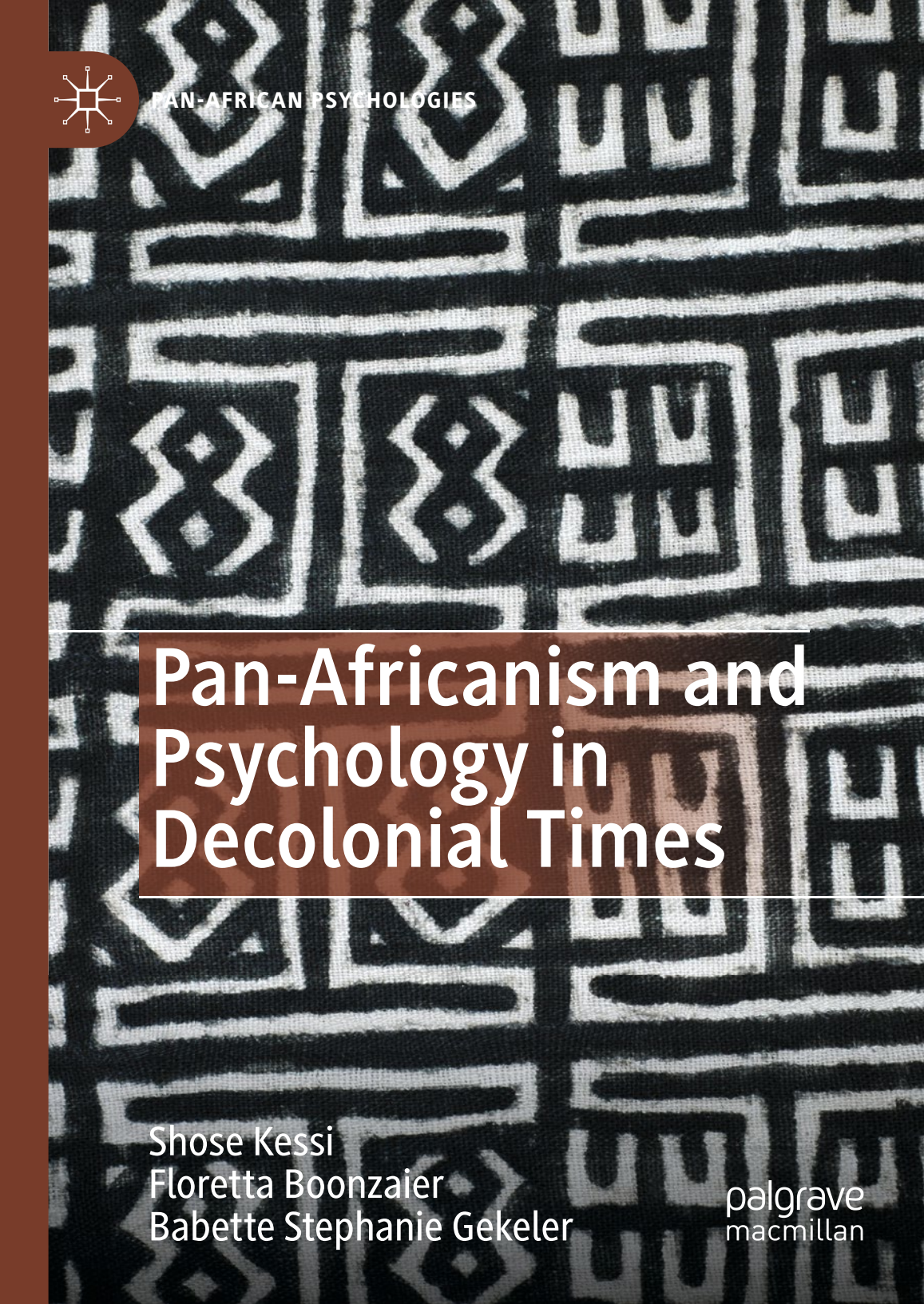
PAN-AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGIES
Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times
Shose Kessi
Floretta Boonzaier
Babette Stephanie Gekeler
palgrave
macmillan

Pan-African Psychologies

Series Editors
Chalmer E. F. Thompson
Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis
Indianapolis, IN, USA

Guerda Nicolas
University of Miami
Coral Gables, FL, USA

African people and their descendants from various regions of the Diaspora have endured a history of struggle that has been replete in violence and structural oppression. Offering a *psychology* of Black people entails an understanding of these pervasive, sustaining structures and their intersection with culture, gender socialization, and the panoply of "isms" that shape people and contexts. What is needed as part of a knowledge base on Black psychology is an elaboration of the common themes that cut across global contexts and the conditions that characterize specific regions, all of which have bearing on individual, interpersonal, and societal functioning. More than ever, there is an urgent need for psychological scholarship that unapologetically centers race and the ever-changing role of context in understanding the history, struggles, and strengths of Black lives and communities around the globe. The series seeks to make a novel contribution to the broader area of critical & radical psychology by drawing on marginalized voices and perspectives and by engaging with the praxis agenda of improving the lives of African/Black peoples. It both seeks to critique oppression (more particularly, of the racialized, neo-colonial world) and provide prospective strategies (practices of liberation, of peace) to respond to such forms of oppression.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/15830

Shose Kessi • Floretta Boonzaier
Babette Stephanie Gekeler

Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times

palgrave
macmillan

Shose Kessi
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town
Cape Town, South Africa

Floretta Boonzaier
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa

Babette Stephanie Gekeler
International Psychoanalytic
University Berlin
Berlin, Germany

ISSN 2523-8264 ISSN 2523-8272 (electronic)
Pan-African Psychologies
ISBN 978-3-030-89350-7 ISBN 978-3-030-89351-4 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Acknowledgements

We are deeply indebted to all the individuals who appear in this book, and to everyone who contributed in making this book possible by sharing their insights and their valuable time with us. In particular, we would like to thank Jade Gibson, Skye Chirape, and Haile Matutu from the University of Cape Town, and Chabo Molefe from the International Psychoanalytic University of Berlin for their invaluable research assistance. We also thank the series editors Chalmer Elaine Thompson and Guerda Nicolas as well as our publishers for their patience and invaluable support throughout this process.

This book was made possible by the intellectual work, dialogues, and discussions in *The Hub for Decolonial Feminist Psychologies in Africa*, located at the University of Cape Town. The Hub, founded in 2018 was made possible through funding from the University of Cape Town. We are grateful to all who have participated in the scholarly engagements in the Hub, especially our students and fellow colleagues. Our gratefulness also extends to our colleagues who relentlessly spread and defend the critical voices of our discipline against a strong mainstream body across the diaspora.

Contents

About the Authors

Shose Kessi is Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town; Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology; and Co-director of the Hub for Decolonial Feminist Psychologies in Africa. Her research centers on political psychology, community-based empowerment and social change, exploring issues of identity, such as race, class, and gender, and how these impact on people's participation in transformation efforts. A key focus is the development of Photovoice methodology as a participatory action research tool that can raise consciousness and mobilize community groups into social action. Kessi completed her PhD in 2010 in Organizational and Social Psychology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and joined UCT in 2011. She was the UCT Mandela fellow at the WEB DuBois Research Institute, Hutchins Centre, Harvard University for 2014, and a visiting scholar in the Department of Behavioral and Psychological Sciences at the LSE in 2017. She has also been Deputy Dean for Transformation in the Humanities Faculty. She has co-edited the volume *Knowledge, Education and Social Structure in Africa* (2021) and the Journal of Critical African Studies special issue on *Decolonizing African Studies* (2020).

Floretta Boonzaier is Professor in Psychology at the University of Cape Town and Co-director of the Hub for Decolonial Feminist Psychologies in Africa. She is noted for her work in feminist, critical, social and decolonial psychologies, with special interests in intersectional subjectivities, youth subjectivities, gendered and sexual identifications, participatory methodologies and gendered and sexual violence, all areas in which she

has published work to her credit. She is an alumnus UCT Mandela Fellow and Sheila Biddle Ford Foundation Fellow from the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University. She is past recipient of the runner up award in the South African Department of Science and Technology's Women in Science awards, for the category of Distinguished Young Woman Researcher in the Social Sciences or Humanities. She has served on the board of *Resources aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN)*, and is currently on the Advisory Board of the *Centre for Narrative Research* at the University of East London, UK and on the Board of *Mosaic Training, Service and Healing Centre for Women*, in Cape Town. She has co-authored *South African Women Living with HIV: Global lessons from local voices* (2014) and wrote *Women Voicing Resistance: Discursive and Narrative explorations* (2014), a book that won the 2015 Distinguished Publication Award of the Association for Women in Psychology. Other edited collections include *The Gender of Psychology* (with Shefer & Kiguwa) in 2006; *Engaging youth in activism, research and pedagogical praxis: Transnational and intersectional perspectives on gender, sex and race* (with Shefer, Hearn & Ratele) in 2018 and *Decolonial Feminist Community Psychology* (with van Niekerk) in 2019.

Babette Stephanie Gekeler is a clinical psychotherapist running a transcultural practice and lecturer at the International Psychoanalytic University of Berlin and Co-director for the Working Group on *Refugee and Mental Wellbeing* at the *Network for Refugee Research*. Her special research interests are in the investigation of cultural, racial, and religious belonging and their relation to mental wellbeing and illness. Further, she is keen on combining her academic rigor and clinical practice to further bridge gaps between science and knowledge development and human lived experience. Participatory methodologies are therefore at the heart of her research engagement and interest. She received her PhD on Public Engagement with Multiculturalism from UCL in 2012, for which she has received a ESRC fellowship in 2007. Since 2011, she has regular engagements as a public speaker on issues relating to identity, group dynamics, and wellbeing.

CHAPTER 1

Pan-Africanism and Psychology: Resistance, Liberation, and Decoloniality

Introduction

Psychology and Pan-Africanism in Decolonial Times is an exploration of the contribution that Pan-African thought, politics, and cultural movements can make to psychology. Despite the psychological nature of many Pan-African ideas of African unity seen through the theorisations of Négritude, Afrocentricity, black nationalism, black internationalism, black consciousness, Africanization, and Pan-African feminisms, there is a dearth of engagement of these concepts in mainstream psychological research and in the formal teaching of psychology. A psychology of resistance to slavery, colonization, and apartheid from the continent and the diaspora has drawn little attention from scholars, in particular scholars from within the discipline, with the exception of black psychologists in the US (see Nobles, 2013), recent developments on African psychology in South Africa (see Ratele, 2017; Nwoye, 2015; and Mkhize, 2004), critical psychology (see Hook, 2004; Painter, 2015) and African and feminist conceptions of psychology (see Burman, 1998; Burr, 1998; Boonzaier et al., 2006; Gavey, 1997; and Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). Building on these sparse but significant contributions, this book attempts to extend the links between psychology and Pan-Africanism drawing on the experience of decolonization and resistance to slavery and oppression across the African continent and in the diaspora.

The violence of slavery and colonization fundamentally changed the ways of life of millions of Africans who turned their attention away from

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_1

locally defined social change towards forms of survival and resistance to global imperial conquest. Pan-African thought, its influence and effects, have been at the heart of this resistance. The philosophies of Pan-Africanism became visible in many forms of political and cultural organizing and consciousness as well as through concrete changes in the institutional landscape governing the economic, cultural, and spiritual life of people on the continent and in the diaspora. Questions of identity and belonging, which are fundamentally psychological, have been significantly shaped by this history and they have broadly impacted related contemporary concerns over racial, classed, and gendered violence and resistances thereof. These have, in turn, shaped our values and beliefs, cultural practices, and institutions. Liberation struggles against slavery and decolonization (although not complete) should be explored as the most important contemporary global contribution to resisting and overcoming racist capitalist imperial conquest—and therefore they should feature prominently in any psychological exploration of contemporary human life.

Psychology and its Euro-American origins

The emergence of psychology as a scientific discipline in its own right in late nineteenth century Europe coincides with the partitioning of Africa into European colonies marked by the Berlin conference of 1884. It is during this period that scientists turned their attention towards researching and scientifically proving racial differences, a central concern in the emerging political economy of racist colonial capitalism. Such economy profited from the birth of an 'objective' science on human mind and behaviour where bodies, behaviours, society, and the mind in general receded from notions of historicity and context. Resistance to slavery and its eventual demise in the United States and the Caribbean brought into consciousness the contested value of black life and precipitated new, so-called rational or scientific understandings of racial differences. Psychologists played a key role in the field of race-science (also referred to as 'scientific racism') through claims regarding "Black intelligence, brain size, morality, criminality, and sexuality" (Winston, 2020). These attempts by psychologists and other scientists served to legitimize and justify the continued inferiorisation and control of black people and the separate hierarchical treatment of 'race' groups. This history cannot be separated from the androcentric and paternalist history of the discipline from the late nineteenth century based on biological determinisms that conceived

of sex differences as shaping sensory, motor and intellectual abilities followed by Freudian influenced theories on personality differences between men and women to justify women's subordinate social position (see Shields, 1975 & Shields & Docicco, 2011). Such understandings led to a multitude of injurious policies, notably population control policies resulting in the forced sterilization of black women in the US[1] (Rutecki, 2011) and anti-miscegenation laws in South Africa (Ratele & Shefer, 2013), to mention a few. All of these theories were measured and tested against the underlying assumption of a white male prototype of normality and civilization, highlighting the irresolvable problem of experimental research to understand human thinking and behaviour.

Against this background, the study of psychology has nevertheless been central to theorizing modern life and the modern subject. As a discipline interested in the human mind, identity, and social relations, it potentially has much to offer to theorizing the afterlives of slavery, colonization and apartheid marked by traumatic experiences of violence, a search for belonging, struggles for liberation, collective efforts at mobilization and resistance against oppression, and towards understanding the affective dimensions of (forced) migration, reparations and reconciliation, institutional transformation, and current social movements. All of these articulations and questions of interest to modern African subjects have deeply psychological dimensions, that, if taken seriously, have the potential to transform the discipline, and make it relevant to contemporary life in Africa and the diaspora.

Certain strands of the discipline have already delved into more critical approaches to psychological concerns with racialized and gendered difference and the impact of colonization on the psyche of the oppressed. Euro-American social psychology, African psychology, Fanonian psychoanalysis, Latin American liberation psychology, indigenous psychologies, and feminist psychologies have paved the way for conceptualizations of resistance and liberation to become integral to psychology.

[1] The ongoing historical atrocity of hysterectomies performed on misinformed black and other immigrant women in the US is still contested in recent press: https://www.thecut.com/article/ices-forced-sterilizations-are-nothing-new-in-america.html and https://theintercept.com/2020/09/17/forced-sterilization-ice-us-history/

The Social Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination

Euro-American psychology, particularly in the sub-field of social psychology, has historically concerned itself with understanding prejudice and discrimination. European social psychologists embarked on the study of attitudes and personality research as well as group-based theories of identity to understand how Anti-Semitism became common sense knowledge and propelled ordinary people to participate in the Holocaust. Much of this work focused on understanding the prejudiced mind. Similarly, in the United States, social psychologists contributed to challenging racial prejudice and discrimination through critical perspectives on racial segregationist policies following the abolition of slavery. The period of Race Psychology rests in this specific historical context largely determining its nature and destiny. As Richards (1997) emphasizes: "all knowledge is 'situated' in specific times and places—and none more so than racial 'knowledge'" (p. 65). The psychology of desegregation draws on the idea of contact between races and it is rooted in attitudes research. American social psychologists also pioneered research on racial identity and unconscious bias to explain the persistence of racism in everyday social relations, with the landmark doll studies by Clark and Clark (see Clark & Clark, 1939a, 1939b; Keppel, 2002) that tested whether attending segregated schools damaged African-American children psychologically and emotionally, influencing the overturning of segregation policies in schools.

Although this body of work has contributed significantly to critique earlier psychological research on racial differences, it has done so by focusing on understanding prejudice and discrimination through the lens of the attitudes and personalities of the prejudiced mind and how the victims of racism unconsciously take on racialized beliefs. The focus on the individual as the unit of analysis in these studies presupposes that prejudice is a natural information processing mechanism of the mind (Leach, 2005; Henriques, 1984) and limits any consideration of the agency or resistances of the oppressed or the socio-political environment in which racism is embedded. At the same time, the individualistic perspective taken in such psychological work obscures ideas such as mutuality, community and connectedness; it also obscures the impact of people's attitudes and actions on others, especially those who remain oppressed and marginalized (Fox et al., 2009). This development signifies a movement away from openly questioning and elaborating how scientific racism manifests in research, to adopting instead a more strictly empirical approach, seeing race as a

variable and attempting to identify '*race differences*' using experimental or psychometric methods. One might call it 'Empirical Racism' (Richards, 1997).

More recent developments in Euro-American social psychology have proposed more socially oriented perspectives, such as social representations theory, social identity theory, system-justification theory and social dominance theory to mention a few, which explore the role of institutions and ideologies in understanding the persistence of racism in contemporary societies. These theories are important but also offer limited space (in particular in their application) for psychological theorizing through counter-hegemonic discourses located outside of individualistic and paternalistic (devoid of agency) ontologies and epistemologies. By locating our work in a Pan-African framework, we hope to offer an alternative perspective for psychologists to explore understandings of racism, blackness, and resistance to oppression.

African (Black) Psychology

African (black) psychology is a tradition of psychological research emerging amongst African American psychologists that proposes an African cosmology as its conceptual-philosophical framework (Baldwin, 1986). In this tradition of thought, African psychology, also Afrocentric psychology (Akbar, 1984), is centred on assumptions of the human as connected and human society as communal, with overarching themes such as cooperation, collective responsibility and interdependence as intrinsic to the humanity of African people (ibid.). African psychologists have emphasized the importance of aspects of culture, the spiritual and the metaphysical in psychological understandings of Africa and Africans (Ratele, 2017) and multiple epistemologies, including the mythical and metaphorical (Mkhize, 2004; Nwoye, 2015).

This conceptual-philosophical framework presents an important shift away from a Euro-American paradigm focused on individualistic and segregationist principles in its attempt to provide alternative analyses of racial origins, skin colour, black intelligence, and the black self/black personality (Clark et al., 1975; Akbar, 1984). A central thrust is a rejection of scientific racism that leads to negative self-esteem and self-hatred, and an emphasis on one's "historical consciousness" and the renewal of a "collective spirituality" (Clark et al., 1975). These theorizations have advanced understandings of blackness (and/or Africanness) away from attributes of

inferiority and have uncovered many of the problematic assumptions of the positivist and empirical principles of race science, and propose instead a "psychology of protest and rehabilitation" (Nwoye, 2015) arguably of relevance to psychology universally. Stevens (2015) describes black/African psychology through a three-pronged approach, as focused on the lived experiences of black people, as an empowering praxis for historically marginalized blacks, and as a restorative project to reclaim our sense of humanity from alienation. African (black) psychology is resistance, re-interpretation and reclamation, and rupture (Stevens, 2015).

Black psychology in the US gained momentum during the rise of the Civil Rights Movement and the establishment of the *Association of Black Psychologists* and the *Journal of Black Psychology* (Stevens, 2015). On the continent, the influence of Nsamenang's Africentric psychology in the 1990s, and the *Journal of African Psychology* (now the *Journal of Psychology in Africa*) also established in the 1990s (Makhubela, 2016), followed by the *Forum for African Psychology* division of the *Psychological Society of South Africa* in 2009 (ibid.), as well as the formation of the *Pan-African Psychology Union (PAPU)*,[2] initiated in 2012 at the *International Congress of Psychology*, serve as examples of the continued presence and importance of a psychology focused on black and African concerns. Although used interchangeably here, there is an evolutionary path between early black psychologists' concerns with the African American experience in the US and the later development of an Afrocentric paradigm in black psychology in the search for a conceptual-philosophical framework rooted in African cosmologies (Stevens, 2015).

Despite these significant developments and challenges to dominant epistemological and ontological underpinnings of psychology (Stevens, 2015), there is a tendency in African psychology to present uncritical and essentializing views on racial difference. Debates on the origins of race, claims to melanin or cultural attributes, or the nature of black intelligence and black personality, are located within the same assumptions of biological or essentialized difference as Euro-American psychology. As a result, these theories do not necessarily present a critical engagement with the

[2] The *Pan-African Psychology Union* (PAPU) is a membership organisation with currently 11 participating countries. PAPU's vision is to develop a collaborative union of psychological societies in Africa committed to scholarship and human development in our communities, countries, Africa and the world. For more information, visit: https://www.panafricanpsychologyunion.org/.

idea of 'race' as a construct and fall into the trap of reinforcing ideas about races as naturally different. In similar ways, the reification of an African cosmology as collective and communal can, on the one hand, have the effect of promoting homogenous and ahistorical views about Africa, overlooking "prevalent and injurious African cultural practices" (Ratele, 2017, p. 262); and, on the other hand, negate the individual agency and innovation that African subjects contribute to contemporary life, as we remain confined to the sphere of communalism and tradition (see Makhubela, 2016). These criticisms are reflective of the dangers in presupposing a homogenous African (black) identity and experience that lends itself to further co-option or re-appropriation (Stevens, 2015), and ignores intersectional and African feminist critiques of contemporary black lives. Makhubela (2016) further argues that the very idea of an African psychology as a distinct form of psychology erases the very contribution of Africa from the historical roots of what is considered Western psychology that can be found in Egyptian philosophies and human sciences. Notwithstanding these important criticisms of African psychology, the focus on self-knowledge and the consciousness of being black represents a profound and necessary shift from understanding racism solely from the perspective of the prejudiced mind and introduces the beginnings of a psychology of resistance to racial oppression.

Fanon's work on the psychoanalysis of racism presents a welcome point of departure from the assumptions of the African psychology tradition articulated above. For Fanon, the racial categories of whiteness and blackness are politically and socially constructed and founded on the colonial encounter. Blackness and whiteness are also relational, such that whiteness only remains superior based on the systematic devaluation of blackness (Hook, 2004) and vice-versa. The colonial encounter is therefore a pathological one in which the black subject internalizes the socio-historical reality of colonisation, internalization being at once a socio-political and cognitive process (Hook, 2004). Fanon explains how, through this process, the black subject becomes alienated from self and suffers a loss of self-respect, pride, dignity, the violence of which can also be projected onto others. Such a perspective also raises questions about how interpretations of African versus European culture have been categorized and differentiated as 'communal/spiritual' versus 'scientific' through colonial representations of the 'traditional' versus 'modern' subject, with those subjects becoming valuated as 'primitive' versus 'civilized/progressive'.

Fanon's work has been fundamental in understanding the black psyche and informing the need for a Pan-African approach, as a counter-hegemonic discourse, that can serve to provide positive resources for identity construction. Understanding blackness as a socio-political concept opens up possibilities for a critical perspective on 'race' and racialised difference. It also allows us to reflect more critically on the possibilities and contradictions in attempts to build solidarity and community around blackness and African unity. In the US, the founding of the *Journal of Black Psychology* in 1974 publicly scorned studies of black people carried out by white psychologists, ethnopsychologists, or anthropologists. Around the same time the black consciousness movement in South Africa, influenced by psychologists such as Chabani Manganyi (1973) advocated for the destruction of the subjective aspect of black oppression. Black consciousness was at once a psychology and politics of resistance calling for the liberation of the mind as a prerequisite for political freedom (Hook, 2004). Given its location in South Africa, black consciousness was not limited to understandings of blackness as African but included people of Asian and Indian descent and those of mixed ethnic origins (historically categorized in South Africa as 'coloured'[3]) who were oppressed by the apartheid regime. This mutuality of knowledge of oppression parallels knowledge of a common social and political experience of blackness not to be confused with ideas of a 'natural' black/African identity.

Paralleling those movements, the white science establishment reactivated old genetic arguments of racial inferiority via IQ studies, and rendered social interventions for black communities futile (e.g., see the Moynihan Report, Jensen (1969)). The pursuits of black psychologists during these years may be considered rather defensive in light of the powerful science of the oppressor thus lacking progressive and innovative energies. The empiricist rationale remained largely uncontested in the works of for example Banks and Grambs (1972), Boykin et al. (1979) and Wilcox (1971), all concerned with the black subject, however unitary, static and rational in conception. Wade Nobles (1980) moved further, rejecting mainstream psychology as 'white' and inept, proclaiming an Afrocentric psychology, grounded in African philosophical thought.

[3]The term 'coloured' is an apartheid constructed racial category that has been used to define a group of people assumed to be of mixed ancestry, descendants of indigenous peoples of South Africa as well as from enslaved people brought to the Cape at the peak of colonisation in the country.

However, his Afrocentric description of 'an African self' has been criticised to have been essentialist and simplistic in nature (Mama, 1995). In all of these traditions of African psychology, despite different underlying assumptions about the nature of being, ideas of resistance to Euro-American oppression and the rehabilitation of the oppressed through collective consciousness and solidarity are prevalent. These themes also find resonance with the work of social psychologists in Latin America working against the repressive regimes and dependency models of development.

Liberation Psychology

Liberation psychology arose in the mid twentieth century in Latin America founded on the work of Ignacio Martín-Baró in the context of repressive military regimes across South America, and as a critique to mainstream Euro-American psychology, which was accused of being removed from and implicated in social injustices (Montero & Sonn, 2009). Liberation psychology was about dismantling internalized oppressive power acquired through the "uncritical adoption of knowledge from the North" (Burton & Gómez Ordóñez, 2015, p. 349) through de-ideologisation—a process of uncovering both the values and belief systems that sustain oppressive regimes and the political nature of science as working in the service of oppressive power. Drawing on Freirian concepts of 'problematization' and 'conscientization' (see Chap. 6), liberation psychologists focused on the participation and collective action of communities to mobilize against oppressive cycles and towards liberatory practices (Moane, 2009). Similar to Fanon, liberation psychology is explicitly political in its conception of power and its impact on the everyday lives and totality of experiences of the oppressed, where power is the appropriation of the resources necessary for everyday life (Burton & Gómez Ordóñez, 2015). Importantly, liberation psychology is firmly located in social action where individuals are conceived as social actors with the agency to make changes in their own lives. This principle also gives psychologists an active role as facilitators of social change through participatory modes of formulating problems, theoretical frameworks and objective safeguards (Burton & Gómez Ordóñez, 2015). This includes exploring the connections between memory, resistance, community, social movements, and policy through a socially engaged critical community praxis (Burton & Gómez Ordóñez, 2015). The principles of liberation psychology have thus much to offer to a Pan-African framework for psychology. Rooted in community forms of

organizing and challenging oppression, liberation psychology extends our understandings of identity as political and as collectively shaped not only through common experiences of oppression but also through deliberate and collective actions for resistance and change. It does so via an antidogmatic universalism with a focus on the excluded 'Other', upsetting modernity with transmodernity, by exploring dynamics through which persons become societally constructed through a set of processes characterised by reification, oppression, incorporation, socialisation, *and* exclusion as well as resistance. Through this understanding, psychology needs to be tested against the experiences of those whose lives are distorted, addressing the excluded, the marginalised and the oppressed while recognising that those groups are diverse and fragmented.

Indigenous Psychologies

Since the 1970s, the body of work referred to as 'Indigenous Psychologies' has steadily emerged (Paredes-Canilao et al., 2015). Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) work has been influential in offering a prototype for viewing the impact of Western research on the voice and identity of Indigenous communities. She examines methodology and its undermining of meaning and sensitivity to the ways of life of Indigenous communities by reviewing the way research has been woven into narratives of Imperialism. She shows the richness solid research should entail, such as the heterogeneity of voice which can be found in Maori principles that have, for example, used concepts like 'mana' (self-acknowledgement) and 'rangatiratanga' (self-determination). Those longstanding principles about living and being in New Zealand encompass Indigenous peoples' sovereign right to voice, determine, participate, and shape their own destinies:

> under colonialism indigenous peoples have struggled against a Western view of history and yet been complicit with that view. We have often allowed our histories to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 33)

Similar to African and Liberation psychologies, Indigenous psychologies propose an organizing framework for the study of psychology from a critical-liberatory ethos. Indigenous psychologies are "systems of knowledge and wisdom based on non-Western paradigms originating in their particular ecologies and cultures" (Kim et al., 2006, in Ciofalo, 2019,

p. 9) and "legitimize peoples' profound understanding of themselves based on their own cosmogonies, cosmologies, mythologies, axiologies, epistemologies, relationships, dreams, and visions of the future" (Ciofalo, 2019, p. 9). This positioning purports to dismantle the universality of Western scientific paradigms and instead critically engages with the relevance and harmful effects of aspects of Western-centric psychology for people whose interests it does not serve. Indigenous psychology therefore presupposes that all psychologies are indigenous and developed in specific historical cultural contexts. Ciofalo (2019), for example, provides a synopsis of different types of psychologies including American Indian Psychologies, African psychologies, Chinese psychologies, Filipino psychologies, Hawaiian psychologies, Indian psychologies, and Mexican psychologies, and argues that these are based on indigenous cosmologies and praxes with the aim of promoting cultural and ecological justice. A common thread in these articulations is their rootedness in philosophical and spiritual conceptions of the self and national identities that are pluriversal. Paredes-Canilao et al. (2015) argue that indigenous psychologies promote the development of a national identity "with 'national' read as independent of or liberated from not only an alien psychology but all other forms of domination: economic, cultural, and political (p. 357)". An indigenous-oriented framework for psychology thus invites us to question not only the universal, but also the boundaries of the local (or the national) in constructing indigenous perspectives. To what extent, for example, can a Pan-African lens for psychology serve the common national interests of peoples of African descent across the globe? Our interest here is to delineate the contours of a Pan-African vision that is simultaneously resistant, liberatory, and attuned to local conditions and struggles. We position this endeavour not as a nationalistic exercise invested in ethno-science, narrow identity politics, or narrow provincialism (Makhubela, 2016) but rather the possibility that Pan-Africanism as a local and global movement against slavery and colonisation can contribute to a universal anti-imperialist psychology for the betterment of humankind.

Feminist Psychologies

Classic critiques levelled at psychology in the 1980s include the work of Henriques et al. (1984) that laid the foundation for a feminist psychology that provided a necessary critique of the sexist and misogynistic operation of the discipline. Criticisms levelled at psychology included its operation as

a scientific discourse invested in the control of women—working at the level of theory and practice to justify gendered inequities and oppressions (Nogueira, 2001, cited in Mattos, 2015). Theories and practice in psychology have worked to reinforce the gender binary, reassert and reproduce gendered stereotypes and instil heteronormativity. At the same time, it has worked to pathologize those who do not fit the categories that are constructed as 'normative'.

Feminist psychology has spawned critiques at the role of psychology in reproducing problematic gender roles and norms; and for the ways in which it regulates gendered behaviour and practices (Shefer et al., 2006; Shefer, 2004). Feminist psychologies have worked to challenge the ways in which the discipline has been used in the perpetuation of oppressive social relations, particularly in relation to race and gender as well as recognizing the ways in which the discipline exercises authority and power through its methods of knowledge production and through the knowledges it produces (Shefer et al., 2006). Feminist psychology's critique has shifted towards deconstructing neoliberalism and its associated constructs of 'agency, empowerment and choice' (Rutherford, 2018) as well as critiquing universalized assumptions about women's oppression through the lens of white, western, educated and industrialized knowledges (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Kurtiş & Adams, 2015). A decolonial lens has been recognized to be important for feminist psychology to challenge the coloniality of the discipline as well as the ways in which those who symbolically and materially 'live' outside of the Euro-American 'centre' are erased, pathologized and othered (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019) and continue to be positioned as those in need of 'empowerment' or rescue by their 'white Western saviours' (Kurtiş & Adams, 2015; Mohanty, 1988; Rutherford, 2018).

A critical feminist psychology agenda involves necessary engagement with race and class, challenging unitary notions of women's identities and experiences and it involves a deconstructionist (and decolonial) practice as a way to guard against essentialism (Kiguwa, 2004). At the same time, important for a critical psychological agenda is the work of African feminists who have always seen the importance of working against imperialism and coloniality (in historical and emerging forms) for shaping power relations at multiple levels. Kiguwa (ibid.) has further argued that a critical feminist psychology, located on the African continent should "seek to explore and deconstruct those features of African culture which function to the detriment and subordination of African women" (p. 299). We see

an engagement with African psychology and a critical feminist psychology and its theoretical resources as an important resource for building a Pan-African psychology.

Psychology and Decoloniality

Unlike mainstream Euro-American orientations to psychology, central and common concerns in articulations of African, liberation, and indigenous psychologies present challenges to the persistent histories of colonial relations and thus provide an additional level of analysis of power as global and serving white Eurocentric interests. These resistances address to varying degrees the structural, epistemic, personal, and relational dimensions of coloniality (Kessi et al., 2020). The decolonial turn in the Latin American social sciences (Quijano, 2000) has much to offer as a framework for a psychology of resistance and liberation. Decolonial theory explicitly engages with the various dimension of power defined as: the coloniality of power (remaining institutional and structural power after end of colonisation) (Quijano, 2000), the coloniality of knowledge (epistemic violence of the knowledge project/inferiorisation of indigenous knowledges) (Mignolo, 2012), the coloniality of being (inferiorisation of colonized subjects) (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), and the coloniality of doing (how coloniality is perpetuated in everyday practices) (Ramugondo, 2015). Similar to Pan-African philosophies, decolonial thought is concerned with the liberation of historically colonized people from globalized forms of power (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Although Pan-Africanism has been largely located in the black and African experience, we argue that it offers a global perspective on coloniality with the added dimension of blackness as a crucial consideration in the possibilities and limitations for effective forms of resistance and transformation. Pan-Africanism, however, must become explicitly global and make links between global forms of coloniality and global movements against coloniality. Adebajo's (2000) call for a revival of Pan-Africanism in civil-society led movements, and Rabaka's (2020) call for a more mature and intersectional Pan-Africanism are perhaps indications that ideas of African unity need to be infused with decolonial perspectives on global racial and cultural studies that are interconnected with the struggles of oppressed people across the globe. The recent Fallist movements originating in South Africa and Black Lives Matter in the US have captured the imagination of the world and led to decolonial resistances and protests internationally. *Pan-Africanism and*

Psychology in Decolonial Times therefore entails a conversation between Pan-Africanism and decoloniality to dismantle our epicolonial inheritance (Kessi et al., 2020), seeking spaces from which to think 'alternatives to the present' (Dirlik, 2000) and consciously locate Pan-African psychologies within global resistances to oppression and in solidarity with collective global efforts towards liberation.

Overview of the Book

In exploring the links between psychology and Pan-Africanism in conversation with decoloniality in the various sections of this book, we draw on and extend the work of African psychologists on understandings of blackness and black and African identities and aspirations in contemporary life as well as psychological work on resistance and liberation to global forms of oppression from indigenous, feminist, and liberation psychologists. In doing so, we subscribe to the following principles:

1. That psychology as a discipline, regardless of its philosophical/pluriversal origins, presents a particular construction of knowledge about human existence (amongst many other knowledges).
2. That psychological knowledge is not waiting to be discovered but is continuously produced and reproduced in the act of doing psychological research.
3. That psychological knowledge (and its effects) is fundamentally a political project that has real implications for the mental, physical, and affective lives and wellbeing of individuals and societies.
4. That psychology should reject any tendency to reify or legitimize racial categories as naturally different, or to claim objective and essentializing notions about 'race', gender, culture, or human activity.

As part of this project, we have consciously chosen to foreground the contributions of black (inclusive), African and anti-colonial feminisms given the absence or pathologised presence of race, gender and sexuality concerns in mainstream psychology. It is from these historical experiences and traditions that we write as decolonial feminist critical and social psychologists from Africa and the diaspora, drawing on our own common and peculiar experiences as individuals in communities and as scholars working and living on both the African continent and in the diaspora. Our

combined consciousness and histories of patterns of racial and gendered life has shaped the dialogue between psychology, Pan-Africanism, and decoloniality in the pages of this book.

Chapter 2 traces some of the key moments in the history of Pan-Africanism with a particular emphasis on questions of identity and belonging as conceptual bridges between Pan-African thought and psychology. We present the variety, multivocality, and complexity of Pan-African theories, modalities, and enactments that provide insights into the rich diversity of ideas, possibilities, and contradictions that have spanned the movement over decades and arguably centuries. Partially historical, partially conceptual, the chapter highlights the identity constructions of blackness and Africanness as seen through the lens of important figures and strands in the Pan-African movement, such as Négritude, Double-Consciousness, Afrocentricity, Garveyism, African Womanism, amongst others; and other conceptual tools important to critical orientations to psychology, including notions of unity, solidarity, self-determination, and collective consciousness. These ideas and concepts are critically considered and they provide the framework upon which the remaining chapters are located, delineating a common thread across the various psychological interrogations of contemporary and past challenges for the continent and the diaspora.

Chapter 3 engages with the psychological implications on identity construction and perception from the colonial period, roughly lasting from 1880 until the beginning of its dismantlement in the 1960s, and the pursuant decolonial period and struggles encountered today. We discuss the collective aspirations of self-determination grounded in colonial African states, and the acquiring, internalizing and embodying of an imagined future with its consequences for collective solidarity and nationalist struggles. The legacy of forced nation-building processes on today's climate of rising xenophobic violence is further highlighted. This is particularly important in the discussion of a Pan-Africanist psychology, since the liberatory social climate of excitement and enthusiasm offered fertile ground for Pan-Africanist ideals, which xenophobic violence successfully upsets. While highlighting some examples of anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe and the US, the main focus of the chapter is on South Africa's current situation in relation to a contextualized psychosocial reading of national identity.

In Chap. 4 a case is made for a Pan-African feminist psychology. On the one hand, we chart the ways in which patriarchal power has been

entrenched through the formation of modern nation states by ignoring, silencing and erasing women's participation in liberation struggles and the ways in which women have been 'sold out' through the formation of patriarchal nation states. On the other hand, African feminists have been influential in continuing to challenge "narrow masculinist nationalists politics" (Ossome, 2020, p. 163) and their struggles have also been decidedly Pan-African and decolonial in ideology and practice. The chapter makes a case for a Pan-African feminist psychology that incorporates the history and contemporary struggles and challenges of Pan-African feminist theorizing and activism.

Institutional racism and the university in Africa has been an important question in contemporary South Africa. Building on the decolonial challenges to Eurocentric university education in the aftermath of independence movements across the continent, Chapter 5 focuses on the post-1994 South African case. We highlight the challenges of institutional racism in historically white universities including how the stigmatizing representations of blackness cut across systemic, cultural, and interpersonal domains leading to the current crisis in South African higher education. A case is made for a Pan-African approach to the contestation of institutional racism through an understanding of the collective experience of blackness and a consciousness of the impact of racism in contemporary historically white spaces.

The history of knowledge production that has pathologized, excluded, and silenced the experiences of African people is specifically tackled in Chap. 6. The chapter unpacks the coloniality of the discipline in its knowledge production machinery and engages discussions of power, politics, representation, ethics, and critical reflexivity as ways of countering the afterlives of colonisation as they manifest in the research endeavour. The chapter ends by offering some methodological approaches that might go towards advancing a Pan-African psychology.

Chapter 7 explores the psychological dimensions of restorative justice, reparations, and reconciliation in the aftermath of slavery, colonization, and apartheid. We consider the role of apologies and truth-telling as forms of accountability and memory work with the potential for healing historical wounds; and also how these initiatives put into question the ideals of Pan-Africanism. We conclude in Chap. 8 with reflections on what Pan-Africanism can contribute to psychology and what a Pan-African psychology might look like, a central question being: *Can a Pan-African psychology address the psychological wounds of slavery, colonization, and apartheid?* In

answering that question, we reflect on the contributions of African, liberation, indigenous, and feminist psychologies, how these have promoted critical developments in the discipline, and engage with the critical contradictions of Pan-Africanist ideals in the context of widespread injurious practices on the continent and the diaspora.

What we argue throughout the pages of this book is that a Pan-African lens into psychology presents many possibilities, from a psychology of protest and rehabilitation, to a psychology of resistance and liberation, to a psychology of reparatory and restorative justice, and that this work must continue to expand and find its space in the teaching, research, and practices of psychology.

References

Adebajo, A. (2000). *The Pan-African Pantheon: Prophets, Poets, and Philosophers*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Akbar, N. (1984). Africentric social sciences for human liberation. *Journal of Black Studies, 14*(4), 395–414.

Baldwin, J. A. (1986). African (Black) psychology: Issues and synthesis. *Journal of Black Studies, 16*(3), 235–246.

Banks, J. A., & Grambs, J. D. (1972). *Black self-concept: implications for education and social science*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Boonzaier, F., Kiguwa, P., & Shefer, T. (2006). *The Gender of Psychology*. Cape Town: UCT Press

Boonzaier, F., & van Niekerk, T. (2019). Introducing decolonial feminist community psychology. In F. Boonzaier & T. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Decolonial Feminist community psychology* (pp. 1–10). Springer International Publishing.

Boykin, A. W., Franklin, A. J., & Yates, J. F. (Eds.). (1979). *Research directions of black psychologists*. New York: Russell Sage.

Burman, E. (1998). Deconstructing feminist psychology. In E. Burman (Ed.), *Deconstructing feminist psychology* (pp. 1–29). SAGE Publications.

Burton, M., & Gómez Ordóñez, L. H. (2015). Liberation psychology: Another kind of critical psychology. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of Critical Psychology* (pp. 348–355). Routledge.

Burr, V. (1998). *Gender and social psychology*. Routledge.

Ciofalo, N. (2019). *Indigenous Psychologies in an Era of Decolonization*. Springer Nature Switzerland.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1939a). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology, 10*, 591–599.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1939b). Segregation as a factor in the racial identification of Negro pre-school children: A preliminary report. *Journal of Experimental Education, 8*, 161–163.

Clark, C. X., McGee, D. P., Nobles, W., Weems, L. X. (1975). Voodoo or IQ: An introduction to African psychology. *Journal of Black Psychology, 1*(2), 9–29.

Dirlik, A. (2000). *Postmodernity's histories: The past as legacy and project*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Inc.

Fox, D., Prilleltensky, I., & Austin, S. (2009). Critical psychology for social justice: Concerns and dilemmas. In D. Fox, I. Prilleltensky, & S. Austin (Eds.), *Critical psychology: An Introduction* (pp. 3–19). Sage.

Gavey, N. (1997). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis. In M. M. Gergen & S. N. Davis (Eds.), *Toward a new psychology of gender* (pp. 49–60). Routledge.

Henriques, J. (1984). Social psychology and the politics of racism. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn, & V. Walkerdine (Eds.), *Changing the subject: Psychology, Social regulation and subjectivity* (pp. 60–89). Methuen.

Hook, D. (2004). Fanon and the psychoanalysis of racism. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 114–137). Juta Academic Publishing.

Jensen, A. R. (1969). How much can we boost IQ and educational achievement?. *Harvard Educational Review, 39*, 1–123.

Keppel, B. (2002). Kenneth B. Clark in the patterns of American culture. *American Psychologist, 57*(1), 29–37.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 48*(3), 299–309.

Kessi, S., Marks, Z., & Ramugondo, E. (2020). Decolonizing African Studies. *Critical African Studies, 12*(3), 271–282

Kiguwa, P. (2004). Feminist critical psychology in South Africa. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 278–315). Juta.

