination through a process of elimination and evolution. We need to understand that decolonisation is about emancipation and an imagined future out of oppression. It is about the self and the other, the post-human, the environment, the state, and how we relate to ourselves and our environments without supremacies of being. Thus decolonisation is a dream infused with the hope of a better tomorrow.

There are many gaps in the book. One of the main gaps is testing a critical pedagogy that bridges the gap between the academy and the community by making the nano glocal an essential part for real-life solutions. Furthermore, there is a need for more research on decolonisation and the power/knowledge nexus to highlight how decolonisation can become a programme for the shift in the university system.

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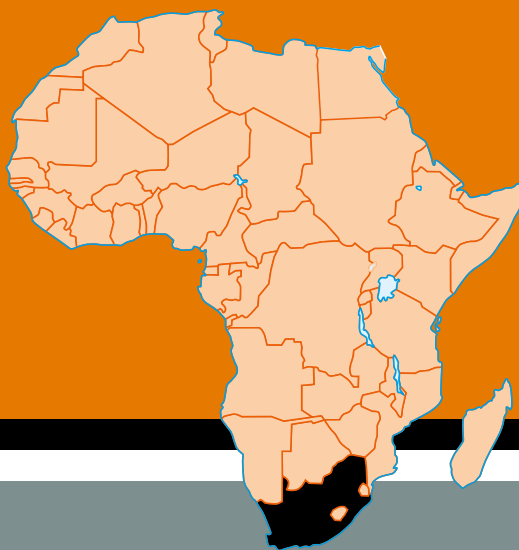
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University of Colour in Amsterdam demonstrated against the neoliberal university and the perpetuation of coloniality in the curricula. Rhodes Must Fall in Cape Town specifically focused on the Fanonian concept of 'putting the last first'. Both Rhodes Must Fall and the University of Colour centred historically marginalised voices as an aim of the decolonised university. The book argues that epistemic justice requires an unlearning and relearning of being/becoming that is the decolonised self; reimagining the relationship between pedagogy and community, theory and lived experience. It attempts to rethink theoretical frames such as Freudian psychoanalysis from a decolonial feminist perspective. This book seeks to share and encourage more dialogue towards achieving decolonised universities.

Nadira Omarjee is a decolonial feminist, living between South Africa and the Netherlands, and pursuing her scholarship in both countries. Growing up in South Africa, she witnessed the harsh realities of apartheid. Having studied at the University of Cape Town prior to the 1994 democratic elections, she keenly followed the student protests in Cape Town and then in Amsterdam, paying particular attention to the daily social injustices caused by institutional racism and neoliberal policies.