Kurtiş, T., & Adams, G. E. (2015). Decolonizing liberation: Toward a transnational feminist psychology. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 3*(1), 388–413.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). On the coloniality of being. *Cultural Studies, 21*(2–3), 240–270. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162548

Mignolo, W. D. (2012). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton University Press.

Mattos, A. (2015). Feminist psychology: Researches, interventions, challenges. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of critical psychology* (pp. 329–338). Routledge.

Nobles, W. W. (1980). African philosophy: foundations for Black Psychology. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Black Psychology* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

———. (2013). Fundamental task and challenge of black psychology. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(3), 292–299.

Leach, C. (2005). Against the notion of a 'new racism'. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 15*, 432–445.

Makhubela, M. (2016). From psychology in Africa to African psychology: Going no where slowly. *Psychology in Society, 52*, 1–18.
Mama, A. (1995). *Beyond the masks: Race, gender, and subjectivity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Manganyi, C. (1973). *Being black in the world*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Raven Press.
Mkhize, N. (2004). Psychology: An African perspective. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa, A. Collins, E. Burman, & I. Parker (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 24–52). UCT Press.
Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review, 30*, 65–88.
Moane, G. (2009). Reflections on liberation psychology in action in an Irish context. In M. Montero & C. Sonn (Eds.), *Psychology of liberation: Theory and applications* (pp. 135–153). Springer Science+Business Media.
Montero, M., & Sonn, C. C. (2009). *Psychology of liberation: Theory and applications*. Springer Science+Business Media.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2015). Decoloniality as the future of Africa. *History Compass, 13*(10), 485–496.
Nwoye, A. (2015). What is African psychology the psychology of? *Theory & Psychology, 25*, 96–116.
Painter, D. (2015). Postcolonial theory: Towards a worlding of critical psychology. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of critical psychology* (pp. 366–375). Routledge.
Paredes-Canilao, N., Babaran-Diaz, A., Florendo, N. B., Salinas-Ramos, T., & Lily Mendoza, S. (2015). Indigenous psychologies and critical-emancipatory psychology. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of critical psychology* (pp. 356–365). Routledge.
Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power, eurocentrism, and Latin America. *Nepentla: Views From the South, 1*(3), 533–580.
Ossome, L (2020). African feminism. In Rabaka, R. (Ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism*. London & New-York: Routledge.
Rabaka, R. (2020) Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism. London & New-York: Routledge.
Ramugondo, E. L. (2015). Occupational consciousness. *Journal of Occupational Science, 22*(4), 488–501. https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2015.1042516
Ratele, K. (2017). Four (African) Psychologies. *Theory & Psychology, 27*(3), 313–327.
Ratele, K., & Shefer, T. (2013). Desire, fear and entitlement: Sexualising race and racialising sexuality in (re)membering apartheid. In G. Stevens, N. Duncan, & D. Hook (Eds.), *Race, memory and the apartheid archive* (pp. 188–207). Palgrave Macmillan.
Richards, G. (1997). *Race, racism, and psychology: Towards a reflexive history*. London, England: Routledge.

Rutecki, G. W. (2011). Forced sterilization of Native Americans: Later twentieth century cooperation with national eugenic policies? *Ethics & Medicine, 27*(1), 33–42.

Rutherford, A. (2018). Feminism, psychology, and the gendering of neoliberal subjectivity: From critique to disruption. *Theory & Psychology, 28*(5), 619–644.

Shefer, T. (2004). Psychology and the regulation of gender. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 187–209). Juta.

Shefer, T., Boonzaier, F., & Kiguwa, P. (Eds.). (2006). *The gender of psychology*. Cape Town.

Shields, S. A. (1975). Functionalism, Darwinism, and the psychology of women: A study in social myth. *American Psychologist, 30*, 739–754.

Shields, S. A. & Dicicco, E. C. (2011). The social psychology of sex and gender: From gender differences to doing gender. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 35*(3), 491–499.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Stevens, G. (2015). Black psychology: Resistance, reclamation, and redefinition. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of critical psychology* (pp. 182–190). Routledge.

Wilcox, R. C. (Ed.) (1971). *The Psychological Consequences of being Black American: A Collection of Research by Black Psychologists*. NY: Wiley.

Winston, A. S. (2020). Why mainstream research will not end scientific racism in psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, Published online: https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354320925176

CHAPTER 2

Pan-Africanism: Histories, Synergies and Contradictions

Pan-Africanism as a term is fraught with disagreements and contradictions, yet it has both as ideology and action impacted significantly on the world. Its ambiguity, malleability and existence as an idea and practice slips between disciplinary and historical categories and themes, yet it persists as a term, ideology and movement through its re-appropriation, reassertion and connection for those of African descent, in its ability to mobilise, connect and provide a sense of mutual identification through the desire for a shared destiny, stemming from a historical experience of oppression through slavery and colonisation. As Adi (2018) points out, it is difficult to pin down "one universally accepted definition of what constitutes Pan-Africanism", due to the fact that it has taken "different forms at different historical moments and geographical locations" (p. 2). Ta'a (2014) claims that many writers disagree on a large number of its themes [1] and its variability and contradiction is seen in its many historical expositions.[2] Eze (2013) describes Pan-Africanism as more akin to a 'performance' and Adi

[1] These include its definition as a concept, the Pan-African Congresses, the exact date it began, the conflict between Garvey and Du Bois, African Federation, Pan-Africanism in Africa, conceptual relations between Pan-Africanism and the philosophy of Négritude and the regional groupings of independent African states (Ta'a, 2014, p. 63).

[2] See, for example, Emerson (1962), Shepperson (1962), Legum (1965), Geiss (1967), Langley (1973), Lumumba-Kasongo (2003), Adi and Sherwood (2003), Appiah (1999),

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_2

(2018) claims that a more apt interpretation of Pan-Africanism is to view it not as a single concept, but as a river with many streams and currents.

Pan-Africanism also spans many cultural, intellectual, artistic[3], activist, theoretical, and political practices and ideas. Adi (2018) however, points out that there are common defining factors and shared attributes across all of these, in which the events associated with Pan-Africanism are threaded together through a sense of solidarity, belonging and identification based on a shared African history of transatlantic slavery and colonialism: "What underlies the manifold visions and approaches of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanists is a belief in the unity, common history and common purpose of the peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora and the notion that their destinies are interconnected" (Adi, 2018, p. 2).

Others argue that rather than striving for an oversimplified understanding, that we should instead embrace Pan-Africanism's complexity and multivocality. Rabaka (2020) advocates a dynamic view of Pan Africanism as a dynamic plural concept or '*Pan-Africanisms*' based on 'principles of "*radical inclusivity* and *insurgent intersectionality*" (p. 4). Such a 'modern', more 'mature' Pan-Africanism, Rabaka argues, would provide a productive means to register "a radical, if not revolutionary, theory and praxis preoccupied with uniting Africans worldwide and countering the hundreds of years of dehumanisation, racialisation, and colonisation continental and diasporan Africans endured at the hands of European imperialism from the fifteenth century through to the twenty-first century" (p. 2). He argues for a more 'dynamic understanding', a 'modern, mature Pan-Africanism' 'dialectical Pan-Africanism'[4] which "critically engages and grapples with both the good *and* bad, the positives *and* negatives, and the beauty *and* ugliness of Pan-Africanism" (p. 3), incorporating "core principles, radical political potential, and incessant evolution", as both an idea and movement that helps those of the African Diaspora and continent to "rescue and reclaim their humanity" (p. 3).

In its application and intention Pan-Africanism extends into many arenas—politically aimed for example, through the *African Union* to 'unify and uplift' people of African descent; to recentre history and knowledge

Fanning (2007), Sherwood (2012), Eze (2013), Ta'a (2014), Adi (2018), Benedikter and Tsedze (2019), Araia (2020), Malisa and Missedja (2020), Rabaka (2020)

[3] In its vaguer, more cultural, forms, Pan-Africanism has pursued literary and artistic projects that bring together people in Africa and her diaspora (Ta'a, 2014). These cultural, intellectual, and political practices include 'African Personality', 'Négritude', the Pan-African Congresses, Afro/Afri-centrism, and Africana cultural theory (64).

[4] Also see Sekyi-Otu (1996), Tomaselli (2003) and Turner (1977).

through Africana education to rectify oppressive ideological and educational injustices based on a past of enslavement and colonisation; to the flourishing of the arts through movements such as 'Négritude' and a re-identification of 'self' through an emphasis on African Renaissance in a post-apartheid South Africa, it, as Adi (2018) puts it, "operates as a tool for a sense of identity, purpose and common history for those who engage with it" (p. 3).

A historical synopsis based on Pan-Africanism's emergence, given its many facets and complexities, is a challenging task, particularly when the emphasis is on questions of identity and identification and their shifts over time. The 'telling' of the history of Pan-Africanism has itself also 'evolved'—now encompassing, as Rabaka (2020) suggests, more diverse and at times divergent voices, such as more recent efforts for the inclusion of women's contributions, previously erased through the (mostly male) recording of Pan-Africanism's events, particularly leadership, and the redefinition of terms, such as 'Black Internationalism'[5] over time, as well as the multifarious geographical locations and more local interpretations of Pan-Africanism—on the continent as well as in the African diaspora, which is considered to extend beyond transatlantic slavery to the Americas and Europe, to precolonial slavery across the Indian Ocean, and an African diaspora worldwide.

Theorists, however, have attempted to categorise these diverse elements into 'types' or movements. For example, under the term 'Pan-Africanism', Adi (2018) identifies two main forms within "all ideologies and movements that have at their centre the notion of the unity and advancement of Africa and its diaspora" (Adi, 2018, p. 4)—the first based on an emergence from trans-Atlantic enslavement, originating from the African diaspora, which "stressed the unity of all Africans and looked towards their liberation and that of the African continent" (p. 4), and the second as emerging on the African continent after 1945 in the context of the anti-colonial struggle, stressing the unity, liberation and advancement of the states of the African continent, although often recognising the importance of the Diaspora and its inclusion. Appiah (1999) likewise identifies two foci, that he claims at times have pulled in different directions—one based on a common solidarity across the Africa diaspora opposing racism as a consequence of slavery and colonisation, and the other a political project calling for the unification of all Africans into a single

[5] See Burden-Stelly and Horne (2020)

African state, to which those in the African diaspora can return. Yet others, such as Malisa and Missedja (2020) narrate Pan-Africanism across different emergent time periods, to quote—"beginning with formerly enslaved Africans in the Americas, to the colonial borders of the 1884 Berlin Conference, the rise of the independence movements in Africa from 1957–1975, and the twenty-first century African Renaissance" (p. 35). Rather than a definitive comprehensive historical coverage of all aspects of Pan-Africanism, Rabaka (2020) as editor of the 548-page *Routledge Handbook on Pan-Africanism* chooses to offer 'discursive and dialogical points of departure'. Bearing these aspects in mind, this chapter offers a general overview of development within moments of identification across Pan-Africanism's multifarious and at times somewhat amorphous 'evolution', in its journey towards rectification and reclamation of humanity.

Origins and Moments in the History of Pan-Africanism

In its earliest form, Pan-Africanism might be considered to have begun with the first uprisings and resistance of slaves in the fifteenth century, spreading to Africa in the middle of the twentieth century (Kasanda, 2016). Some theorists suggest the idea goes back to 1783 BC as "inclusive of all socio-historical struggles that has occurred within Africa's geographical world" (Eze, 2013, p. 663). Eze (2013) claims that Pan-Africanism began in the fifteenth century with the beginning of transatlantic slavery and the rise of Europe through Western colonialism and the construct of a racialised 'different other' within modernism, when race first became "a notional point of human categorization" (pp. 663–664), emerging as an agency of restoration of African subjectivity as well as challenging the intellectual roots of colonial history through the consequent actions and mobilisation of abolitionist movements and freed slaves.

Others look to Pan-Africanism's origin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a call for black's people's unity and solidarity, arising from a shared sense of identification with the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. The colonisation of Africa followed the abolition of slavery and the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885 where Africa, as Malisa and Missedja (2020) put it, was 'dismembered', including the conceptual separation of Egypt and parts of North Africa in European imagination and scholarship from the rest of the continent. The concept of 'Africa' did not develop

within the continent itself until the end of the nineteenth century (Parker & Rathbone, 2007)[6]. Intellectuals, as 'elites'[7] of the African diaspora, particularly in the 'New World' of North America, and the Caribbean articulate the idea of a single 'Negro' race as part of organisations and movements in the Americas, Europe, West Africa and the Caribbean (Geiss, 1969, pp. 187–188; Malisa & Missedja, 2020). Early groups and movements include the Sons of Africa, the African Masonic Lodge, the African Church movement, Free African Society, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Ethiopianism, Emigrationism, Maroon communities, and American Negro Academy (Adi, 2018; Rabaka, 2020)[8]. During this period, there was a focus on Sub-Saharan Africa, with North Africa excluded, through efforts to repatriate formerly enslaved Africans[9], particularly with the intention to 'advance Africa' through commerce and religion (Malisa & Missedja, 2020, p. 37; Adi, 2018).[10] The idea of a unique 'African Personality' was first suggested in the nineteenth century by Edward Wilmot Blyden[11] (1832–1912), arguing against the idea of African

[6] Parker and Rathbone (2007) write that the idea of 'Africa ' was conceived of by black diasporic intellectuals—who appropriated the idea of 'Africa', through being able to perceive Africa because of their very removal from it, and thus laid the foundations of what came to be known as 'Pan-Africanism'. (early Pan-Africanists called themselves Negros and sometimes called the continent 'Ethiopia—it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the idea of Africa developed within the continent itself (7). Also see Mboukou (1983).

[7] Pan-Africanism as an idea, if not the term, is generally considered to stem from intellectuals of African descent mostly in North America and the Caribbean, who considered themselves to share commonalities as victims of racism. They considered themselves to be members of a single 'Negro' race, in line with racialised nineteenth century mainstream North American and European thought. (Adeleke, 1998; Appiah, 2006; Adi, 2018; Rabaka, 2020; Malisa & Missedja, 2020).

[8] Adi (2018) provides extensive details in a chapter on the forerunners of modern Pan-Africanism. He also refers to the writings of previous slaves Equiano and Cugoano also playing a role, where Olaudah Equiano in particular re-styled himself as 'The African', indicating a shift from a narrow national identity towards a Pan-African identity (8). There were also 8000 persons of African descent repatriated to Africa across the Diaspora in the nineteenth century, as well as tens of thousands of 'recaptives' who were freed on the seas and repatriated, mostly via Sierra Leone, as well as Liberia and West Africa, which became very influential in the spread of Pan-Africanism, through their respective emergent diasporic intelligentsia. The Haiti revolution also was a major inspiration.

[9] Some left for Sierra Leone and Liberia (Malisa & Missedja, 2020, p. 37; Adi, 2018).

[10] The liberation of Haiti in the 1920s played a large role in the development of a worldwide black awareness (Fanning, 2007; Bellegarde-Smith, 1981)

[11] An influential nineteenth century key Pan-Africanist thinker, politician, writer, educator and diplomat from Liberia (originally St Thomas in the Caribbean)

'inferiority' in his push for repatriation of Africans, particularly to West Africa, and their requirement for an education of their own befitting their particular needs, history and culture, in that Africans had their own unique contribution to make in the world (Legum, 1965; Adi, 2018; Araia, 2020)[12].

The coining and use of the term 'Pan-African' is considered to originate from Henry Sylvester Williams (Adi, 2018; Eze, 2013), a young Trinidadian lawyer, who convened the first ever Pan-African Conference[13] in July 1900 in London, UK, under the organisation the *African Association* (Adi, 2018; Eze, 2013). Less well known is the fact that the *African Association* leading to the Pan-African Conference had been launched three years earlier in October 1897 jointly with a South African woman, Alice Victoria Kinloch[14], an orator, activist, educator, and author who spent time in London in the mid-1890s (Killingray, 2012; Adi, 2018)[15]. Alice Kinloch's key involvement in the *African Association* and planning of the Pan-African Conference was fully acknowledged in writing by Williams.[16]

Williams' stated intentions for holding the conference were to bring together people of African descent throughout the world, with an aim to

[12] His ideas were to impact later on other significant Pan-Africanist leaders, such as Garvey and Nkrumah.

[13] Adi (2018) lists an earlier first 'gathering to be described as 'Pan-African', in concept if not as a term, as the 'Chicago Congress on Africa' in August 1983, and a similar in Atlanta two years earlier (18–19).

[14] Alice Victoria Kinloch was educated in Kimberley, South Africa has only been acknowledged as significant in the history of Pan-Africanism very recently, (Killingray, 2012; Adi, 2018). She spoke and wrote widely about conditions in South Africa and the ill treatment of 'natives' in South Africa, particularly in mining districts and also an editor of 'Fraternity—*Journal of the Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man'*. Having met together with Henry Sylvester Williams and Thomas John Thompson, then law students in London, the three agreed that the African Association be formed. Williams in a letter stated that 'The Association is the result of Mrs Kinloch's work in England' and in a report stated that Alice Kinloch was a principal actor in the formation of the African Association and the subsequent Pan-African Conference (Killingray, 2012, p. 401), and thus she could be considered the 'Mother of Pan-Africanism'. She served as the Association's first treasurer, but returned to South Africa in 1898 and could not attend the first Pan-African Conference in London in 1900 (Killingray, 2012).

[15] Adi (2018) lists her primarily (presumably erroneously) as 'Anne' but also as 'Alice' Victoria Kinloch elsewhere in his text—Killingray (2012) refers to her throughout as Alice (Mrs Alice Victoria Alexander Kinloch.)

[16] Another key female Pan-Africanist was Anna Julia Cooper, who was present at the first Pan-African conference in London, and who formed the 'Coloured Women's League. (Alridge, 2007).

address common problems, promote friendlier relations between the Caucasian and African races, to give full rights to all African races living in 'civilised' countries, and to promote business (Rabaka, 2020). However, the conference also included other intentions and aspirations, indicating, for Rabaka (2020) the fact that, right from the start, different intellectual foci, agendas and interpretations existed for Pan-Africanism (Rabaka, 2020).

DuBois

William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) du Bois[17] for example, focused on Pan-Africanism as a movement for self-government or independence for those of African descent, in his presentation, 'Address to the Nations of the World', as Chairman of the London conference's committee. He conceived of the idea of one Africa to "unite the thought and ideals of all native people of the dark continent"[18], stating "[t]he problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" (Legum, 1965, p. 25)[19]. Du Bois was to have a major impact on the development of Pan-Africanism, his ideas evolving and shifting over time. In *Strivings of the Negro People* (1897), republished as *The Souls of Black Folk* (1991 [1903]), he articulated the term 'double consciousness', describing the sense of 'two-ness' of being born African and Black in America, of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, and not being accepted as either:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (p. 11)

This concept has been echoed or developed in the work of later Pan-African theorists, such as Paul Gilroy (1993)[20]. In the twenty-first century

[17] For more information, see Fosu (1999), Kasanda (2016).

[18] See Du Bois: The World and Africa; NY Viking Press, 1947.

[19] Du Bois had also earlier presented a paper in 1897 referring to 'Pan-Negroism' entitled 'The Conservation of Races', and for this reason is sometimes credited for being the creator of the idea, if not the direct term, of 'Pan-Africanism' (Legum, 1965; Adi, 2018).

[20] In Paul Gilroy's *'The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) in an attempt to unify the black Diaspora with the homeland, as part of the political black British movement.

it has been revisited and extended to a more inclusive concept of 'triple consciousness', which may include another social identity that impacts on persons social experiences, including ethnicity, gender and sexual awareness, and concerned with Black identity development as "a broad range of identity orientations" within a "progression through levels of racial consciousness and identification demonstrated in response to political awareness and/or forms of oppression" (De Walt, 2013, p. 1)[21].

Over time, Du Bois' name has become synonymous with the development of Pan-Africanism or what the US terms 'black internationalism'[22] in its formative years, between 1900 and 1975 (Adi, 2018). Its development led to the generation and growth of subsequent movements, including, among others, the "New Negro Movement, Harlem Renaissance, Renaissance Haïtienne [Haitian Renaissance], Négritude Movement, Negrismo Movement, Cabo Verdianidade Movimento [Cape Verdeanness Movement], Civil Rights Movement, Black Power Movement, Rastafari Movement, *Créolité* Movement, Black Lives Matter Movement, and others" (Rabaka, 2020, p. 1).

Another person of note present at the 1900 conference was Dr Anna Julia Cooper, whose contributions to Pan-Africanism were only recognised in the 1970s, and who had studied and continued to work as a contemporary of Du Bois until the mid-twentieth century (Alridge, 2007) and who at the time is recorded to have delivered a 'stirring speech' in the presentation of her paper, 'The Negro Problem in America' (Giles, 2006). Her earlier book, *A Voice from the South: By a Black Woman of the South* (1892) is considered one of the first articulations of black feminism, giving her the title, the 'Mother of Black Feminism'.[23]

Following the London conference, Du Bois continued as a key organiser, participant, and presenter of consecutive Pan-African congresses. Following the first Pan-African Conference in 1900 in London, Du Bois

[21] De Walt (2013) examines double consciousness, triple consciousness, and nigrescence theory within the context of Africana studies.

[22] Adi (2018) claims that there is little difference between the two in reality, except the use of the term black internationalism in the US.

[23] Her work and contribution was only acknowledged fully by black feminist studies in the early 1970s. Cooper made many speeches defending civil rights and women's rights, including self-determination through education. Cooper also formed the *Colored Women's League* in Washington DC, where she aimed to 'promote unity, social progress and the best interests of the African American community' (See Giles, 2006; Alridge, 2007; Adi, 2018)

proposed the formation of a Pan-African congress, convened in 1919 in Paris, and recovered and re-established the Pan-African movement. The second Pan-African congress was in 1921 in London, Brussels, and Paris. The third was in London and Lisbon in 1923 and a fourth in New York in 1927. The fifth Pan-African Congress took place in Manchester, England in 1945, and a sixth Pan-African Congress 1974 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It was the 1945 Manchester Congress that is thought to indicate a significant shift in Pan-Africanism as a movement and ideology.

Legum (1965, p. 27) writes that there were some 20 South African students in [North] America after the turn of the century, who were exposed to the cross fertilisation of ideas through Pan-African movements and conferences at the time. These included P K Isakaseme (one of the founders of the first African National Congress in 1912), Sol T Plaatje, Professor J L Dube, Professor D D T Jabavu, and Dr A B Xuma later, all who were associated with the growth of African Nationalism in South Africa.

Garveyism

Another key aspect in the early development of Pan-Africanism is Garveyism, through Marcus Aurelius Garvey (1887–1940), a Jamaican journalist, writer, trade unionist, and activist. Appealing widely to what was described as the 'workaday black man' (Ijere, 1974), Garvey proposed a Pan-African state with the slogan, 'Africa for the Africans' mostly led by immigrant West Indians and with largely African American members who were part of his highly successful *United Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA) organisation and called for economic independence for African Americans focused on 'Back to Africa' and 'Race Consciousness'[24] (Legum, 1965; Ijere, 1974; M'bayo, 2004; Fergus, 2010; Adi, 2018; Rabaka, 2020). He also appointed himself as self-proclaimed 'Provisional President of a Racial Empire in Africa', at one point collaborated with the Ku Klux Klan "who shared his ideas of expatriating all the Negroes" (Legum, 1965, p. 26), and made the claim that he and the UNIA "rendered more service than all the other Negro organisations put together have done in the last 100 years. We have given a national consciousness to the Negro" (Adi, 2018, p. 41).

[24] The concept of 'race consciousness' was developed by Hubert Harrison (1882–1927), who by some is considered 'the father of Harlem radicalism' (Adi, 2018, p. 55).

Despite Garvey's idiosyncrasies, he created the only worldwide anti-imperialist movement embracing quality and self-determination for all Africans and those of African descent, and promoted self-help and Black Pride in the face of persecution and the ubiquitous notions of white supremacy under the idea of a voluntarily united Africa (Adi & Sherwood, 2003). Garvey's publication, the *Negro World* was read in Africa as well as across the New World African Diaspora, inspiring Kwame Nkrumah and thus leaving its legacy on Africa (Adi, 2018). He also acquired a shipping company, the *Black Star Line* aimed at expatriation as well as trade and business ventures (Ijere, 1974).[25] At its peak in the 1920s, according to Adler (1992), Garveyism represented the most powerful organisation in the world of Black people—forty countries in four continents. Through concepts of self-help and self-reliance—to be proud of their African heritage and establish their own separate society (in the African continent), Garveyism sought the worldwide liberation of all descendants of Black Africa and thus, according to Adler (1992) its ideology "laid the basis for every Black Power movement in the United States" in that century (p. 342)[26]. Garvey was later revered as Jamaica's first national hero, as well as prophet of the Rastafarianism religion, at its peak in the 1980s and 1990s (Adi, 2018, p. 28).

Women also featured strongly in Garvey's UNIA. Many women had significant roles as speakers and organisers. Garvey's first wife, Amy Ashwood Garvey was secretary and contributed to his ideas even before they married and likely was the first member of UNIA, as well as a contributor to his ideas (Reddock, 2014). His second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey[27], is considered a key architect of Garveyism in contributing information and ideas, and was "undoubtedly a co-creator, if not the creator, of aspects of Garveyite philosophy" (Adler, 1992, pp. 354–356) and a 'lifelong' advocate of social justice in her own right (Matthews, 1979; Adler, 1992). She also played a significant leadership role in being an

[25] For more on Garvey, Fergus (2010) explores the evolution of Pan-Africanism to Nkrumaism, M'bayo (2004) explores Garvey's links with Liberia from 1919–1924. Ijere (1974) contrasts Garvey and Du Bois.

[26] Garveyism, Adler (1992) writes, derived its strength primarily from the Black Urban working class, and had truly revolutionary potential, through undermining the pervasive acceptance of Black dependence on white society and exposing the depth of Black rage, in that 'Garveyism rebuked the intellectualism and popular integrations stance of the black intelligentsia led by WEB Dubois without forgoing intellectualism.' (342).

[27] Also see M D Matthews (1979) for information on Amy Jacques Garvey.

unofficial leader of UNIA during Garvey's incarceration from 1923–1927 (Adler, 1992, p. 354). The many women speakers and organisers of UNIA, Adi (2018) writes, were arguably "central to the development of the UNIA and formed its 'backbone' from the time of the movement's founding" (p. 33). The first international organiser for UNIA was Henrietta Vinton Davis, and Mamie De Mena as assistant international organiser, a major speaker who held a number of significant roles within UNIA.

Another significant tension in the evolution of Pan-Africanism and its inherent contradiction as a movement is the fact that Garvey and Du Bois were known to be rivals. Du Bois advocated for equality through integration and civil rights, and was considered an 'elite' intellectual of mixed blood, supposedly proud of his European ancestry, whereas Garvey proposed racial separatism, and "Africa for the Africans", being a black Jamaican immigrant to the US (Legum, 1965, p. 26).

Négritude

Emerging in the 1930s, Négritude[28] developed as a framework of critique and literary theory developed by francophone intellectuals, writers and politicians of the African Diaspora, and impacting on aesthetic ideas of beauty, art and literature, as an expression of revolt against French historical colonialism and racism (Diagne, 2018) a "rejection of assimilation, an identification with blackness, and a celebration of African civilisation" (Adi, 2018, p. 105). The movement is claimed to have begun between three black students in Paris—Aimé Césaire from Martinique; Leon-Gontron Damas from Guinea and Léopold Sedar Senghor from Senegal. Their aim was to overcome divides and prejudices created by slavery between those of African descent, such as being 'Caribbean' considered more 'civilised' than African. In particular, Négritude shaped a philosophy of art and aesthetics. Senghor utilised the idea of a 'vital force' as an 'expression' of a philosophy to be read in the cultural products of Africa; and above all in African religions, with 'ethnological evidence that many

[28] Eze (2013) writes that, 'The idea of Pan African personality as represented in Négritude symbolizes a subjective rehabilitation of black identity where blackness becomes a source of pride and not aversion. If the black person in any part of the world is oppressed because of his/her color, Négritude offered a compass of universal Africana identity in which blacks all over the world participate.' (667). For more on Négritude, see Mphahlele (1963), Irele (1965), Le Baron (1966), Langley (1969), Senghor (1974), Ekpo (2010), Garraway (2010), Diagne (2018).

of them share… an ontology of life forces.'[29] What emerged was a 'new sensibility' of what had previously been termed 'primitive objects', now as 'art nègre', infused with, in Senghor's view, a philosophy of geometric forms, connecting the sub-reality of the universe of vital forces hidden beneath the surface of things (Diagne, 2018). These 'life forces' were also, according to Senghor, a combination of 'rhythms' omnipresent in Black aesthetic products, claiming that "this ordering force that constitutes Negro style is rhythm" (Senghor, 1964[30], p. 296). Irele (1965) describes Négritude as the cultural parallel of Pan-Africanism, "essentially a movement of emotions and ideas."[31]

However, the contributions of the Nardal sisters[32] to this theory, as more recent historians, and Jane Nardal herself, have pointed out, are also relevant to the development of Négritude. Ten years prior to Senghor, Jane Nardal had written of "a rule of rhythm, the sovereign master of [black] bodies" (Nardal, 2002, p. 105). In fact, Sharpley-Whiting (2000) critiques a "masculinist genealogy constructed by the poets and shored up by literary historians, critics, and Africanist philosophers [which] continues to elide and minimise the contributions of black women, namely their francophone counterparts, to the movement's evolution" (p. 10), and that both Jane Nardal and her sister Paulette Nardal from Martinique had also contributed to developing Négritude. Jane Nardal published an article titled 'internationalisme noir' in 1928 (predating Senghor's 1939 article *What the Black man contributes*), on a 'Negro spirit' transcending historical differences and the importance of 'turning back toward Africa' and the significance of 'Negro art' and African civilisation (Nardal, 2002, pp. 105–107; Adi, 2018).[33]

There were also close links between Négritude writers, the Caribbean, and Harlem Renaissance[34] writers such as Langston Hughes and Claude

[29] Senghor 'On Négritude'.

[30] Senghor's essay, 'What the Black Man Contributes' (1939).

[31] For more information on Négritude, Garraway (2010) reads negritude through Fanon, and sees negritude not as a fixed object but a process. Mphahlele (1963), sees connections with South Africa. Langley (1969) claims that the French contribution to Pan-Africanism was beyond negritude.

[32] Also see Nardal and Sharpley (2009).

[33] Adi (2018, p. 5) also writes of Jane Nardal referring to 'internationalisme noir' in her work, the growing links between negroes of all nationalities and highlighting a certain pride in being black.

[34] The Harlem Renaissance as Rabaka (2020) points out, was very much supported by Du Bois, whose article, 'A Negro Art Renaissance' celebrated the end of the long hiatus of blacks from creative endeavours—'a black artist is first of all a black artist'.

McKay, the latter being also known as the 'New Negro' Movement which emerged in the 1920s (Adi, 2018). Senghor and Césaire were also influenced by Du Bois and Garveyism influenced the New Negro movement, and its literary and creative works influenced, and were likewise influenced by Négritude (Adi, 2018).

Pan-Africanism and African Independence

Following the end of World War II, the 1945 Pan-African Manchester congress, with DuBois as chairman, marked significant shifts from previous congresses away from elitism, and laid the ground for African independence (Ackah, 2020). Leadership of the 1945 Pan-African Congress had shifted largely from being controlled largely by black British and American intellectuals to delegates from African and Caribbean political parties, and Africans working or studying in Britain[35]. Younger African leaders included Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (Ghana), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Peter Abrahams from South Africa, a novelist and poet (Legum, 1965). With its new leadership of workers, trade unionists and African students, the Manchester 1945 Congress signified the beginning of a 'new era' and is widely described at this point to have progressed from an idea to a movement focused on self-determination[36] (Adi, 2018; Rabaka, 2020; Malisa & Missedja, 2020). A 'forthright challenge' was produced, urging people to unite to reject those seeking to control their destinies and a call to end colonialism in Africa, with the statement "we demand for Black African autonomy and independence, so far, and no further, than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation" (Legum, 1965, p. 37). There were also references to the possible use of violence, along with a declaration of a farewell to patience and acceptance of

[35] In 1944 the *Pan-African Federation* was formed—under the leadership of *the International African Service Bureau*, among whose leaders were George Padmore, CLR James, Wallace Johnson and Sierra Leone trade union leader, Jomo Kenyatta (Legum, 1965).

[36] Self-determination, established as a right after 1945, determined that people should be able to decide on their own form of government, and that no-one should be ruled by an 'outside' group (Getachew, 2019). Self-determination was listed as international legal right in the UN Charter in 1945, through which the following applied—'National aspirations must be respected; people must be governed only by their own consent; no interference of international states; can freely choose sovereignty'.

suffering, as part of radical social political and economic demands and a call towards strikes and boycotts (Legum, 1965).

The Bandung Conference in 1955 also impacted on Pan-Africanist thinking, through demonstrating that emerging nations could be a force in future politics and marking 'Asia's arrival on the world scene'[37] and its resultant Bandung declaration. The first World Congress of Negro Writers and Artists took place in the Sorbonne in 1956, with a second in Rome in September 1956. Its founders were inspired by the Spirit of Bandung to "confirm, exalt and glorify the culture of the Negro peoples" with a focus on affirming 'the African personality' (Adi, 2018, p. 187).[38] In the aftermath of Ghana's independence in 1957, Pan-Africanism took a political turn in 1958 (Rabaka, 2020). Nkrumah led the movement for Ghanaian independence in 1957 and became president of the first black state in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from colonial rule, with the aim to unite African states politically and economically based on their commonality of suppression under imperialism, a view to extinguishing European colonial rule, and regional integration of the whole African continent, and indicated political and social union between Arabic and Black African regions. The first All-African People's conference (AAPC), held in Ghana, Accra, in 1958, was attended by all independent states of Africa[39] except South Africa. Frantz Fanon, journalist, freedom fighter, and member of the Algerian FLN party, also attended the AAPC in 1958, as a delegate for Algeria[40]. Fanon trained as a psychiatrist in France and published *Black Skins, White Masks* in 1955. He argued that the racism due to colonialism resulted in the "destruction of cultural values" and alienation of people from their own national cultures under the hegemony of Eurocentrism and Western values (Adi, 2018, p. 188). His *The Wretched of the Earth*

[37] It was organised by Indonesia, Myanmar (Burma), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Pakistan, bringing in 29 governments from Asia, Africa and the Middle East, to discuss peace and the rule of the third world in the Cold war, economic development and decolonisation. The 'Sprit of Bandung' laid the foundation for the Cold War nonaligned movement, focusing on the potential for collaboration among nations of the 3rd world, and prioritising efforts to reduce reliance on Europe and North America under the principle of political self-determination.

[38] According to Adi (2018, p. 187), at this stage, women were almost entirely absent from the conference.

[39] Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Sudan.

[40] Fanon was also influenced by Pan-African authors, artists, poets, and historians, including the Négritude movement.

(1961) emphasised national liberation, as the means to liberate national culture stifled under colonialism (Adi, 2018, p. 189; Rabaka, 2020)[41].

In the context of the US being in the midst of a 'Red Scare' in the 1940s and 1950s Cold War, Nkrumahism provided a Pan-African socialist theory aiming to adopt Marxist-Leninist theory to the social context of Africa (see Poe, 2003; MacRae, 1966). Presenting an ideology for a new united Africa, independent self-reliance and totally free from imperialism, capable of managing its own affairs[42].

Another impact of the 1958 All-African People's conference in 1958 was the call for a unified organisation of African women, followed by a series of meetings organised in 1961 throughout Africa by Aoua Keita from French Sudan and Jean Martin Cissé from Guinea and others, as leaders of a growing Pan-African women's movement. In July 1962, women from 14 independent countries met to form the African Women's Union (AWU), later renamed the Pan-African Women's Organisation (PAWO) (Adi, 2018).

A further impact of the 1958 AAPC was its impact on South Africa, with the AAPC committing to support the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, as well as the FLN struggle in Algeria, as part of its direct involvement with the 'emancipation of the continent'. Robert Sobukwe (1924–1978) was strongly influenced by the ideas of the AAPC, adopting 'Africanist socialist democracy' in his formation and leadership of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in 1959 in South Africa.

Nkrumah has had a profound influence across Africa/the African Diaspora and post-colonial world and is considered to be the father of African nationalism (Van den Boogaard, 2017), emphasising the 'revolutionary African personality' as the driving force of Pan-African socialism in the class struggle against imperialism, blending Marxist Leninist theory with Pan-Africanism and African unification and extending the concept of class to a global scale, to a class of oppressed peoples committed to a more egalitarian society through Pan-African socialist economic development, under his saying, 'Africa is *one* continent, *one* people and *one* nation' (p. 55). Nkrumah's aim for the unification of 'the whole country of Africa' (Van den Boogaard, 2017, p. 51) impacted on movements across the

[41] See Young (2011) on Fanon and links between self-awareness/cultural consciousness and present-day politics of Pan -African Unity.

[42] See Kwame Nkrumah (1978), *Consciencism: Philosophy and ideology of decolonisation*. Also see Poe (2003).

diaspora. In 1963, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was launched, with its headquarters in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia[43].

Pan-Africanism and the Black Power Movement

In the US, the Civil Rights Movement[44] in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, also linked with Pan-Africanism, with the rise and influence of Malcolm X[45], who 'inspired African Americans to identify as 'Black' versus negro and turn towards Africa for inspiration and identification, and claim 'Black Power' for themselves' (Vincent, 2020). As one of the manifestations of the Black Power movement, Pan-Africanism had a renewed vigour in the 1960s and 1970s that again extended to the arts, with Malcolm X delivering a cultural argument for black liberation in 1964 based on the social possibilities inherent in improvisational black music, such as rhythm and blues, jazz, soul and funk music, as a direct response to white racism. In the late 1970s Hip-hop emerged (Rabaka, 2020) and was described as a 'Pan-African state of mind'. Many groups existed as a 'new variant of black nationalism' which "fundamentally demanded the empowerment of black people politically, socially, economically, and otherwise" (Ogbar, 2020, p. 95). A major organisation was the 'Black Panther Party' which extended to South Africa, and the Dalit Black Panther Party in India (Ogbar, 2020).

Black Pride and slogans such as 'Black is Beautiful'[46] infused fashion and music, with the adoption of African cultural practices and African styles of dress by African-Americans, with an "unprecedented expression of black art, scholarship, political activism, professional organization and intellectual discourse" (Ogbar, 2020, p. 96) alongside the development of celebrations such as Kwanzaa, the establishment black studies programmes and the rise of Afrocentricity as a consequence in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid.).

[43] See Poe (2003), Grilli (2020), Malisa and Missedja (2020).

[44] The Civil Rights movement was a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for Black Americans to gain equal rights under the law in the United States. Martin Luther King Jr. played a key role from the mid-1950s to 1968 when he was assassinated.

[45] Malcolm X saw the African-American freedom movement as part of an international struggle for human rights and anti-colonialism and emphasized black self-reliance and self-determination. He was assassinated in 1965.

[46] 'Black is Beautiful' is also a popular slogan of the marginalised Dalits of India.

The Black Arts Movement emerged in Harlem shortly after Malcolm X's assassination in 1965, with the *First World Festival of Negro Arts and Culture* (Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres [FESMAN]) organised by Senghor in 1966 in Dakar, Senegal, with over 2000 writers, artists and performers from Africa and the African Diaspora participating, and the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in 1969 for eight days in Algiers, claiming that 'culture is a weapon in our struggle for liberation' also attracting thousands from Africa and across the African Diaspora, including the Black Panthers (Sharpley-Whiting, 2000; Adi, 2018, p. 196; Ratcliff, 2020)[47].

The Afrocentric movement started in the 1960s and 1970s alongside the Civil Rights Movement and emerged strongly in the 1980s and 1990s through black intellectuals within Black Studies departments at Universities, such as Molefi Asante in the US, Cheikh Anta Diop[48] of Senegal, the US historian Carter G Woodson and Maulana Rom Karenga, the creator of Kwanzaa[49]. Afrocentricity[50] is defined as an analytical paradigm, emphasising African modes of thought and culture, in which "Africans must be the center of their own narratives" (Asante, 2020, p. 148) rather than on the margins in their own history—so that they become actors and agents rather than marginal in political and economic experiences within an African-centred perspective as subjects, not objects. Afrocentricity is "an encapsulating term that is used to describe the complex theoretical process of knowledge formation which places Africans at the centre of information about themselves" (Poe, 2003, pp. 11–13—also see Asante, 2020)[51]. Afrocentric analysis leads Nantambu (1998) for

[47] See Ratcliff (2020) for more on Black arts cultural workers and the black liberation struggle.

[48] Author of 'Pre-colonial Black Africa'.

[49] An annual holiday celebrated in the US from December 26 to January 1 emphasising the importance of the Pan African family and corresponding social values.

[50] The term was also used by Nkrumah, calling for an Afro-centric education for Ghanaian students, as well as WEB Du Bois' in his 1962 speech notes, stating the Encyclopaedia Africana should be 'unashamedly Afro-centric' (Asante, 2020, p. 148).

[51] Poe (2003, p. 14) outlines Asante's (1993) five distinguishing characteristics of Afrocentricity: 'The Afrocentric idea, according to Asante, has the following five distinguishing characteristics: 1. An intense interest in psychological location as determined by symbols, motifs, rituals, and signs; 2. A commitment to finding the subject-place of Africans in any social, political, economic, architectural, literary, or religious phenomenon with implications for questions of sex, gender, and class; 3. A defense of African cultural elements as historically valid in the context of art, music, education, science, and literature; 4. A celebration of "centeredness", agency, and a commitment to lexical refinement that eliminates pejoratives about

example to claim that the first Pan-African nationalist unification from an Afrocentric perspective first began in 3200 BC, with the unification of the Upper and Lower Nile. Africana[52] education, as a whole cultural history of continental and diasporic Africans in the world, emerged as Universities created Departments of Pan-African studies as a consequence of the Civil Rights movement.

Pan-Africanism and Black Power in South Africa

In South Africa, the black consciousness movement evolved from the late 1960s (Gqola, 2001), under Steve Biko's leadership of the *South African Students organisation* (SASO), and focused on principles of self-worth and pride in blackness. Biko argued that it was necessary for organisation and conceptual separation for blacks from society, in order to be validated and affirmed to realise their full potential in the absence of whites, as a part of self-determination. He argued for a Black Consciousness psychological liberation through a positive imagery of blackness as a form of mental emancipation[53]. However, Gqola (2001) points out that black women were largely excluded, and the male focus of the movement considered gender issues irrelevant. Black Power also impacted upon SASO with a symposium on 'Black is Beautiful' organised by Biko as part of the First General Students Council (GSC) conference in July 1970 (Rabaka, 2020). Bhabha (1986) recorded that in the early 1970s, Biko circulated Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963),[54] and that SASO and Biko were also conversant with the Black Panther movement. As chair of SASO publications, Biko was the main publicist of black consciousness. In 1972 he was involved in founding the *Black People's Convention* (BPC) to promote Black Consciousness among the wider population and referred to 'blacks' as those by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society, which included South African coloureds and Indians. Biko died after being arrested, imprisoned and beaten to death in 1977 by state security officers. His writings were published posthumously, as *I Write What I Like: Selected*

Africans or other people; 5. A powerful imperative from historical sources to revise the collective text of African people.'

[52] Du Bois also worked into the 1960s developing the 'Encyclopaedia Africana' together with Carter G Woodson (see Fenderson, 2010).

[53] Also see Burden-Stelly and Horne (2020), MacQueen (2020).

[54] Grove Press.

Writings by Steve Biko (1978). Deputy President Mbeki's speech in May 1996, 'I am an African', with his focus on an African Renaissance, was an attempt to reignite the spirit of Pan-Africanism (Cossa, 2009)[55] by uniting a post-apartheid South Africa with an African vision and connection with the African continent, and embodying "continental Africa's struggle for the African personality" (Edozie, 2012, p. 287) with the idea of Africans defining themselves.

Women and Pan-Africanism

There has been a challenge to the writing of the history of Pan-Africanism itself. The marginalisation and silencing of women in historical narratives of Pan-Africanism[56] was addressed, with Hudson-Weems[57] developing African Womanism, with the rising recognition of women's roles (Asante, 2020, p. 149). Boyce-Davies (2014, p. 1) emphasises the "dynamic conjuncture between feminism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the early to mid-20th century" and writes that "an accurate historical record must include women like Mable Dove Danquah, Adelaide Caseley-Hayford, Bibi Titi Mohamed, Funmilayo Ransome Kuti, Gambo Sawaba, Muthoni Likimani, Thenjiwe Mtintso, Djamila Bouhired, Charlotte Maxeke, Albertina Sisulu, and the other uncounted numbers of women, who mobilised for Africa's liberation" (p. 4)[58]. African feminism in itself is complex, Ossome (2020) writes, with its own internal tensions regarding positionality, praxis, political and philosophical vantage points and urban/rural/class concerns but might be considered as a vantage point—" an ideological commitment to understanding the world (history) of women from a political and philosophical position that is counter-hegemonic and grounded in African realities and that is sympathetic to subaltern, enslaved, colonised voices" (p. 167) (See Chap. 4). Its main aim is to centre "African women as protagonists of their actual lived realities" (p. 167).

[55] Also see Oloruntoba and Falola (2020).

[56] In following this research, for example, we came across, in Legum's (1965) history mention of his wife (unnamed) as helping revise the manuscript and in writing a chapter in the book on 'Africa's Divided workers'.

[57] See Hudson-Weems (1997).

[58] Also see Abbas and Mama (2014), Farmer (2020). Other names mentioned of women who were active in Pan-Africanism include Audley Moore (see Blain, 2020) who was leader of the *Universal Association of Ethiopian Women*, and Dara Abubakari (Blain, 2020; Farmer, 2016; Martin, 2020).

Among these calls is a rise also in addressing LGBTQI+ issues in relation to Pan-Africanism, asking how can African feminism, to quote Dhawan (2014) "be taken beyond [its heteropatriarchal] confines … and be made to work for [its] 'Other'?" (quoted in Ossome, 2020, p. 165), the undoing of 'deeply rooted neocolonial links and the querying of the hegemonic order of heterosexuality in Africa in relation to the imposition of Western-originated ontologies onto African contexts (Monro et al., 2020).

Pan-Africanism and Psychology

An African-centred psychology was also called for, with the formation of the Association of Black Psychologists (ABP) in 1968 by a group of young African psychologists (Seedat, 1998; Pickren, 2009).[59] The concept of the 'Maafa'[60] emerged, a Swahili term apparently originating from 1994 (Fairchild & Heather 2018) referring to the 'Great Disaster' and history of ongoing effects and atrocities inflicted on African people through Arabic and Atlantic slave trades, colonialism and continuing forms of oppression (Van den Boogaard, 2017), in relation to the 400 years suffered of African enslavement degradation and dehumanisation, and generally applied to African American legacies of trauma inherited from enslaved and oppressed ancestors (Hicks, 2015). There has also been a call within international law for reparations for the Maafa[61], comprising transatlantic slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism arguing the trans-Atlantic slave trade as a crime against humanity (Wittmann, 2016). This extends to an investigation of the psychological harm via a multigenerational legacy of slavery in relation to a 'Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome[62] (DeGruy, 2017). As Windbush (2005: v) points out, reparations have a long history in the US, starting with the example that, from 1865 to 1920, the US government attempted to compensate its newly released 3 million enslaved Africans from bondage (see Chap. 7).

[59] For more on an Africa-centred psychology see Azibo (2014), Kessi (2019), Oppong (2016), Hayes and Hook (2016), Washington (2010), Hotep (2008); Adi (2018)

[60] Also called the 'African Holocaust'.

[61] Also known as Maangamizi/African holocaust.

[62] Also called Post traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and the Post Slavery Stress Syndrome Challenge (Washington, 2010).

Pan-Africanism and the African Union

The *African Union* (AU), as a successor to the OAU (*Organisation for African Unity*) was launched in 2002 in Durban, South Africa. There have been ongoing criticisms and debates concerning the African Union's efforts at peace-keeping, governance, and applications of Pan-Africanist ideals, but the AU has grown from 32 signatory governments as the OAU to currently 55 member states on the African continent (see Schalk, 2005; Edozie, 2012; Murithi, 2012; Matlosa, 2014; Marzouk, 2017; Madhi, 2018)[63]. In 1976, the AU was divided into six global zones within the African continent. Edozie (2012) describes how, in 2006, the Constitutive Act expanded its vision to achieve a united African supra-state to a sixth zone, which would be located outside the bounds of continental Africa—in the African Diaspora (269)—and thus argues that the African Union "is reinventing the idea of 'Africa' while reconstructing the African identity and at least positioning it as a shared continental and unified global political entity" (pp. 269–270). The AU Commission also has an institutional body, the *Citizens and Diaspora Directorate* (CIDO), which holds annual consultative forums with African-descendant communities in the US, the Caribbean, South America and the Middle East through Regional Consultative conferences for Diaspora participants to engage an agenda for the integration and development of Africa (Edozie, 2012). According to Edozie, the inclusion of diasporic voices, bearing in mind that there are "political and epistemological discourse differences" within Pan-Africanism[64] (Edozie, 2012, p. 289), enables the complexity and heterogeneity of Diasporic voices to be heard, rather than essentialising Pan-African identity, bringing value to cultural policies rather than a rigid form of 'sovereign politics'. Edozie thus concludes that the Pan-Africanist unity vision is alive and well in the present (2012)[65].

Furthermore, the *African Union 2063 Agenda*, instigated in 2013 (ratified at the AU summit January 2015) has plans for a future strategy for all Africa over 50 years as the basis for long-term economic and social transformation and integration for the African continent. In line with the

[63] A 2007 summit in Accra, Ghana resulted in the creation of a Union government towards a 'United States of Africa'. (Powell & Tieku, 2005; Adi, 2018)

[64] For example, Gilroy's double consciousness in Black Atlantic argues against Asante's African-centred form of Pan-Africanism as too purist, essentialist and racist for African heritage communities.

[65] Currently, in 2020, South Africa, under Ramaphosa, is Chair of the African Union.

Pan-Africanist vision of Aspiration 2 of Agenda 2063, envisioning "an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance" the African Union 2063 Flagship Project, 'The African Passport and Free Movement of People' aims at a Visa-free Africa, "[to] achieve those aspirations of Africans seeing themselves as one people united under the ideals of Pan-Africanism", aims to "bring down borders with the view to promoting the issuance of visas by Member states to enhance free movement of all African citizens in all African countries."[66] One of the listed expected key benefits is "Promoting Pan-African identity, social integration and tourism."

As will become evident through the chapters of this book, Pan-African ideas and concepts are very much alive in contemporary debates and movements around social justice and decoloniality. Recently in South Africa, there have been significant shifts towards decoloniality, particularly of education, brought to the fore by student protests around the world, instigated through the #RhodesMustFall and ensuing #FeesMustFall protests (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Griffiths, 2019; Murris, 2016; Naicker, 2016; Pillay, 2016; Ndlovu, 2017; Bosch, 2016; Chaudhuri, 2016) alongside calls to address curricula content to be more 'African' (Mbembe, 2016; Becker, 2016; Muswede, 2017; Fomunyam, 2017; Xaba, 2017; Duku & Salami, 2017; Mampane et al., 2018; Mahabeer, 2018; Sathorar & Geduld, 2018; Shefer, 2019) (See Chap. 5). In 2020, the Black Lives Matter movement[67] came to the fore in response to the death of George Floyd, with activists chanting 'Black Power' and calling attention to the devaluation of black lives not only in the United States but all over the world (Blain, 2020, p. 1). Despite the variety, multivocality, and complexity of Pan-African theories, modalities and enactments, questions of black identity, unity, and self-determination remain at the centre of contemporary social movements for social justice. The long past and short history of Pan-Africanism, its synergies, and contradictions offer much food for thought and a rich diversity of ideas and possibilities for the continued struggle against the remnants of coloniality in contemporary life.

[66] African Union Agenda 2063 online site.
[67] Originally launched in 2013 (Blain, 2020).

References

Abbas, H., & Mama, A. (2014). Editorial: Feminism and pan-Africanism. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 1–6.

Ackah, W. (2020). The politics of Pan-Africanism. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 48–57). Routledge.

Adeleke, T. (1998). Black Americans and Africa: A critique of the Pan-African and identity paradigms. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 31*(3), 505. https://doi.org/10.2307/221474

Adi, H. (2018). *Pan-Africanism: A history*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Adi, H., & Sherwood, M. (2003). *Pan-African history: Political figures from Africa and the diaspora since 1787*. Routledge.

Adler, K. S. (1992). "Always leading our men in service and sacrifice": Amy Jacques Garvey, feminist Black nationalist. *Gender and Society, 6*(3), 346–375.

Alridge, D. P. (2007). Of victorianism, civilizationism, and progressivism: The educational ideas of Anna Julia Cooper and W.E.B. Du Bois, 1892–1940. *History of Education Quarterly, 47*(4), 416–446. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5959.2007.00108.x

Appiah, K. A. (2006). Pan-Africanism. In *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers*. Oxford University Press.

Appiah, K. A. (1999). Pan-Africanims. In *Africana: The encyclopedia of the African and African-American experience* (pp. 1484–1486). Basic Civitas Books.

Araia, G. (2020). *The historical and ideological foundations of pan-Africanism*. Re-emergence of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century: Implications for empowerments of Black educators and students in the African diaspora.

Asante, M. K. (1993). *Malcolm X as cultural hero & other Afrocentric essays*. African World Press, Inc.

———. (2013). Afrocentricity: Toward a new understanding of African thought in the world. In *The global intercultural communication reader* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

———. (2020). Afrocentricity. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 147–158). Routledge.

Azibo, D. A. y. (2014). Teaching the Mulatto hypothesis to combat African-U.S. Colorism: Just knowing can cure. *Race, Gender & Class, 21*(3/4), 88–100. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43496986

Becker, H. (2016). South Africa's May 1968: Decolonising institutions and minds. *Review of African Political Economy*, University of the Western Cape Research Repository. http://roape.net/2016/02/17/southafricas-may-1968-decolonising-institutions-and-minds/

Bellegarde-Smith, P. D. (1981). Dantes Bellegarde and Pan-Africanism. *Phylon (1960–), 42*(3), 233. https://doi.org/10.2307/274920

Benedikter, R., & Tsedze, W. M. (2019). *Towards a new pan-Africanism? A brief introduction*. Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, Germany, 19. https://doc-research.org/2019/04/towards-a-new-pan-africanism-a-brief-introduction/

Bhabha, H. K. (1986). *Remembering Fanon*. Foreword to Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Masks. London: Pluto Press.

Blain, K. N. (2020). *Civil rights international: The fight against racism has always been global*. Report for Foreign Affairs. September–October 2020, Vol. 99, Issue 5. Publisher: Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

Bosch, T. (2016). Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall. *Information Communication and Society, 20*, 13.

Boyce-Davies, C. (2014). Pan-Africanism, transnational black feminism and the limits of culturalist analyses in African gender discourses. *Feminist Africa: Pan-Africanism and Feminism, 19*, 78–93.

Burden-Stelly, C., & Horne, G. (2020). From Pan-Africanism to Black Internationalism. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (1st ed., pp. 69–86). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429020193-4

Chaudhuri, A. (2016). The real meaning of Rhodes must fall. *The Guardian*.

Cossa, J. A. (2009). African renaissance and globalization: A conceptual analysis. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 36*(1). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8k7472tg

De Walt, P. S. (2013). Discourse on African American/Black identity: Engaging the expanded nigrescence theory with a diasporic consciousness. *SpringerPlus, 2*(1), 233. https://doi.org/10.1186/2193-1801-2-233

DeGruy, J. (2017). *PostTraumatic slave syndrome: America's legacy of enduring injury & healing*. Joy Degruy Publications.

Dhawan, N. (Ed.). (2014). *Affirmative Sabotage of the master's tools: The paradox of postcolonial enlightenment, in: Decolonizing enlightenment: Transnational justice, human rights and democracy in a postcolonial world*. Barbara Budrich Publishers.

Diagne, S. B. (2018). *Négritude (Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy).pdf*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

Du Bois, W. E. (1947). *The world and Africa*. Viking Press.

DuBois, W. E. B. (1991) [1903]. *The souls of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois* (H. L. Gates & T. H. Oliver, Eds.). W.W. Norton & Company Ltd.

Duku, N., & Salami, I. A. (2017). The relevance of the school governance body to the effective decolonisation of education in South Africa. *Perspectives in Education, 35*(2). https://doi.org/10.18820/2519593X/pie.v35i2.9

Edozie, R. K. (2012). The sixth zone: The African diaspora and the African union's global era Pan Africanism. *Journal of African American Studies, 16*(2), 268–299. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-011-9202-1

Ekpo, D. (2010). From negritude to Post-Africanism. *Third Text, 24*(2), 177–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/09528821003722108

Emerson, R. (1962). Pan-africanism. *International Organisation, 16*(2), 275–290.

Eze, M. O. (2013). Pan Africanism: A brief intellectual history: Pan Africanism: A brief intellectual history. *History Compass, 11*(9), 663–674. https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12074

Fairchild, H. H., & Fairchild, H. F. (2018). *Social psychology and world peace: A primer*. Indo American Books.

Fanning, S. C. (2007). The roots of early black nationalism: Northern African Americans' Invocations of Haiti in the early nineteenth century. *Slavery & Abolition, 28*(1), 61–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/01440390701269780

Farmer, A. D. (2016). Mothers of Pan-Africanism. *Women, Gender, and Families of Color*, *4*(2 Fall), 274–295. A. Moore & D. Abubakari (ed.), University of Illinois Press.

Farmer, Ashley D. (2020). Mothers of Pan-Africanism: Audley Moore and Dara Abubakari Women, Gender, and Families of Color , Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 274–295. University of Illinois Press.

Fenderson, J. (2010). Evolving conceptions of scholarship: W.E.B DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, and the "Encyclopedia Africana," 1909–1963. *The Journal of African American History, 95*(1), 71–91. https://doi.org/10.5323/jafriamerhist.95.1.0071

Fergus, C. (2010). On Garvey: From prophecy to policy: Marcus Garvey and the evolution of Pan-African citizenship. *The Global South, 4*(2 Fall), 29–48, Special Issue: The Caribbean and Globalization. Indiana University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/globalsouth.4.2.29

Fomunyam, D. K. G. (2017). Decolonising the Engineering curriculum in a South African University of Technology. *International Journal of Applied Engineering Research, 12*(17), 9.

Fosu, A. K. (1999). An economic theory of Pan-Africanism: NEA presidential address. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, vol. 27, issue 2, 7–12.

Garraway. (2010). "What is mine": Césairean Negritude between the particular and the Universal. *Research in African Literatures, 41*(1), 71. https://doi.org/10.2979/ral.2010.41.1.71

Geiss, I. (1967). Notes on the development of Pan-Africanism. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 3*(4), 719–740.

———. (1969, January). Pan-Africanism. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(1), 187–200.

Getachew, A. (2019). *Worldmaking after Empire: The rise and fall of self-determination*. Princeton University Press.

Giles, M. S. (2006). Special focus: Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, 1858–1964: Teacher, scholar, and timeless womanist. *Journal of Negro Education, 75*(4), 621–634.

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic*. Verso.

Gqola, P. D. (2001). Contradictory locations: Black women and the discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa. *Meridians, 2*(1), 130–152. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40338805

Griffiths, D. (2019). #FeesMustFall and the decolonised university in South Africa_ Tensions and opportunities in a globalising world. *International Journal of Educational Research, 94*, 7.

Grilli, M. (2020). Pan-Africanism in West Africa. In R. Rabaka & K. Nkrumah (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 289–302). Routledge.

Hayes, G., & Hook, D. (2016). Sobukwe, psychology, and politics. *Psychology in Society, 50*, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.17159/2309-8708/2016/n50a1

Hicks, S. R. (2015). *A critical analysis of post traumatic slave syndrome: A multi-generational legacy of slavery*. Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the California Institute of Integral Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Psychology in Clinical Psychology. California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, CA

Hotep, U. (2008, July). Intellectual maroons: Architects of African sovereignty. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 2*(5), 13.

Hudson-Weems, C. (1997). Africana womanism and the critical need for Africana theory and thought. *The Western Journal of Black Studies, 21*(2), 79–84.

Ijere, M. O. (1974). W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey as Pan-Africanists: A study in contrast. Présence Africaine, 1er Trimestre1974, Nouvelle série, No. 89, pp. 188–206. Pub: Présence Africaine Stable. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24349712

Irele, A. (1965, October). Négritude or Black cultural nationalism. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 3*(3), 321–348. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00006157

Kasanda, A. (2016, May). Exploring Pan-Africanism's theories: From race-based solidarity to political unity and beyond. *Journal of African Cultural Studies, 28*(2), 179–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2016.1158093

Kessi, S. (2019). Towards a decolonial psychology: Defining and confining symbols of the past. *Museum International, 71*(1–2), 80–87.

Killingray, D. (2012). Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African organisations and the emergence of South Africa's First Black lawyers. *South African Historical Journal, 64*(3), 393–417. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2012.675810

Kwame Nkrumah, (1978). 'Consciencism: Philosophy and ideology of decolonisation' (originally published 1964 by New York: Monthly Review Press).

Langley, J. A. (1969). Pan-Africanism in Paris, 1924–1936. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 7*(1), 69–94. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00018024

———. (1973). *Pan-Africanism and nationalism in West Africa, 1900–1945: A study in ideology and social classes*. Oxford University Press.

Le Baron, B. (1966). Negritude: A Pan-African ideal? *Ethics, 76*(4), 267–276.

Legum, C. (1965). *Pan-Africanism: A short political guide*. F A Praeger.
Lumumba-Kasongo, T. (2003). Can a 'Realist Pan-Africanism' Be a relevant tool toward the transformation of African and African diaspora politics? Imagining a Pan-African State. *African Journal of International Affairs, 6*(1–2), 87–121. https://doi.org/10.4314/ajia.v6i1-2.57209
M'bayo, T. E. (2004). W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africanism in Liberia, 1919–1924. *SPRING, 66*(1), 27. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24452700
MacQueen, I. (2020). Black consciousness. In *Routledge Handbook of Pani-Africanism* (pp. 136–146). Routledge.
MacRae, D. G. (1966). Nkrumahism: Past and future of an ideology. *Government and Opposition, 1*(4), 535–546. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.1966.tb00390.x
Madhi, M. (2018). The failure of Pan-Africanism: A critical analysis of the AU's collective withdrawal strategy. http://hdl.handle.net/2263/72779
Mahabeer, P. (2018). Curriculum decision-makers on decolonising the teacher education curriculum. *South African Journal of Education, 38*(4), 13.
Malisa, M., & Missedja, T. Q. (2020). The origins and evolution of Pan-Africanism*. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (1st ed., pp. 35–47). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429020193-1
Mampane, R. M., Omidire, M. F., & Aluko, F. R. (2018). Decolonising higher education in Africa: Arriving at a glocal solution. *South African Journal of Education, 38*(4), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.15700/saje.v38n4a1636
Martin, W. G. (2020). A Future with a past: Resurrecting the study of Africa in the Post-Africanist era. *Africa Today*, 19.
Marzouk, B. R. A. (2017). African union agenda 2063, dimensions, goals, the ideological framework and strategies. مجلة العلوم الإنسانية, 5. https://doi.org/10.35395/1728-000-008-040
Matlosa, K. (2014). Pan-Africanism, the African peer review mechanism and the African charter on democracy, elections and governance: What does the future hold? *SAIIA*, 33.
Matthews, M. D. (1979). "Our women and what they think," Amy Jacques Garvey and *the Negro World*. *The Black Scholar, 10*(8–9), 2–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1979.11644171
Mbembe, A. J. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 15*(1), 29–45.
Mboukou, A. (1983). The Pan African movement, 1900–1945: A study in leadership conflicts among the disciples of Pan Africanism. *Journal of Black Studies, 13*(3), 275–288.
Monro, S., Matebeni, Z., & Reddy, V. (2020). LGBTQI+ people in Africa. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (1st ed., pp. 171–184). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429020193-12

Mphahlele, E. (1963, June 8). Negritude—A phase. *The New African*.
Murithi, T. (2012). Briefing: The African union at ten: An APPRAISAL. *African Affairs, 111*(445), 662–669. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ads058
Murris, K. (2016). #Rhodes must fall: A posthumanist orientation to decolonising higher education institutions. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 30*(3), 21.
Muswede, T. (2017). Colonial legacies and the decolonisation discourse in post-apartheid South Africa. African Journal of Public Affairs, volume 9, number 5, 200–210.
Naicker, C. (2016). From Marikana to #feesmustfall: The praxis of popular politics in South Africa. *Urbanisation, 1*(1), 53–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/2455747116640434
Nantambu, K. (1998, May). Pan-Africanism versus Pan-African nationalism: An afrocentric analysis. *Journal of Black Studies, 28*(5), 561–574. Published by: Sage Publications, Inc. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2784794
Nardal, J., 2002, "Black internationalism", in T. D. Sharpley-Whiting, Negritude women. : University of Minnesota Press, 105–107.
Nardal, P., & Sharpley-Whiting, T. D. (2009). *Beyond negritude: Essays from Woman in the city*. SUNY Press.
Ndlovu, M. (2017). Fees must fall: A nuanced observation of the University of Cape Town, 2015–2016. *Agenda, 31*, 12.
Nkrumah, K. (1978). *Consciencism: Philosophy and ideology of decolonisation* (originally published 1964 By New York: Monthly Review Press).
———. (2016). *Rhodes must fall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa*. Langaa Reseach and Publishing Common Initiative Group.
Ogbar, J. O. G. (2020). Black nationalism. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 89–100). Routledge.
Oloruntoba, S. O., & Falola, T. (Eds.). (2020). *The Palgrave handbook of African political economy*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38922-2
Oppong, S. (2016). The journey towards Africanising psychology in Ghana. *Psychological Thought, 9*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.5964/psyct.v9i1.128
Ossome, L. (2020). Africana feminism. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism*. Routledge.
Parker, J., & Rathbone, R. (2007). *African history: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
Pickren, W. E. (2009). Liberating history: The context of the challenge of psychologists of color to American psychology. *Cultural Diversity And Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*(4), 425–433. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017561
Pillay, S. R. (2016). Silence is violence: (Critical) psychology in an era of Rhodes must fall and fees must fall. *South African Journal of Psychology, 46*(2), 155–159. https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246316636766

Poe, D. Z. (2003). *Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afrocentric analysis*. Routledge.
Powell, K., & Tieku, T. K. (2005). The African Union's new security agenda: Is Africa closer to a Pax Pan-Africana? *International Journal, 60*(4, Autumn), 937–952. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40204092
Rabaka, R. (2020). *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism*. Routledge. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780429020193
Ratcliff, A. J. (2020). … Black People, come in, wherever you are…: Pan-Africanism and Black internationalism in the Black arts movement. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 433–449). Routledge.
Reddock, R. (2014). The first Mrs Garvey: Pan-Africanism and feminism in the early 20th century British colonial Caribbean. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 58–77.
Sathorar, H., & Geduld, D. (2018). Towards decolonising teacher education: Reimagining the relationship between theory and praxis. *South African Journal of Education, 38*(4), 12.
Schalk, B. (2005). Successes and failures of the organisation of African unity: Lessons for the future of the African union. *Journal of. Public Administration, 40*(3.2), 496–511.
Seedat, M. (1998, June). A characterisation of South African psychology (1948–1988): The impact of exclusionary ideology. *South African Journal of Psychology, 28*(2), 74–85.
Sekyi-Otu, A. (1996). *Fanon's dialectic of experience*. Harvard University Press.
Senghor, L. S. (1964). *On African socialism* (M. Cook, Trans.). Pall Mall Press.
———. (1974, January–June). Negritude. *Indian Literature., 17*(1/2), 269–273.
Sharpley-Whiting, T. D. (2000). Femme negritude. *Souls, 2*(Fall), 8–17.
Shefer, T. (2019). Activist performance and performative activism towards intersectional gender and sexual justice in contemporary South Africa. *International Sociology, 34*(4), 418–434. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580919851430
Shepperson, G. (1962). Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some historical notes. *Phylon (1960-), 23*(4), 346. https://doi.org/10.2307/274158
Sherwood, M. (2012). Pan-African conferences, 1900–1953: What did 'Pan-Africanism' mean? *The Journal of Pan-African Studies, 4*, 21.
Ta'a, T. (2014). Pan-Africanism: A historiographical analsyis. *EJSSLS, 1*(1), 63–77.
Tomaselli, K. G. (2003). Dialectical intellectuals, essentialism and the african renaissance. *Journal of Cultural Studies, 5*(1), 1–34.
Turner, J. E. (1977). Historical dialectics of Black nationalist movements in America. *Western Journal of Black Studies, 1*(3), 164–183.
Van den Boogaard, V. (2017). Modern post-colonial approaches to citizenship: Kwame Nkrumah's political thought on Pan-Africanism. *Citizenship Studies, 21*(1), 44–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2016.1213223
Vincent, R. (2020). Pan-Africanism in Funk. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 476–489). Routledge.

Washington, K. (Mwata Kairi). (2010, June). Zulu traditional healing, Afrikan worldview and the practice of Ubuntu: Deep thought for Afrikan/Black psychology. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 3*(8), 19.

Windbush, R. A. (2005, January). Reparations for Africans: A brief overview of their history. In: *Reparations: Repairing the psychological harm?* (pp. iv–ix). Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs, Public Interest Directorate, American Psychological Association.

Wittmann, N. (2016). Reparations—Legally justified and sine qua non for global justice, peace and security. *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric, 9*(2). https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.9.2.118

Xaba, W. (2017). Challenging Fanon: A Black radical feminist perspective on violence and the Fees must fall movement. *Agenda, 31*, 96–104.

Young, K. B. (2011). Untrapping the soul of Fanon: Culture, consciousness and the future of Pan-Africanism. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 4*, 25.

CHAPTER 3

National Identity, Xenophobic Violence and Pan-African Psychology

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity", a line taken from the preamble of the Constitution of South Africa represents a poignant example of a nation's policies of belonging and rights to national identity claims. Such attempts at the creation of a (supra-)national identity can be compared to the founding of the European Union and the United States of America, which represent attempts at the unification of smaller units of multiple, heterogeneous, and even antagonistic identities. Pan-Africanism, as a thought and ideal of unity, spurred diaspora and continental freedom movements as the answer to anti-colonialism, de-colonialism and a re-Africanisation of the shared experience of indigenous people globally. Amidst the voices advocating for unity, as well as voices of resistance, narratives are being told of boundaries, friends and foes, insiders and outsiders, rights to claims and foreign 'others' outside the boundaries of such claims. The dynamics at hand here include the shifting boundaries characterising a place and time in which people, groups, communities and nations find themselves moving closer together or protecting the spaces of self. This chapter will investigate the acquiring, internalising and embodying of an imagined unified future with its consequences for collective black solidarity and nationalist struggles and how this is grounded in the legacy of forced nation-building processes, that in turn influence today's climate of rising xenophobic violence.

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_3

The foreign 'other', be they immigrants in South Africa, refugees in Europe or young black persons in the US, has been and is a human challenge everywhere, since human movement is not only regulated but policed. A contradiction underlying the challenge is that xenophobia—a strong prejudice against the foreign 'other'—is often politically denied and socially enforced. What appears univocally condemnable in the public sphere seems to become the material of nightmarish fears in the hidden private corners of the mind at night. The foreign 'other' can become imagined as the 'capable diligent expatriate', or the 'needy hungry and poor immigrant' looking for opportunities. It is often the 'illegal' foreign 'other' that constitutes a social pollutant that needs to be feared for criminality and corruption. While there are meaningful differences in the content, context and political positioning of such images of 'social pollution', everywhere in the world such narratives entrench a perception of insiders and outsiders by justifying the exclusion of foreign 'others'. The construction of such boundaries—socially, symbolically and geographically—lie at the heart of any enquiry on national identity and xenophobia, since they provide the conceptual framework for classifying and ordering social life and giving it a coherent shape or meaning (Durkheim et al., 1963). Insiders and outsiders become delegates for those similar and those different to 'us' and loaded with boundary-defining markers underlying conflicts of identity.

In the European Union, founded to end the frequent and bloody wars between neighbours, the redrawing of boundaries led to reinforcing a sentiment of an imperial powerful insider and a needy and poor outsider. Most recently the Syrian war refugee crisis evoked strong fears in Europe and along European borders, highlighting the ongoing and growing strength of the power of national boundaries—of rightful European insiders and threatening outsiders. Anti-immigration sentiments have spurred right-wing political support across the EU. Already strong at the beginning of the influx of refugees from Syria, Le *Front National*, *United Russia*, *Jobbik Hungary*, and *Golden Dawn* are some of the nationalist parties enjoying increasing popularity in Europe, and more recently the *AfD* in Germany. Voices once considered unpopular and offensive remnants of the continent's troubled past are heard and seen in events like the Charlie Hebdo shooting and decades-long building up of tension between native Europeans and immigrants. This has created a land mine of immigration issues present on the continent today. Xenophobic violence in the US remains perpetually visible, particularly against black people, as the recent protests and violent struggles in the streets of major capitols have shown, such as the most recent protest of the police killing of Daunte

Wright, a 20-year-old black man stopped during traffic in a suburb north-east of Minneapolis on 11 April 2021, where one could hear gathered protesters chanting the known chant "hands up, don't shoot".[1]

Additionally, anti-Asian sentiment symbolically anchored in stereotypes around health concerns has become more apparent in the US and other places during the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic serves effortlessly to further deepen and entrench xenophobic sentiments (Huang & Liu, 2020). For example, in the US, early health related anti-Chinese sentiments arose with the arrival of large numbers of Chinese migrants as cheap labour in the 1800s, who were labelled as carriers of "filth and disease". At the outset of the coronavirus pandemic, Walter Russell Mead on 3 February 2020 published an article named "China Is the Real Sick Man of Asia" in the *Wall Street Journal*,[2] generating a surge of condemnation from the Chinese government as well as from people of Asian descent. The article was criticised for alluding to the fall of the Qing Dynasty in the early 1900s ("The fall of the sick man"), a derogatory reference describing the humiliation of a nation besieged by internal strife and external forces. The same article claims that government leaders and senior officials in some instances have directly or indirectly encouraged hate crimes, racism, or xenophobia by using anti-Chinese rhetoric.

During 2020 in South Africa, despite the government's launch of the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (NAP) in 2019, incidents of xenophobic violence and discrimination against non-nationals continue to persist. Law enforcement officials often respond with indifference or provide inadequate remedies to xenophobic attacks. This as well as other resurgences in xenophobic attacks, such as the March 2019 xenophobic riots around Durban, or the September riots in Johannesburg that same year has spurred questions around the continuing influence of inequality, brutal oppression, coloniality of attitudes and emotions in relation to identity and belonging. A common derogatory slang thrown at foreigners is the label 'kwerekwere' (meaning 'foreigner'). Such examples show how racialised representations become instrumental in singling out what is

[1] The *New York Times* ran a story about the incidents in an article called *Protesters Clash With Police After Minnesota Officer Shoots Black Man* see: https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/11/us/brooklyn-center-minnesota-police-shooting.html

[2] Mead W.R. "China Is the Real Sick Man of Asia." Wall Street Journal. February 3, 2020 https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-is-the-real-sick-man-of-asia-11580773677

understood as foreign and besetting it with xenophobic content. Ways of understanding struggles related to independence movements in South Africa have become interrelated to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. This chapter will engage with historical entanglements in relation to a contextualised psychosocial reading of national identity and argues for the need for a Pan-African opening of discourse and methodology in order to overcome narrow and racialised identity-exclusive dynamics as well as fostering a pathway towards new meaning-evocative ideas of shared spatial existence. While such forces are at play around the globe, this chapter will more closely scrutinise South Africa's current situation.

National Identity and the Creation of African Nation-States

The systematic colonisation of Africa by European powers began around 1880, punctuated by the Berlin Conference of 1884 that legalised and regularised the contemporary scramble for African soil (Brunschwig, 1971). During the following decade (1891–1901), the partition on the ground took place using negotiations with local rulers and the technological superiority of modern weaponry. The subsequent period between 1900 and roughly the end of World War I when most of the initial resistance movements had been subdued has been characterised as the key moment in African colonial state-formation (Reid, 2009). The remnants of this period are neatly summed up in Nyamnjoh's (2016) words:

> no decolonisation would be radical enough without the decolonisation of the bodies and minds of those seeking decolonisation. What manner of decolonisation is appropriate for a black person whose self-esteem has been crushed by an obsessive and excruciating desire to whiten-up as the ultimate indicator of achievement and social visibility—an ambition which is masked ad infinitum by a rich repertoire of diversions and rationalisations clothed in the language of freedoms? (p. 65)

For the majority of the continent, the colonial era lasted until about 1960 when most of the British, French and Belgian colonies were released into independence. Firstly Egypt (de jure 1922, de facto 1952) and Sudan (1956) in Northern Africa, then Ghana's independence in 1957 and the 1958 All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra provided arguably the greatest impulse for further decolonisation across the continent (Asante &

Chanaiwa, 1993).[3] The Portuguese possessions (1975) and white settler colonies in Southern Africa ensued until 1990 when Namibia gained independence from South Africa, which held its first free elections in the same year that Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia (1994).

It is undeniable that the relatively short duration of Africa's colonial period had an enormous impact on the political, social, economic, linguistic, religious and cultural character of most of the continent and its people. As Young (1994) states in a succinct and much-quoted trope: "The colonial state in Africa lasted in most instances less than a century—a mere moment in historical time. Yet it totally reordered political space, social hierarchies and cleavages, and modes of economic production" (pp. 9–10). More so, the question of the psychological implications on identity construction and perception from the colonial period as well as the pursuant decolonisation period arises. This entails collective aspirations to self-activation grounded in colonial African states, and acquiring, internalising and embodying an imagined future liberated from a civilising mission with its consequences for collective solidarity and nationalist struggles. This social climate of excitement and enthusiasm offered fertile ground for Pan-Africanist ideals, which today become increasingly challenged in a climate of rising xenophobic violence. The singular contention in the rich, hybrid and heterogeneous African context, with its unique state of imposed nationalist projects through colonialism, Christianisation and modernisation makes it an important example of how people can learn to see, or fail to see, each other as fellow human beings in spite of cultural and physical differences, painful histories, and deeply ingrained feelings of suspicion, resentment, and fear (Nyamnjoh, 2016).

One important point investigated in more detail during the following pages will be the questions of belonging, of insiders and outsiders in the territorial-national localisation of identity and how the symbolism that emanates from this localisation contests collective Pan-African representations of a shared and united future. Too little light has been shed on the psychological dynamics at work in the deepening of intergroup tension and xenophobic violence on the rise not only in the African context but

[3] Sam Nujoma, first President of Namibia, said that "Ghana's fight for freedom inspired and influenced us all, and the greatest contribution to our political awareness at that time came from the achievements of Ghana after its independence. It was from Ghana that we got the idea that we must do more than just petition the UN to bring about our own independence", quoted in Bines, A (2008) "The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in Retrospect", *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 2*(3), 129–159, p. 132.

also the diaspora and the world over. While using South Africa's grappling with xenophobic sentiments as an example, the chapter aims at arriving at advancing the need for a renewed sentiment of unity which as Nyamnjoh (2016) accurately describes in an era of division, zero-sum games of legitimacy and belonging, and degenerating intergroup relations in many parts of the world, that humanity is indeed one—and that we have both the duty and the power to overcome the pains and burdens of history and build a better world together.

Many authors have contested the ways in which colonial racial and ethnic divides have fuelled postcolonial conflict (see Mamdani, 2002). The psychological dimension of naturalised divisions and how fragmented identities become spatially rooted received less attention (Landau & Misago, 2009). The latter however has important implications for ways in which rights to space become resources for ethnic or racial mobilisation. Notions of identity in relation to spaces are closely linked to the concept of nation and nation-building on the continent. The notion of 'nation' can be understood as a historically specific *political* community. A 'community of commonality' Guibernau (1996) defined as: "a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself" (p. 47). Harris (2009) emphasises that the affective quality of a nation: "is in the emotional investment that it can extract from its members and in the solidarity it can inspire" (p. 6). Awareness, territory, history and culture, language and religion all become beset with an affective quality creating a subjective consciousness of these objective factors by the collective that constitutes the nation. Such formations are necessarily discursive and representational and need to be recognised by both members and outsiders. An emotionally charged community creates self-identity through a belief in a common culture, origin and territory therefore claiming self-determination. Homi Bhabha (1994) elegantly describes that nations "like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye" (p. 306).

Whether through state-ness, ethnicity or naturalness, any imagined, mystified and objectified 'group of people' will create a common sense of identity and community. Notwithstanding the artificiality or arbitrariness of its beginning, any group bound together by administrative purposes can acquire meaning, meaning wherein even oppressed, enslaved groups of people can grow to identify with the political territory that creates a

national community and cultural identity. However, individuals and communities with marginalised identities are less able to participate in imagining the national community (Howarth et al., 2014). Immigrants, the poor, or people of diverse genders and sexual orientations are often considered outside of the typical idea of a national identity. Such identity markers can substantiate inferiority or superiority statuses existing in a figure-ground like construction, meaning one cannot exist without the other, and only then might such markers become resisted. It is within such resistance that the bedrock of the creation of Pan-Africanist movements is located, as detailed in Chap. 2. Paradoxically, identity has been defined as 'unitary or multiple', 'real or constructed', 'stable or fluid', 'personal or social', and in many other ways that often seem to contradict each other (Vignoles et al., 2011). Yet, marginalisation occurs in the delineation of what fits within and outside of a category of belonging in a seemingly unambiguous way. Social identity theory can help to illuminate such contradictions, since social identities are influential when individuals consider membership in a particular group to be central to their self-concept and they feel strong emotional ties to the group.

The first process in social identity theory, namely *self-categorization,* developed by Turner (1978) proposes that, to belong to a group a distinction needs to be created between *Us versus Them*. Social identity can only be manufactured in the existence of groups; therefore, this is the first fundamental process; national identity cannot exist without nations. The second step in the process is *social comparison*. In 1954 psychologist Leon Festinger proposed that humans have an innate drive to evaluate themselves, often in comparison to others. Consequently, groups too are compelled to compare themselves with other groups. Additionally, in-groups are more likely to view themselves more favorably than the out-group which corresponds with the third stage of the process. Those in the in-group tend to hold the view that their group is superior and the out-group is inferior. These attitudes can affect actions and lead to prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. The fourth process is *positive distinctiveness*, the in-group attempts to draw positive differences between their group and the out-group. However, such positive distinctiveness only becomes a meaningful subject of inquiry when the stereotype content that people and communities create become understood in a specific contextualised historical and social environment that offered the breeding ground for the birth of such exclusive and inclusive stereotype content (see Joffe, 1999; Joffe & Staerkle, 2007). For example, African foreigners in South Africa

or black people in white majority societies are typically assigned stereotypes such as: thieves, drug traders, rapists, and employment poachers (Taylor et al., 2019). As a consequence, these attitudes fuel in-group bias, prejudice and discrimination which can mobilise direct conflicts and aggressive actions against members of groups deemed *outside* and inferior. The final process is out-group homogeneity, which is the tendency of the in-group to characterize the out-group as one homogeneous group, in that the out-group lacks individuality and they are all same, they remain dogmatic in their perceptions towards the out-group and are comprehended as a collective whole. An example would be that all Zimbabweans have darker skin and they are easily distinguishable from Batswana by that particular characteristic (Mafe, 2013). This contrasts in-group heterogeneity, where perceptions of individuality are indeed acknowledged and accepted to various degrees. One can, in this example see the ease with which a sense of belonging can jump from colour to other social markers such as language, religion, region or 'culture', including class and gender.

Interestingly, as Alexander (2001) argues in the South African case, there has not been a single political formation, whether of the oppressor or of the oppressed, that has not accepted the reality and the international legality of the South African state, despite it being historically formed as a compromise state between Afrikaner nationalists, that is, Boer generals representing the so-called independent Boer republics, and the British Empire. Today, all are identifying as South Africans in a purely juridical sense in this compromise state that had historically explicitly excluded black people from the franchise. The social marker of 'race' assumed an important connotation in South Africa as 'ethnicity' (or 'tribe') had in other African countries. The obvious salience of the racial question in South Africa thus made it very different from the rest of Africa. Through segregation and apartheid ethnic and racial discrimination, the myth of thinking and identifying in so-called racial groups was created, which most people adopted yet intuitively opposed, thereby opposing the forms of oppression that resulted from these policies. However, "they necessarily fought for improvements in their conditions of life on the basis of the very social categories, which the ruling ideology had inscribed in their consciousness through the manner in which the society had been structured in order to promote the economic and social interests of the rulers" (Alexander, 2001, p. 89).

Today, the four-nations paradigm of South Africa is very much alive and continues to shape the consciousness of most South Africans. The

hallmark of the liberation movement entails a clinging to a 'non-racial' vision of the future. Such vision makes apparent the ambivalence and fluidity of the situation. While racial identities are assumed as 'natural', people mobilised to reject notions of 'race' and ethnicity, which were (and are) so obviously tied to their oppression. The highly imaginary nature of constructing a national character entails emotive factors of wanting to belong coupled with processes of differentiation from 'others'. This creates tension between drawing boundaries and bridging differences.

Pan-African unity, including black consciousness and solidarity necessarily finds itself amidst such tension. In the following, a closer look at the inscription of territoriality in the African nation-building project will be described, followed by a closer look at the ambiguity and contradictions of the South African example of negotiating new social identity complexities and territorialised and naturalised social categories while simultaneously resisting them, defending borders while mobilising to break them down and searching for a new future embedded in Pan-African sentiment of connectedness and solidarity while observing the resurgence of xenophobic violence.

The Postcolony, the Legacy of Territoriality and the Psychology of Identity and Belonging

The postcolonial state is an alien establishment on African soil. Its European origins and the burden of its colonial legacy weigh heavily on its current day struggles. Africa's political history in the immediate aftermath of independence but also in more recent times needs to be understood in terms of European nation-states as guiding principles of African governing elites. This relationship continues to inform the ambitions of the continent's state-builders and nation-builders both local and foreign to the present day. In the pre-colonial African experience control over people was much more crucial than control over territory (Kopytoff, 1989). In this sense the fixed territoriality of today's states goes counter to its historical roots. High mobility of people ensured close identification with political leaders as populations could move on to a different location if pressed. Pre-colonial Africa can therefore be understood as a 'frontier continent' (Kopytoff, 1989) whereby rule and authority lacked the focus on territoriality which has been so central to European history and state-making.

The territorial nation-state arose to become the predominant model of political organisation across the globe and originated in Western Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth century (France, Great Britain). The model is grounded in 'nation-building' policies aimed at the diffusion of a common national identity, culture, and language thereby exerting a highly emotive capacity to stir its members into action. The main driving forces behind this process are said to be compulsory education, conscription and mass (print) media, and nationalist ideas could, in such a way develop and be propagated by prophets, leaders and parties to the masses (Deutsch, 1978). Only in the twentieth century did it become the dominant model of political organisation of territories and rose to an ideal in the post-imperial post-Cold War world of the twenty-first century. Nationalist political actors and movements strived to create a common body politic, voice and location for national groups (Walzer, 1997). Since territoriality is the decisive factor that serves to conjoin nation and state, the centrality of borders to the state's ability to define their identity and exert control over its citizens is paramount (Sack, 1986). While empires possess (open, ill-defined) frontiers, nation-states possess (closed, demarcated) borders (Anderson, 1983). Colonial border-making introduced to Africa an entirely new principle of political organisation forever changing its state of affairs to the principle of the territorial nation-state (Wirz, 1999). The navigation inherent in territorially circumscribed identity markers to include ideas around openness and closedness that are mirrored in the aforementioned psychological identity dynamics of insiders and outsiders. Pan-African ideals negotiate the paradoxes of identity evident in relation to national identity in Africa, where there is an oxymoronic sense of separation within collective ideological thought suggesting *we belong within our difference*.

National identity in Africa is both intentionally (a state-bound nationalist) and unintentionally (a deep 'othering') product of colonisation, including the political, economic cleavages and social disparities across the continent. Despite such disparities, either constructed artificially or naturally, Africans in Africa and across the diaspora share a collective identity, they share the traumatic wounds inflicted on them through slavery and colonisation and experiences of racism. Importantly, within the casing of this collective identity grounded in a shared faith, group differentiation—its comparative, differentiating and outgroup homogenising tendencies—persist. While identification as proliferated by Pan-African movements defined by a shared traumatic experience is unifying in nature, identity

politics assimilate such experience into one category within which claims of 'who' can demand which parts of the experience can lead to an aggressive differentiation process.

A major contribution to national identity in Africa includes Kwame Nkrumah's iconic speech in 1963, "Africa must unite" in Addis Ababa, submitting his plea to the African heads of states that were present, that Africa should unite now, and they should leave the conference as one nation, one government, and one military. Amid liberation from colonial rule across Africa, it was evident that Africa encompassed a collective identity as Africans. A diplomatic coalition of independent Southern African Front-line States consisting of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe was formed. This grouping, originally containing the first five states mentioned, emerged in 1976 in order to crisis-manage the Rhodesia-Zimbabwean war, and was considerably strengthened when the resolution of the conflict resulted in an independent Zimbabwe becoming the sixth frontline state in 1980 (Evan, 1986). The six frontline states adopted a mandate to coordinate their responses to apartheid and formulate a uniform policy towards the apartheid government and the liberation movement. For the liberation movement in South Africa, the formation of the frontline states was a welcomed development and a new front in the fight against the apartheid regime (Frontline Worker Issue Number 3, 1991), materialising the words of Nkrumah in 1957 that "Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa".[4] Underscoring the complexity at hand, as will be discussed later, liberation struggles became closely interwoven with xenophobic motivated action.

After independence, collective identity in Africa was skewed with insecurities and divisions resulting from the imperial legacies of deculturalisation, ethnocentrism and psychological propaganda of which all played a significant role in post-independent national identity projects in Africa. Decolonisation did not alter the territorial status quo of colonial subdivision (Alao, 1999) as colonial borders that were often ill-defined on the ground and appropriated, reassessed and refined by postcolonial

[4] Taken from Kwame Nkrumah's independence speech in March 1957. A full transcript of the speech can be found at: https://panafricanquotes.wordpress.com/speeches/independence-speech-kwame-nkrumah-march-6-1957-accra-ghana/

governments[5] (Stary, 2003). Then in 1964, the OAU decreed that "all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence".[6] As a result, Africa's map "was entirely constructed by colonial cartography, thus bearing the original sin of alien origin and artificiality" (Young, 2007, p. 244). Respect for borders combined with the liberating prospects of national independence delineated a key divide in the Pan-African movement between those who wanted a common African state (including Ghana's Nkrumah and countries including Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco), those who wanted to first build their nation-state before the one-state approach (including Julius "Mwalimu" (*teacher*) Nyerere focussing on Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda) and those advocating harmonious cooperation between African states and Europe (Senegal's Léopold Senghor) (Adebajo, 2020). Several of the key characteristics of the African nation-state originated in and hail from the colonial period and the peculiar African form of decolonisation which maintained not only the territorial grid of colonial times but also many of its institutions and ways of interaction between state and citizens or, rather, rulers and ruled. The centralisation of authority, the authoritarian neglect for popular accountability and the lack of reach beyond the capital are all part of the typified African postcolonial territorial nation-state. This 'national order of things' has become the norm in Africa over the past half century (Sanneh, 1992).

Psychological Propaganda, Deculturalisation and Ethnocentrism in Post-independent Africa

Ensuring a paradigm shift in the minds of Africans from African collective identity to national and ethnic identity through psychological propaganda, deculturalisation and ethnocentrism, imperialists facilitated discord among Africans and crafted rifts and waves of mistrust. Despite occupying African states through military force, colonialism would not have succeeded or been sustained without local collaborators, minions, and conveyor belts

[5] For example, the joint border demarcation mission between Ghana and Ivory Coast fixing the exact location of the border and making it visible on the ground by constructing fortifications from 1970 to the late 1980s

[6] Organization of African Unity, "Border Disputes Among African States", AHG/Res. 16(I), Resolutions Adopted by the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Cairo, UAR, from 17 to 21 July 1964

essential for all forms of oppression to take root and persist (Bulhan, 2014). One such form has become understood as internalised racism, whereby black social relations are characterised by a 'black-on-black racism'. The racialisation of the race/ethnicity narrative in national and social identity leads black South Africans and African immigrants to be perceived in light of racial subjectivities. Such characterisations defined for example as 'New Racism' (Tafira, 2011) or 'Negrophobia' (Mngxitama, 2008) underscore xenophobic violent attacks.

However, some argue that race or ethnicity are often not the most salient social distinctions in anti-immigrant attacks (Kerr et al., 2019). Eurocentric epistemology, ontology, and ideology emanating from European hegemonic knowledge systems promote the validation of European superiority. Meanwhile, knowledge, experience, and rights of colonised peoples remain invalidated, marginalized, distorted, and eroded. A generic and at times myopic conceptualisation of colonisation which is universally accepted, is that colonisation is the geographical acquisition of a nation through force due to political and economic expansion, and when countries gain independence from colonial rule it ceases to exist. This conceptualisation disregards the immense social and psychological impact of colonisation. Colonisation left behind enduring legacies—including not only political and economic, but also cultural, intellectual, social and psychological ones that keep European domination alive.

Africans were forced to undergo extreme and rapid cultural and social change, resulting in social and psychological compliance towards the oppressors. *Deculturalization* is a method of pacification and control perfected over 500 years by European ruling elites, whose practice involves the systematic stripping away of the intended victim's ancestral culture and then systematically replacing it with European culture (Hotep, 2011). Deculturalisation is a three-part process designed and perfected by Europeans that: (1) alienates black people from their African cultural heritage, that is, African languages, religions, customs, and so on (2) teaches them to value only the cultural orientations, that is, languages, religions, customs, and so on of the oppressor, and (3) assimilates them into a European dominated social order as their faithful supporters and defenders (Boateng, 1990). Paralleling nation-building policies, the public educational system, the Christian church and the mass media have been considered prime instruments of African deculturalisation.

Ethnocentrism is usually defined as a kind of ethnic or cultural group egocentrism, which involves a belief in the superiority of one's own group,

including its values and practices, and often contempt, hatred, and hostility towards those outside the group (Bizumic, 2015). Extending the term to group attitudes shown by religious, economic, racial, caste and class groups within a larger social order, ethnocentrism entails a feeling that one's own group has a mode of living, values and patterns of adaptation that are superior to other groups (Kasomo, 2012). Africa has always had tribal identities, tribes are characterised by a strong cultural or ethnic identity by different groups, and members of tribes tend to possess a strong feeling of collective identity within themselves. Members of the same tribe or clan share a unique set of cultural values, beliefs, ethics and attitudes that guide their ways of life. They see their members as relatives and blood ties and prioritize group members (Okogu & Umudjere, 2016). Observing this phenomenon, colonialists systematically constructed ethnic or tribal hierarchies by generating islands of relative whiteness or privilege of which 'tribal' elites could compete over by ingratiating themselves with the colonial regime (Gathara, 2020). Tribalism in postcolonial Africa has little to do with how pre-colonial societies understood identity. Ethnic or 'tribal' identities that were constructed or appropriated by the colonial state are being drawn upon by citizens of the postcolonial state either to fight against inherited discrimination or to protect a heritage of privilege (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

In May 2008, xenophobic violence erupted in Alexandra township in Johannesburg. The targets were individuals who had migrated from the north in search of asylum. Emerging first in township communities around Johannesburg, the 2008 conflicts spread to seven of South Africa's nine provinces, resulting in 62 deaths, including 21 South Africans, 11 Mozambicans, 5 Zimbabweans and 3 Somalis; 100,000 people (20,000 in the Western Cape alone) were displaced (Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2011; Vromans et al., 2011). Some 40,000 foreign nationals left the country and a further 50,000 remained internally displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Although arrests were made following the violent attacks the climate of impunity for those responsible allowed the situation to escalate. This incident was followed by an 11 year series of xenophobic attacks against African migrants in South Africa including the May 2009 attacks in the Western Cape, the April 2015 xenophobic attacks with King Goodwill Zwelithini's applauded speech calling on foreigners to "take

their bags and go back where they came from", and on the South African government to "help us rid our land of lice" (Zwelithini, 2015), the February 2017 anti-immigrant protests, the March 2019 attacks on foreign owned businesses, the September 2019 attacks and the more recent 2020 Covid-19 related xenophobic violence.[7]

Scholars, political analysts and individuals have theorised many ideas and concepts to try and explain why postcolonial Africa remains the hub of internal conflicts by Africans towards other Africans (i.e. Sithole, 1968; Iliffe, 1979; Horowitz, 1985; Touval, 1985; Mamdani, 1996). These internal conflicts include civil wars, Afrophobic attacks, internalised racism, poverty, economic stagnation and decline, religious terrorism, massacres, genocides, and coup d'états. The different reasons theorised and offered for these conflicts include neocolonisation, tribalism, political differences and poverty as a consequence of colonialisation.

Xenophobia is defined as the irrational fear and hatred of 'foreigners', individuals or groups defined by a difference whose manifestation is believed to be a violation of human rights. These are hostile and sometimes aggressive attitudes towards foreign nationals or different ethnic groups. In the South African context, xenophobia is both a negative attitude towards foreigners and includes racial discrimination, which in extreme cases manifests in the form of violent attacks (Odika, 2017). Implied in the racial attack is the convolution of national entities of citizenship with naturalised racial categories. In this way an attack on foreigners is simultaneously an attack on black people in general.

Xenophobic violence and its resistance are tainted by race, class, gender and other forms of difference. As Fanon (1967) indefatigably pointed out, freedom is freedom from a humanity predicated a priori upon determinants such as race, class, gender, generation and cultural geographies as essences or fixities. Nyamnjoh (2016) poignantly portrays how vexing it was for Fanon to realise he was nothing but a black skin with a white mask, bearing French citizenship and carrying a French passport despite amply investing in whitening up as a young Antillean (Fanon, 1967; Zeilig, 2014, in Nyamnjoh, 2016). Similarly, there is a hierarchy of humanity inherited from apartheid South Africa, with white South Africans at the helm as superiors, black South Africans in the middle as superior inferiors,

[7] See the *Human Rights Watch* report at: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/south-africa

and the immigrants as the 'inferior scum of humanity' (Nyamnjoh, 2006) as coined in the aforementioned label 'kwerekwere'.[8]

Additionally, general attitudes of South Africans towards African migrants entail basically two attitudes: they either look up to them as articulate and accomplished or look down on them as stuttering and depleting,[9] in that those that are under siege and at the helm of degradation and dehumanisation are not migrants *per se* but rather African migrants in South Africa. Although xenophobia and its ills seem to infect just about all societies experiencing rapid social change, not every foreigner, outsider or stranger is a target, particularly not the white man (Neocosmos, 2008). Instead, nationals, citizens or locals are very careful in choosing who qualifies to be treated as the inferior and undeserving 'Other'. One the one hand, such choices depend on the hierarchies of humanity informed by race, nationality, culture, class and gender (Nyamnjoh, 2006). On the other hand, furthering an analysis of xenophobic violence would benefit from thinking beyond people's behaviours and sense-making in terms of such categories.

Countering rather deterministic explanations of xenophobia, with economic reasons being the major driver, Tajfel (1981) argues that while those objective rewards (in terms of money, standards of living, consumption of goods and services, etc.) are crucial determinants of xenophobia, they don't suffice in explanatory power (see also Kerr et al., 2019). Attitudes of xenophobia and a 'xenophobic realism' itself are considerable reasons for anti-foreigner attacks (see Crush & Ramachandran, 2014). In order to avoid 'xenophobia minimalism' analysing xenophobic violence ought not fall pray of determinism through the assumption that people necessarily act in certain xenophobic ways due to historical or contextual facts, such as poverty or neoliberalism.

Kerr et al. (2019) coin the term 'working models' to investigate contended meanings in the collective relationship in terms of how people

[8] Nyamnjoh (2016) explores the novel by Phaswane Mpe (2001) called *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* and how the novel describes what black South Africans mean when they refer to people as *makwerekwere*. The derogatory naming of a perceived stranger who is most likely to be mistaken for an insider. Amakwerekwere constructs a boundary between South African as 'deserving citizens' and *amakwerekwere* as 'undeserving outsiders'—hence capturing the interlocutor symbolism of cultural belonging and citizenship.

[9] The incapacity of articulating local languages as the epitome of a lack of feeling of 'being at home' (Nyamnjoh, 2016) and the workings of language as crucial marker of belonging is objectified in stereotype content

construe the nature of 'us' and 'them' and the relationship between the two, thus offering an understanding into the performance and the active shaping of social relationships in South Africa (Kerr et al., 2019). For example, a new category of denationalised outsiders was created amongst those living within South Africa's borders instigating xenophobia as a by-product of new South African citizenship/nationalism (Neocosmos, 2006). Here borders become markers for a collective understanding of who belongs and who doesn't. It is important to not render xenophobic attitudes as flawed and false in order to show how the 'foreigner' becomes beset with socially significant meaning in South Africa (Kerr et al., 2019). Importantly, xenophobia is often justified by South Africans who see themselves as *also excluded* from the rights of citizenship, rather than 'an exclusionary claim by those who already belong' (Monson, 2015, p. 149; Solomon, 2019). Contextualised accounts of the planning, incitement and execution of xenophobic attacks locates xenophobic violence in the 'micropolitics of township and informal settlement life' (Misago et al., 2010, p. 10). In this way, it appears that conditions of poverty and a weak state associated with *informal settlements* are often contributing, but insufficient conditions for anti-immigrant violence.

Research ought to take peoples understandings seriously, while maintaining a critique of xenophobia in order to find *how* language and practices of struggle are often invoked in anti-foreigner violence across a number of different socio-economic and political realms—struggles over jobs, housing and citizenship. Struggle can be mobilised in both identity-exclusive and identity-inclusive ways—drawing foreigners as villains or as co-humans. In both cases, representations of foreigners are anchored in deeply held ideological imperatives such as liberation struggles and the realisation of South Africans' liberation (Kerr et al., 2019).

Migrant workers play a vital role in the global economy, however due to the increased mobility of people from poorer to wealthier areas is a cause of rising tension, particularly in the receiving countries. The following examples highlight some of these tensions: In Europe a double standard is perceivable, whereby globalisation—the rapid flow of information, commodities and services—is promoted easily, whereas the movement of labour is restricted. Mexican labour migration to the US has in the previous government been restricted via a highly loaded and contested symbolic manifestation—the building of a wall between the US and Mexican border. On the continent, the number of migrant workers is rising faster than the rate at which African countries can absorb people into the labour

force. The average annual growth rate of the migrant worker population on the continent between 2008 and 2017 was 7.5%, which was more than the average annual growth rate of the total population.[10] Inter-African female labour migration, often informal, limits women's ability to formalise their residence and employment. Consequently, they find themselves in highly vulnerable situations, as highlighted in Chap. 4.

As in other nations, South Africans hold migrants responsible for crime, bringing disease, and 'stealing' jobs, services and resources and view them as illegal in the country (Crush & Ramachandran, 2014). This blame accords the social representations of migrants everywhere in general, and to South Africa in particular as resulting from 'othering' processes in identity work. Social cohesion in South Africa, as is the case in other parts of the world, is often entangled in political discourse that blames migrants and refugees for 'stealing' local jobs in a context where resources are already limited (Claassen Christopher, 2017). These stereotypes contradict results from studies indicating that immigration has a positive impact on national employment, labor earnings, and wages (World Bank, 2018). The estimated effects of immigrant growth on national employment were positive and highly significant in all specifications and are similar in terms of magnitude. Such inherent gaps in collective imagination and economic reality point towards the economic and classist hierarchal systems implemented by the colonial regime that created superiority and inferiority attitudes in Africans towards ethnic groups and African migrants. As Garba (2017) points out, the global trend of proletarian movements across the world underlies contemporary African migration in response to neoliberal globalisation. Particularly the vulnerable, beset with stigma and stereotypes of inequality—be it illegal immigrants, women and so on—are further marginalised in arrangements of unequal economic structures.

As the regional institution mandated to advance cooperation among African states and between Africa and the international community, the AU has the capacity to be a significant actor in addressing xenophobia. Under the AU Constitutive Act, the AU is mandated to promote human rights, sanctity of life, and peaceful co-existence and cooperation between African states, as well as position the continent at an advantage within the international community (Adeola, 2015). In September 2019 the Peace

[10] As reported in the *African Union's Labour Migration Statistics Report in Africa (Second Edition):* https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/39323-doc-brochure_-_exec_summary.pdf

and Security Council of the AU convened a meeting to address the violent attacks on Africans in South Africa, under the theme *"Reaffirming its commitment and readiness to continue supporting efforts by the Government of South Africa, in its resolved determination, to address this situation, through the promotion of African solutions to African problems, including the use of relevant AU principle"*. The AU condemned the recent xenophobic violence against foreign migrants living in South Africa and expressed a total rejection of xenophobia in all its forms and manifestations across the Continent.

Furthermore, the South African government launched the *National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance* (NAP) in 2019. The Plan is based on the collective conviction of South Africans that, given that the ills of unfair discrimination and inequality are human-made; they have the means to completely eradicate these ills from the country. The Plan has been developed through a comprehensive consultation process involving government, the *Chapter Nine* institutions and civil society, and is informed by general principles of universality, interdependence and indivisibility of human rights, participation and inclusion, progressive realisation, accountability, equality and non-discrimination (NAP, 2019). Following the recent xenophobic attacks, President Cyril Ramaphosa deplored the violence and called for action against the acts of malice. He stated "I condemn the violence that has been spreading around a number of our provinces in the strongest terms. I'm convening the ministers in the security cluster today to make sure that we keep a close eye on these acts of wanton violence and find ways of stopping them".[11] The AU praised the Government of South Africa for its determination to prevent further escalation of the situation and urged the Government of South Africa, with all countries concerned, to take all necessary steps, in a collective manner, to holistically address the fundamental root causes of the acts of xenophobic violence. The organisation further pledged its support to the ongoing actions between the Governments of South Africa and concerned countries. The Government of South Africa has progressive ideas, legislations and action plans to combat xenophobia in South Africa in theory, however, as with many of its

[11] Extract from a speech given by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa on 3rd September 2019 report on *BBC News*: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-49566458

progressive legal protections, there is a gap in implementation strategies and resolutions at grassroots level.

Since the recent killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota on 25 May 2020 racist police violence, although not a new phenomenon, gained public momentum. In South Africa, the policing crisis runs deep, with the SAPS (South African Police Service) allegedly killing three times more people per capita than police in the United States do[12] and numbers are comparatively high in South Africa compared to neighboring countries, such as Namibia or Botswana. The recent killings of Collins Khoza in April 2020[13] and Nathanial Julius on 26 August 2020[14] added fuel to the fire to the protests against SA police violence.[15] Xenophobic sentiments are also deeply entwined in state institutions, accused of rarely investigating or prosecuting farmers for abuses and contribute to the exploitation of farm workers by deporting them without pay on the request of farmers who have employed them (Masuku, 2020). Moreover, officials involved in the arrest and deportation of undocumented migrant workers often assault and extort money from them. The policy and law applying to refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa is largely progressive. It's mostly contained in the Refugee Act of 1998. Associated rights to well-being, equality before the law, human dignity and non-discrimination are also enshrined in South Africa's bill of rights (Masuku, 2020). However, in practice, refugees in South Africa face many challenges in accessing their rights. Access to social protections such as legal documents, social grants and security of stay is reported to be a tedious and at times futile process. The Covid-19 crisis accentuates this problematic status.

In South Africa, anti-immigrant sentiment remains both strong and extremely widespread, cutting across virtually every socio-economic and

[12] https://nationalgovernment.co.za/department_annual/278/2019-independent-police-investigative-directorate-(ipid)-annual-report.pdf

[13] Collins Khoza died during lockdown following a violent altercation with South African National Defense Force Johannesburg metro police in his own back yard. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-21-the-army-may-have-killed-collins-khosa-but-saps-should-be-setting-the-standard-for-preventing-brutality/

[14] Nathaniel Julius, a Black 16-year-old teenager with Downs syndrome, was shot and killed by police in Johannesburg's Eldorado Park in South Africa after he couldn't answer the officers' questions. https://themighty.com/2020/09/nathaniel-julius-killed-by-police/

[15] For an alternative report on policing in South Africa, see *Re-imaging Justice in South Africa beyond policing*: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1krNcg_saPFABqjuFkQvtVKU-pIjivd8Es/view

demographic group, particularly when contact between African foreigners and South African nationals is imbued with associations of the former with all sorts of ills (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Xenophobic attitudes and behaviors and pursuing racism are deeply seeded in territorial imaginaries, claims and struggles and are institutionalised (see Chap. 5 on institutional racism). Victims of xenophobia are subject to micro and macro aggression, systemic oppression, discrimination, marginalisation and dehumanisation. The interconnection between liberation struggles (relating to internalised racism, deculturalisation and other remnants of colonialism) and the political condoning of structural inequalities create a complex and multifaceted situation in which individuals and collectives attempt to make sense within their lived experience and social environments. It is within such contested meaning making processes that a Pan-African vision of psychology can inform black collective consciousness, connectedness and solidarity harbouring anti-xenophobic attitudes and beliefs, since it holds a promise of mobilising struggles in identity-inclusive ways, where 'foreigners' are not undermining 'South African' struggles, but where they can be included under broader communitarian ideas and ideals. An African and indeed global future where such ideals can guide the urgently needed sustained conversations between political and business elites with various civil society organisations, including universities and student movements can harness "the interest of Nelson Mandela's cosmopolitan nation-building and Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance aspirations" (Nyamnjoh, 2016, p. 258).

Pan-Africanism, Collective Consciousness and Xenophobia

While liberation from colonial rule and independence spurred a sentiment of excitement and change, the global economic order, enhanced mobility of capital and labour, current social movements like #BLM, the Covid-19 and climate crises are globally shared concerns, yet all reinvigorate national identities and a re-centring of attachment to local cultures. Strong nationalism may enhance in-group solidarity, but under certain conditions it may also strengthen out-group hostility. Old and new bonds create an emotively laden atmosphere in which meanings and motivations of liberation movements quarrel with nationalist and deeper desires to belong and orientate oneself towards a social order that is conceivable.

The extent of defining an identity to which to belong is only valuable as long as it is conceivable. While the nationalist idea is deeply entrenched in the colonial imperialist project of oppression and subdual, it has become naturalised, adopted and rejected at the same time. While some strands of the matter are predominantly accepted by most, such as the nation-state and its citizenship, others remain highly contested, such as the racial dimension. Xenophobia emphasises the latter. It is indicative of the problematic and obsessive tendencies to define and confine belonging and identity in terms of cultural differences (Nyamnjoh, 2010). While not entirely due to racial differentiation, the apartheid liberation struggles informed these tendencies. Xenophobia thus opposes the Pan-African agenda focussing on the fluidity of relationships across communities and their interconnectedness by "individuals as navigators and negotiators of various identity margins" (ibid., p. 58). Importantly, the anchoring of culture, race and ethnicity to space and place attachment essentializes issues around belonging and identity.

Colonialism forcibly brought people of different ethnic, political and religious affiliations together to form a state and forge a common sense of citizenship in an arbitrarily circumscribed territory (Jackson & Rosberg, 1985). Submission, superiority, dictatorial rule, occupation of territory and wealth were accomplished through violence and resulted in *collective trauma*. *Collective trauma* denotes a psychological reaction to a traumatic event that affects an entire society (Hirschberger, 2018). Arguably, the tragedy is represented in the collective memory of the group, comprising more than a singular historical fact of a terrible event that happened to a group of people and placed in collective memory. It comprises not only a reproduction of the events, but also an ongoing reconstruction of the trauma in an attempt to make sense of it (Hirschberger, 2018) as well as of new possibilities of identity. Thus, identity dynamics are imbued with collective trauma. Through historical context, identity, belonging and recognition are imbued with questions of who 'owns' the experience of both a territorialised national identity and the related and resulting collective trauma. National belonging in terms of citizenship and cultural and religious belonging in terms of African-ness and blackness are situated within the quarrel of ownership.

In the context of ongoing injustices, oppressions and xenophobic attacks and the recognition of psychological impact of the imperial and Eurocentric legacies following formal colonial rule, Pan-African thought proliferates a unifying sense of belonging and identity grounded in

cultural differences and similarities, that is, in a collective consciousness. Arguably, such collective consciousness touches the latent historical and social experiential shared-ness of being African and the *collective trauma* experienced by a set of individuals, collectives, communities and people. One may be able to argue for healing implications of all African people on the continent and the diaspora sharing a socio-historical legacy. However, that legacy is both open and closed, dividing and connecting, depending on the perception of the group in question. Narratives of insiders and outsiders linger in what Nyamnjoh (2010) argues is "such a thing as the ultimate insider, found through a process of selective elimination and ever-diminishing circles of inclusion" that create politics of "nativity, authenticity, autochthony, indigeneity or citizenship, premised narrowly around cultural difference and the centrality of culture, are pursued with this illusion of the ultimate insider in mind" (p. 58). This inherently holds the ambivalence of a "strategic essentialism (…) understandable and indeed useful in the pursuit of common ambitions of dominance, or in redressing injustices collectively experienced as a colonised or subjected people, (but) it hardly provides for theorising pre- and postcolonial identities as complex, negotiated, relational and dynamic experiences that respond to and feed from local and global interconnected hierarchies" (p. 59).

There is a need in the decolonial turn to institutionalize Pan-African ideals by manifesting them in progressive policy prescriptions which in turn can lead to the implementation of programs that will affect and improve the lives of Africans across the continent. In this way our minds can be orientated through a world of meaningful categories, percolated with identity-inclusive content to create spaces for similarity, safety, solidarity, mobilisation and resistance. Tackling a renewed sentiment of unity in which humanity is indeed one—and that we have both the duty and the power to overcome the pains and burdens of history and build a better world together is a challenging endeavour at a time of division, zero-sum games of legitimacy and belonging, and degenerating intergroup relations in many parts of the world (Nyamnjoh, 2016). A Pan-African approach to psychology can offer fertile ground for exploring new pathways in breaking through barriers of dialectic knowledge production in *either-or* dynamics of identity and belonging. This binary conceptualisation of social belonging and social life is deeply rooted in Western psychology. The promise of our future is a space and place of invention and transformational encounters, a dynamic in-between space that is imbued with ambivalences, ambiguities and contradictions. Pan-Africanism can offer a space

for people to obtain diverse experiences and absorb them in the making of the self—a space where familiar selves can be found in the strangeness of others.

References

Adebajo, A. (2020). Pan-Africanism: From the twin plagues of European Locusts to Africa's triple quest for emancipation. In A. Adebajo (Ed.), *Pan-African Pantheon: Prophets, poets, and philosophers* (pp. 3–57). Jacana Media.

Adeola, R. (2015). Preventing xenophobia in Africa: What must the African Union do? *AHMR, 1* (3), 253–272.

Alao, C. (1999). The problem of the failed state in Africa. In M. Alagappa & T. Inoguchi (Eds.), *International security management and the United Nations* (pp. 83–102). United Nations University Press.

Alexander, N. (2001). The State of Nation-building in the New South Africa. *Pretexts: Literary and Cultural Studies, 10*(1), 83–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/713692593

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso.

Asante, S. K. B., & Chanaiwa, D. (1993). Pan-Africanism and regional integration. In A. Mazrui (Ed.), *General history of Africa. 8. Africa since 1935* (pp. 724–743). Heinemann.

Bhabha, H. (1994). Narrating the nation. In J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism* (pp. 306–312). Oxford University Press.

Bizumic, B. (2015). *Ethnocentrism. In Vocabulary of the study of religion* (pp. 533–539). Brill Academic Publishers.

Boateng, F. (1990). Combating the deculturalization of the African American child in the public school system. In *Going to school: The African-American experience*. State University of New York Press.

Brunschwig, H. (1971). Le Partage de l'Afrique noire. Paris: Flammarion; quoted in Hargreaves, J. D. (1985). "The Making of the Boundaries: Focus on West Africa", in Asiwaju, A. I. (Ed.). *Partitioned Africans* (pp. 19–27). Hurst.

Bulhan, H. A. (2014). Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 3*, 239–256.

Claassen Christopher. (2017). *Explaining South African xenophobia*. Glasgow.

Crush, J., & Ramachandran, S. (2014). *Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Denialism, minimalism, realism*. Migration Policy Series No. 66. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) and IMRC.

Deutsch, K. W. (1978). Nation und Welt. In H. A. Winkler (Ed.), *Nationalismus* (pp. 49–66). Verlagsgruppe Athenäum, Hain, Scriptor, Hanstein.

Durkheim, E., Mauss, M., & Needham, R. (1963). *Primitive classification*. University of Chicago Press.

Evan, M. (1986). *The front-line states South Africa and Southern African security: Military prospects and perspectives*. University of Zimbabwe.

Fanon, F. (1967). *The wretched of the earth*. Penguin.

Fauvelle-Aymar, C., & Segatti, A. (2011). People, space and politics: An exploration of factors explaining the 2008 Anti-foreigner violence in South Africa. In L. Landau (Ed.), *Exorcising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence and statecraft in contemporary South Africa* (pp. 56–88). Wits University Press.

Frontline Worker Issue Number 3. (1991). *Socialist movement in South Africa*.

Garba, F. (2017). *African migrant workers and German post-growth society*. Working Paper 5/2017, der DFG-Kollegforscher_innengruppe Postwachstumsgesellschaften. Retrieved April 17, 2021, from http://www.kolleg-postwachstum.de/sozwgmedia/dokumente/WorkingPaper/WP+5_17+Garba.pdf

Gathara, P. (2020). *Tribalism purely a creation of colonialism*. The Star Kenya.

Guibernau, M. (1996). *Nationalisms: The nation-state and nationalism in the twentieth century*. Polity Press.

Harris, E. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and cases*. Edinburgh University Press.

Hirschberger, G. (2018). Collective trauma and the social construction of meaning. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*, 1441.

Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. University of California Press.

Hotep, U. (2011). *Decolonizing the African mind: Further analysis and strategy*. RGB Blackademics.

Howarth, C., Andreouli, E., & Kessi, A. (2014). Social representations and the politics of participation. In K. Kinnvall, T. Capelos, H. Dekker, & P. Nesbitt-Larking (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of global political psychology* (pp. 19–38). Palgrave Macmillan.

Huang, J., & Liu, R. (2020). Xenophobia in America in the age of Coronavirus and beyond. *Journal of Vascular and Interventional Radiology: JVIR, 31*(7), 1187–1188.

Human Rights Watch. (2009). *World Report 2009*. Human Rights Watch.

Iliffe, J. (1979). *A modern history of Tanganyika*. Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, R. H., & Rosberg, C. G. (1985). The marginality of African States. In G. Carter & P. O'Meara (Eds.), *African independence. The first 25 years* (pp. 45–70). Indiana University Press.

Joffe, H. (1999). *Risk and 'the other'*. Cambridge University Press.

Joffe, H., & Staerkle, C. (2007). The centrality of the self-control ethos in western aspersions regarding outgroups: A social representational analysis of stereotype content. *Culture and Psychology, 13*(4), 395–418. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X07082750

Kasomo, D. (2012). An assessment of ethnic conflict and its challenges today. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, 6*, 1–7.

Kerr, P., Durrheim, K., & Dixon, J. (2019). Xenophobic violence and struggle discourse in South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 54*(7), 995–101.

Kopytoff, I. (1989). The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture. In I. Kopytoff (Ed.), *The African Frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies* (pp. 3–83). Indiana University Press.

Landau, L. B., & Misago, J.-P. (2009). Who to blame and what's to gain? Reflections on space, state, and violence in Kenya and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum, 44*(1), 99–110.

Mafe, D. A. (2013). *Mixed race stereotypes in South African and American literature: Coloring outside the (black and white) lines*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2002). African states, citizenship and war: a case-study. *International Affairs, 78*(3), 493–506.

Masuku, S. (2020). *How South Africa is denying refuges their rights: What needs to change*. The Conversation: Academic Rigour, Journalistic Flair, Cape Town.

Misago J. P, Monson T, Polzer T, et al. (2010). May 2008 Violence Against Foreign Nationals in South Africa: Understanding Causes and Evaluating Responses Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Program.

Mngxitama, A. (2008). We are not all like that: Race, class and nation after Apartheid. In S. Hassim, Y. Kupe, & E. Worby (Eds.), *Go home or die here: Violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Wits University Press.

Monson, T. (2015). Everyday politics and collective mobilization against foreigners in a South African shack settlement. *Africa, 85*(1), 131–153.

Mpe, P. (2001). Welcome to our Hillbrow. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Neocosmos, M. (2006). From Foreign Natives to Native Foreigners: Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Neocosmos, M. (2008). The politics of fear and the fear of politics: Reflections on xenophobic violence in South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 43*(6), 586–594.

National Action Plan, NAP, *Internet*,URL (2019).

Nyamnjoh, F. (2016). *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa*. Langaa RPCIG.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2006). *Insiders and outsiders: Citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary Southern Africa*. CODESRIA/London: Zed Books.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2010). Racism, ethnicity and the media in Africa: Reflections inspired by studies of xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum, 45*(1), 57–93.

Odika, N. (2017). The face of violence: Rethinking the concept of xenophobia, immigration laws and the rights of non-citizens in South Africa. *BRICS Law Journal, 4*, 40–70.

Okogu, J. O., & Umudjere, S. O. (2016). Tribalism as a foiled factor of Africa nation-building. *Journal of Education and Practice, 7*, 92.

Reid, R. (2009). *A history of modern Africa: 1800 to the present*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Sack, R. D. (1986). *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge University Press.

Sanneh, L. (1992). Religion, politics, and national integration: A comparative African perspective. In J. O. Hunwick (Ed.), *Religion and national integration in Africa: Islam, Christianity, and politics in the Sudan and Nigeria* (pp. 151–166). Northwestern University Press.

Sithole, N. (1968). *African nationalism* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Solomon, R. (2019). Xenophobic violence and the ambivalence of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. *Citizenship Studies, 23*(2), 156–171.

Stary, B. (2003). Un no man's land forestier de l'artifice à l'artificialité: l'étatisation de la frontière Côte-d'Ivoire-Ghana. *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 56*(222), 199–228.

Tafira, K. (2011). Is xenophobia racism? *Anthropology Southern Africa, 34*(3–4), 114–121.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, E., Guy-Walls, P., Wilkerson, P., & Addae, R. (2019). The historical perspectives of stereotypes on African-American males. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work, 4*, 213–225.

Touval, S. (1985). Partitioned groups and inter-state relations. In A. I. Asiwaju (Ed.), *Partitioned Africans* (pp. 223–232). Hurst.

Turner, J. C. (1978). Social categorization and social discrimination in the minimal group paradigm. In H. Tajfel (ed.), Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, pp. 27–60. London: Academic Press.

Vignoles, V. L., Schwartz, S. J., & Luyckx, K. (2011). Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 1–27). Springer Science + Business Media.

Vromans, L., Schweitzer, R. D., Knoetze, K., & Kagee, A. (2011). The exeperience of xenophobia in South Africa. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 81*, 90–93.

Walzer, M. (1997). *On toleration*. Yale University Press.

Wirz, A. (1999). Körper, Kopf und Bauch. Zum Problem des kolonialen Staates im subsaharischen Afrika. In W. Reinhard (Ed.), *Verstaatlichung der Welt? Europäische Staatsmodelle und außereuropäische Machtprozesse* (pp. 253–272). Oldenbourg.

World Bank. (2018). *Mixed migration, forced displacement and job outcomes in South Africa*. World Bank.

Young, C. (1994). *The African colonial state in comparative perspective*. Yale University Press.

Young, C. (2007). Nation, ethnicity, and citizenship: Dilemmas of democracy and civil order in Africa. In S. Dorman, D. Hammett, & P. Nugent (Eds.), *Making nations, creating strangers: States and citizenship in Africa* (pp. 241–264). Brill.

Zwelithini, K. G. (2015). Moral regeneration speech. Sonke Gender Justice. Available at: https://genderjustice. org.za/project/policy-development-advocacy/challenging-xenophobia-keeping-leaders-accountable- inciting-hate/.

CHAPTER 4

African Feminisms, Pan-Africanism, and Psychology

This chapter makes a case for a Pan-African feminist psychology by charting a brief history of feminist and liberation struggles. Contemporary feminist struggles that include challenging widespread gender inequities, violence, building solidarity with women in war-zones, working with women across diverse spectrums and building solidarities with gender non-conforming and queer communities (Mama & Abbas, 2014) are considered in relation to their relevance for a Pan-African psychology. The chapter ends with an articulation of a Pan-African feminist psychology that incorporates the history and contemporary struggles and challenges of African feminist theorising and activism.

There has been recognition of the problems of the discipline of psychology's androcentrism, particularly in regard to the knowledge production endeavour and the ways in which this knowledge regulates behaviour and practice (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). Psychology has been complicit in entrenching a gender binarism; policing gender dichotomisation through its theorising and practice of diagnosis (Smit, 2006); pathologising the experiences of women in particular, what Ussher refers to as 'medicalising women's misery' (Ussher, 2010); reinforcing heteronormativity and pathologising otherness (particularly in relation to the experiences of women, black people and LGBTIQ persons). The experiences of the heterosexual, able-bodied, middle-class, educated, white male has been cast as normative and has produced

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_4

generalisations about the lives and experiences of those deemed other (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). In response, feminist critiques of psychology have been critical of psychology's role in producing and reproducing these problematic discourses and of the ways in which it disciplines and regulates behaviour (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). It has also argued that the discipline should be reconstituted to better account for the experiences of those it has ignored, excluded and silenced (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). This feminist response to psychology has employed a diversity of theoretical resources that include African and intersectional feminisms, poststructuralist feminism, and decolonial feminisms. Below, in tracing the trajectory of such responses we argue for an African feminist theorising that includes a Pan-African and decolonial agenda.

African Feminisms

In discussing the diversity of feminist responses to theorising and activism around gendered inequities, Kiguwa (2004) has argued that many feminisms have not been responsive to the particular and substantive issues facing African women and their realities. For this reason, early African feminists have been hesitant to claim ownership to the term feminism (Arndt, 2000), a term perceived to centre white western women, disregarding the specific problems that African women face (Arndt, 2000). Additionally, through the operation of racism and cultural imperialism western feminists have continued to endorse representations that actively contribute towards the oppression and marginalisation of women in the global south (Arndt, 2000; Mohanty, 1986). White western feminist theory offers itself as universal and, in so doing, disguises its complicity in oppression and perpetuating biases (Mohanty, 1986). However, some African women's rejection of the term 'feminism', as a western phenomenon is not an indication of the belief that practices of women's resistance are a western conception. Feminism, in the form of resistance and activism has been practiced by African women since pre-colonial times and has been part of African practices and heritage (Ata Aidoo quoted in Nfah-Abbenyi 1997; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994) and there is evidence in histories of women's resistance to local and imperialist patriarchies (McClintock, 1995; Ossome, 2020). McClintock (1995) argued that numerous women's revolts around the world predated western feminism and transpired without any contact with western feminists. Mama (2001) similarly asserts that African women's practices of resistance have always been part of the early conceptualisations of western feminism. As a result, the struggle for women's empowerment

did not come from Europe to Africa as is often argued or assumed when reference is made to the term 'feminism' (Arndt, 2000).

African feminists have sketched important ways in which African women have resisted colonisation and its continuation through various forms of protest and activism on the continent (see e.g., Ossome, 2020; Hassim, 2006). This history is important, and some examples are sketched below. Equally important are the ways in which women's struggles have been marginalised and betrayed in nationalist movements across the continent (Mama, 1997; Ossome, 2020). In similar ways, women's voices in discourse, activism, and theorising on Pan-Africanism have been silenced—with Pan-Africanism, in the main, marginalising questions of gender and sexual freedoms (Adi, 2018).

Women's Participation in Liberation Struggles and Conflict Zones

Countless women mobilised and participated in Africa's liberation struggles even though the 'male face' of the liberation struggle is a common (mis)representation. Across the African continent, during the different periods of emerging civil war zones and national liberation movements against colonialist patriarchies, women have taken active roles in taking up arms, conflict prevention and resolution, and in peacebuilding. Women, for example, joined national liberation movements as guerrilla supporters, providing necessities, undertaking spying services, as combatants in the armed wings of the nationalist organisations and as political activists (Jalufka, 2011). Women undertook multiple roles, while also maintaining multiple or changing motivations for joining and remaining in the national liberation movements despite negative gendered experiences (ibid.). These negative gendered experiences have often included men's hostility towards women's presence in the struggle, men's hostility towards women's activism against conflict, sexual coercion, sexual harassment, and gendered division of labour. Some examples of women's participation in liberation struggles include the case of the Guinea Bissau liberation war, within which women played an important role. Similarly, with the first women's organisation in Sudan, Sudanese Women's Union (SWU) women participated in Pan-African anti-colonial struggles for liberation, and in post–independence peacebuilding and national political agendas.

A Case of the Guinea Bissau Liberation War

Guinea Bissau is one of the few African nations that gained independence through a long-fought and bitter war against Portuguese colonialism and

presents a case of the ways in which women have participated in independence struggles. While the successful liberation struggle led by the PAIGC[1] between the mid-1950s to 1974 is marked as an historical moment that involved an ideological commitment to a revolutionary modernity (which included gendered equality) (Galvão & Laranjeiro, 2019), independent Guinea Bissau is an African country often described as a 'failed state' (Ly, 2014). The country failed to sustain the fight for tangible personal, familial, and regional social and economic improvements. Instead political independence continues to have a visible status quo dominated by men, continuously perpetuating socio-cultural inequalities. It has been argued that, post-independence the state disregarded the material and historical basis of women's mobilisation in the fight for independence, and abandoned women's political aspirations (Ly, 2014) and that the promises incubated during the revolutionary years had not been delivered (Galvão & Laranjeiro, 2019). There were a minority of west African nationalists, for example, Amilcar Cabral and some of the PAIGC executive bureau members who understood that successful national liberation required the participation of women. They understood how important it was that fighting colonial systems went hand in hand with liberating African women from the burden of the traditional socio-cultural and economic systems (Urdang, 1979) that were a barrier to women's emancipation and rights (Ly, 2014). However, women's fight in the liberation struggle has been described as a fight "against two forms of colonialism, the European one and the male one" (Urdang, 1979 cited in Galvão & Laranjeiro, 2019, p. 91).

Given deeply held patriarchal notions about women's 'place' in society, women's participation in the liberation war (despite popular party rhetoric and practice about women's rightful place in the struggle) did not come without contradictions and continued struggle. In their analysis of party documentation, Galvão and Laranjeiro (2019) describe what they observe as an 'ideological normalisation of women's participation in the liberation struggle' (p. 98)—involving speeches by party leaders such as Amilcar Cabral and images of women holding guns and engaged in fighting. What their eloquent analysis however reveals is that there isn't one uncomplicated, unambiguous, and cohesive narrative to tell about women's participation in liberation movements. Despite the display of symbolic and

[1] Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, (PAIGC), a political party in Guinea-Bissau.

physical 'empowerment' of women through their political participation, women members of the PAIGC also experienced sexism, discrimination and exclusion at the hands of male members of the PAIGC who believed that women did not belong on the front lines (Galvão & Laranjeiro, 2019; Ly, 2014). These men performed the same social, hierarchical, and patriarchal familial behaviours in their relations with women in the party, emphasising gender differences, reinforcing ideas of inequality—thus weakening the struggle for women's emancipation (Ly, 2014). However, women continued to fight and challenge the Party's decisions to restrict women's participation in direct combat. Women's history in liberation movements offers distinctive perspectives on the complicated role of women's issues in African liberation movements.

Even though gender equality discourses have gained much ground within regional and international forums—and it was a key discourse around the political mobilisation of the PAIGC during the liberation struggle, the women of Guinea Bissau have continued to face gender oppression (Ly, 2014). Statistics on gender discrimination and violence (WHO, 2014) are hard to come by but there are some legal protections available for women—with the age of marriage having been raised to 18, women having the same inheritance rights as men, and the adoption of a domestic violence bill in 2013. However, Guinea-Bissau continues to be characterised by deeply held patriarchal ideologies that shape norms and attitudes around gender for all spheres of personal and political life (CEDAW, 2009, cited in OECD Development Centre, 2019) and continue to shape the lives and identities of women. This means that despite legal protections available to protect women who have experienced violence, women fail to report instances of violence, especially violence experienced from men to whom they are married (WHO, 2014).

Women's Political Participation Towards Pan-Africanism: The Case of Women's Movements in Sudan

Pan-Africanism influenced women's movements in Africa, promoting debate around numerous issues such as the emancipation of women and the role of women in the political processes of their countries (Osman, 2014). While women's activism in Sudan has a long history that include struggles in the national liberation movement (Ahmed, 2014), the

Sudanese Women's Union (SWU) is considered one of the largest and most provocative post-independence women's organisation in Africa and was committed to ideals that reflected Pan-Africanist principles and worked to tackle post-independence challenges and building national unity (Osman, 2014). Sudanese women have been politically engaged in the Pan-African anti-colonial struggle for liberation, the promotion of cooperation, unity, stability and human rights (Ahmed, 2014; Osman, 2014). They have actively participated in post–independence national political agendas. Moreover, women have developed their own agenda for the promotion of peace and stability, specifically addressing issues of violence against women, both in the home during times of peace and during armed conflicts (Ahmed, 2014; Osman, 2014).

The literature on women's movements in Sudan is scant. The little that has been written on the political role of women during the colonial or pre-colonial era overlook the importance of Pan-Africanism and its influence on women's movements (Osman, 2014), with Ahmed (2014) who offers a transnational perspective on women's organising in Sudan being a notable exception. Furthermore, the available recorded histories are marred with gender biases, portraying history as a domain for men, where men are the only actors, posing a major challenge to feminist research and activism in Sudan (Osman, 2014; but also see Ahmed as an exception). In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, SWU mobilised Sudanese women to show their solidarity with women in Southern Africa and to campaign against apartheid in Zambia, South Africa, and Namibia. The SWU also showed solidarity with Arab women freedom fighters in many countries including Palestine.

Within the Sudanese national context, SWU adopted a community level approach. During colonial rule, they opposed a British education system that neglected to educate girls, and campaigned to improve girls' education (Osman, 2014). Post-independence the SWU established evening classes for adult women, including literacy classes alongside the more conventional skills, such as sewing, cooking, and handicraft. Women in rural areas, benefited from these skills, and were able to create economic independence for themselves (Badri, 2009; Osman, 2014). In 1970, SWU organised an international conference focusing on illiteracy among women. The conference was attended by many women's organisations from other African nations and offered an opportunity for learning from one another by exchanging experiences, and served as a platform to bring African women's socio-economic concerns into a common women's

agenda under a Pan-African banner (Osman, 2014). Equally, SWU campaigned for better health care for women and against under age and forced marriages, demanding that polygamy be regulated (Osman, 2014). They also campaigned for more job opportunities for women as well as equal pay for the same work, challenging the unequal sexual division of labour (Molyneux, 1985; Osman, 2014). They challenged state marginalisation of different ethnicities standing against the Islamic government, and demanded that persons of 'African' and 'Arab' ethnic origins be treated as equal citizens. The SWU regularly challenged the Islamic government's discourse, which depicts African cultures as inferior to Arab culture, and advocated for a united Sudan. SWU also built transnational networks with women's organisations in other African nations (Ahmed, 2014; Osman, 2014).

Despite the Africa Union's (AU) gender policy, much more needs to be done to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The AU's mission to address conflict and instability in the interest of unity has failed to address gender-based violence (Francis, 2006; Osman, 2014). Despite women's activism against colonialism and apartheid in many African countries, Pan-Africanism has remained dominated by men and men's ideology, arguing that Pan-Africanism's narrative and discourse gives credit to men whilst overlooking women's contributions (Francis, 2006). In spite of the marginalisation of women's issues, feminists in Africa have maintained that the struggle for Africa's liberation and development go hand in hand with the struggle for women's liberation and gender equality (Mama, 2005; Mama & Okazawa-Rey, 2008; Osman, 2014; Winyi, 2013). There has been an increase of hundreds of women's organisations working in a wide range of areas, both locally and regionally. For example, the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) created in 1988 promotes Pan-African agendas to improve the quality of African women's lives. FEMNET focuses on improving women's economic and social status. It also works to strengthen African women's leadership capacity and facilitate the creativity and communication of their diverse cultural identities and practices (Winyi, 2013; Osman, 2014).

Women's movements in Sudan and across Africa, have continued to influence public debates and actions and worked to bring related issues such as gender-based violence and justice for victims of armed conflicts, reconciliation, cultural diversity to the fore of the post-conflict policy agenda (Ahikire, 2014; Mama & Abbas, 2015; Osman, 2014; Ossome, 2020). It is women, identifying as feminist or not, who have been able to

rebuild community-level women's organisations seeking justice for women, particularly those who have suffered the worst consequences of conflict (Osman, 2014). Although women's movements have continued to face challenges with women activists being subjected to sexual abuse and rape, women's movements have re-emerged in the Sudanese political landscape as a visible and laudable force (Osman, 2014). They have also joined other civic and social movements invested in seeking democratic change and gender equality. In 2011, Safia's case of kidnapping and rape by the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) highlighted the government's complicity in acts against women activists (Gorani, 2011). Nonetheless, her case encouraged other women to speak up about their experiences of rape, develop new ways of promoting women's activism in Sudan and overcome barriers that had previously prevented women from seeking justice for sexual violence (Gorani, 2011).

Using old and new means of activism, such as demonstrations, street rallies, the use of mobile phones and social media to campaign against violations of women's rights and for justice and democracy, Sudan and other African nations have seen the rise of a new generation of women activists (Osman, 2014; Ossome, 2020). An example is the activism of Mona Eltahawy, an Egyptian feminist, who has written about her experiences of state violence experienced as a result of her feminist activism and politics (Eltahawy, 2016). Activism has included movements made up of students, human rights defenders, graduates, lawyers, cultural workers, trade unionists, journalists and peace activists as well as queer individuals/organisations. This has helped African women to make connections with women's organisations across the continent and in the diaspora, drawing attention of international communities to women's oppression across a range of different African contexts.

Overall, the history of women's activism in Africa has often been informed by a Pan-African consciousness. Pan-African consciousness has gained traction through the engagement of African feminists in the innumerable national and transnational organisations and networks that have evolved across the African continent in the recent decades (Osman, 2014). Campbell (1994) noted that whilst Pan-African approaches have taken many forms, Pan-African recognition has been most clearly present and communicated in the project of achieving the liberation of the continent of Africa and the dignity and self-respect of all African persons. When examining the links between early Pan-Africanism and feminism, Reddock (2014) argued that in spite of the patriarchal disposition of early

Pan-Africanist organisations, Pan-Africanism heightened women's consciousness of social justice and created a platform for the procurement of organisational skills, critical for an emergent feminist discourse and praxis.

Pan-Africanist Feminism

Despite the androcentric nature of Pan-Africanist discourse, Boyce-Davies (2014) describes a presence of active women from early on in Pan-Africanist thinking and activism. This involvement of women has often been obscured but later noted by a number of authors (see e.g., Adi, 2018). Pan-Africanist feminists often had to navigate a variation of complex positions around gender, class, race, culture, and national origin within the broader goal of liberating African people, internationally (Boyce-Davies, 2014). The intention to dissociate feminist frameworks of analysis as being separate to Pan-Africanist positions denigrates the work of Pan-Africanists who were women and feminists and adopts a male-centred perspective on the movement. The critique of the overarching position of western feminism arrives from various locations, which challenge the assumption that women experience oppression in the same manner and have access to power in a unilinear way (Boyce-Davies, 2014). European-American cultural formations have tended to assume universality and implicit colonial privilege within feminist discourse and praxis. As a result, current transnational black feminisms draw together the logic of the intersection between Pan-Africanism and feminism (Boyce-Davies, 2014). Transnational feminist practices operate as part of a wider anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist effort paralleling anti-racist feminists in theorising the intersections of gender with race, class, sexuality (Sudbury, 2005) and location. Sudbury (2005) reports how the transnational black feminist approach focuses on the relationship that emanates out of transnational networks of economic and social relations. A growing body of scholarship, in different areas, for example gender and development, the arts, as well as psychology, and produced by black women and women of colour, systematically addresses the nuances of women's lived experiences in various locations. Boyce-Davies (2014) argues that, the most critical recognition in doing transnational feminist work is the understanding that the nation states in which women exist, as subjects, have been produced out of particular political imperatives and (colonial) histories and therefore seek to contain, indiscriminately, a variety of people subject to the idiosyncrasies of the same nation state endeavours. Thus, historically, even when the national

liberation movements dominated, the transnational Pan-African Women's Organisation (PAWO) advocated for women's liberation through a continental lens (Mama & Abbas, 2015). PAWO worked alongside male-dominated nationalist movements, which women of that generation contributed to with numerous courageous actions, often risking their lives (ibid.).

At the same time, neoliberalism and its expansion have important implications for Pan-African feminist organising. Broad features of informal economies have locked women in low-paying, low-skilled, exploitative, and temporary forms of work (Ossome, 2015; Mabilo, 2018). The labour of women in the informal sector is significant, highlighting the feminisation of labour, positioning women into poorly paid and precarious work and social and economic divisions marked by race and class. The insignificant incomes women earn in the informal sector cannot be separated from the gendered and sexist exploitation of wage labour in the formal economy (Ossome, 2015). As a result, Pan-African feminists are faced with the task of forging solidarity beyond a gendered identification. They are confronted with the task of conspiring camaraderie towards a class solidarity that engages and amplifies various mechanisms of labour organising in recognition of a shared and systemic oppression under global capitalism, which manifests also at the level of the household unit (Ossome, 2015). Globalisation of the economy tends to emphasise the links between poverty, informality, and gender, and with numerous men entering the informal economy, women are pushed to the lowest income (Carr & Chen, 2001). It is therefore through gender and class solidarity that it might be possible to hold African states accountable. The greatest challenge then is the capacity of feminists to dispute this highly dispersed global order by forging solidarity with workers' demands as a precondition for progressive Pan-African politics (Ossome, 2015). Discussions have sought to highlight the ways in which labour informalisation is gendered, with implications for a feminist emancipatory agenda (Ossome, 2015; Mabilo, 2018).

Pan-African Feminist Advancements and Continuing Struggles

Women's Political Participation

There exists a sense of frustration among women's movements that, despite women's increasing numbers in decision making, positive change for women is not happening as fast as they would want (Ahikire et al.,

2015; O'Neil & Domingo, 2015). For example, feminised poverty, gender-based violence and the generalised lack of respect for and fulfilment of women's rights seem to be the norm, rather than the exception (Ahikire et al., 2015). Similarly, women's organising within the political institutions of the state has had some impact. While some women have gained influence in political structures, men nevertheless continue to dominate the most powerful positions in society (O'Neil & Domingo, 2015). The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) has been an important space for policy interventions, working to support women parliamentarians to utilise their position more effectively (Ahikire et al., 2015). Across the continent, we also see increasing levels of high level political participation of women, symbolically represented through women presidents in countries such as Liberia, Malawi, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Central African Republic, and more recently, Tanzania. Women's political power is dependent on women's collective capabilities, as this is critical to feminist organisations' challenging of men's dominance and to the solidarity needed to challenge it (O'Neil & Domingo, 2015; Tamale, 2000) especially in areas that are likely to create fierce resistance, such as laws that govern family and intimate relationships (Htun & Weldon, 2011).

The increased participation of women in peace and security decision-making, the prevention of violence against women and the protection of women and girls against sexual and gender-based violence are continuing key challenges for Pan-African feminists (Hendricks, 2015). The *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa* (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda) represents a three year project that sought to increase the participation and contribution of women in national and regional peace and security decision-making and political dialogue in that region (ibid.). These countries were selected for intervention because of the violent conflicts at community, state and interstate levels in that region. Within all the conflicts women were victims (of sexual violence, maimed abductions, displacement), were on the front line (as soldiers, rebels, cooks, intelligence gatherers) and active campaigners of peace, who also spoke out against the violence (ibid.). Yet, women were typically excluded from the peace processes that were unfolding in the region. Consequently, their needs and interests were not being tabled in the peace agreements, or in the post conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding programmes that emanated from the negotiations (ibid.). At the end of it all, it seems that the agreements had unintentionally generated

new forms of dependency, rather than empowering women as change agents (ibid.). The project however produced a strong sense of unity and belonging, sisterhood and comradeship. It strengthened relations between women in the region so that they began to conceive of themselves as a meaningful regional movement on gender, peace, and security, being on a par with similar movements across the continent (Hendricks, 2015). It enabled a collective thinking through possible ways on collaborating in dealing with country and regional challenges. This type of interaction is essential for the production of new forms of knowledge within a Pan-Africanist feminist agenda.

Feminist Knowledge Production

Women on the African continent have joined the struggle to create new and relevant knowledge, in efforts to remedy inequality and ignorance about women's lives (Mama & Barnes, 2007). There are organisations and scholar-activists who continue to create expansive African-centred intellectual equality. These include the *African Gender Institute* at the *University of Cape Town* and *Women and Law in Southern African Research and Education Trust* (WLSA), which combine academic teaching, training, and research with the training of activist research networks (Sanya & Lutomia, 2015). These spaces of knowledge production and dissemination include conferences, journals, gender studies centres and institutes. A notable contribution here is the journal *Feminist Africa*, formerly housed in the *African Gender Institute* and currently housed at the *Institute of African Studies* at the *University of Ghana* with a long tradition of Pan-African thought and vision. The journal aims to address feminist issues, activism, organisation, and knowledge production, from an African continental perspective and has been an important voice for feminists across the continent. The journal has also been instrumental in its insistence on centring a Pan-Africanist vision.

There has been a call for feminist and scholar activist to enhance their research capacities in the interests of promoting feminist knowledge production, alongside a call for Pan-African feminists to engage in the production of home-grown feminist theorising through amplifying the linkages between theory and practice—so importantly highlighted in the struggles of African feminists (Tamale, 2006). Similarly, Mama (2015) has written about the power of feminist Pan-African intellect and that feminist

writing and publishing are significant routes to conscientisation and transformation for women on the continent.

African Feminists Effecting change Through Law

Many African states under pressure from local women's movements have passed laws to criminalise various forms of gender-based violence (GBV), including rape (Gqola, 2015; Medie, 2013). However, in some states, such as in post-war states, there are weak implementing agencies which means that victims of GBV face many obstacles within society and in the criminal justice system that makes it difficult for them to benefit from these laws and receive justice (see Smythe, 2015). Drawing on research from post-conflict Liberia, Medie (2013) investigated the ability of women's movements to influence the state's implementation of rape law. Medie's analysis shows that the rate of withdrawal of rape cases in Liberia is significantly lower than other forms of GBV and is lower now than it was prior to the war. Since the end of Liberia's civil war in 2003, women's groups have worked—sometimes independently, but mostly in collaboration with the state and international organisations (IOs)—to revise or change laws on rape, create institutions to address rape, and provide education on rape to police officers and the public (Medie, 2013). These measures have been argued to contribute to a lower rate of withdrawal of rape cases (ibid.).

The growth of civil society over the last two decades has expanded the political space outside of state control and challenged governments' ability to control women's movements (Medie, 2013). As a result, some movements have managed to effect important changes despite the barriers that they continue to face (ibid.). One important aspect of this activism has been women's efforts to promote the adoption of laws and institutions to overturn existing structures and practices that discriminate against women. For example, a collection of gender and women's rights advocates successfully lobbied for the passage of Ghana's 2007 Domestic Violence Bill (ibid.). However, it is clear that policy adoption is not sufficient for policy implementation. Getting GBV legislation on the statute book is only half the struggle. Where progressive policies have been introduced, the question is about how state agents can interpret, implement, and execute GBV policies in ways that will protect and empower women (Gqola, 2015; Medie, 2013; Smythe, 2015). It is also about thinking about how women's movements can help them to achieve that goal.

Feminist Struggles That Have Used the Arts and Sport

Sub-Saharan Africa has birthed African feminists who have implemented art and performance, in the way of writing, theatre, and sports, as either a form of resistance or a way of challenging inequalities. These feminists have included women such as the Ghanaian writer Ama Ata Aidoo and Cameroonian founder of the Village et Fondation Panafricaine Ki-yi Mbock in Abidjan, Werewere Liking, who used performing arts, oral and written literature, and her everyday life to respond to struggles relating to patriarchy, development, and inequality (Toman, 2015). Werere Liking founded a Village, Ki-yi, in Côte-d'Ivoire on African principles of community, solidarity, and complementarity. Liking's work is an intersection of performance and feminist writing and the impact has been far-reaching (Phelan, 1993; Toman, 2015). The ability of the Village Ki-yi to carry out their projects, successfully, even during times of heightened conflict in Côte-d'Ivoire shows Liking's successful matriarchal style of African feminist leadership and shared governance made possible by embracing traditional African values necessary for tackling problems of a contemporary world (Toman, 2015).

The centrality of bodies in sports and the use of sport to adopt gender differences make the sporting territory a specifically suitable context for grappling with patriarchal imperatives more broadly and the limits of women's political equality (Pelak, 2008). For example, Pelak (2008) focused on how women athletes and sport administrators have used sports, particularly netball and soccer to challenge and transform dominant race and gender relations in post-apartheid South Africa. Research on gender, race, and class hierarchies within sports can be useful for theorising wider issues of gender relations and socialisation, such as gender-based violence and women's bodily autonomy (ibid.). Using sports (soccer—historically constructed as a men-only sport and netball—historically constructed as a women-only sport and controlled by white Afrikaans-speaking women in South Africa), women, and some men have actively and collectively challenged the historical legacies of colonial, apartheid and patriarchal relations (ibid.). Sport, in addition is a powerful site for the amplification of intersectional differences and the challenging of gender dichotomisation as was powerfully illustrated in the case the South African athlete, Caster Semenya (Nyong'o, 2010) who had been barred from participating in women's events by the international athletics federation. There has been much mobilisation and outcry from feminist activists and beyond to the

Caster Semenya case—illustrating solidarities that challenge gender categorisation and dichotomisation.

Displacement, Migration and Gender Inequalities

Effects of migration and displacement are often considered to be same for everyone. However, cisgender women, lesbian, trans and non-binary persons are often vulnerable to multiple forms of violence. It is important therefore to also recognise how gender relations in both origin and host communities influence these groups' experiences as migrants and refugees.

In South Africa, for example, xenophobia is an extensive challenge faced by persons seeking asylum and seeking refuge (see Chap. 3). Women seeking refuge form an especially vulnerable group because of their particular social location at the intersection of marginalised gender, race, class, and citizenship positions (Hicks, 2008). Hicks's (2008) conversations with women seeking refuge reveal abusive treatment at the hands of the government, health officials, and landlords, shaping their lived experience. This treatment ranges from disparaging remarks to sexual harassment. Some women, who are for example pregnant, single mothers, widows, with disabilities or unaccompanied young women are at increased risk (ibid.). Similarly, women seeking refugee also have to deal with the effects of domestic violence and the reality of HIV/AIDS, often lack support networks and frequently have to rely on fellow women refugees (Kanani, 2004). Gender inequalities and abuse of power experienced by women and young girls at refugee settings further exacerbate their vulnerability to different forms of violence (Lugova et al., 2020).

The ongoing humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has triggered sexual and gender-based violence, including rape, sexual slavery, trafficking, intimate partner violence, and sexual exploitation (Lugova et al., 2020). Globally, gender inequalities have a strong relationship with sexual violence. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the vulnerability of women in refugee and Internally displaced people (IDP) camps to Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is predetermined by pre-existing cultural gender inequalities and domestic violence (UNHCR, 2003; Lusey et al., 2014; Muuo et al., 2020). Peacekeepers and aid workers have engaged in hegemonic masculinity practices that provide the context for sexual exploitation and abuse of the most marginalised in the communities—women and children (Kirschner & Miller, 2019; Buvinic et al., 2012). The harm suffered by survivors has hardly

been addressed by any of the agencies, including the United Nations (Ferstman, 2020). The effects of displacement and women's experiences of vulnerability and multiple forms of violence remain an ongoing and important challenge for a Pan-African feminist agenda.

Building Solidarity with Gender Non-conforming and Queer Communities

In the last five centuries, Africans have consistently been described as either hypersexual or non-sexual bodies. For centuries sexuality and social structures relating to sexuality, of persons of African descent has been perceived and highlighted as odd, violent and/or primitive (Lewis, 2011; Mwikya, 2014). It is this colonial legacy that non-heteronormative sexual and non-binary gender identities have inherited (Matebeni, 2013; Mwikya, 2014). The position of queer Africans in independent African states is often contested through the terms and claims of history. Yet, the legacies of institutional colonialism and the ways colonialism has intentionally placed its subjects in sexed and gendered relations and positions is not fully interrogated. Feminists and activists who have consistently challenged the notion that queerness is un-African report that not only did queerness exist in pre-colonial Africa but that it existed in numerous variations, reflecting the diversity of Africa's cultures and with fluidity (Mwikya, 2014). This diversity and fluidity entwines itself in and out of gender norms, social institutions, moral censure, and social utility. As a result, in demand for queer inclusivity many LGBTIQ organisations in Africa place social justice and social democracy firmly on their agenda. A majority of these organisations draw heavily on the liberation independence movements, the African women's movements, and the many protest movements that have emerged in Africa over the past few decades (ibid.). Respectively, a movement is growing, from activists and academics building knowledge and practice to present LGBTIQ struggle in the continent within grassroots movements and to fight for human rights in the context of social justice (Ekine & Abbas, 2013; Matebeni, 2015; Mwikya, 2014). Such efforts are visible in, for example, Uganda, where despite navigating a climate of fear created by the Anti-Homosexuality Act and the Public Order Management Act, LGBTIQ individuals, activists, feminists, academics, politicians and communities have united to challenge the Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA) in court (Civil Society Coalition for Human Rights, 2014). Other projects such as the Mayibuye Pledge, sought to

mobilise Africans to challenge divisively discordant politics incited by political leaders. The Mayibuye Pledge affirms an intersectional approach that links militarism, the crisis in democracy and neoliberalism with patriarchy, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia (Mwikya, 2014). Drawing from the legacy of Pan-Africanism, the pledge was initially structured around African Liberation Day in 2014 and it declares an African future in which freedom is not selective. Furthermore, the African Feminist Forum has organised a series of remarkable continent-wide convenings that call for Pan-African traditions to promote solidarities and shared agendas (Horn, 2010).

As highlighted by Monro et al. (2018) post-apartheid South Africa has taken an internationally leading role in supporting LGBTQI+ rights. It was the first country in the world to constitutionally guarantee non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in 1996 (Gunkel, 2010; Monro et al., 2018). However, regardless of this progressive human rights framework there have been difficulties with implementation of human rights in this area. Similarly, other African states are at different stages in terms of activism around LGBTQI+ issues (Ndashe, 2013). However, whilst homophobia (and transphobia, biphobia, and intersex-phobia) are still strong, various activists, stakeholders, and organisations have been prepared to challenge these forms of prejudice and ongoing activism in this arena offering radical hope for substantive change.

Africa remains marginalised and hampered by destructive conflicts that continue to be misrepresented and poorly understood (Mwikya, 2014). Some of these conflicts include gender-based violence, transphobia, homophobia, queer phobia, and exclusion of those living with disabilities. Pan-African feminist movements have emerged not merely to secure better political representation, but also to challenge multi-facetted cultural and material oppressions based on gender and sexuality (Mwikya, 2014). When focusing on Pan-Africanist discourses in contemporary Africa, precisely in relation to the politics of sexual and gender diversity, van Klinken (2020) examined the populist use of Pan-Africanist rhetoric in narratives mobilising against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) identities and rights. Pan-Africanism as theory and praxis is in continuous contention with other African political and intellectual thought movements including Black consciousness, socialism, Black nationalism, African queer thought and activism (van Klinken, 2020; Mama & Abbas, 2014). In many countries such as Zimbabwe, Uganda and Malawi anti-queer Pan-Africanism rhetoric has often existed alongside legal and political

efforts to persecute people involved in same-sex relationships (van Klinken, 2020). Countries such as Uganda introduced new legislation to criminalise same-sex activity and to criminalise advocacy for LGBTI human rights and, as a result, African LGBTI activists and communities in recent years have developed counter-narratives in which they reclaim and reimagine a queer Africa through a progressive Pan-Africanist lens (Mwikya, 2014; van Klinken, 2020). Some of the resistance has been evident in the use of the term, 'queer'. Ekine and Abbas (2013) explained how their use of the term queer signifies a political frame rather than a gender identity or sexual behaviour. They reported that their use of the term emphasises a perspective that embraces gender and sexual plurality, and seeks to transform, overhaul and revolutionise African order rather than seek to assimilate into oppressive hetero-patriarchal-capitalist frameworks.

Similarly, in challenging the idea that Africa is exclusively heterosexual, queer Pan-Africanism has championed the reclaiming of an ideal African past and the recovering of indigenous traditions of sexual and gender diversity. Academics, feminists, and activists do believe that queerness existed in Africa before colonialism and that it existed in many variations that reflect the diversity of Africa's cultures (van Klinken, 2020). Ugandan feminist scholar and activist, Stella Nyanzi spoke about how 'queering Africa' is about reclaiming Africa in its bold diversities, reclaiming "African modes of blending, bending and breaking gender boundaries reinserting queerness" (ibid., p. 347). Queer Pan-Africanism, an emerging discourse among feminists, activists, artists, and scholars has continued to be concerned with sexual and gender diversity on the continent. Queer Pan-Africanism offers an alternative to Eurocentric models of LGBTI activism and frame queer liberation as part of a broader agenda of decolonisation and African liberation (ibid.).

The Vision of a Pan-African Feminist Psychology

The idea behind Pan-Africanism is an idea which seeks to apply African approaches to African problems. Pan-Africanism demands the unity of all Africans, regardless of social and political differences on the basis that African peoples on the continent and in the diaspora have a common history and destiny (Adi, 2018; Osman, 2014). With regard to the discipline of Psychology, King (2013) reminds us of the fundamental struggle against a Western psychology that not only marginalises communities but also programmes those communities to negate themselves. Therefore,

there has been a necessity for a psychology that is rooted in the consciousness-based African worldview or a Pan-African psychology that is based on the African ethos and the characteristic spirit of the African civilisation (King, 2013). African psychologists have played, and continue to play, a key role in charting more humane futures—both in Africa and across the world. Similarly, feminist scholarship on and from Africa has made important theoretical contributions to Pan-African psychology generating scholarship and activism that speaks to and for the multiplicity of experiences on the continent. The development of various institutional spaces for teaching and research on women and gender studies has been a boost for African feminism (Ahikire, 2014). Academic units specifically created to advance gender and women's studies have been at the forefront of raising the bar on feminist scholarship on the continent in countries as far apart as Uganda, Cameroon, Ghana, South Africa, and Senegal (Ahikire, 2014). There is an evident need to take gender analysis as seriously as class and other aspects of social stratification and anti-imperialism. The multiplicity of women's daily struggles and organisational spaces at local, national, and international levels has, in a way, pushed the social boundaries (Ahikire, 2014). Without doubt, these struggles have been imbued within the Pan-Africanist agenda—as outlined above.

African feminist thought and practice has, of necessity always been Pan-Africanist—as well as decolonial. Anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles have been part and parcel of African feminisms—illustrated through women's resistances to colonial patriarchies and later through the continuation of coloniality in finding new ways to challenge "narrow masculinist nationalists politics" (Ossome, 2020, p. 163) and the stark realities of the postcolonial state. Ossome (2020) argues that African feminism is decidedly different from a liberal feminist focus on equality and inclusion through its recognition of the fundamental importance of "neocolonialism, monopoly finance capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, exploitation and the carceral state (against which emancipation, freedom, desubjectification and decolonisation emerge as primary demands)" (p. 164).

In closing, we envision a Pan-African feminist psychology as incorporating these aspects of African feminist theorising, fundamentally centring intersectional struggles that challenge racist and colonial patriarchies, ongoing forms of exclusion and erasure, homophobic, transphobic rhetoric and practice and continuing forms of exploitation and violence. This Pan-African feminist psychology will challenge the neoliberal development discourse of 'empowerment' in which the symbolic figures of those

who need empowerment are imagined to be 'the helpless African girl or woman' in need of saving from white philanthropists or white feminists (Rutherford, 2018). It is a psychology, in theory and practice that "… centres African women as protagonists of their actual lived realities—an understanding that our histories have also bequeathed us the tools with which to fight for and imagine a more emancipated feminist existence" (Ossome, 2020, p. 167).

References

Abbas, H., & Mama, A. (2014). Editorial: Feminism and Pan-Africanism. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 1–6.

Abbas, H., & Mama, A. (2015). Editorial: Pan-Africanism and feminism. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 1–5.

Adi, H. (2018). *Pan-Africanism: A history*. Bloomsbury.

Ahikire, J. (2014). Reflections on the legitimation battles, victories and reversals. *Feminist Africa*, *19*, 7–23.

Ahikire, J., Musiimenta, P., & Mwiine, A. A. (2015). Making a Difference: Embracing the challenge of women's substantive engagement in political leadership in Uganda. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 26–42.

Ahmed, M. M. E. (2014). *The women's movement in Sudan from nationalism to transnationalism: Prospects for a solidarity movement*. Doctoral dissertation, York University.

Arndt, S. (2000). African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An Interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wanjira Muthoni. *Signs, 25*(3), 709–726e.

Badri, H. (2009). Women's Movement in Sudan. Khartoum: Sudan Currency Printing Press.

Boonzaier, F. & Shefer, T. (2006). Gendered research. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), The gender of psychology (pp. 3–11). UCT Press: Cape Town.

Boyce-Davies, C. (2014). Pan-Africanism, transnational black feminism and the limits of culturalist analyses in African gender discourses. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 78–93.

Buvinic, M., Gupta, M. D., Casabonne, U., & Verwimp, P. (2012). *Violent conflict and gender inequality: An overview*. Households in conflict network. The Institute of Development Studies.

Campbell, H. (1994). "Pan Africanism and African Liberation", in Lemelle, Sydney J. and Kelley, Robin G. eds. Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora. London and New York: Verso.

Carr, M., & Chen, M. A. (2001). *Globalization and the informal economy: How global trade and investment impact on the working poor*. Women in Informal Employment, Globalisation and Organising.

Civil Society Coalition for Human Rights and Constitutional Law. (2014). Legality of Anti Homosexuality Act challenged in constitutional court by an unprecedented coalition of petitioners; injunction against enforcement sought.

Ekine, S., & Abbas, H. (2013). Introduction. In S. Ekine & H. Abbas (Eds.), *Queer African reader* (p. 3). Pambazuka Press.

Eltahawy, M. (2016). *Headscarves and Hymens: Why the Middle East needs a sexual revolution*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Ferstman, C. (2020). Reparation for sexual exploitation and abuse in the (Post) conflict context: The need to address abuses by peace keepers and humanitarian aid workers. In C. Ferstman & M. Goetz (Eds.), *Reparations for victims of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity* (pp. 271–297). Brill.

Francis, D. (2006). *Uniting Africa: Building regional peace and security system*. Ashgate.

Galvão, I., & Laranjeiro, C. (2019). Gender struggle in Guinea-Bissau: Women's participation on and off the liberation record. In N. Domingos, M. B. Jeronimo, & R. Roque (Eds.), *Resistance and colonialism* (pp. 85–122). Palgrave Macmillan.

Gorani, A. (2011). Sudanese women demand justice. Retrieved April 10, 2021, from http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/amel-gorani/sudanese-women-demand-justice.

Gqola, P. D. (2015). *Rape: A South African nightmare*. MF Books.

Gunkel, H. (2010). The Cultural Politics of Female Sexuality in South Africa New York and London: Routledge.

Hassim, S. (2006). *Women's organizations and democracy in South Africa: Contesting authority*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Hendricks, C. (2015). Creating Women's leadership for peace and security in the greater horn of Africa: The limitations of capacity-building as remedy for gender inequality. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 43–56.

Hicks, J. (2008). Crafting spaces for women's voices: The case of refugee women in KwaZulu-Natal. In H. Britton, J. Fish, & S. Meintjes (Eds), *Women's activism in South Africa working across divides* (pp. 239–261). University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Horn, J. (2010). Feeding freedom's hunger: Reflections on the second African Feminist Forum. *Feminist Africa, 11*, 121–126.

Htun, M., & Weldon, S. L. (2011). The civic origins of progressive policy change: Combating violence against women in global perspective, 1975–2005. *American Political Science Review, 106*(03), 548–569.

Jalufka, A. M. (2011). Black African women's motivations for Involvement in southern Africa's liberation struggles. Unpublished bachelor's thesis. Texas A&M University. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/79647082.pdf

Kanani, E. (2004). 'Investigation into the Living Conditions, Survival Strategies and Acceptance of Refugee Women in KwaZulu-Natal'. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Kessi, S. & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 48*(3), 299–309.

King, L., & M. (2013). In discourse-toward a Pan-African Psychology: Drum rolls for a psychology of emancipation. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(3), 223–231.

Kirschner, S., & Miller, A. (2019). Does peacekeeping really bring peace? Peacekeepers and combatant-perpetrated sexual violence in civil wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution., 63*(9), 2043–2070.

Lewis, D. (2011). Representing African sexualities. In S. Tamale (Ed.), African sexualities: A reader (pp. 199–216). Cape Town, South Africa: Pambazuka.

Lugova, H., Samad, N., & Haque, M. (2020). Sexual and gender-based violence among refugees and internally displaced persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Post-conflict scenario. *Dove Press Journal. Risk Management and Healthcare Policy, 13*, 2937–2948.

Lusey, H., San Sebastian, M., Christianson, M., Dahlgren, L., & Edin, K. (2014). Conflicting discourses of church youths on masculinity and sexuality in the context of HIV in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo. SAHARA-J: *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS, 11*(1), 84–93.

Ly, A. (2014). Promise and Betrayal: Women fighters and national Liberation in Guinea Bissau. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 24–42.

Mabilo, M. (2018). *Women in the informal economy: Precarious labour in South Africa*. Masters dissertation. Stellenbosch University.

Mama, A. (1997). Heroes and Villains: Conceptualising Colonial and Contemporary Violence against Women in Africa In Alexander M,J. Mohanty C.T (eds) Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures. (pp. 46–62). New York/London Routledge.

Mama, A. (2001). Challenging subjects: Gender and power in African contexts. African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie, *5*(2), 63–73.

Mama, A. (2005). Editorial: Women mobilized. *Feminist Africa, 4*, 1–9.

Mama, A. (2015). Beyond the frontiers: Feminist activism in the 'global' academy. *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies, 9*, 35–48.

Mama, A., & Barnes, T. (2007). Editorial: Rethinking universities I. *Feminist Africa, 8*, 1–7.

Mama, A., & Okazawa-Rey, M. (2008). Editorial: Militarism, Conflict and women's activism. *Feminist Africa, 10*, 1–8.

Matebeni, Z. (2013). Intimacy, queerness, race. *Cultural Studies, 27*(3), 404–417.

Matebeni, Z. (2015). Sexual minorities in South Africa. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of social & behavioral sciences* (Vol. 21, 2nd ed., pp. 744–749). Elsevier.

Medie, P. A. (2013). Fighting gender-based violence: The women's movement and the enforcement of rape Law in Liberia. *African Affairs, 112*(448), 377–397.

Mohanty, C. T. (1986). "Under Western Eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses". Boundary 2 *12*(3): 333–58.

Molyneux, M. (1985). Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state, and revolution in Nicaragua. *Feminist Studies 11*(2): 227–54.
Monro, S., Matebeni, Z., & Reddy, V. (Eds.) (2018). Queer in Africa: LGBTQI Identities, Citizenship, and Activism. Routledge.
Muuo, S., Muthuri, S. K., Mutua, M. K., McAlpine, A., Bacchus, L. J., Ogego, H., ... & Izugbara, C. (2020). Barriers and facilitators to care-seeking among survivors of gender-based violence in the Dadaab refugee complex. Sexual and reproductive health matters, *28*(1), 1722404.
Mwikya, K. (2014). Unnatural and Un-African: Contesting queer-phobia by Africa's political leadership. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 98–105.
Ndashe, S. (2013). The single story of "African homophobia" is dangerous for LGBTI activism. In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African sexualities: A reader* (pp. 156–164). Pambazuka Press.
Nfah-Abbenyi, J. M. (1997). Gender in African women's writing: Identity, sexuality, and difference. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.
Nyong'o, T. (2010). The unforgivable transgression of being Caster Semenya. *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory, 20*(1), 95–100.
O'Neil, T., & Domingo, P. (2015). *The power to decide: Women, decision-making and gender equality*. Shaping policy for development. ODI briefing paper.
OECD Development Centre. (2019). Social and institutions gender index. https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/GW.pdf
Ogundipe-Leslie, M. (1994). Re-creating ourselves: African women & critical transformations. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press.
Osman, A. (2014). Beyond the Pan-Africanist agenda: Sudanese women's movement, achievements and challenges. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 43–57.
Ossome, L. (2015). In search of the state? Neoliberalism and the labour question for Pan-African feminism. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 6–23.
Ossome, L. (2020). African feminism. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism*. Routledge.
Pelak, F. C. (2008). Women's sport as a site for challenging racial and gender inequalities in post-apartheid South Africa. In H. Britton, J. Fish & S. Meintjes (Eds). *Women's activism in South Africa working across divides* (pp. 96–123). University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
Phelan, P. (1993). Reciting the citation of others; or, a second introduction. In L. Hart & P. Phelan (Eds.), *Acting out: Feminist performances* (p. 15). University of Michigan Press.
Reddock, R. (2014). The first Mrs Garvey: Pan-Africanism and feminism in the early 20th century British colonial Caribbean. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 58–77.
Rutherford, A. (2018). Feminism, psychology, and the gendering of neoliberal subjectivity: From critique to disruption. *Theory & Psychology, 28*(5), 619–644. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354318797194

Sanya, B. N., & Lutomia, A. N. (2015). Archives and Collective Memories: Searching for African women in the Pan-African imaginary. *Feminist Africa, 20*, 69–76.

Smit, E. (2006). Western psychiatry and gender identity disorder (GID): A critical perspective. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier, & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 250–292). Juta/UCT Press.

Smythe, D. (2015). *Rape unresolved: Policing sexual offences in South Africa*. Juta and Company Ltd.

Sudbury, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Introduction: Global lockdown: Race, gender, and the prison-industrial complex*. Routledge.

Tamale, S. (2000). 'Point of order, Mr Speaker': African women claiming their space in parliament. *Gender and Development., 8*(3), 8–15.

Tamale, S. (2006). African feminism: How should we change? *Development, 49*(1), 38–41.

Toman, C. (2015). The impact of African feminisms and performance in conflict zones: Were liking in Côte-d'Ivoire and Mali. *Feminist Studies, 41*(1), 72–87.

UNHCR. (2003). The UN refugee agency. Sexual and gender-based violence against refugees, returnees, and internally displaced persons. Guidelines for prevention and response. Retrieved January 14, 2021, from https://www.unhcr.org/en-my/protection/women/3f696bcc4/sexual-gender-based-violence-against-refugees-returnees-internally-displaced.html

Urdang, Stephanie (1979). Fighting two colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Ussher, J. M. (2010). Are we medicalizing women's misery? A critical review of women's higher rates of reported depression. *Feminism & Psychology, 20*, 9–35.

van Klinken, A. (2020). Queer Pan-Africanism in contemporary Africa. In R. Rabaka (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 343–354). Taylor and Francis Group.

Winyi, Norah. (2013). African Women organizing and pan-Africanism: The Case of FEMNET. The African Women's Journal 6.

World Health Organisation. (2014). Global Status Report on Violence Prevention. World Health Organisation. https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/status_report/2014/en/

CHAPTER 5

Institutional Racism and the University in Africa: A Focus on South Africa

Following the 2015 student movements in South Africa, many questions have re-emerged about the role of the university in Africa. Universities in Africa have historically been sites for the expansion of cultural westernisation on the continent (Mazrui, 2005). Yet, at the same time, it is within university spaces that many conversations, contestations, and student movements have disrupted the 'coloniality of knowledge production' (Mignolo, 2007) and set in motion the development of a Pan-African vision for the continent.

Over the three decades following independence, movements towards the decolonisation and Africanisation of universities were aimed at supporting the nation-building project and challenging the Eurocentrism of the University. Of note were the *Ibadan School of History*, the *Dar es Salaam School of Political Economy*, and the *Dakar School of Culture* (see Tella & Mosala, 2020). These schools challenged the misrepresentations of African history as backward and uncivilised, stressed the role of European colonialism in the destruction and underdevelopment of African economies, and highlighted the epistemic violence of Eurocentric knowledge production. Literary scholars from the *University of Nairobi* as well as the contributors to the *Heineman African Writers Series* transformed the literature curriculum across the continent (Adebajo, 2020; Garuba, 2020). In the United States, courses and departments in black studies, black women's studies, and African American studies emerged in the

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_5

aftermath of the civil rights movement, as a response to black students being alienated by their experiences of predominantly white universities and their curricula (Adebajo, 2020), which was followed by the establishment of historically black universities (HBUs) (see Allen et al., 2020). Centring Africa and blackness, including black women studies, represented a challenge to Eurocentric teaching and research practices and acted as a deliberate attempt to restore self-determined social change and nation-building. This was a period of excitement and rejuvenation for African scholars, cultural activists, and politicians paving the way for a new African identity and restoring pride and dignity in a continent devastated by the remnants of colonisation.

However, the Washington Consensus and the *World Bank/International Monetary Fund's* (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in the 1980s brought education reforms that followed a market logic. These reforms promoted the privatisation, commodification, and vocationalisation of higher education (Murunga, 2007). In *Scholars at the Market Place: The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University 1989–2005*, Mamdani (2007) describes the experience of Makerere, a leading university on the continent. The reduction in government spending on higher education led to the emergence of a class of fee-paying students, financial decentralisation, and internal competition for resources. Other effects included the pressure to increase student numbers without increases in academic staff, leading to staff burnout and inadequate teaching venues—but also the devolution of teaching responsibilities away from permanent staff to contract staff, all of which had a negative impact on the quality of education. These are interesting lessons for universities across the continent, and especially for South African institutions that are facing similar pressures post-apartheid with calls for transformation and decolonisation of higher education emerging in the context of market-oriented higher education policies (Sheehan, 2009).

It was not until South Africa's independence in 1994 and the two decades that followed that renewed energy in the decolonisation and Africanisation of higher education emerged. The African Renaissance of Thabo Mbeki saw the rekindling of Pan-African ideals (Adebajo, 2020). South Africa, the remaining bastion of white privilege on the continent, became simultaneously the new hope for a re-emergence of continental solidarity (Adebajo, 2020). Despite the continuing Africanist and Marxist debates in South African higher education rooted in the 1960s, the current commercialisation of higher education requires new and critical

insights into questions of relevance, equity, and access. Whilst drawing on the critical influence of Pan-Africanism on higher education across the continent, this chapter focuses on the current debates in South Africa with a particular consideration on the experience of the *University of Cape Town* (UCT), which has replaced Makerere as the leading institution on the continent according to international (read global north) standards (Ndelu, 2020).

The Context of South African Universities

Following the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, the South African government turned its attention towards the transformation of higher education institutions. This involved the mergers of the then 36 into the current 26 higher education institutions and the establishment of a number of bodies mandated to develop policy and practices for transformation, such as the *National Commission on Higher Education* (NCHE) in 1995, the *Centre for Higher Education Transformation* (CHET) in 1996, and later *Higher Education South Africa* (HESA) established in 2005 and renamed *Universities South Africa* (USAF) in 2015. The Education White Paper 3 of 1997 formed the basis on which the transformation of higher education would evolve and outlined the principles for a single national and co-ordinated system (Mngomezulu, 2020). This included the foundations for restructuring the number and type of institutions and their specific purpose. The proposed mergers nevertheless encountered resistance because of the historical institutional cultures, including the different racial and ethnic groups that these institutions were serving (Mngomezulu, 2020).

The legacies of apartheid shaped the current landscape of institutional cultures in universities. There were three distinct types of universities: Afrikaans universities, English universities, and 'Bush' colleges (Sheehan, 2009). Afrikaans and English universities were historically reserved for white students, whereas 'Bush' colleges were historically black universities (HBUs) established following the Extension of University Education Act No. 4 of 1959 (Mngomezulu, 2020). As Sheehan (2009) illustrates: "The Afrikaans universities—Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Rand Afrikaans, Free State, Potchefstroom—were fashioned in the mould of the volks university and functioned as bastions of intellectual justification of apartheid" (p. 72). Afrikaans universities subscribed to intellectual traditions from continental Europe, whereas the English universities—Cape Town, Witwatersrand,

Rhodes, and Natal—were emulating British institutions, describing themselves as "Oxbridge in Africa" with a strong focus on liberal traditions (Sheehan, 2009). HBUs including Zululand, Vista, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, the North, and Fort Hare were designed for African students, and Western Cape and Durban-Westville for historically classified 'coloured' and Indian students (Sheehan, 2009). HBUs were focused on vocational or professional training to prepare the black population for positions reserved for them under apartheid policies.

Despite repressive apartheid planning and segregation, it is from within these universities that many student protests against apartheid emerged. Pan-African and Marxist critiques of Afrikaner nationalism and English liberalism were the focus of student organising, which developed into resistances to institutional racism and the Eurocentric knowledge project, marked by the formation of the *South African Student Organisation* (SASO), an organisation of black students who broke away from the *National Union of South African Students* (NUSAS) (Sheehan, 2009). Many leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle were born out of student politics and organising.

Student resistance and protests have re-emerged in contemporary contexts. The fallist movements, starting with *Rhodes Must Fall* (#RMF) at UCT followed by *Fees Must Fall* (#FMF) that led to a national shutdown of universities in 2015, called for free decolonised education. These movements were centred on protests against structural, epistemic and cultural questions, including the inaccessibility of tuition fees, the Eurocentric curriculum, and the alienating institutional culture, all of which impact on access, belonging, and wellbeing. The demonstrations have continued in more sporadic forms since 2015 with the latest protests occurring in March 2021 at some institutions calling for free education and for universities to write off students' historical debt.

In addition to the premises on which the decolonisation movements in universities on the rest of the continent took place, the South African experience of historically white universities (HWUs) has shown some similarities to the experiences of black students in North American universities with regards to institutional racism as a key contributor to experiences of exclusion and alienation. The transformation imperative in South Africa has focused mostly on demographic change as a key factor to transform institutional racialisation. To a large extent, demographic change amongst the student population has seen positive developments. Statistics from 2018 indicate that 76% of students enrolled in higher education

institutions are African South African, 6% are 'coloured', 4% are Indian, and 13% are white (see Council on Higher Education, 2018),[1] although race differences in throughput and graduation rates remains high. Changes in the demographic profiles of staff have been much slower and less attention has been paid to the less visible institutional and everyday practices that sustain racialised power. In the remainder of this chapter, we therefore explore institutional racism as an under-researched area in Pan-African thought. A psychological reading of institutional racism in HWUs in the South African context can contribute to our understandings of blackness and the possibilities and limitations of African unity.

Transformation in Higher Education in South Africa

Transformation policies in higher education in South Africa have largely focused on demographic changes in the student body. In order to do this, HWUs adopted affirmative action policies and academic rehabilitation programmes (or extended degree programmes), which are 4-year undergraduate degree programmes instead of the usual 3-year programmes and include foundation courses in quantitative and language literacy. At UCT for example, the affirmative action policy until 2016 used 'race' as a proxy for disadvantage. The rationale for this policy was that black students in the main were graduating from under-resourced high-schools as a direct legacy of apartheid policies. The policy was therefore aimed at levelling the playing field and giving black students a fair chance of access into HWUs. As mentioned above, transformation in the staff profiles of HWUs has been much slower despite national employment equity policies. Only 20% of academics in HWUs are black and a very small percentage of these are full professors.[2] These statistics are skewed by gender as well with black women being grossly under-represented as academic staff and even more so at senior levels of the university. This is partly the result of structural challenges, such as the lack of qualified black scholars in the early post-apartheid years, the lack of flexibility in employment practices, but also and importantly continuing discriminatory employment practices. A case in point is the ongoing *Black Academic Caucus & Ramugondo versus*

[1] https://www.che.ac.za/#/docview

[2] https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/11/10/black-faculty-members-will-soon-outnumber-white-professors-south-africas

UCT legal challenge heard in the High Court of South Africa.[3] This case challenges the appointment of an allegedly less qualified white scholar to a senior position in the university over a black South African, woman professor. There is a growing literature on the experiences of black scholars in higher education in South Africa that speaks to the visible and less visible forms of institutional racism that prevail (see Khunou et al., 2019). These occur in employment practices but also in everyday forms of exclusion and marginalisation in access to research awards, funding and resources, the overburdening of junior black scholars with heavy undergraduate teaching loads, and other discriminatory practices that restrict possibilities for growth and promotion. In recent years, several programmes focused on the development of black scholars have been instituted in response to these challenges. These include the New Generation of Academics Programme (nGAP) funded by the *Department of Higher Education* (DHET) and the Black Academic Advancement Programme (BAAP) funded by the *National Research Foundation* (NRF). These programmes aim to assist black scholars develop and strengthen their academic skills through teaching replacement grants and other grants for research activities. Whilst these programmes are important, they do not address structural inequities and arguably reinforce these by adopting a similar deficit logic to student academic development programmes.

Despite the successes in changing the demographics of the student body, the experiences of black students in these institutions remain precarious. The 2008 racist Reitz incident at the *University of the Free State (UFS)* illustrates very starkly the deep-rooted racism that occurs in these institutions. A group of white students protesting the racial integration of student residences on the UFS (an historically Afrikaans university) campus created a video in which they depicted four black, mostly female, campus workers in derogatory ways and edited the footage in such a way that it appeared that one of the black workers ate from a bowl that a white student had urinated in. This incident motivated the Minister of Higher Education to request an investigation into the progress made by universities towards transformation. The Ministerial report of 2008 (also referred to as the Soudien report) found that racialisation and the prevailing culture of whiteness were key drivers of the continued exclusion and alienation of black students (Soudien et al., 2008). Student protests through #RMF and #FMF also aired the various ways in which black students have

[3] https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/black-prof-takes-uct-to-court-20180303

continued to experience humiliation, alienation, and direct racism at HWUs across the country.

The challenges facing South African higher education institutions almost 30 years since the dismantling of apartheid remain vast and serious (Badat, 2010). Amongst these, institutional racism remains a critical and under-researched area that contributes to the exclusion and marginalisation of black students and staff in universities.

Institutional Racism

A Pan-African, liberatory, or decolonial orientation to ways of knowing locates racism as a globalised and structural knowledge system predicated on the domination and control of black people in the global south and the diaspora in the interest of maintaining white supremacist ideology. Racism is thus rooted in the social and structural rather than in the personal and psychological (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). However, racism also permeates social relations through shared negative representations that are acquired in social situations (van Dijk, 1989) and persists through self-regulation (Baez, 2000). A psychological reading of racism can reveal the different ways and levels at which racism operates, structurally, epistemically, internally, and relationally. Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael) and Charles Hamilton in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967) define institutional racism as a set of practices that are often concealed and seen as part of legitimate and established societal structures, and therefore receive less public condemnation. Elsewhere, institutional racism has been defined as "that which covertly or overtly, resides in the policies, procedures, operations and culture of public or private institutions—reinforcing individual prejudices and being reinforced by them in turn.[4]"

In the USA, there has been much attention paid to institutional racism in the police following the killings of black civilians by the police, which inspired the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. The life sentencing of a police officer for the murder of George Floyd in June 2021 in Minnesota represents a critical moment in the history of police brutality against black

[4] UK *Institute for Race Relations*: https://irr.org.uk/article/what-is-institutional-racism/#:~:text=Institutional%20racism%20is%20that%20which,reinforced%20by%20them%20in%20turn

people in the USA.[5] In the UK, the racially motivated murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 led to a formal inquiry into the police force led by a retired High Court judge, Sir William Macpherson. The Macpherson report concluded that institutional racism was present in the police organisation. This represented a critical moment for race relations in the UK and it was followed by many policy changes. Institutional racism in the Macpherson report is defined as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report (February 1999, chap. 6)[6]

This definition is further supported by the *Commission for Racial Equality* (UK) who state, "If racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs or practices, that institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions".[7] This definition highlights how racism as a structural problem becomes part of the institutional cultures of organisations and how it is manifested in daily social interactions.

Racism was institutionalised in South Africa during the apartheid era through laws and policies of separate development. This was implemented through the classification of people into separate and permanent race categories through the *Population Regulation Act of 1950*. Political segregation was enforced through restrictions on governance through the *Native Affairs Act of 1920*, the *Bantu Authorities Act of 1951*, and the *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959*. Spatial segregation referred to the forced removal of Africans from their land and the control of urbanisation (*Land Act of 1913, the Native Urban Area Act of 1923*). Labour restrictions were also imposed through job reservation policies according to race groups, the prohibition of cross-race trade unions and the criminalisation of African unions and labour strikes. Laws regulating social segregation pervaded the intimate sphere and included the prohibition of sexual

[5] https://www.cnn.com/2021/06/25/us/derek-chauvin-sentencing-george-floyd/index.html

[6] https://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/feb/24/lawrence.ukcrime7

[7] https://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/feb/24/lawrence.ukcrime7

relations and marriage between races and the separate use of public facilities (*The immorality act of 1927, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953*). Educational segregation was legislated through the *Bantu Education Act of 1953* and the *Extension of University Education Act of 1959* which legitimated apartheid through the curriculum and led to the establishment of separate and under-resources schools and universities for blacks.

These are examples of the totality of the apartheid racist project and of how racism was institutionalised *officially* in very real and practical ways. With the dismantling of apartheid, these laws no longer exist, however, the habitual practices and behaviours acquired during that time have translated into a common-sense knowledge about racial differences and are arguably still internalised beliefs that, unless challenged, remain part of the legitimate and justifiable practices of organisations. Hence institutional racism does not only manifest in terms of the concrete rules and practices but also through underlying assumptions, beliefs or less visible practices which are played out and maintained in everyday relations. In post-apartheid South Africa, institutional racism in the police can also be seen through the tragic events surrounding the killing of 34 mineworkers by the police in 2012, referred to as the *Marikana Massacre*. During 2020, we saw the killing of civilians by police supposedly enforcing lockdown restrictions during the Covid pandemic. More recently in March 2021, the killing of a by-stander by rubber bullets during the student protests at the *University of the Witwatersrand* in Johannesburg also raised widespread anger about police violence towards black people.

Institutional Racism in South African HWUs: A Focus on UCT

In the following sections, we discuss how institutional racism persists in HWUs with a focus on the *University of Cape Town (UCT)*. UCT is often described as having a liberal culture by having first opened its doors to black students before 1959 and opposed academic segregation in the 1950s (Luescher, 2009). Nevertheless, the circumstances surrounding the Archie Mafeje affair tell a different story about a university that rescinded the appointment of a black South African scholar in the Department of Social Anthropology in 1968 (see Ntsebeza, 2014). These contradictions speak to the contested nature of transformation at UCT. Over the past few

years, transformation at UCT has received renewed attention with questions of institutional racism being at the centre of the discourse. Much can be attributed to the #RMF movement and its focus on the representational and aesthetic practices of the institution as well as the daily experiences of black students at the university.

Representations of Blackness in Historically White Institutions (HWUs)

Institutional racism in higher education in South Africa has been documented through the experiences of black students (e.g. Bangeni & Kapp, 2005; Higham, 2012; Sennett et al., 2003; Vincent, 2008; Woods, 2001). These studies have shown how black students are represented in racialising ways as lacking in skills and capabilities, as intellectually inferior, as underperforming and having to catch up with their white counterparts, or as bringing down the standards of the university (Kessi & Cornell, 2015) through historical images reliant on a dominant colonial narrative of black inferiority/white superiority (Cokley, 2003; Harper, 2009; Perry, 2003; Robus & Macleod, 2006). These representations are manifestations of deep-seated beliefs that black students lack the necessary competencies to embark on a university education as compared to their white counterparts and that they are overloading and undermining the higher education system. National and international media have contributed extensively to negative representations of blackness in their critiques of affirmative action policies (see Kessi & Cornell, 2015).

Such representations of blackness are reminiscent of recurring debates around 'race' and IQ in academia (Raditlhalo, 2007). They culminate into a persistent discourse that equates growing numbers of black students with a lowering of university standards and curricula. In a context where institutionalised racism is not recognised, black students themselves may become complicit in this denial and internalize the images attributed to them. In some instances, black students silence themselves in classroom debates or engage in self-negating discourses. At other times, they complain of the stigma of others who question how they got accepted into various programmes of study, being overly scrutinised in their assignments, or the stigma associated with being assigned to extended degree programmes. Black students experience these overt and covert forms of racism on a daily basis in classrooms, in student residences, and other public spaces across the campus (Kessi & Cornell, 2015). These experiences

cause harmful consequences leading students to disengagement, negative self-esteem, risky sexual behaviour, depression, and suicidal ideation, stress, and drop out (Cornell & Kessi, 2021).

It is clear that institutional racism not only has devastating effects on the lives and experiences of black students in HWUs, but also obscures the discriminatory processes that continue to exclude black students from successful performance whilst at university. In a context where there is little common understanding or recognition of institutional racism, affirmative action and academic support programmes translate into the rehabilitation of the defective student rather than mechanisms to address the institutionalised racism that excludes students who would not be accepted or succeed otherwise. Indeed, affirmative action has been accused on the one hand of re-institutionalising apartheid divisions (Erasmus, 2010; Soudien, 2010) and on the other hand of further stigmatising black students who are seen as lacking in competencies (Ncayiyana, 2012). As a result, black students often distance themselves from these interventions in order to protect their self-worth.

In the absence of a collective recognition of institutionalised racism, racialising practices in HWUs will linger on via often obscured and internalised forms. Even in circumstances where institutional racism is acknowledged, there also needs to be a collective understanding of what this means. Liberal approaches that tend to support affirmative action policies are guilty of promoting paternalistic perspectives that are aimed at *helping* black students to *catch up*, thereby denying them the capabilities and entitlement to a university education. This ambivalence is a central mechanism of discriminatory power (Bhabha, 1994) as it allows institutions to support transformation programmes on a rational level whilst harbouring less visible and deep-seated beliefs in the lack of knowledge and capabilities of black students. Opposing arguments, on the other hand, are often based on the denial of institutionalised racism as something that happened in the past through colour-blind discourses (Friedman, 2020) or claims of reverse racism (Maphai, 2008). It is this complexity in perspectives that should concern academia and policymaking, in particular the damaging representational politics that stem from and thrive on these dubious claims to morality.

What is common nevertheless between all of these views is the focus on the rehabilitation of the deficient student. Racialising representations have the effect of putting the responsibility for transformation onto black students by locating the problem of underperformance in their backgrounds

or characteristics as individuals whilst exonerating the role of institutional practices. Hence, the racialising representations and lack of recognition of black students within higher education discourses not only conflict with policy aims but also absolve existing institutional practices. Although black students have been formally and increasingly included in institutions of higher learning, their position within the representations of educational achievement remains precarious. This lack of recognition is exclusionary and alienating and aims at preventing certain voices from participating in the process of re-imagining the transformation of HWUs. A Pan-African lens on institutional racism in HWUs should therefore promote a critical engagement with the social and psychological challenges and consequences of institutional racism and produce alternative representations of blackness. Additional research is also needed on how affirmative action may inadvertently deepen divisions amongst the categories of black students, whether these are based on national and/or historical apartheid identities as the experience in the US has shown on the disparities between black immigrants and African Americans in the affirmative action debate (see Haynie, 2002).

In studies we have conducted on the experiences of black students at UCT, we have found that experiences of blackness are also complicated by intersecting identities (Boonzaier & Mhkize, 2018; Cornell et al., 2016). The patriarchal, masculinist, heterosexist and heteronormative cultures of higher education institutions (Ellis, 2009; Rankin, 2005) mean that the experience of being black at university will be coloured by other factors, such as class, sexual and gender diversity. Transformation policies in South Africa have typically focused on the race question and have not paid sufficient attention to how other markers of identity impact on people's experiences of blackness. Black women students and black LGBTQ students have described their experiences of isolation and exclusion in programmes of study that are seen as masculine subjects, especially in the STEM disciplines (Boonzaier & Mhkize, 2018). LGBTQ students have described their experiences of being invisible with no adequate access to bathrooms, having student cards that don't reflect their identities, the daily violences of living in single sex residences, and homophobic experiences (Cornell et al., 2016). In addition to a Pan-African approach, definitions of institutional racism would benefit from the contribution of black feminist theories (see Chap. 4) on the intersectionality of experiences and a more complex analysis of historical power matrices (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins,

2000) and thereby challenge binary constructions in representations that further entrench institutional racism and obscure transformation processes.

Culture and Aesthetics in HWUs

Another area of concern for addressing institutional racism is the symbolisms on university campuses. Artworks, statues, and monuments are key considerations in the de-racialisation (and decolonisation) of institutions in South Africa and across the continent and were a key factor that sparked the #RMF movement. The art, monuments, and symbols displayed on university campuses are powerful objects of representation and demonstrations of cultural power. These objects tell stories about an institution and reflect what an institution values as important or in need of memorialisation. The statue of Cecil John Rhodes and its removal was a stark example of the contested nature of racism at UCT. Rhodes has been depicted by some as a successful business man and benefactor to UCT through the donation of land—and by others as a violent racist colonial figure who built his empire on stolen land (see Adebajo, 2020; Nyamnjoh, 2016). The reverence given to the very large statue of Rhodes that stood in the middle of the UCT campus was a constant reminder of the pain and oppression of black people and the university holding on to its racialised past. Similar to the representational dynamics described above, these cultural symbols of white supremacist conquest have an impact on people's identities and sense of belonging in an institution. The throwing of human excrement on the Rhodes statue during the student protests in 2015 represented a visceral response to the alienation of black bodies at UCT.

Another important event during the #RMF protests was the robing of the sculpture of Sarah Baartman (see Kessi, 2019). The steel sculpture of Sarah Baartman created by artist Willie Bester was robed by students and staff during three ceremonies over the period 2015–2018. These robing ceremonies were acts of collective commemoration and healing designed to restore dignity to a woman who had suffered terrible violence as a slave in Europe in the 1800s in the name of science (see Crais & Scully, 2009). The ceremonies were also aimed at highlighting our collective pain and how the shaming of black bodies, in particular black women's bodies, is an ongoing experience at the university and in the broader society. The healing of past wounds through such ceremonial practices was a strong signal to the university of how institutional racism is carried across generations through a colonial aesthetic, and the need to disrupt it. Following these

events, the UCT *Works of Arts Committee* (WOAC) curated a series of conversations and performances about the story of the Baartman sculpture and its significance for memory, healing, and building a new institutional culture. Then, in 2019, the university Council approved the renaming of UCT's main hall at the centre of the campus to the Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall.

The artworks and symbols displayed in HWUs are a reflection of their institutional cultures, in other words the reification of a prevalent culture of whiteness. Institutional culture is defined as "the deeply embedded patterns of organizational behavior and the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies that members have about their organization or its work" (Peterson & Spencer, 1991, p. 142). Such a definition implies that the displaying of artworks in an institution is a political statement that gives life to its dominant values, beliefs, and ideologies. These live instruments are performative in the sense that they have an impact on the collective psyche of the institution and its members. They are acts of memorialisation that re-produce dominant perspectives. The removal of the Rhodes statue and the robing of the Baartman sculpture represented significant calls to disrupt institutional racism—psychologically, representationally, and culturally; and also to refute a dominant western genealogy of commemoration (Gule, 2019) (see Chap. 7 for a discussion on the role of memory for healing).

Blackness, Pan-Africanism, and Institutional Racism

Although there is still much to be done to dismantle institutional racism at UCT, there is much that can be learnt from the #RMF movement. It is worth noting that moments of heightened protest, even though they spur on change, often come at great cost to black students and black staff. Students have referred to 'black pain' (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Chowdury, 2019) as akin to the psychological violence of the experience of institutional racism which was heightened though some of the violent responses to student protests by the university, notably the action of private security, and law enforcement. In 2017/2018, an *Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission* (IRTC) was formed at UCT in an attempt to hold the university accountable for its actions during the student protests.

The IRTC report[8] released in March 2019, found that institutional racism exists at UCT. A second official finding of institutional racism at UCT was in the report of the *Commission of Enquiry* set up to look into the tragic death of pre-eminent scientist Professor Bongani Mayosi, Dean of the *Faculty of Health Sciences*, who took his own life in July 2018. The report,[9] released in June 2020, just over a year after the IRTC report touches on how institutional racism is experienced by black staff, especially those in leadership positions at the university and states that:

> One of the most pervasive features of UCT's institutional culture seems to be the existence of informal networks which interact and often influence decision-making processes, operating parallel to formal structures, and sometimes actually feeding into them and even overriding them. Generally referred to as "corridor talk", this well-known UCT phenomenon is reported as one of the factors that have made it difficult for leaders, particularly black leaders, to discharge their responsibilities effectively. By their very nature, institutional culture manifestations of this kind are very difficult to detect but their impact is unmistakable. A considerable number of black leaders have pointed this out as one subtle form of the resistance to transformation at UCT, which sometimes overrides formal authority and expressed policy. (p. 128)

In the above examples, one can see the contested nature of institutional cultures and the often subtle language and practices that sustain it, yet the very serious impact on the wellbeing of black staff and students at the university. Institutionalised racism manifests itself in multiple ways, illustrated here through the daily experiences of staff and students, and through the monuments and artworks displayed across campus. These are very painful affective experiences that necessitate acts of healing that go beyond an intellectual exercise in changing policy frameworks.

It is important to note how the politics of blackness are also deeply implicated in the transformation discourse at UCT and within affirmative action policies. The Mayosi report pointed to prevailing identity politics highlighting the divisions between black South Africans; and between

[8] The full report can be found here: https://www.news.uct.ac.za/downloads/irtc/IRTC_Final_Report_2019.pdf

[9] The full report can be found here: https://www.news.uct.ac.za/images/userfiles/files/publications/Enquiry_into_the_Circumstances_Surrounding_Professor_Bongani_Mayosi's_Tenure_June2020.pdf

Africans from South Africa and those from elsewhere. It is interesting that the recent decision by the *UCT Council* to lift financial exclusions in 2021 was afforded to both South Africans and nationals from the continent.[10] This may be an indication of UCT embracing an African identity as outlined in its Vision 2030.[11] A psychological reading highlights how colonial representations of blackness are often ambivalent and internalised making them difficult to resist. However, in the contestation of these representations at UCT and specifically in the contestation of the culture of whiteness at the institution, many spaces have opened up for alternative rationalities. These new spaces have also pushed the debate beyond a monistic concern with race to include an engagement with the heteropatriarchal, classist, and cisgendered culture of HWUs (Donaldson, 2015; Msibi, 2013; Walker, 2005). The #RMF protests have demonstrated how adopting a Pan-African approach in the contestation of institutional racism, through an understanding of the collective experience of blackness and a consciousness of the impact of racism by staff and students has led to meaningful dialogues and some changes in the institutional culture of the university.

Addressing the deep-seated historical cultures of institutions is a very challenging project given the subtleties, invisibility, and ambivalence of informal discriminatory practices that take place in institutions. The idea of institutional racism has been useful in opening up conversations and a recognition of the nuances and intricacies of how racism operates and how it is maintained in daily practices at UCT. As described in Chap. 1, psychology as a discipline has also been complicit in legitimising the colonial representations of blackness discussed in this chapter. A Pan-African approach to psychology is much needed in transforming our understandings of the impact of institutional racism but also in revealing the historical roots of colonial representations of blackness and its pervasiveness and ridding ourselves of internalised notions. Disrupting institutional racism is an important endeavour that should not get lost in the broader decolonial project—yet our understanding of institutional racism should also move beyond narrow identity dynamics to include an understanding of how our shared colonial history is also gendered and classed. Finally, to overcome

[10] The Council's communication *Council Decision on Fees and Other Updates* can be found here: https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2021-03-17-council-decisions-on-fees-and-other-updates

[11] UCT's Vision 2030 website: http://vision2030.uct.ac.za/

the violence of colonisation, institutions must address the need for the collective recognition of harmful practices and the need for alternative forms of memorialisation and healing.

References

Adebajo, A. (2020). Vanquishing the ghost of Cecil Rhodes: Historical struggles to transform South Africa's humanities curriculum. In O. Tella & S. Mosala (Eds.), *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies* (pp. 13–29). Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd.

Allen, W. R., Jones, C., & Regassa, G. (2020). Righteous struggle: Historically black colleges and universities in the United States. In O. Tella & S. Mosala (Eds.), *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies* (pp. 377–395). Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd.

Badat, S. (2010). *The challenges of transformation in higher education and training institutions in South Africa*. Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Baez, B. (2000). Agency, structure, and power: An inquiry into racism and resistance for education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 19*, 329–349.

Bangeni, B., & Kapp, R. (2005). Identities in transition: Shifting conceptions of home among "black" South African university students. *African Studies Review, 48*(3), 1–19.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. Routledge.

Boonzaier, F., & Mhkize, L. (2018). Bodies out of place: Black queer students negotiating identity at the University of Cape Town. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32*(3), 81–100.

Chowdury, R. (2019). From black pain to Rhodes Must Fall: A rejectionist perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics, 170*(2), 287–311.

Cokley, K. O. (2003). What do we know about the motivation of African American students? Challenging the "anti-intellectual" myth. *Harvard Educational Review, 73*(4), 524–558.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Cornell, J. & Kessi, S. (2021). Discrimination in education. In Tileagă, C., Augoustinos, M., & Durrheim, K. (Eds.) Routledge Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination (pp. 167–183). London & New-York: Routledge.

Cornell, J., Ratele, K., & Kessi, S. (2016). Race, gender and sexuality in student experiences of violence and resistances on a university campus. *Perspectives in Education, 34*(2), 97–119.

Crais, C., & Scully, P. (2009). *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus*. Princeton University Press.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*, 1241–1299.

Donaldson, N. (2015). What about the queers? Institutional culture of heteronormativity and its implications for queer staff and students. In P. Tabenksy & S. Matthews (Eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South African higher education institutions* (pp. 130–146). University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Ellis, S. J. (2009). Diversity and inclusivity at university: A survey of the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) students in the UK. *Higher Education, 57*(6), 723–739.

Erasmus, Z. (2010). Confronting the categories: Equitable admissions without apartheid race classification. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 24*(2), 244–257.

Friedman, S. (2020, September 23). Why South African opposition's policy on racial inequality is out of sync with reality. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/why-south-african-oppositions-policy-on-racial-inequality-is-out-of-sync-with-reality-146690

Garuba, H. (2020). Decolonisation, the Heinemann African writers series and the making of a trans-national, Pan-African literary audience. In O. Tella & S. Mosala (Eds.), *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies* (pp. 269–282). Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd.

Gule, K. (2019). To heal a nation: Performance and memorialisation in the sone of non-being. In J. Pather & C. Boulle (Eds.), *Acts of Transgression* (pp. 267–285). Wits University Press.

Harper, S. R. (2009). Niggers no more: A critical race counternarrative on black male student achievement at predominantly white colleges and universities. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 22*(6), 697–712.

Haynie, A. C. (2002). Not "just black" policy considerations: The influence of ethnicity on pathways to academic success among black undergraduates at Harvard University. *Journal of Public and International Affairs, 13*, 40–62.

Higham, R. (2012). Place, race and exclusion: University student voices in post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 16*, 485–501.

Kessi, S. (2019). Towards a decolonial psychology: Confining and defining symbols of the past. *Museum International, 71*, 80–87.

Kessi, S., & Cornell, J. (2015). Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation, and discourses of race. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa, 3*(2), 1–16.

Khunou, G., Phaswana, E., & Khoza-Shangase, & Canham, H. (2019). *Black academic voices: The South African experience*. HSRC Press.

Luescher, T. M. (2009). Racial desegreagation and the institutionalisation of 'race' in university governance: The case of the University of Cape Town. *Perspectives in Education, 27*(4), 415–425.

Mamdani, M. (2007). Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University 1989–2005. Dakar: CODESRIA Press.

Maphai, V. T. (2008). Affirmative actions in South Africa—A genuine option? *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies, 15*(2), 1–24.

Mazrui, A. (2005). Pan-africanism and the intellectuals. In T. Mkandawire (Ed.), *African intellectuals: Rethinking politics, language, gender, and development* (pp. 56–77). CODESRIA Books.

Mignolo, W. (2007). Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. *Cultural Studies, 21*(2–3), 155–167.

Mngomezulu, B. R. (2020). The challenge of transforming South Africa's historically black universities. In O. Tella & S. Mosala (Eds.), *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies* (pp. 81–97). Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd.

Msibi, T. (2013). Queering transformation in higher education. *Perspectives in Education, 31*(2), 65–141.

Murunga, G. R. (2007). *Mamhood Mamdani, scholars in the marketplace: The dilemmas of the neo-liberal reform at Makerere University, 1989–2005.* Foundation Publishers.

Ncayiyana, D. (2012). The vexed question of race-based admission to medical school. *South African Medical Journal, 102*(4), 193.

Ndelu, S. (2020). South Africa's student movement: A UCT perspective. In O. Tella & S. Mosala (Eds.), *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies* (pp. 136–153). Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd.

Ntsebeza, L. (2014). The Mafeje and the UCT saga: Unfinished business? Social dynamics. *A Journal of African Studies, 40*(2), 274–288.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2016). # *RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa*. Langaa rpcig.

Perry, T. (2003, January 10). Tackling the myth of black students' intellectual inferiority. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. http://chronicle.com/article/Tackling-the-Myth-of-Black/29608

Peterson, M., & Spencer, M. (1991). Understanding academic culture and climate. In M. Peterson (Ed.), *ASHE Reader on Organization and Governance* (pp. 140–155). Simon & Schuster.

Raditlhalo, S. (2007). Talent, the staying power of racism and transformation: Trans-Atlantic observations. *Social Dynamics, 33*(1), 3–30.

Rankin, S. R. (2005). Campus climates for sexual minorities. *New Directions for Student Services, 2005*(111), 17–23.

Robus, D., & Macleod, C. (2006). 'White excellence and black failure': The reproduction of racialized higher education in everyday talk. *South African Journal of Psychology, 36*(3), 463–480.

Sennett, J., Finchilescu, G., Gibson, K., & Strauss, R. (2003). Adjustment of black students at historically white South African university. *Educational Psychology, 23*(1), 107–116.

Sheehan, H. (2009). Contradictory transformations: Observations on the intellectual dynamics of South African universities. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 7*(1), 67–105.

Soudien, C. (2010). Affirmative action and admissions in higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 24*(3), 221–223.

Soudien, C., Michaels, W., Mthembi-Mahanyele, S., Nkomo, N., Nyanda, G., & Nyoka, N. (2008). *Report of the Ministerial Committee on transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions.* Department of Education.

Tella, O., & Mosala, S. (2020). *From ivory towers to ebony towers: Transforming humanities curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies.* Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd..

Ture, K. & Hamilton, C.V. (1992) [1967]. *Black power: The politics of liberation.* : Random House

van Dijk, T. A. (1989). The role of the media in the reproduction of racism. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Language, power, and ideology: Studies in political discourse* (pp. 199–226). John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

Vincent, L. (2008). The limitations of 'Inter-racial Contact': Stories from young South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31*(8), 1426–1451.

Walker, M. (2005). Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: Narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 26*(1), 41–54.

Wetherell, M. S., & Potter, J. A. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimisation of exploitation*. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Woods, R. L. (2001). "Oh sorry, I'm a racist": Black student experiences at the University of Witwatersrand. In R. O. Mabokela, K. L. King, & R. F. Arnove (Eds.), *Apartheid no more: Case studies of South African universities in the process of transformation* (pp. 91–110). Bergin & Garvey.

CHAPTER 6

Methodologies, Ethics, and Critical Reflexive Practices for a Pan-African Psychology

The Construction of the Racialised and Gendered 'Other'

Western imaginations have persistently produced false and damaging discourses around the black subject. Most discourses on the black subject in early scientific literature concerned themselves with the racialisation of the proverbial '*Other(s)*' who became 'othered' through perceived differences from the European man. Depending on what period one focuses on, this othered 'subject' emerges as 'less- than-human', 'inhuman', 'sub-human' or some other framing that stands in contrast with 'man' who (in Western and westernised thought) represents the universal 'human'. Here, the man/human is Western for it is only the European *man* who was understood to represent humanity. With the expansion of empire, the European man becomes the white man, standing in contrast with his apparent antithesis, the 'black other'. Scholars differ in their engagement with this Western construction. Some focus exclusively on the racialising aspect of 'the Other' (see e.g., Hall, 2001); while other scholars have focused on the intersections of both racialisation and gender since these two categories co-constitute modern subjectivity (Lugones, 2010; see also Carolissen et al., 2015). Acknowledging that the racialised 'other' is simultaneously gendered is a stance taken by many black and decolonial feminist scholars. The call to attend to the historical construction of the black subject has

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_6

intensified in contemporary scholarship, especially within scholarship where the black and African subject is the locus of inquiry. With this spirit in mind, let us reflect briefly on how we have come to our current situation. The point of this reflection is to consider how a Pan-African psychology might circumvent the pitfalls we have observed in mainstream forms of psychology, and to some extent even among liberatory forms of psychology when they approach the question of the African and black subject. In this brief historical reflection, we are thinking towards a methodology for a generative Pan-African psychology, one that is intrinsically liberatory and emancipatory in its methods and praxis.

The modern construct 'race' was developed by leading Western social, political, and intellectual thinkers with the expressed aim of justifying Europe's expansion. The understanding of race as a taxonomy of human group differences with attendant distinctions being made on the basis of biological, moral, and geographical foundations is relatively new compared to the practice of slavery that existed in Greco-Roman times (Zack, 2017). The modern era, marked by conquest in terms of Europe's structured settling, forced 'development', export, and widespread exploitation of lands and cultures in Africa, Asia and the Americas, also marked the development of the natural physical sciences of biology and anatomy and the social science of anthropology. These new sciences were to have a profound influence on how human differences would later be made sense of. Additionally, the new sciences would go on to influence and be used as justification for the oppressions that were and continue to be deleterious to all forms of life in the colonised lands and to the indigenous people of Africa, Asia and the Americas (see Chap. 1).

Unlike in other disciplines within the social sciences, in mainstream psychology (i.e., in positivist, empirical and western-oriented psychology) the quest towards establishing a value-free, atemporal, ahistorical science has led towards a tendency to pay less attention to the earliest Western discourses on black subjectivity. The same attitude is also adopted with reference to the influence of other forms of Western and westernised knowledge which have contributed to the subordination of indigenous and black subjectivities across the world. Among the former, we may include the works of the most celebrated canonical Western philosophers; including the writings of John Locke, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Friedrich Nietzsche. Hume, for example, provided a pathological portrayal of the 'Negro' as a "degraded variant of the species" (Mama, 1995, p. 19). He famously added a note to his essay "*Of National Characters*" (five years after its publication):

> I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. (Hume, 1987 [1882], p. 208)

The writings of these venerated philosophers, and the Western social scientists who would later come to succeed them (see Popkin, 1992), share a common characteristic: the acceptance of the idea of the European man as the prototype of 'human' and a valorisation of the same as universal—what Grosfoguel (2012) refers to as the subject who speaks from a "non-place" and "non-time" thus acquiring "the myth of the self-production of truth in its *sui generis* form […] as self-generated insulated from social relations with other human beings" (p. 88). These instantiations of Western thought were to have a profound impact on how African people and those of African descent were to be framed and understood in social science research more broadly, and in psychology, more specifically.

Psychology as a discipline has historically chosen to work in the interests and service of dominant groups in society (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). In fact, history paints psychology as part of a global colonial project (see Bulhan, 2015; Mama, 1995). This has been achieved through the deployment of methods of enquiry referred to by theoretical psychologists as a 'mere shadow' of the natural science model. See, for example, Harré (1998, p. 30) who argued that these invocations of science are "not the real methods of natural science but some imitation of their superficial features". Such models globalise and normalise Euro-American knowledges, thus "silencing their positionality and location" (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018, p. 304). The most distinct illustration of the discipline's tacit allegiance to Western ways of knowing (discernible through its methodologies) can be seen in the discipline's affinity with and reproduction of scientific racism. Of course, placing psychology within the history of scientific racism is complicated by the fact that the creation of scientific racism has always been a multidisciplinary project. As Winston (2020) argues, what we understand as scientific racism (the use of science to support the idea that there are fundamental race-based differences among people and the resultant differential treatment of those people on the basis of those assumed differences) first involved "philosophers and anatomists, then physicians, statisticians, anthropologists, political scientist, psychologists, and

geneticists" (p. 1). Discourses of enduring racial hierarchy, and the implications of the same, entered public imaginations from all the above stated fields and professions and later metastasized into our current reality. Mama (1995) has argued, " ideas about the minds of Africans, and about the sanity and insanity of both Africans and Europeans, have been integral to the subordination of the enslaved and the colonised." (p. 18). It could thus be argued that the earliest forms of psychological research have been in service of, and justified, both slavery and colonialism.

In the social sciences, the nineteenth century brought about a myriad of publications that sought to explain differences among races. In these publications, race was constructed as essential. The most influential theorisations about the subjectivities of people of African descent emerged in North America, where social scientists and other 'naturalists', having convinced themselves about the essential differences between racialised groups, worked in service of empire and colonialism. Among the theories of that time was the idea that those who resisted enslavement suffered from mental disease. Mama (1995) argues that this naturalisation of slavery through the construction of 'mental ailments' such as *drapetomania* (an incurable urge to run away from enslavement, coined by Samuel A. Cartwright in 1851) illustrates how scientific discourses were in service of the racism of wider society. In rendering the resistance of black people to enslavement as pathological, social scientists and 'naturalists' were categorically showing their allegiance to white supremacy and their service to empire and colonial expansion. The methods that were deployed towards these aims are relevant for the contemporary moment.

A prime illustration of the longevity of harmful discourses can be seen in the works of Hebert Spencer; who in his "*Principles of Psychology*" (1870) argued that those living in poverty are born inferior and therefore deserving of early death. He also contended that on the basis of the hereditary transmission of many characteristics, selective breeding is necessary to eliminate 'unfit' races. This was to pave the way for eugenics and intelligence testing. Two major figures would then focus their scholarship on intelligence testing: Edward Thorndike (1874–1949) and later Arthur Jensen (1923–2012). Their textbooks on mental development, the psychology of education, and child psychology advocated for eugenics as a viable solution to social problems. The argument being that compulsory sterilisation was more beneficial than psychological or educational interventions (see also Chap. 1). Furthermore, the idea of educating black children was seen as a waste of resources; this idea resonated with the apartheid

government of South Africa, who operationalised this view of black citizens through the *Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953* (see Chap. 5). Central to Thorndike and Jensen's ideas was the belief that intelligence is determined by genes, including racial heritage. These forms of studies legitimated and institutionalised racialised, classist and gendered population control policies, education programmes and solidified prior beliefs about African people all over the world (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; see also, El Saadawi, 1997; Mama, 1995).

Coloniality and the pathologisation of racialised indigenous groups in the social sciences is not only an issue pertaining to the distant past, rather, it permeates contemporary research both in overt and covert ways. Evolutionary psychologists continue to conduct research and put forward arguments that there is a correlation between low IQ and low-levels of health in sub-Saharan African people (see Ellison, 2007) and differences in physical attractiveness in black women and white women.[1] The continued search for racial and gendered differences along a range of abilities and functions has also been a pervasive trend within psychological scholarship—such that the use of race and gender as variables in psychological studies have become normalised.

Critique against the persistent coloniality of race and its use within social sciences theorisations, and psychology specifically, has been levelled from many critical perspectives. However, there has been a noticeable silence about the manner through which the social sciences, inclusive of psychology, have been and continue to be implicated in the furthering of the coloniality of gender (see Lugones, 2007; Oyěwùmí, 1997). Failure to acknowledge the logics of coloniality in the modern gender system, that is to understand it as a "mode of organization of relations of production, property relations, of cosmologies and ways of knowing" (Lugones, 2007), ensures that this aspect of coloniality remains unexamined. This in turn permits the indifference that much psychology scholarship displays to the position of women and people whose genders are not normative, and more specifically an indifference to how race and gender are co-constituted. Black and African feminists have been instrumental in foregrounding the intersections of the oppressions that characterise life worlds in the global south (See Chap. 4). In doing so, they have highlighted the futility

[1] The controversy over this research is documented in the media. See: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/may/18/satoshi-kanazawa-black-women-psychology-today

of 'solitary struggles' that render co-constitutive aspects of life as independent. They have pointed us to how systems of power and oppression have an inordinate effect on gendered subjectivity and the forms of suffering that result from those systems, especially on black women in postcolonial settings (see Gqola, 2001; Segalo, 2012, 2015). Through this framing of gender, they have allowed us to appreciate the "deep imbrication of race, gender, class, and sexuality" (Lugones, 2007, p. 187). In refusing the fragmentation of subjectivity into neat and discrete categories and single struggles, they offer useful frameworks with which to engage being in the world. Most importantly, they have also shown how the discipline of psychology struggles to sever itself form colonial ties—rooted in its aspiration to be an equal to natural sciences—which affords it its legitimacy. After all, it is psychology's colonial androcentric focus (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018) which renders psychology legible within the ambit of mainstream aspirational sciences. Therefore, a Pan-African psychology needs to critically engage psychology's orientation towards androcentrism—an alignment which works to maintain the heteropatriarchal status quo (Macleod, 2004). Within the production of psychological knowledge, such an orientation manifests through the relegation and marginalisation of what are considered women's issues to the periphery (see Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019).

> Marked groups are categorized more quickly than unmarked groups. That is, women have gender, and blacks have race more than men and whites respectively do. (Fiske, 2000, p. 307)

Similar to how the early colonial conceptualisation of 'human' was the white European, contemporary mainstream psychology has retained the experiences of middle class, white, heterosexual, cisgendered man as its central locus in theorising subjectivities. Gender relations have an influence on and shape people's lives, cultures and environments. An example of this is how psychology psychologises space and personality traits with masculinist characteristics. This othering is detrimental to all those whose genders are considered peripheral within mainstream psychology (see Flores, 2014; Iervolino et al., 2005; Wille et al., 2018). These framings of racialised and gendered 'others' are particularly potent in psychological research, more so when such research focuses on the lives of indigenous and marginalised communities.

Enduring and Persistent Epistemic Violence

In thinking about the methodologies deployed towards the study of black and African subjectivities, it is useful to consider that the philosophies and methodologies that the discipline of psychology and related social sciences choose to deploy as a way to explain social phenomena illustrate their levels of allegiance to coloniality. By implication, we ought to also consider that the sites wherein psychological knowledge is produced are intricate agents and repositories of neoliberal practice and ideologies (Lewis, 2016). This has implications for public perceptions and the ultimate reception of the findings we make about what 'being in the world', might mean for broader publics. Taking discursive trends in research on masculinities and gendered and interpersonal violence as an example, research interrogates the discourses that manifest in the public and academic sphere that mark black men and masculinities as inherently violent, criminals and figures to be feared (Boonzaier, 2018; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Peters et al., 2019). These discourses are argued to position black men simultaneously as *a risk* and *at risk*. The crux of their position being that such discourses, emerging from a supposedly well-meaning academy, represent black men, black families, and black communities—who are racialised—in ways that resonate with colonial tropes. With the effect of academic discourses on subjectivity in mind, and in order to carefully think through the effects of psychological research and the ways in which it positions and represents individuals and communities, this section will focus on the importance of discussions on power, politics, representation, and critical reflexivity.

The enforced supremacy of northern voices within the social sciences prompts an over reliance of situated knowledges of the north at the expense of marginalised voices from the majority world (Dutta, 2018). This practice is also influenced by the capitalist foundations of westernised universities. Here one would observe that the dissemination of knowledges produced in the southern parts of the globe appears to have only gained disciplinary legitimacy through northern publication platforms. We know that the north often sees the practice of 'doing justice' (and its enactment as praxis) in markedly different ways compared to scholars in the south.[2] It bears noting that through this interpellative capitalist machinery scholars working in southern parts of the globe, may inadvertently become vehicles for cultural westernisation. There is a need for an

[2] Please see Lewis (2016), who speaks further on the politics of publication.

awareness of the political utility of the ideas we legitimate, and what such an awareness might avail for a Pan-African psychology of the future (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). This should start with acknowledging the repercussions of Western universalisms on the disciplines' privileging of "the rhetoric of objectivity" (Christopher et al., 2014, p. 652), which ultimately dictates ways of knowing. This orientation towards an elusive 'objectivity' also leads to a knowledge economy where Africa is considered as a place where data is 'mined' to be later interpreted and 'consumed' through the prism of western knowledge (Connell, 2014).

Such practices are forms of epistemic violence (Teo, 2008), as they further the re-production of knowledge about people living in postcolonial contexts in stigmatising and dehumanising ways, that is, as backward, passive, and lacking in capabilities (Dogra, 2012) and as monolithic, unitary and without agency (Mohanty, 1988). If the history of the social sciences shows it to be as deeply imbricated in coloniality and the promotion of dehumanising views about indigenous peoples of the majority world as we have argued, what allows them to pass our contemporary heightened sense of justice and injustice? How have they mutated to present themselves as respectable discourses? How might a Pan-African psychology respond to them? Below, we consider a recent case to think through some of these questions.

In 2019, an article published in the journal "*Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*", by researchers from a South African university unearthed the long-standing question of the use of race as an essential and deterministic construct in the social and natural sciences, methodological rigour, and research ethics; thus, capitulating these research problematics onto the national stage. The article titled "*Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women"* reported on findings from a small study undertaken *on* women from a working class community in Cape Town, South Africa. Its assertion that "colored women in South Africa have an increased risk for low cognitive functioning as they present with low education levels and unhealthy lifestyles"[3] caused a notable social outcry. After its widespread condemnation, including a petition initiated by academics and signed by thousands of people across the country—see the call for retraction by the *African Gender Institute* (2019)

[3] As feminists writing from Africa and the diaspora, we are acutely aware of the political nature of citation and how it legitimates knowledges that often further damaging, and stereotypical ways of knowing. We have chosen not to cite the paper being discussed herein.

and the *Psychological Society of South Africa—PsySSA* (2019) *inter alia*, the article was retracted by the editors of the journal. The statement of retraction issued by the journal editors stated that the retraction was due to "serious flaws [which] exist in the methodology and reporting [in] the original study" going further to state "the article contains a number of assertions about 'colored' South African women based on the data presented that cannot be supported by the study or the subsequent interpretation of its outcome" (Aging, Neuropsychology & Cognition Editorial, 2019, p. 963). Of course, neither the issue of the ethics of both the use of race as an enduring and essential trait (Le Grange, 2019), nor how social research manages its use of race as a variable (Msimang, 2020) to amplify difference were afforded any mention in that retraction. Instead, the editors appear to suggest that the authors could have reached their conclusions if they would have collected better data. The editorial response here reflects the power of editors and editorial boards in continuing to uphold the perpetuation of coloniality in the knowledge production machinery.

The national and higher education institutional dialogues that followed the publication of that article and its ultimate retraction presented an opportune moment to critique and seriously engage the enduring legacy of coloniality in the methodologies used in social sciences and humanities research, their ethical standards, and the lack of *critical reflexivity*[4] in much social research conducted on and about the African continent and its people. Most importantly, that instance in our collective history brought to the fore the question of what these three issues might mean for the contemporary practice of research in, with, and for African subjects.

Numerous commentaries have been published since the publication of the article in *Aging, Neuropsychology & Cognition* (see African Gender Institute, 2019; Boswell et al., 2019; Msimang, 2020). What most of the commentaries seemed to agree on was that the study was unethical because it was scientifically unsound. That is, the protocols the authors presented to their Research Ethics Committee (REC) differed to those that were eventually used to reach the study's conclusions (see Msimang, 2020). To consider a study's ethics above par by virtue of its fidelity to a set of

[4] Critical reflexivity is a process of examining how the researcher arrives at particular interpretations of their data. In locating the production of knowledge within the context of subjectivities and intersubjectivities, it emphasises the devopement of a critical consciousness and a praxis that is responsive, collaborative, transformative and ethical (see Suffla et al., 2015) for an elaboration of this methodology in social research)

sometimes opaque intentions and actions presented to a REC sets the bar very low. What motivated academics and broad publics to vehemently object to what the authors presented as definitive findings about the capacities of black women was not their diversion from institutional protocols but rather the manner in which they were seen to not do justice with the subjects of this research. Here, we see the limits of a regulatory approach to research ethics. *PsySSA* (2019) argued in its letter calling for the retraction of this paper, that "[w]e have the power to use our unique individual strengths and expertise to uproot historical seeds of racist and sexist discrimination, and stereotypes, and together build a just and fair society" (p. 5). Such a vision is compromised by disciplinary silos, where those who consider themselves to be doing science are convinced of their virtues while blinded by blissful ignorance about the life worlds they engage in their research. There is a wealth of knowledge that could prevent these forms of misrepresentation. It is precisely our collective epistemic grandiosity which compromises our work and our potential to just research. As we have illustrated in the earlier brief historical vignette on the coloniality of race, the authors of the above mentioned article are neither anomalies nor is their conduct exceptional within research projects on African and black subjects. This sentiment was shared by the vice-chancellor of the university where that study was conducted. In his remarks he stated, "the problem goes beyond a single study. It is a deeper problem—the systemic perpetuation of racist stereotypes in academia based on an outdated paradigm of the so-called 'scientific' classification of human beings into different 'racial categories'" (Input by SU Rector and Vice-Chancellor, 2019). The publication of the aforementioned article suggests that there are scholars who do not see any need to consider how their work might be an instantiation and reproduction of violence to those they do research *on*—these forms of research are almost universally *on* rather than *with* any group of people. Such a stance ensures that researcher accountability is skewed towards the scientific community rather than the communities who consent to partake in such studies -arguably without being informed of how they would be framed in the course of those studies.

A more ethical stance of engaging the issue of subjectivity might consider the extent to which a study could be said to be doing justice, in and through the theory it uses to frame the topic it is reporting on; whether it could be seen to be doing justice with and to the groups of people it engages; and whether it could be seen to be doing justice to the reality of

society, history and culture (Teo cited in Beck, 2020). Failure to attend to these issues has been central to the violence that characterises most empirical research that values the naturalistic scientific method above the imperative to not cause harm. Invariably, such failures lead to epistemic violence. Epistemic violence derives from two principal tendencies within mainstream social sciences: first, the omission of concepts or 'understandings of reality' of people who are 'othered'; secondly, ascribing the causality of differences within two or more groups as due to inherent inferiorities of 'othered' peoples (Held, 2020). We argue further that the epistemic violence that stems from racist research goes beyond the intentions of the researchers[5] and includes the harm of searching for difference as well as the harm stemming from symbolic representations of particular groups of people and from how these representations from the scientific community continue to surface in the everyday. From this vantage point, we may argue that mainstream psychological research together with other forms of social research that operate from a similar epistemic basis, have been, and continue to be epistemically violent.

Countering Epistemic Violence through Pan-African Psychology

We have already established that psychology as a discipline, has historically served the interest of dominant groups in society. Here we are interested in furthering our thinking on how some of the social forms of psychology could produce critical knowledge and tools for just and equitable social relationships and social structures. Such knowledge could draw from liberation and resistance orientated forms of psychology (see Chaps. 1 and 4), which take the psychology of the oppressed as the starting point for research and combine this with a social justice agenda (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). At issue are the representation and foregrounding of the political nature of the social sciences, particularly within the discipline of psychology. This can be made manifest by interrogating *power*[6] and the ideologies

[5] Questions of intentionality are frequently used as defences when harmful research, of the kind we are describing, are called to account. Less attention however is addressed to the notion of the harmful practice of 'searching' for racialised (or gendered) differences amongst groups of people in the first place.

[6] Power, the capacity or ability to direct or influence behaviour of others or the course of events is a central concern to much critical qualitative research. Witin that paradigm, researchers aim to balance the power differential between themselves and those who take

inherent in the theorisation and practice of social science disciplines. Contemporary Pan-African psychology, and indeed that of the future, can learn much from the lessons and advances made in research that has begun with and centred the experiences of marginal voices. In critical forms of psychology the issue of voice is approached by considering the space we give to the interlocutor (that could be an individual in an interview, or a community about whom we are reporting). Here, we should consider how agency is afforded to our 'interlocutor'. Keeping in mind, that the critical approach to psychology does not assume that people have no power, rather, they are often not provided space to assert their agency. Thinking of a postcolonial attitude would offer fertile research ground, which would enter our work by stressing the links between the internal workings of the mind and external institutional and social dynamics of the postcolonial. We might think of what Hook (2004), drawing on Fanon refers to as 'psychopolitics'. Pan-African research methodologies would thus prioritise consciousness as a psychological process that counters and dismantles internal, relational, and global forms of power while situating those forms of power within their historicity.

Critical Reflexivity

Postcolonial theory offers us some useful means to engage the problematics we have highlighted up to this point. Specifically, theorisations that are grounded within the postcolonial reality are attuned to the importance of reflexivity when engaging Euro-American theories on the African continent and the people within the continent, and those whose histories can be traced back to the continent. The understanding being that the absence of critical reflexivity gives space for the emergence of a meta-colonialism, what Bulhan sees as "influenc[ing] the thought, behaviour, and being of colonialised people even more than earlier forms of colonialism" (2015, p. 240). Part of the response of postcolonial theory to the meta-colonial condition is to provincialize and localize the assumed 'universal principles' that have embodied much of European knowledge (see Macleod et al., 2017). As we have mentioned in our discussion on western universalisms, the postcolonial project (like critical forms of psychology) does not always

part in research either as participants or co-researchers. Please see Sonn (2014) for an example of how reflecting on power in research with indigenous communities can be facilitated through critical reflexivity.

seek to necessarily discard the totality of western thought. Rather, it sees western thought as inadequate in helping us understand the context from which we speak—that is, understanding diverse forms of life and thinking (even though it might be indispensable in some areas). As Ratele et al. (2020b) argue, what ought to be rejected by critical forms of African psychology is the wholesale application of psychologies that are developed *for* the global north, specifically those psychologies' claims to universality.

Therefore, towards dis-entangling the functioning of enduring forms of colonial power from our research approaches, we must reconcile ourselves with the knowledge that the coloniser and the colonised are mutually shaped by an evolving psychology. We know that not all theorisation could be considered as working in counter point. See for example, Craps (2013) who eschews neither psychoanalysis nor deconstruction in developing a model of trauma in postcolonial settings. Craps formulates a psychoanalytic model that would "take account of the specific social and historical contexts in which trauma narratives are produced and received, and be open and attentive to the diverse strategies of representation and resistance that these contexts invite or necessitate" (p. 5). Such theorising illuminates postcolonial trauma, while nibbling at resilient coloniality (Nyamnjoh, 2016), and refusing to construct subjects as without agency.

It is feminist research approaches in particular that have allowed us to engage more critically and deeply with questions of reflexivity in the research encounter (see e.g., Boonzaier, 2014; Clarke & Braun, 2019; Huysamen, 2020). Earlier feminist reflexive interrogation around researcher positionality involved questions about who should be doing research on/with whom (Frith, 1998) stemming from ideas that 'shared identities' are aspects around which a researcher and participant might be able to 'bond'. It is no accident that these were questions that were framed by feminist psychologist researchers in particular through the focus on researcher subjectivity. Later developments, bringing in questions of intersectionality and drawing on poststructuralist understandings of identity recognised that this notion of a 'shared identity' was problematic and contested, given the range of intersecting identity positions that maybe possible or salient (de la Rey, 1997; Boonzaier, 2014). Critical reflexive work directly addresses questions of researcher positionality and associated power dynamics and how that manifests in the research encounter and shapes the direction of the research and its outcomes, it recognises the political nature of the research encounter and that all parties come to the encounter with specific agendas that they might want to develop through

the research. This kind of critical thinking and engagement with reflexivity goes well beyond the mere formulaic confessional involved in a self-reflexive stance that has now become almost commonplace in qualitative research (Pillow, 2003).

Explicating the Politics of Research

Postcolonial research is inextricably and fundamentally linked to politics—including the politics of research. We know that meta-colonialism (Bulhan, 2015) is acontextual in its outlook. Western and westernised thought cease to be confined to a geographical locale and rather they permeate all spheres of life that are exposed to their influence. As a result, colonialism does not only pertain to the occupation of land and material resources but also their being (Bulhan, 2015; Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This understanding is shared by King (2013) who argued that western psychology marginalises us, and programmes us to negate ourselves. It behoves us, therefore, that in a conscientised Pan-African psychology practice, we should attend to the components of engaging a politics of location by giving due regard to the multiple ways in which we become both insiders and outsiders to the people we work with and what the differences mean in our analysis (Macleod et al., 2017). Sonn (2004) exemplifies what this might look like and part of this re-orientation will see us making an explicit commitment to an emancipatory project (Macleod et al., 2017). Necessarily, such an approach would entail us being vigilant about the self, the 'other', the context within which our work unfolds, the process through which our knowledge and those of research subjects become institutionalised. Furthermore, such a process should see us seriously interrogating the assumptions and theoretical basis of our research. Part of understanding and exploring the politics of location involves the practice of critical reflexivity, where parties to the research process deconstruct their positioning. In doing so, we would attend to the reasons why we follow certain lines of theorising and not others and what we might be obscuring in doing so. It would then also follow that from such a reflexive position we would explore why we make some methodological choices and not others.

Imagining 'else-where': Methodologies with Emancipatory Praxes

We argue that a Pan-African Psychology must necessarily be decolonial, feminist, and transdisciplinary. Echoing the call to memory work in DuBois, Padmore, Nkrumah among others, Ndlovu (2018) holds that, "colonial domination in the sphere of knowledge production has [not only] played a role in emptying the minds of African subjects of their knowledges and memories but has also played a part in implanting foreign ways of knowing and remembering" (p. 95). Psychology's capacity to alienate African subjects from themselves is well documented; see for example, Ratele (2019) who argues that it is not only African subjects who are alienated by the discipline but also those who teach and practice it on the African continent. It follows therefore, that if we should fail to transcend colonial domination in our approach to psychology, there can be no Pan-African Psychology. What we are likely to have is what Fanon (1968) referred to as 'repetition without change'. In other words, we will have psychology in Africa rather than a psychology for Africa and the world (Ratele, 2019). For, we cannot imagine other ways of being and knowing while entrapped within the colonizer's model(s) of the world, and by extension, an inordinate tethering of Africans to Western-oriented models and approaches to engaging the psychologies of Africa on the continent and within the diaspora.

If we accept the framing of a Pan-African psychology as, by necessity, decolonial, feminist, and transdisciplinary, we might begin to see that this form of psychology already exists. Many critical scholars, both on the African continent and within the diaspora, have shown alternatives to the western model of engaging the African subject, and the subjectivities of those who live in the majority world. Methodologies that centre critical reflections on ethics, power, politics, and representation present a way to move beyond critique of mainstream psychology towards an articulation of resistance or rather a psychology that is legible from the vantage point of Africa and its people. These methodologies are distinctive for the following features: their historical sensitivity; their contextual awareness—they are specific about the locales from which phenomena emerge; being temporally attuned—they understand the 'moment into which the work emerges'; and most importantly, they attend to the influence of structures of power on subjectivity. We highlight engagements with subjectivity from African scholars and indigenous researchers from the global south and

with how they have engaged some of the problematics outlined in this chapter. These scholars work within and beyond psychology. To do this, we present the concerns those scholars were responding to, as well as what might inform a methodological praxis from a Pan-African psychology that is marked by its decolonising orientation. This section will offer some ways of *thinking about* and *doing* research that would centre a Pan-African agenda.

At the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the *Africa Union* in 2013, Dzodzi Tsikata, the then vice president of the *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)*, gave the closing statement to the intellectual debate convened by *CODESRIA* to generate a Pan-African research agenda. In her remarks, Tsikata stressed that for Pan-Africanism to be relevant to the lived experiences of Africa's people, we need to attend to the multi-dimensional character of Pan-Africanism and its interests and that researchers should contribute to the liberatory project by "develop[ing] interdisciplinary frameworks and methodologies which will enable us to include all aspects of pan-Africanism in our research projects" (Tsikata, 2014, p. 95). Such a project would attend most especially to gender relations towards realising the Pan-Africanist project. If the discipline of psychology has historically disregarded the four interconnected aspects of the Pan-Africanist agenda, our current research should decidedly centre them towards disrupting the pervasive narratives within and outside the academy about the African continent and its people throughout the world.

A Pan-African psychology should be free from the idea of a self-contained, unitary individual that is separate from the social (Nwoye, 2015; Hook, 2004). It should also be attuned to the politics of knowledge, that is, it should be cognizant of how psychological research and practice is always produced within a system of politics (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). In this way, it would position the knowledge it produces to serve the interests of the disenfranchised. Scholars who take seriously the emancipatory potential of a Pan-African psychology and its methodologies recognise that they are working within a discipline anchored in imperialism, which includes western psychology's ability to regulate knowledge and ways of being. Understanding psychology as politics, Pan-African psychology methodologies are a departure from the colonising instantiations of psychology on the African continent and provide a challenge and a humanising alternative to the canon (see Hook, 2004). They do this by providing tools for progressive politics, for liberation, empowerment, and resistance.

Such tools are pluri-disciplinary, for psychology cannot readily provide the tools to dismantle the systems that have brought us to this point. For that we ought to look elsewhere. For some scholars invested in liberatory and emancipatory praxis those 'else-wheres' have been other social sciences (Rigney, 1999), black and African feminisms (Segalo, 2015), and indigenous knowledge systems (Smith, 1999).

Participatory Action Research

We could argue that a Pan-African psychology must centre conscientisation. Research that centres conscientisation points to a need to shift away from the traditional researcher-participant dynamics that characterise mainstream research. This would manifest in us placing 'participants' as the researchers and experts of their own lives and the researcher as a facilitator in the process of constructing alternative narratives and promoting social action (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). This approach is the bedrock of participatory forms of community psychology.

Part of these methodologies' sensitivity to psychology as politics is their orientation towards radical social transformation where the psychologist is removed from the position of epistemic grandiosity (Teo, 2019). Rather, they take the position of a facilitator of social change. Among the methodologies that aim for this change we highlight Participatory Action Research (PAR). It is a process of research that aims to include participants in the research process in order to create a critical consciousness that potentially leads to empowerment, change, and community mobilisation (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Researchers work with individuals and communities in similar ways that centre their 'knowledge'. It is premised on principles of sociopolitical justice and equity. Interpretive and liberatory research methodologies such as PAR emphasise intersubjective engagement and the fostering of democratic research relationships. PAR goes further in locating this in a community rather than within an individual. It also emphasizes action consequences rather than reflective truths of the research process. These aspects of PAR can be incorporated into many forms of qualitative research approaches.

Methodologies that are oriented towards emancipatory praxis offer possibilities for a humanising and emancipatory Pan-African psychology. These approaches are premised on facilitating conscientisation, empowerment, and problematisation. Conscientisation is facilitated through the mobilisation of consciousness. The aim being to produce historic

knowledge about oneself and about the groups to which one belongs, thereby producing a different understanding, and giving sense to one's place in history and society since liberatory methodologies are action oriented. As such, they deploy reflection and reflexivity as a conduit for action which is facilitated by dialogue. In these approaches, empowerment is understood as both a psychological state and a social process which facilitates action towards social justice and promotes wellbeing. Lastly, PAR centres problematisation (Freire, 1970), that is, the critical and puzzling doubting of the knowledge so far considered as the way for things to be is an important premise of liberatory research methodologies.

Photovoice

Our previous research has sought to challenge current research practices by engaging lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer (LBGTIQ) youth using photovoice[7] (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). A fundamental concern of this methodology is in disrupting power relations in the politics of representation and affect. Through this methodology, we aimed to move away from approaches that frame youth along a 'deficit' model. Rather we focused on young people's knowledges and experiences. Photovoice disrupts the logics of normative research by balancing power in research encounters. This is partly achieved by the involvement of participants in all aspects of the research process. In centring consciousness, this approach also privileges an understanding of research participants as agentive. By taking the subjective experiences of youth seriously, we allowed for a better understanding of the challenges that young people face. This approach simultaneously saw youth actively taking space to counter the oppressions which contribute to the perpetuation of patterns of inequity in their lives.

We argue that psychologists cannot deliver solutions to the problems of the oppressed but can assist people in achieving the changes that they seek. Working from this positioning, psychologists consider people living in under-resourced contexts as experts of their own lives and most

[7] Photovoice is a participatory action research method in which participants are given cameras with which they can decument their realities, experiences, and concerns. It focuses on community mobilisation and aims to facilitate access to resources. Please see Kessi et al. (2019), Peters et al. (2019), Boonzaier and Zway (2015), Boonzaier and Mhkize (2018) and Malherbe et al. (2017) for further examples of the use photovoice in the African context.

knowledgeable about the challenges they face especially the aspects of their daily lives that need to change. Of course, this comes with an awareness that due to their lack of access to resources and their exclusion from centres of power, such people can become fatalistic or submissive to their situation (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). This liberatory stance necessitates that psychological theory is constructed by praxis (Kessi, 2017). That is, psychology is considered a living theory that cannot be separated from everyday life. From this vantage point, psychology ceases to be the panacea that mainstream psychologies created from the west pretend to be upon entering the African context. A Pan-African emancipatory psychology would instead, be constantly evolving through the contributions that people make based on their lived experiences. It is after all the daily lives, experiences, and activities of people that inform psychologists on what actions can be effective in disrupting their oppression. Thus, the acknowledgement that transformative actions are dependent on the contexts in which people live (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017, 2018).

Storytelling & Narrative Methodologies

Storytelling methodologies such as narrative and life history have the potential to advance the Pan-Africanist agenda through their capacity to highlight the context and complexity of phenomena and to disrupt power relations. Stories are constructed within broader social, cultural, material, political, and personal spaces that converge to form complex entanglements of experience. Stories, therefore, offer insight into how routine forms of oppression filter into social relations and how it shapes everyday experiences and responses to these inequalities (Sonn et al., 2013). The act of storytelling additionally provides the tools for those who have been historically oppressed to offer personal narratives that work to bring everyday forms of racial and systematic oppression to the surface—providing a possibility for conscientisation. In this way, storytelling might be conceived of as a socially transformative praxis in its potential to disrupt power relations and 'unsilence' the voices of those typically subjugated (Sonn et al., 2013). It allows those who have been silenced to represent their lives and experiences on their own terms and aligns with ideas around decolonising the research endeavour, through movement beyond just theorising to the incorporation of the performative (Sonn et al., 2013).

Van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2019) illustrate the utility of the life history approach[8] as a transformative praxis to make historical trauma and violence visible. In their study, which aimed to examine the social and collective features on intimate partner violence (IPV), they interviewed men who had been in a programme for perpetrators of IPV. Following the meaning frames of the men who participated, and preserving the men's narratives in their reporting, allowed these researchers to overcome the academy's affinity for epistemic violence in its re-packaging of stories of the colonised (see Tuck & Yang, 2014). Van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2019) show how taking a life history approach to engage men who are in the process of ending their violence towards women, and reading these histories within wider histories of historical trauma and structural violence can overcome the pervasive narratives given via acontextual explanations of high levels of gendered violence in South Africa. This approach allowed those researchers to appreciate how "colonial patriarchy considers men to be in positions of agency, [while] the system sets them up for economic, social and political precarity" (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2019; see also Irwin & Umemoto, 2016).

Countering Disciplinary Decadence

Consummate with the imperative that a Pan-African psychology ought to be primarily decolonial, some scholars have highlighted the need for methodologies that institute change through agitation and discomfort (Malherbe & Dlamini, 2020). The argument being that even among the most liberatory forms of psychological research and praxes there is always a threat of being usurped by neoliberalism when these methods are used within institutions. As a corrective to this tendency, Malherbe and Dlamini (2020) call on us to engage the ethics of discomfort. In thinking about how to overcome disciplinary orthodoxies and approaches to social justice, they point to the technique of 'collaborative writing as method' (Ratele et al., 2020a). In this methodology of 'writing the psychological', those who work on a piece of writing bring in their political location in ways that combine what would be considered disparate systems of thought.

[8] Life history is a methodology that centers the life narrative—the story told about a life, its history and in some ways its present. The approach allows for participants to construct their own meanings about their life experiences that may frequently have been traumatic and violent.

This also shows how disciplinary approaches that would usually operate in silos could be brought to speak towards a common goal. Such collaborative methodologies may prove fruitful for their ability to "alert…comrades to their unintentional microaggressions within … engagements; drawing attention to the specific ways by which we re-inscribe liberal politics in our work; and speaking to colleagues about their political blind-spots" (Malherbe & Dlamini, 2020, p. 152). Taking such a stance, centres the politics of radical emancipatory praxis by highlighting difference, which in turn overcomes disciplinary decadence as it facilitates the emergence of critical engagement (see also Gordon, 2014).

While we do not argue for any specific method, in this chapter we have made a case for approaches that centre critical reflection on ethics, power, representation, and politics. Much of the work we have brought into this discussion centres the politics, ideas, institutions, and cultures of the African continent. In centring these four aspects, with a fidelity towards the emancipation of African subjectivities from the Euro-American pseudo-universalisms, we work towards a Pan-African agenda and towards socially and epistemically just methodologies.

References

African Gender Institute. (2019). *Letter to the Editorial board of aging, neuropsychology and cognition*. http://www.agi.ac.za/agi/news/petition

Aging, Neuropsychology & Cognition Editorial. (2019). Statement of retraction: Age- and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women. *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13825585.2019.1614759

Beck, T. (2020). *How unexamined assumptions in Western science lead to epistemological violence [interview]*. https://www.madinamerica.com/2020/12/unexamined-assumptions-western-science-lead-epistemic-violence/

Boonzaier, F. (2018). Challenging risk: The production of knowledge on gendered violence in South Africa. In K. Fitz-Gibbon, S. Walklate, J. McCulloch, & J. Maree Maher (Eds.), *Intimate partner violence, risk and security: Securing women's lives in a global world* (pp. 71–87). Routledge Press.

Boonzaier, F., & Kessi, S. (2018). Challenging representations: Participatory research engagements with young people in postcolonial contexts. In T. Shefer, J. Hearn, K. Ratele, & F. Boonzaier (Eds.), *Engaging youth in activism, research and pedagogical praxis. Transnational and intersectional perspectives on gender, sex and race* (pp. 125–146). Routledge Press.

Boonzaier, F., & Mhkize, L. (2018). Bodies out of place: Black queer students negotiating identity at the University of Cape Town. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32*(3), 81–100.

Boonzaier, F., & van Niekerk, T. (2019). Introducing decolonial feminist community psychology. In *Decolonial feminist community psychology* (pp. 1–10). Springer.

Boonzaier, F., & Zway, M. (2015). Resisting discrimination and negotiating safety: Young black lesbian and bisexual women represent their experiences through Photovoice. *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention, 13*(1), 7–29.

Boonzaier, F. A. (2014). Methodological disruptions: Interviewing domestically violent men across a 'gender divide'. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies, 9*(4), 232–248.

Boswell, M., Erasmus, Z., Johannes, S., Mahomed, S., & Ratele, K. (2019). Racist Science: The burden of black bodies and minds. *The Thinker, 81*, 4–8.

Bulhan, H. A. (2015). Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 3*, 239–256. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.143

Carolissen, R., Shefer, T., & Smit, E. (2015). A critical review of practices of inclusion and exclusion in the psychology curriculum in higher education. *Psychology in Society, 49*, 7–24.

Christopher, J. C., Wendt, D. C., Marecek, J., & Goodman, D. M. (2014). Critical cultural awareness: Contributions to a globalizing psychology. *American Psychologist, 69*(7), 645–655. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036851

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2019). Feminist qualitative methods and methodologies in psychology: A review and reflection. *Psychology of Women & Equalities Section Review.* https://uwe-repository.worktribe.com/output/854611

Connell, R. (2014). Thinking gender from the South. *Feminist Studies, 40*(3), 518–539.

Craps, S. (2013). *Postcolonial witnessing: Trauma out of bounds.* Palgrave Macmillan.

de la Rey, C. (1997). South African feminism, race and racism. *Agenda, 13*(32), 6–10. https://doi.org/10.2307/4066146

Dogra, N. (2012). *Representations of global poverty: Aid, development and international NGOs.* I. B. Taurus.

Dutta, U. (2018). Decolonizing "community" in community psychology. *American journal of community psychology, 62*(3–4), 272–282.

Ellison, G. T. (2007). Health, wealth and IQ in sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges facing the Savanna Principle as an explanation for global inequalities in health. *British journal of health psychology, 12*(2), 191–227.

El Saadawi, N. (1997). *The Nawal El Saadawi reader.* Zed Books.

Fanon, F. (1968). *The wretched of the earth.* Groves Press.

Fiske, S. T. (2000). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination at the seam between the centuries: Evolution, culture, mind, and brain. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30*(3), 299–322.

Flores, N. M. (2014). *Gendered public spaces: Examining cities within the nature-culture dichotomy*. Center for the Study of Women. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/01q290wj

Freire, P. (1970). *Education for critical consciousness*. Sheed and Ward. Continuum.

Frith, H. (1998). Constructing the 'other' through talk. *Feminism & Psychology, 8*, 530–536. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353598084018

Gqola, P. D. (2001). Ufanele uqavile: Black women, feminisms and postcoloniality in Africa. *Agenda, 16*(50), 11–22.

Gordon, L. R. (2014). Disciplinary decadence and the decolonisation of knowledge. *Africa Development, 39*(1), 81–92.

Grosfoguel, R. (2012). Decolonizing western uni-versalisms: Decolonial pluri-versalism from Aimé Césaire to the Zapatistas. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, 1*(3), 88–104.

Hall, S. (2001). The spectacle of the other. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* (pp. 324–344). SAGE.

Harré, R. (1998). *The singular self: An introduction to the psychology of personhood*. SAGE.

Held, B. S. (2020). Epistemic violence in psychological science: Can knowledge of, from, and for the (othered) people solve the problem? *Theory & Psychology, 30*(3), 349–370.

Hook, D. (2004). *Introduction to critical psychology*. University of Cape Town Press.

Hume, D. (1987). Of national character. In E. Miller (Ed.), *Essays moral, political and literary* (p. 208). Liberty Fund.

Huysamen, M. (2020). Reflecting on the interview as an erotic encounter. *Sexualities, 23*(3), 376–392.

Iervolino, A. C., Hines, M., Golombok, S. E., Rust, J., & Plomin, R. (2005). Genetic and environmental influences on sex-typed behavior during the preschool years. *Child Development, 76*(4), 826–840.

Input by SU Rector and Vice-Chancellor Prof Wim de Villiers. (2019). https://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/wim-de-villiers/Documents/SPEECHES/20190521%20Wim%20de%20Villiers%20-%20Symposium%20voice%20note%20(final).pdf

Irwin, K., & Umemoto, K. (2016). *Jacked up and unjust: Pacific Islander teens confront violent legacies*. University of California Press.

Kessi, S. (2017). Community social psychologies for decoloniality: An African perspective on epistemic justice in higher education. *South African Journal of Psychology, 47*(4), 506–516.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2017). Resistance and transformation in postcolonial contexts. In C. Howarth & E. Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics* (pp. 116–130). Routledge.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 48*(3), 299–309.

Kessi, S., Kaminer, D., Boonzaier, F., & Learmonth, D. (2019). Photovoice methodologies for social justice. In A. Fynn, S. Kramer, & S. Laher (Eds.), *Transforming research methods in the social sciences*. Wits University Press.

King, L. M. (2013). In discourse-toward a Pan-African psychology: DRUM rolls for a psychology of emancipation. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(3), 223–231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413478076

Le Grange, L. (2019). A comment on critiques of the article Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 33*(4), 9–19.

Lewis, D. (2016, March 2). *Neo-liberalism, the humanities, and the feminist intellectuals in South Africa*. Paper presentation at the JIAS Seminar. Johannesburg, South Africa: Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study. http://jias.joburg/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/neoliberalism-and-feminism.pdf

Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexualism and the colonial/modern gender system. *Hypatia, 22*(1), 186–219.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742–759.

Macleod, C. (2004). South African psychology and 'relevance': Continuing challenges. *South African Journal of Psychology, 34*, 613–629.

MacLeod, C., Bhatia, S., & Kessi, S. (2017). Postcolonialism and psychology: Growing interest and promising potential. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 312–319). SAGE.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). *Outline of ten theses on coloniality and decoloniality* (pp. 26–28). Frantz Fanon Foundation.

Malherbe, N., & Dlamini, S. (2020). Troubling history and diversity: Disciplinary decadence in community psychology. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective, 6*(2/1), 144–157.

Malherbe, N., Suffla, S., Seedat, M., & Bawa, U. (2017). Photovoice as liberatory enactment: The case of youth as epistemic agents. In Emancipatory and participatory methodologies in peace, critical, and community psychology (pp. 165–178). Springer, Cham.

Mama, A. (1995). *Beyond the masks: Race, gender, and subjectivity*. Routledge.

Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review, 30*, 65–88.

Msimang, P. (2020). Lessons in our faults: Fault lines on race and research ethics. *South African Journal of Science, 116*(9–10), 1–3.

Ndlovu, M. (2018). Coloniality of knowledge and the challenge of creating African futures. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 40*(2), 97–112.

Nwoye, A. (2015). What is African psychology the psychology of? *Theory & Psychology, 25*(1), 96–116.

Nyamnjoh, B. (2016). # RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa. African Books Collective.

Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses. U of Minnesota Press.

Peters, S. M., Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2019). Narrative identity: the construction of dignified masculinities in Black male sex workers' narratives. *Social Dynamics, 45*(3), 425–441.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(2), 175–196.

Popkin, R. H. (1992). *Hume's racism reconsidered* (pp. 64–75). Brill.

Ratele, K. (2019). *The world looks like this from here: Thoughts on African psychology*. Wits University Press.

Ratele, K., Malherbe, N., Cornell, S., Day, S., Helman, R., Makama, R., & Dlamini, S. (2020a). Elaborations on (a) decolonising Africa (n)-centred feminist psychology. *Psychology in Society, 59*, 1–19.

Ratele, K., Malherbe, N., Suffla, S., Cornell, J., & Taliep, N. (2020b). Three pathways for enlarging critical African psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246320963201

Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: A guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo Sa Review, 14*(2), 109–121.

Segalo, P. (2012). Gendered suffering and the complexities of keeping silent. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6613/Segalo.pdf;sequence=1

Segalo, P. (2015). Trauma and gender. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 9*(9), 447–454.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd..

Sonn, C. (2004). Negotiating identities across cultural boundaries: Complicating cultural competence with power and privilege. *Critical Psychology, 11*, 134–149.

Sonn, C. C., Stevens, G., & Duncan, N. (2013). Decolonisation, critical methodologies and why stories matter. In *Race, memory and the apartheid archive* (pp. 295–314). Palgrave Macmillan.

Suffla, S., Seedat, M., & Bawa, U. (2015). Reflexivity as enactment of critical community psychologies: Dilemmas of voice and positionality in a multi-country photovoice study. *Journal of Community Psychology, 43*(1), 9–21.

Teo, T. (2008). From speculation to epistemological violence in psychology: A critical-hermeneutic reconstruction. *Theory & Psychology, 18*(1), 47–67.

Teo, T. (2019). Academic subjectivity, idols, and the vicissitudes of virtues in science: Epistemic modesty versus epistemic grandiosity. In K. O'Doherty, L. Osbeck, E. Schraube, & J. Yen (Eds.), *The primacy of critical theory and the relevance of the psychological humanities: Psychological studies of science and technology* (pp. 31–48). Palgrave Macmillan.

The Psychological Society of South Africa. (2019). An open critique of the Nieuwoudt and colleagues (2019) study on Coloured women. https://www.psyssa.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/PsySSA-Statement.pdf

Tsikata, D. (2014). Being pan-African: A continental research agenda. *Feminist Africa, 19*, 94–97.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014). R-words: Refusing research. *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities, 223*, 248.

van Niekerk, T., & Boonzaier, F. (2019). The life history approach as a decolonial feminist method? Contextualising intimate partner violence in South Africa. In F. Boonzaier & T. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Decolonial feminist community psychology* (pp. 43–57). Springer.

Van Vlaenderen, H., & Neves, D. (2004). Participatory action research and local knowledge in community contexts. In *Critical psychology* (pp. 445–464). UCT Press.

Walker, R., Schultz, C., & Sonn, C. (2014). Cultural competence–Transforming policy, services, programs and practice. In Purdie, N., Dudgeon, P., & Walker, R. (Eds). Working together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health and wellbeing principles and practice (pp. 195–220). Commonwealth of Australia.

Wille, B., Wiernik, B. M., Vergauwe, J., Vrijdags, A., & Trbovic, N. (2018). Personality characteristics of male and female executives: Distinct pathways to success? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 106*, 220–235.

Winston, A. S. (2020). Scientific racism and North American psychology. In *Oxford research encyclopaedia of psychology*. Oxford University Press.

Zack, N. (2017). *The Oxford handbook of philosophy and race*. Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 7

Towards a Pan-African Psychology of Restorative and Reparatory Justice

Some of the less well understood and less researched questions of restorative justice, reparation, and reconciliation are important questions for the future of a Pan-African psychology. South Africa is recognised and celebrated globally for its reconciliatory approach to democracy through the establishment of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) in 1995. Despite the many insights gained from this process, there have been many frustrations 20 years on, resulting from the slow pace of change and rising inequalities in some sectors of society. Erasmus and Garuba (2016) argue that from South Africa's TRC, we have learnt that:

> First, the idea that individual truth telling leads to national reconciliation is flawed. Second, restorative justice without social recompense absolves apartheid's beneficiaries of responsibility for the wages of white privilege. Third, reconciliation without social as opposed to individual reparations is an empty gesture. (…) The fourth lesson is that absolution from political crimes that involved brutal dehumanisation and mass murder cultivates a culture of impunity among *both* perpetrators and then-victims, erstwhile elites. (p. 347)

These lessons propel us to consider what the relevant questions might be for a Pan-African psychology of resistance and liberation. In a contemporary and globalised context where the coloniality of power is much less

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_7

visible, where what constitutes institutional racism remains contested, where ethnic and xenophobic violence are rife, where gender and sexual diversity are deemed un-African and where women and gender non-conforming and sexually diverse persons are endlessly subjected to multiple forms of violence, what forms of critical consciousness and solidarity are possible and to what ends?

It is widely recognised that the violence of slavery, colonisation, and apartheid has caused untold trauma for not only those directly affected but also for the families, communities, and descendants of enslaved and colonised peoples. It is perhaps natural therefore that the desire for reparations, reconciliation, and retributive justice would ensue in the pursuit of resolving and restoring the individual and collective healing and well-being of nations. However, these processes are neither simple nor linear given the diverse and intersectional experiences of the oppressed collectives and the persistence of violent conflicts. In the remainder of this chapter, we consider the role of apologies, truth-telling, memory work, and other forms of reparations and reconciliation that have been explored in different contexts across the continent, the diaspora, and the global south as meaningful pathways for future work of Pan-African psychologies.

Apologies for Historical Injustice

Around the world, movements continue to demand that governments acknowledge and apologise for historical injustices (Brooks, 1999; Minow, 2002) (e.g., the movements in UK, USA,[1] Caribbean Islands, Rwanda, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe). At times state administrations respond to such accusations and charges of current and historical injustices by minimising or denying the enormity of the harm done to individuals and communities (Blatz et al., 2009). Others claim it to be belated, problematic, taxing, and/or too costly to take action towards reparations, insist that much has already been done to mitigate historical injustices, and reinforce ahistorical ideas about the need to focus on present-day problems (Brooks, 1999). However, governments have sometimes apologised for historical injustices (Lazare, 2004), an act which in some cases has included offers of financial compensation (Wohl et al., 2006).

A number of scholars (Lazare, 2004; Minow, 2002; Tavuchis, 1991) as highlighted by Blatz and colleagues' (2009) argue that apologising is an especially influential way of resolving conflicts and repairing fractured

[1] See for example: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/apr/15/us-lawmakers-advance-bill-to-create-slavery-reparations-commission

relationships between nations, groups and individuals. There are many legal scholars and historians who argue that collective responses to historical injustice, such as official government apologies, are necessary to heal the wounds caused by past harms (e.g., Barkan, 2000; Brooks, 1999; Minow, 2002). Despite this, little psychological research has been done on the content or impact of such apologies (see Augoustinos & LeCouteur, 2004). Instead, a majority of psychological research on apologies has focused on the content and impact of interpersonal apologies (see, Scher & Darley, 1997). A state apology for historical injustices, however, is much more likely to be extensive and far-reaching than a standard interpersonal apology (Blatz et al., 2009). In particular, each of the six identified elements (remorse, acceptance of responsibility, admission of injustice, acknowledgement of harm, forbearance and offers of repair) of an interpersonal apology can be therapeutic when incorporated in government apologies for historical injustices (Lazare, 2004; Schmitt et al., 2004). However, former colonial governments are unlikely to offer an apology when they foresee considerable political backlash (Blatz et al., 2009). Britain has offered a few measly expressions of 'regret' for their role in trans-Atlantic slavery and is yet to apologise for it (Hirsch, 2020). In addition, these expressions of regret or acknowledgement of black, African, and Caribbean communities' forced contributions to the UK have never been followed up by reparations. On the contrary, black, African, and Caribbean communities, including Muslims, new refugee and migrant communities in the UK continue to suffer historical and continuing forms of racism and racist practice, including experiences of structural racism and institutional failure. As recently as 2018, the UK Windrush scandal saw many people who had arrived from the Caribbean countries between 1958 and 1971 detained or deported despite having the right to live in the UK for decades. Deportation and deportation threats were also inflicted on their children, people who had only known Britain as home. In her Guardian opinion piece, former barrister and writer Afua Hirsch (2020) explained that Britain's lack of using the language of apology is out of fear for a legal case and fear of paving the way for reparations. Astoundingly, the reality regarding slavery and Britain's economic history is that the British Parliament paid £20,000,000 to perpetrators who owned and had persons enslaved, in the Caribbean, upon emancipation (Brophy, 2014).

In Australia, Prime Minister Howard's apology to indigenous Australians has also not been followed by reparations (Augoustinos & LeCouteur, 2004). Indigenous aboriginal Australians have continued to

experience poverty, inequality, discrimination, exclusion, socio-economic and health disadvantages (Eades, 2000), racism (Larson et al., 2007), and violence (Anderson, 2002). The continuing repercussions of racism, both in the Americas and in Europe, as well as in Australasia, pose the question of whether apologies are really enough and whether they can address the psychological wounds of nations, individuals, and collectives. Apologies without material change, systematic changes and appropriate reparations (be it monetary and/or return of land) do not remedy the enduring mental, physical and spiritual harm done to victims of genocides, atrocities, colonialism and apartheid. In the absence of amends, wounds from injustices continue to maturate, leading to dissatisfaction, hostility and sometimes further conflicts (Blatz et al., 2009). Furthermore, when communities, scholars, and practitioners speak of amends, it is unclear what that looks like in practice. Historically, it has been the perpetrators of harm (e.g., in the case of the *1876 Canadian Indian Act*, an act that is/was part of a long history of assimilation policies intended to terminate the cultural, social, economic, and political distinctiveness of indigenous persons (Hanson, n.d.)),[2] who have defined and measured *amends* for victims of harm. Little research has been done to gauge how individuals and collectives of victimised communities and the perpetrating communities/majority citizens evaluate governments apologies. As a result, it is unclear whether state apologies can, if at all offer any remedy and/or sufficient remedy. An apology must nevertheless make clear that the crimes of slavery are directly linked to the ongoing harm and injury to descendants everywhere (Brophy, 2014). Current poverty levels in the Caribbean Islands for example are linked to the legacy of slavery and succeeding racial injustice and much of the wealth created by slavery and exploitation remains in the hands of Britain or its citizens (Brophy, 2014). In the same way, the current deep-seated inequalities in South African society, that occur along racialised lines are direct consequences of colonisation, slavery, and apartheid. What is clear is that psychological solutions, such as apologies, are not enough and must be followed by reparations, the question being how, for whom, and in what form? Who would pay these and who would receive these reparations?

[2] The 1876 Indian Act is a Canadian federal law that governs in matters pertaining to Indian status, bands, and Indian reserves. See Erin Hanson, E. (n.d.). The Indian Act. Indigenous foundations arts. Retrieved on 23 February 2021 https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/the_indian_act/

The Case for Reparations

The *National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America* (N'COBRA) defines reparations as a process of repairing, healing, and restoring individuals, communities and or people injured due to their group identity and in violation of their fundamental human rights by states or corporations (CARICOM reparations, 2021). Groups, communities and or individuals who have been harmed have the right to obtain from the state or corporation responsible for the harm, that which they need to repair and heal themselves. In addition to being a demand for justice, CARICOM reparations (2021) insist that reparations are a principle of international human rights law (CARICOM reparations, 2021).

Movements in the United States and other parts of the world have called for reparations to compensate the descendants of slaves for the economic and other damages inflicted upon them by slavery (Forbes, 2011). A wide range of studies have linked the continuing disparity in levels of health, economic well-being, and educational attainments between Americans of African ancestry and other Americans to factors originating in slavery, and continued stigmatisation (Forbes, 2011). The US reparations movement began in the late 1960s and early 1970s and was particularly active in the 1990s and towards the start of the decade that followed partly due to the US government's decision to compensate surviving Japanese-Americans who were put in camps during the Second World War (Lambert, 2010). The movement has been led by organisations such as *Millions for Reparations* and N'COBRA, and supported by writings such as Randall Robinson's *The Debt* (2000). The reparations movement was associated with the Civil Rights Movement and earlier nineteenth-century African-American abolitionist, Frederick Douglass (Lambert, 2010), although the origins of the idea of reparations can be traced back to the Haitian revolution (when former French enslavers demanded reparations from Haiti). In the last decade the push by African-American descendants of those enslaved and others, for reparations for slavery, has primarily insisted on apology and compensation (Lambert, 2010).

These demands for compensation are usually based on what enslaved Africans and African Americans are said to have had in income if they had been paid for their labour, centuries ago. The hypothetical earnings are calculated on the basis of a *free worker standard* (Lambert, 2010). Similarly in 2006 the British academic Robert Beckford, made a demand for £7.5 trillion, with £4 trillion of this representing the total bill for unpaid wages

for enslaved workers in the British Empire (Channel 4 UK, 2005). Between the actual historical experience of Africans and African Americans and the (re)imagination of a history without slavery and its legacies lies a discrepancy that Walters (2007) calls *that which was taken away from Africans*. The counterfactual conception of compensation (CCC) on the other hand holds that individuals and groups who have suffered harm or injustice linked to slavery should be compensated for these harms (Lambert, 2010). This compensation should involve having victims being "*placed in the position they would have been in had the injustice never occurred"* (Nozick, 1974 cited in Lambert, 2010, p. 288).

Much can be learnt from the African-American experience in this regard. Martin Luther King, Jr., Marcus Garvey, and Robert Penn Warren are among some of the loudest voices that have demanded black reparations (Feagin & O'Brien, 1999). One of the most active black activists in the US, Civil rights activist James Forman, in his *Black manifesto* demanded specific reparations for African Americans which included economic demands, the creation of banks, presses, universities, and training centres for African Americans; and that white churches pay reparations as repayment for centuries of racist degradation and exploitation (Feagin & O'Brien, 1999). Regardless of the resistance towards reparations, there has been some action. For example, the U.S. Senate apologised for failing to pass anti-lynching legislation in the 1920s, and Wachovia, the Presbyterian General Assembly, JP Morgan Chase, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Hartford Courant have apologised for slavery (Brophy, 2006). Bills have also continued to be introduced in Congress every term since 1989 and a law passed by the state of California required insurance companies to disclose policies written on slaves' lives (Brophy, 2006).

Some of the advocates of reparations see truth commissions and apologies as critical first steps towards a plan of monetary reparations and as an essential part of reconciliation. Similarly, Yamamoto (1999) perceives reconciliation as a multistep project with truth commissions and apology as a first step and then followed by payment reparations to solidify regret, before forgiveness. Equally, since the launch of the *CARICOM*[3]

[3]The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is a grouping of twenty countries: fifteen member states and five associate members. except for Belize, in Central America and Guyana and Suriname in South America, and of which all members and associate members are island states.

Reparations Commission (CRC) in 2013, the global movement for reparatory justice has been revived. Over the past couple of years, the CRC has inspired the creation of the *National African American Reparations Commission*, the *European Reparations Commission* and similar formations in Canada and the UK (CARICOM reparations, 2021). In 2015, reparation advocates from around 22 countries, including representatives from the CRC, in their hundreds, congregated in New York City for an International Reparations Conference (CARICOM reparations, 2021). Following this assembly, discussions and debates about reparations and reparatory justice have escalated across the world. The Reparations conversation is resonating beyond the boundaries of the Caribbean islands, the United States, and the African continent. In 2016, the Prime Minister of India expressed the need for India to thoughtfully examine a claim for reparations for the suffering inflicted on the people of India from decades of British colonial rule (CARICOM reparations, 2021). The discussion on reparations also reverberates among the indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand who also voice reparation demands, as well as the sizeable communities of African descent in Brazil and Colombia in Latin America (CARICOM reparations, 2021). Most recently a coalition associated with the Black Lives Matter movement have also demanded reparations. Among their demands, the Movement for Black Lives have asked for abolition of the death penalty, legislation to recognise the impacts of slavery, as well as investments in education initiatives, mental health services and employment programmes (CARICOM reparations, 2021).

Demands from African states have been held back by disputes over whether the focus of reparations should be the Atlantic slave trade alone or also include European colonialism and post-colonial relations (Howard-Hassmann, 2004). Whilst currently the issue of reparations has not been much of a priority for the African Union, it nevertheless remains unresolved. The debate over reparations and compensations from past colonial countries and/ or states has been mostly regarded as political rather than legal (Sarkin, 2009). The recent agreement by the German government to pay Namibia 1.1 billion Euros in recognition of the Herero-Nama genocide is conveniently framed as an act of reconciliation rather than reparation to avoid any legally binding implications.[4] In fact many countries that have been perpetrators of colonialism, slavery, genocide, and colonial

[4] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/28/germany-agrees-to-pay-namibia-11bn-over-historical-herero-nama-genocide

atrocities have argued that any expected reparations can be met through *development aid* (Sarkin, 2009). But development aid should not be misconceived as reparatory, as it is often considered a form of neo-colonialism that comes with conditionalities, that benefits experts and consultants from the West, and allows past colonisers to retain influence in the political direction of previously colonised states (Mkandawire, 2004),[5] while playing the role of 'innocent donor'.

On the African continent, more attention has been given to restorative justice, through truth and reconciliation commissions in settler colonies, such as South Africa, as well as in countries that have experienced ethnic wars and genocides post-independence, such as Rwanda, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe (amongst others).

Restorative Justice: Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

Over the years the conceptual framework and practices of restorative justice have received wide traction internationally. This has included restorative justice as a conceptual framework for the mission of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. To date, on the African continent alone, over 19 countries have held truth commissions (Fombad, 2008). Some of these countries include Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Burundi, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Liberia, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Uganda, and Togo (Fombad, 2008, 2017).

Truth commissions may be crucial for counteracting the *culture of silence* that can develop following atrocities, among the community of perpetrators (Dimitrijevic, 2006). The perception in much of the peace building and transitional justice literature, as well as in political rhetoric, is that truth telling is a cathartic and healing process for individuals and society, thus will cultivate reconciliation (Biggar, 2001; Lederach, 1998; Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC], 1998; Asmal et al., 1994). A frequent claim is that truth telling is healing and will lead to reconciliation (Gibson, 2004). However, this frequent idea that truth telling is healing has not been systematically tested (Thoms et al., 2008; Hamber, 1998).

[5] The development industry and development aid has been widely criticised from different perspectives. In addition to Mkandawire, see Ake (1996) and Kothari (2005).

Brounbus' (2010) study was one of the first to systematically investigate truth telling and psychological health and examined whether witnessing for truth and reconciliation in the gacaca court system in villages in Rwanda following the 1994 genocide, was beneficial for psychological health. The gacaca court system, also translated as '*justice on the grass*', is facilitated by a group of community elders, who listen to the experiences of parties involved, before offering their opinions on how to resolve the cases or disputes presented. The results from a random survey of 1200 people in Rwanda highlighted that gacaca witnesses suffered from higher levels of depression and PTSD than those who had not been witnesses. In addition, the research found that longer exposure to truth telling processes had not lowered the levels of psychological ill health. Neither had the prevalence of depression and PTSD decreased over time. The study questioned the claim that truth telling is healing and presented a unique understanding of the complexity of truth telling processes in post conflict peacebuilding (see Brounbus, 2010).

These findings suggest that witnessing truth telling processes involves psychological risks that had previously been neglected and may have a worsening effect on depression and PTSD. Truth-telling processes involve a type of short and intensive trauma exposure that was found to be retraumatising. The study showed that the negative effect of witnessing on depression and PTSD was even stronger for *inyangamugayo* (Gacaca court judges) and neighbours than for survivors. This is concerning as any risks must be taken into account when designing truth and reconciliation processes so that initiatives such as TRCs or truth telling for peace do not add to social negative reactions, further violence, or re-traumatisation and expose individuals or communities to vicarious trauma. In essence, psychological research challenges the allegation that truth telling is healing and the literature of truth-telling and truth-seeking systems on reconciliation and peace have been based on distorted presumptions and beliefs rather than on empirical evidence (Mendeloff, 2004). As a result DeLaet (2006) encourages scholars and those involved in transitional justice processes to assign much attention to individual psychological processes [in truth commissions]. This is especially so if they sincerely think that healing and reconciliation are integral to promoting peace and justice in the long term (DeLaet, 2006). However, critical orientations to psychology as well as Pan-African thought suggest that the focus on individual rehabilitation does not necessarily lead to reconciliation. Trauma, which affects individuals, emotionally, physically and spiritually, as well as altering the cognitive

processing of the brain (Levine & Frederick, 1997) also extensively impact communities and societies (Zehr, 2008). Individual-oriented conceptions of trauma are also rooted in western culture and based on individualistic conceptions of the self (Whitehead, 2008). This continues to be a field that requires more research, specifically research looking at how trauma affects social as well as individual well-being and what approaches and strategies can be used to address trauma not just on the individual level but within communities and within much larger societies (Zehr, 2008).

On the other hand, South African psychologist Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) argues that '*bearing witness*' to trauma testimonies can result in recognition of self and other. The collective process of *bearing witness* can construct the possibility for consciousness or awareness of both the complicity in apartheid that most White South Africans have denied, and of their subject positions as people who have benefited from the apartheid colonial regime. She asserts how these critical steps can open up the possibility for transformation and reconciliation and also highlights how public engagement on spectres of the past can give the South African nation significant insights on the complex relationship that they have with memory and history, and how different groups might come to terms with the past (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012). The field of social memory in post-apartheid South Africa has been a site of conflicting approaches to remembering. Gobodo-Madikizela argues that for black people who suffered the harsh reality of apartheid, struggling with memory is a struggle to depart from the memory of the pain and violence of apartheid. The burying of these memories is not to try to forget the past, but to *heal their brokenness*, and regain a sense of dignity, of respect and/or the dignity and respect of loved ones murdered during apartheid. She asserts therefore that the basis for dealing with the past is the sharing of narratives, and sharing about suffering "in a way that addresses those who want to hide from the truth in order to get their affirmation and validation" (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012, p. 253). Sharing of narratives by individuals and communities can help communities make sense of their experiences, collectively sharing and thereby allowing healing to extend beyond the personal to the collective and cultural (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2015).

Although there are many accounts of post-traumatic growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996) in South Africa, particularly on a national scale, many people continue to be unaccounted for, many continue to grieve and the socio-economic conditions of many have not changed (Adebayo, 2020). Without truth and socio-economic growth benefiting all black South

Africans there continues to be a barrier for real spiritual and psychological healing for survivors and victims of apartheid and South Africa as a nation. But what accounts for the truth and how we measure the truth are contested areas (Adebayo, 2020). Similarly, memory can be troubled and selective. Soyinka (2000) reminds us of how scholars, at the expense of truth and reality rescript the Arab-Islamic savaging of the African continent narrative, which preceded the Christian-European colonisation and which had been just as violent. He points out that as uneasy and un-united Pan-African voices are about questions relating to silencing the revisionist bias about truth and reconciliation, and about whom reparations should be demanded, there is no evading it, as truth cannot be separated from reparations and reconciliation (Soyinka, 2000). *Troubled memory* is the memory of violent centuries of slavery, to the Herero genocide, to Rwandan massacres to the recent decades of apartheid, to Gukurahundu, to Eastern Congo killings and to the signs of new genocides in Nigeria by Boko Haram, Islamist Fulani herders and other extremist militias, amongst others.

The memory of slavery must carry on invading the memory of the world, and the history of humanity is defective without acknowledging the violence of this history. However, conceptions of African communalism and humanism should not fall into the trap of essentialising arguments that overlook contemporary violences across the continent (Soyinka, 2000). The genocides in Rwanda, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe are a few examples of post-colonial internal conflicts that invite us to grapple with the meaning of truth, reparation, and reconciliation as well as the Pan-African ideals presented throughout this book.

Truth, Memory and Healing in Zimbabwe, Nigeria, and Rwanda

The Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1987 highlight the need for reconciliation, social integration and national healing (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2013). An approximate 20 000 persons, mainly from the Matabeleland and parts of Midlands Province in Zimbabwe were killed during this period (Ngwenya & Harris, 2015). Individuals, families, and whole communities were murdered by government forces in an operation code-named in the Shona language, *Gukurahundi* (Ngwenya & Harris, 2015). From the time of the Gukurahundi, there has not been

any official apology, justice, reparations, or any form of healing process offered by the Zimbabwean government. Similarly, individuals and communities have not had the opportunity to share their narratives and engage with the process of healing and many people are reported to continue suffering trauma from the atrocities of that time and that trauma is passed on to the next generation (Ngwenya & Harris, 2015).

Ngwenya and Harris (2015) found that a strong desire for revenge remains, as well as high levels of mistrust towards the ethnic group involved in the massacres. Studies have indicated that acknowledgement by government of the genocide atrocities, including the violence that occurred in the lead up to the election violence in 2000, truth-telling (including dialogue between victims and perpetrators and the release of the findings of several commissions of enquiry) and lastly an apology by the Zimbabwean government to the victims/ survivors are necessary for healing (Murambadoro, 2015). Repression of the truth, feelings of insecurity, impunity, and lack of an apology are barriers to healing (Ngwenya & Harris, 2015; Murambadoro, 2015). However, as indicated above, how reparation works, how well it can work—at the national, interpersonal, group, inter-group, cultural and organisational levels, remains ambiguous (Adams & Balfour, 2008).

Indeed, the failure of the policies framed around reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction following the Nigeria-Biafra War have fuelled lingering post-war memories. While attempts at post-war reconciliation and national unity appeared to have lessened, opposing memories of the war in the public realm, in actual fact, group memories of *hurt*, *marginalisation*, and *injustice*, still increased in the private domains (Onuoha, 2018). The Nigeria-Biafra post-civil war peacebuilding project has produced a range of diverse memories that have not been favourable to reconciliation and peace, but have, in many ways, strengthened and caused further conflicts (Onuoha, 2018). The Nigeria-Biafra War provides a contextual example for examining the link between memory and reconciliation and what this means for other post-conflict states in African countries. The National Rehabilitation Commission (NRC) established in 1968 was tasked to coordinate post-war food relief efforts, compensate people for destroyed property, resettle those who had escaped and reconstruct the country projects (Okpoko, 2002). Onuoha (2018) reports that these proposed efforts were not at all executed in the post-war era, casting doubt on whether the Nigerian Gowon regime was ever genuinely committed to real reconciliation. The NRC only served a limited purpose. It involved

itself with repairing physical ruin to government structures and did not have the instruction to heal individuals, communities' and the social wounds of war (Amadiume, 2000).

The efforts at reconstruction and reconciliation, that overlook the role of memory "have led to a 'cold peace' in real and metaphorical terms" (Onuoha, 2018, p. 20). Onuoha (2018) identified that for reconciliation to have any significant impact on the system, it must hold marginalised memories of hurt and injustice, both in actual and historical terms. This manner of accommodating memory requires approaching structural and systemic reforms in a way that positively impacts individual and collective memories, particularly in post-conflict situations that involve multi tribes or groups (Onuoha, 2018). This mechanism moves away from merely implementing a peacebuilding paradigm that focuses on stabilising the system to one that is also interested in healing the society. Lessons from Nigeria-Biafra and other similar conflicts do indicate that whilst reconciliation has the potential to point to a common future, achieving reconciliation through a mechanism of forgetfulness is not the solution. For example, in the past, governments have foisted partial or official remembrance actions, often leading to the outright suppression or obliteration of collective and individual memories, both in the present and in future (Onuoha, 2018). The failure of reconciliation in Nigeria is built on the reality that the government has defined and initiated what it perceived to be the kind of reconciliation suited to Nigeria's post-war nation building project (Onuoha, 2018). Amadiume (2000) poses the question on whether Nigeria, post Biafara, may have benefited from a formal war crime hearing. This is a question that continues to stand as Biafra is still significant in the "*national political discourse as a wound that has not healed*" (Amadiume, 2000, pp. 46–47), a continuing matter of conscience in our collective memory.

The genocide in Rwanda, between April and July 1994, resulting in the murder of approximately 800,000 people, mostly Tutsis, was followed by a retributive process through the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. In 2001 about 130,000 people were accused of the crimes of genocide and incarcerated. Kohen et al.'s (2011) paper examined the possibility for peace and justice in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide and considered the potential uses and shortcomings of restorative justice plans in the process of healing and reconciliation. The authors argued that restorative justice initiatives have moved the country closer towards reconciliation than retributive measures, such as the International Criminal

Tribunal for Rwanda. They made a case for the significance of partnering on an extensive search for justice with a commitment to truth-telling and accountability by victims and perpetrators of the genocide, as well as by current government officials.

Scholars and practitioners of restorative justice assert that reconciliation cannot be reached by retributive practices, as these practices seek to prove guilt and punish offenders rather than aim to repair the violation that has been created by the offence (Kohen et al., 2011). Those who have been harmed and their loved ones often have a deep desire for answers and, more often than not, criminal trials do not provide the answers sought. Kohen and colleagues found accountability to be both desired by as much as the key to survivors and the community. Consequently, the traditional justice system of gacaca in Rwanda, a practice whose effectiveness has been proven over a long period of time brings survivors and perpetrators together.

The gacaca court system emphasises truth-telling, offender accountability, and restitution for those who have been offended against. The objective is reconciliation between those who have been harmed/ offended against whilst also restoring the perpetrator to the place they previously occupied in the community (Temple-Raston, 2005). There have been problems with the gacaca courts nevertheless. Some of these issues have included procedural issues and persisting problems with the individuals presiding over the gacaca trials. Sarkin (2001) highlighted how the presiding elders had little to no legal training and yet were placed in positions where they were expected to place judgments and resolve issues and legal matters that are quite complex.

A Pan-African Approach to Restorative and Reparatory Justice

In all of these examples and many more across the continent, the questions of identity and national unity, as a central yet complex ideal in Pan-Africanism, remains (see Chap. 3). In its attempt to building 'one nation', the Rwandese government prohibited the use of ethnic labels such as Hutu, Tutsi or Tva and instead forced citizens to identify themselves as 'Rwandans' and tried to create cooperation between formerly antagonistic groups and communities through grassroots cooperative activities (Herath, 2018). A similar approach was used in post-1994 South Africa to minimise

racial differences through the discourse of a 'rainbow nation' and other strategies. Minimising the social and political significance of ethnic and racial identities or differences is built on the belief that creating a common national identity will enable countries to heal the wounds of violence. Regardless of these attempts, ethnic and racial identities and differences remain strong and rather than the attempt at erasing difference, the issue requires political space where people have the freedom to express and negotiate their differences (Herath, 2018). This speaks to the need for a flexible, mature, intersectional, and dialectical Pan-Africanism that can hold space for these complexities through a collective engagement and consciousness of the origins of differences and violence. A kind of Pan-Africanism that recognises that the victims of harm can also be perpetrators of harm—and that recognises the psychological importance of reparatory justice such that no healing, reconciliation, or peace can happen without acknowledgment of harm and reparations.

A Pan-African psychology of resistance, liberation, and reparatory justice must not only highlight the challenges that need to be overcome but also strive to invent concrete interventions, proposals, and processes for healing from the wounds of slavery, colonisation, and the continued violences that manifest from this history. We know that forms of acknowledgement and recognition of harm can go a long way to restoring dignity and humanity, particularly through social or collective reparatory processes. We have established that psychological solutions to structural violence are not viable or sustainable unless they are accompanied by real material changes in the lives of people. What remains is a more critical look at truth-telling, at premature or tokenistic attempts at reconciliation, and the possibilities of healing from trauma. Many would argue that none of this is possible without a focus on the question of land. African feminist struggles have also recognised the importance of the question of land for a movement towards social justice (Ossome, 2020). The uprooting and displacement of people from their land has not only been a dehumanising process, which has led to poverty and economic deprivation but one which has led to psychological and spiritual wounds. The relationship people have to land and identity is a critical area for further research in Pan-African psychology and may shed light on the limitations of reparations, reconciliation, truth and forgiveness towards a more just future and hold promising and important insights into more constructive pathways towards a peaceful and more connected future—locally and globally—on the continent, in the diaspora and throughout the world.

References

Adams, G. B., & Balfour, D. L. (2008). Expiating evil: Reflections on the difficulties of cultural, organizational and individual reparation. *Public Administration, 86*(4), 881–893.

Adebayo, S. (2020). Unmournable bodies, embodied monuments and bodily truths: Rethinking reconciliation in Zulu Love Letter. *Safundi, 22*, 1–4.

Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa*. The Brookings Institution.

Amadiume, I. (2000). The politics of memory: Biafra and intellectual responsibility. In I. Amadiume & A. A. An-Na'ĩm (Eds.), *The politics of memory: Truth, healing, and social justice*. Zed Books.

Anderson, I. (2002). Understanding Indigenous violence. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 26*(5), 408–409.

Asmal, K., Asmal, L., & Roberts, R. S. (1994). *Reconciliation through truth: A reckoning of apartheid ' criminal governance*. David Philip Publishers.

Augoustinos, M., & LeCouteur, A. (2004). On whether to apologize to indigenous Australians: The denial of white guilt. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 236–261). Cambridge University Press.

Barkan, E. (2000). *The guilt of nations: Restitution and negotiating historical injustices*. Norton.

Biggar, N. (2001). Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice After Civil Conflict. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Blatz, C. W., Schumann, K., & Ross, M. (2009). Government apologies for historical injustices. *Political Psychology, 30*(2), 219–241.

Brooks, R. L. (Ed.). (1999). *When sorry isn't enough: The controversy over apologies and reparations for human injustice*. New York University Press.

Brophy, A. L. (2006). *Reparations: Pro and con*. Oxford University Press.

Brophy, A. L. (2014). The case for reparations for slavery in the Caribbean. *Slavery & Abolition, 35*(1), 165–169.

Brounbus, K. (2010). The trauma of truth telling: Reprints and permission: Effects of Witnessing in the Rwandan Gacaca. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 54*(3), 408–437.

CARICOM. (2021). *The global reparations movement*. Retrieved February 25, 2021, from https://caricomreparations.org/the-global-reparations-movement/

Channel 4, UK. (2005). The empire pays back. Retrieved March 8, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MzctBXOHewk. Real Documentaries 101.

DeLaet, D. L. (2006). Gender justice: A gendered assessment of truth-telling mechanisms. In T. A. Borer (Ed.), *Telling the truths: Truth telling and peace building in post conflict societies* (pp. 151–179). University of Notre Dame Press.

Dimitrijevic, N. (2006). Justice beyond blame: Moral justification of (the idea of) a truth commission. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 50*, 368–382.

Eades, S. J. (2000). Reconciliation, social equity and Indigenous health. *Medical Journal of Australia, 172*, 468–469.

Erasmus, Z., & Garuba, H. (2016). The South African error: Restorative justice *sans* social recompense. In K. Lefko-Everett, R. Govender, & D. Foster (Eds.), *Rethinking reconciliation: Evidence from South Africa* (pp. 337–352). HSRC Press.

Feagin, J. R., & O'Brien, E. (1999). The growing movement for reparations. In R. L. Brooks (Ed.), *When sorry isn't enough: The controversy over apologies and reparations for human injustice* (pp. 34–344). New York University Press.

Fombad, C. M. (2008). Transitional justice in Africa: The experience with truth commissions. Retrieved March 6, 2021, from https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Africa_Truth_Commissions.html

Fombad, C. M. (2017). *Update: Transitional justice in Africa: The experience with truth commissions.* Retrieved March 7, 2021, from https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Africa_Truth_Commissions.html

Forbes, R. P. (2011). *"Truth Systematised": The changing debate over slavery and abolition, 1761–1916.* Torrington Articles.

Gibson, J. L. (2004). Does truth lead to reconciliation? Testing the causal assumptions of the South African truth and reconciliation process. *American Journal of Political Science, 48*(2), 201–217.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2012). Remembering the past: Nostalgia, traumatic memory, and the legacy of Apartheid. Peace and Conflict. *Journal of Peace Psychology, 18*(3), 252–267.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2015). Psychological repair: The intersubjective dialogue of remorse and forgiveness in the aftermath of gross human rights violations. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 63*(6), 1085–1123.

Hamber, B. (Ed.). (1998). *Past imperfect: Dealing with the past in Northern Ireland and societies in transition.* Incore.

Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, O. (2013). Reconciliation, conciliation, integration and national healing: Possibilities and challenges in Zimbabwe. *African Journal on. Conflict Resolution, 13*(1), 79–99.

Herath, D. (2018). Post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and Sri Lanka. Conflict Trends 2018/1. Retrieved March 2, 2021, from https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/post-conflict-reconstruction-and-reconciliation-in-rwanda-and-sri-lanka/

Hirsch, A. (2020). The case for British slavery reparations can no longer be brushed aside. Opinion. *The Guardian*. Retrieved March 7, 2021, from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/09/british-slavery-reparations-economy-compensation

Howard-Hassmann, R. E. (2004). Reparations to Africa and the Group of Eminent Persons. *Cahiers d'E´tudes Africaines, 44*, 81–97.

Kohen, A., Drake, L., & Zanchelli, M. (2011). Personal and political reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *Social Justice Research, 24*, 85–106.
Kothari, U. (Ed.). (2005). *A radical history of development studies: Individuals, institutions and ideologies*. Zed.
Lambert, D. (2010). Black-Atlantic counterfactualism: Speculating about slavery and its aftermath. *Journal of Historical Geography, 36*, 286–296.
Larson, A., Gillies, M., Howard, P. J., & Coffin, J. (2007). Australian and New Zealand. *Journal of Public Health, 31*(4), 322–329.
Lazare, A. (2004). *On apology*. Oxford University Press.
Lederach, J. P. (1998). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. United States Institute of Peace.
Levine, P., & Frederick, A. (1997). *Waking the Tiger: Healing trauma—The Innate capacity to transform. Overwhelming experiences*. North Atlantic Books.
Mendeloff, D. (2004). Truth-seeking, truth-telling, and postconflict peacebuilding: Curb the enthusiasm? *International Studies Review, 6*(3), 355–380.
Minow, M. (2002). *Breaking the cycles of hatred*. Princeton University Press.
Mkandawire, T. (2004). *The spread of economic doctrines in postcolonial Africa*. UNRISD.
Murambadoro, R. (2015). 'We cannot reconcile until the past has been acknowledged': Perspectives on *Gukurahundi* from Matabeleland. *Zimbabwe. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 15*(1), 33–57.
Ngwenya, D. & Harris, G. (2015). *The consequences of not healing: Evidence from the Gukurahundi violence in Zimbabwe*. AJCR 2015/2. Retrieved March 1, 2021, from https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-consequences-of-not-healing/
Nozick, R. (1974). *Anarchy, state, and utopia*. Basic Books.
Okpoko, P. U. (2002). Three decades after Biafra: A critique of the reconciliation policy. In Falola, T. (Ed). *Nigeria in the twentieth century. ECS Rehabilitation Commission: A review of post war operations* (Enugu: Government Printer) (p. 486). Carolina Academic Press.
Onuoha, G. (2018). *Memory, reconciliation, and peacebuilding in post-civil war Southeastern Nigeria*. African Peacebuilding Network. APN Working Papers: No. 19.
Ossome, L (2020). African feminism. In Rabaka, R (ed.) Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism. London & New-York: Routledge.
Robinson, R. (2000). *The debt: What America owes to blacks*. Penguin.
Sarkin, J. (2001). The tension between justice and reconciliation in Rwanda: Politics, human rights, due process and the role of gacaca courts in dealing with the genocide. *Journal of African Law, 45*(2), 143–172.
Sarkin, J. (2009). *Colonial genocide and reparations claims in the 21st century: The socio-legal context of claims under international law by the herero against Germany for genocide in Namibia, 1904–1908*. ABC-CLIO.

Scher, S. J., & Darley, J. M. (1997). How effective are the things people say to apologize? Effects of the realization of the apology speech act. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 26*, 127–140.

Schmitt, M., Gollwitzer, M., Forster, N., & Montada, L. (2004). Effects of objective and subjective account components on forgiving. *Journal of Social Psychology, 144*, 465–485.

Soyinka, W. (2000). Memory, truth and healing. In I. Amadiume & A. A. An-Na'ĩm (Eds.), *The politics of memory: Truth, healing, and social justice*. Zed Books.

Tavuchis, N. (1991). *Mea culpa*. Stanford University Press.

Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (1996). The posttraumatic growth inventory: Measuring the positive legacy of trauma. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 9*(3), 455–471. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02103658

Temple-Raston, D. (2005). *Justice on the grass: Three Rwandan journalists, their trial for war crimes, and a nation's quest for redemption*. Free Press.

Thoms, O. N. T., Ron, J., & Paris, R. (2008). *The effects of transitional justice mechanisms: A summary of empirical research findings and implications for analysts and practitioners*. University of Ottawa.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (1998). *Report of the truth and reconciliation commission of South Africa*. Juta.

Walters, R. W. (2007). African reparations: Dealing with a unique and unprecedented moral debt. In A. Mazama (Ed.), *Africa in the 21st century: Toward a new future* (p. 268). Routledge.

Whitehead, A. (2008). Journeying through hell: Wole Soyinka, trauma, and postcolonial Nigeria. *Studies in the Novel, 40*(1/2), 13–30.

Wohl, M. J. A., Branscombe, N. R., & Klar, Y. (2006). Collective guilt: Emotional reactions when one's group has done wrong or been wronged. *European Review of Social Psychology, 17*, 1–17.

Yamamoto, E. K. (1999). *Interracial justice conflict and reconciliation in post-civil rights America*. New York University Press.

Zehr, H. (2008). Doing justice, healing trauma: The role of restorative justice in peacebuilding. *South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding, 1*(1), 19–36.

CHAPTER 8

Concluding Remarks: Can a Pan-African Psychology Address the Wounds of Slavery, Colonisation, and Apartheid?

Our reflections on what Pan-Africanism can contribute to psychology and what a Pan-African psychology might look like, lead us to a central question: *Can a Pan-African psychology address the wounds of slavery, colonisation, and apartheid?* In answering this question, we reflect on the contributions of African, liberation, indigenous, and feminist psychologies and how these have promoted critical developments in the discipline. We engage with the critical contradictions of Pan-Africanist ideals in the context of widespread injurious practices on the continent and the diaspora and explore the question of reconciliation and reparations. A Pan-African lens into psychology presents many possibilities, from a psychology of protest and rehabilitation, to a psychology of resistance and liberation, to a psychology of reparations and restorative justice.

In the chapters of this book, we have explored the connections between Pan-Africanism and psychology in the midst of some of the decolonial social movements of our times. Specifically, we have highlighted the significance of Pan-African thought in constructing a psychology in, from, and for Africa and the diaspora that would foreground conceptions of blackness and African identities in the aftermath of slavery and colonisation. We have drawn out the deeply psychological nature of Pan-African conceptions of solidarity, connectedness, and consciousness and the struggles to foster unity in a context where access to resources and power are

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4_8

often dependent on the social, economic, and political association with Eurocentric ways of knowing and doing.

By way of conclusion, we wish to reflect further on the role of a Pan-African psychology as a praxis of resistance and liberation amidst the contemporary realities of continued widespread violences across Africa and the diaspora. The inherent contradictions between the significant role that Pan-Africanism has played in struggles for independence and liberation against the persistence of internalised, relational, and structural violences is a critical area for further research.

The starting point for a truly Pan-African psychology is the acknowledgement of the historical complicity of psychological knowledge in the colonial project. Black psychologists have highlighted the need for a psychology rooted in the black experience and one that is politically oriented towards forms of resistance and liberation from colonial oppressions for all. Decolonial and African feminist psychologists have advocated for scholarship and activisms on gender and sexual plurality to challenge colonial patriarchal oppressions. These developments in psychological knowledge invite us to see the contemporary forms of racialised, ethnic, gendered, and sexual violences occurring across our continent and the diaspora as a legacy of colonial relations of power, knowledge, being and doing. A Pan-African psychological lens teases out the politics of internalised and relational forms of violence mediated by the identities and sense of belonging of individuals and communities. Differences in conceptions of blackness and Africanness as well as gender and sexual identities in the context of the ethno-nationalist, patriarchal and masculinist state apparatuses and institutions inherited from the colonial administration are what make Pan-Africanism as relevant today as it was two centuries ago.

From its very beginnings, Pan-African thinkers realised the need for the development of psychological theories of African personalities and consciousness to dispel myths of black inferiority and to 'rehabilitate' and restore a sense of pride and value in what Africa contributes to the world. These were accompanied by notions of unity and collective self-determination that provided a framework for resistance and liberation from colonial rule and the epistemic violence of the colonial encounter. We have argued that such conceptions can influence how we do psychology through various methods of research that do justice to the agendas and narratives of racialised and gendered 'others' or those most marginalised from centres of power. Methods that foreground historical archives, participation, collective consciousness, and solidarity in the pursuit of

social justice are gaining traction in psychological research and draw on these Pan-African ideals. A Pan-African psychology is thus, on the one hand, a critique of coloniality and its pathologising effects, and, on the other hand, an aspirational drive at healing the black psyche and black communities in Africa and the diaspora. A Pan-African lens into psychology also offers possibilities for the much-needed epistemological critiques and advances in knowledge production responding to the decolonial turn in the social sciences.

The criticisms of Pan-African thought have already alluded to the inconsistencies and ambiguities of a liberation narrative that prioritises certain architectures and hierarchies of freedom implying that some disenfranchised groups are less deserving of justice. The criticisms levelled at psychology have raised questions as to whether academic theorising can provide the tools for advancing our understandings of human life outside of a Eurocentric and dehumanising discourse. A Pan-African psychology must be evolving, flexible, and imaginative enough to explore the complexities of human life, to imagine reparatory and restorative justice and what this means for the future of black people in Africa and the diaspora. We see this as a central concern given the ongoing violences in Africa and its diaspora. Much of this violence is related to the colonial past and indicative of the difficulties associated with nation-building and the project of establishing common values, beliefs, and legitimate institutions. Questions of identity and belonging are fundamentally psychological and at the same time political given the long history of marginalisation and exclusion from participation and access to power and resources.

To address the wounds of slavery, colonisation, and apartheid, a Pan-African psychology must uncover and disrupt the imaginary boundaries of gender, race, ethnic identities, and other essentialising differences that haunt the discipline in the service of the nationalist project. Pan-African movements across time and spaces have addressed these continually shifting boundaries drawing on alternative conceptions of what it means to be human from the perspective of the oppressed and disenfranchised. Although these movements are incomplete, they present crucial questions of psychological identity and belonging, and open up avenues for exploring the ambiguities and insecurities of people's attachment to and dislocation from their families, communities, and nations and should feature in any psychological exploration of contemporary human life. It is perhaps within such an understanding that we can begin to create the type of psychological practices that can help us do justice to the pain, anguish, and injustice of colonisation and coloniality whilst channelling our work into productive energies for building a just and more caring future.

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

S. Kessi et al., *Pan-Africanism and Psychology in Decolonial Times*, Pan-African Psychologies,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89351-4