



THE STATE WE'RE IN:

Democracy's Fractures, Fixes and Futures

NELSON MANDELA
UNIVERSITY

International Conference
7 - 10 September 2021

International Interdisciplinary Conference

Programme

HOSTS:

Centre for the Advancement of
Non-Racialism and Democracy

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor:
Engagement and Transformation

Faculty of Humanities

ONLINE

NELSON MANDELA
UNIVERSITY





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Nelson Mandela University
<https://www.mandela.ac.za/>

**Centre for the Advancement of
Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD)**
<https://canrad.mandela.ac.za/>

CONFERENCE CONVENORS



Prof André Keet

DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR:
Engagement and Transformation
Nelson Mandela University



Prof Pamela Maseko

DEAN OF HUMANITIES
Nelson Mandela University



Mr Allan Zinn

DIRECTOR
Centre for the Advancement of
Non-Racialism and Democracy
Nelson Mandela University

Conference Convenor and Programme Director



Prof Christi van der Westhuizen

HEAD: RESEARCH PROGRAMME
Centre for the Advancement of
Non-Racialism and Democracy
Nelson Mandela University

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa and also globally, democracy as practice and as principle is under pressure amid worsening socio-economic inequality. Democratic politics has been displaced by technocratic proceduralism, placing responsive governance and the accountability of elected representatives in question. In reaction, authoritarian figures arise promising economic solutions while mobilising retrogressive racial, gender and sexual identities. These attempts to reverse the gains of feminist and anti-racist activism have been resisted by mass movements such as #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter. The COVID-19 pandemic has since sent economies into a downward spiral, while related lockdowns have granted governments authoritarian powers that may strengthen resurgent authoritarian impulses. In South Africa, while some progress has been made in transforming life opportunities, calls for decolonisation have sounded in the face of continuing racial and gender patterns of wealth distribution. Corruption across the public and private sectors poses a clear risk.

Marking the ten-year anniversary of the founding of Nelson Mandela University's Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (www.canrad.mandela.ac.za), this international interdisciplinary conference critically interrogates the state of democracy – its tendencies, dynamics and structural conditions, globally and in South Africa. The conference addresses the following questions, among others:

- What are the futures for democracy? Possibilities for continued in the cross-currents of Constitutionalism, 'traditionalism', neoliberalism, populism and nationalism.
- What forms do collective identities impacting democracy take? Settlers or natives? Citizens, subjects or 'the people'? Insiders and outsiders, at the intersections of nationality, race, class, gender, sexuality and the urban/rural divide.
- What are the possibilities for politics that advances both inclusion and justice? Effective activism with reference to the economy, gender, sexuality and the land question; solidarities across fault lines.
- What are the prospects for economic justice in the age of neoliberalism and after COVID-19? Drawing the local-national-global political economic links, what is the relevance of, and possibility for, leftist solutions at this juncture?
- What is the state of the South African state in 2021? Government and related institutions, in relation to public service delivery, politics and corruption (including state-owned enterprises, the criminal justice and judicial sectors; all three tiers of government).
- Reconciliation as an essential element of democratisation? The past in the present, race, gender, (intergenerational) trauma, and what can be done.
- What role for the arts and (social) media? Democratisation in relation to artists, journalists and content creators across creative fields, mainstream media and social media.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



Mahmood Mamdani

Universities of Columbia/Makerere

TUESDAY 7 SEPTEMBER • 17:30

'Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities'



William Gumede

University of the Witwatersrand

WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER • 17:00

Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma: Contrasting Approaches to Nation-Building



Karin van Marle

University of the Free State

THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER • 17:00

Democracy and the City

SYMPOSIA

Centre for Women and Gender Studies, Nelson Mandela University
African feminism in the Postcolony
WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER • 13:00

Department of History and Political Studies, Nelson Mandela University
Policies and Party Politics in South Africa, Ethiopia and Uganda
THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER • 11:00

ROUNDTABLES

Queering democracy: LGBT struggles in Africa

WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER • 15:00

Who gets to publish? Academic publishing, decolonisation and recolonisation

FRIDAY 10 SEPTEMBER • 13:00

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SYMPOSIA

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All indicated times are Central Africa Time (CAT).

DAY 1 • TUESDAY 7 SEPTEMBER 2021

OPENING SESSION

17:00 Welcome and opening remarks by Vice-Chancellor Prof Sibongile Muthwa

17:30 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Neither Settler Nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities
Mahmood Mamdani (Universities of Columbia/Makerere)

Moderator: Christi van der Westhuizen (Nelson Mandela University)

18:45 CLOSURE

DAY 2 • WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 1 • Constitutionalism and Democracy

1H30 MIN

Welcome by Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Engagement and Transformation, Prof André Keet

The 'Juridification' of Politics in South Africa: How the Constitutional Court Shapes and Constrains the Political Process

Zwelethu Jolobe (University of Cape Town, South Africa)

In Search of a Constitutional Democratic Developmental State in South Africa?

Isaac Khambule (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)

Legal versus Political Mechanisms of Conflict Management: South Africa and Northern Ireland Compared

Adrian Guelke (Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland)

Moderator: Thuto Thipe (University of Cape Town)

11:00 PLENARY 2 • Constitutionalism, Customary Law and Land

1H30 MIN

The 'Right to Say No': Black Land and Labour Rights in Early South Africa

Thuto Thipe (University of Cape Town)

Indigenous Law and Democracy in South Africa: The example of the Zulu Monarchy and the Balobedu

Sihloniphile Precious Bhebhe (University of Zululand, South Africa)

The Limits of Multiculturalism: Agamben and the Post-Colony

Amanda Gouws (Stellenbosch University, South Africa)

Moderator: Zwelethu Jolobe (University of Cape Town)

13:00 SYMPOSIUM 1 • African Feminism in the Postcolony

by the Centre for Women and Gender Studies, Nelson Mandela University

1H30 MIN

When *Amalungelo* Are Not Enough: An Auto-Ethnographic Search for African Feminist Idiom in the Postcolony

Nomalanga Mkhize (Nelson Mandela University) and Mathe Ntšekhe (National University of Lesotho)

Brenda Fassie And Busiswa Gqulu: A Relationship of Feminist Expression, Aesthetics and Memory

Siphokazi Tau (Nelson Mandela University)

Moderator: Babalwa Magoqwana (Interim Director, Centre for Women and Gender Studies)

15:00 ROUNDTABLE 1 • Queering Democracy: LGBT Struggles in Africa

1H30 MIN

Peace Kiguwa (University of the Witwatersrand), Monica Tabengwa (United Nations Development Programme) and Liberty Matthyse (GenderDynamix)

Moderator: Melanie Judge (University of Cape Town)

17:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma: Contrasting Approaches to Nation-Building
William Gumede (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)

Moderator: Pedro Mzileni (Nelson Mandela University)

18:15 CLOSURE

DAY 3 • THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 3 • Parliament, Laws and Accountability

1H30 MIN

Welcome by Dean of Humanities, Prof Pamela Maseko

Public Procurement: Delayed Reform, Deteriorating Accountability and Integrity
Zukiswa Kota (Rhodes University, South Africa)

The Soul of South Africa's Legislatures: A Site of Struggle – Or Not
Samantha Waterhouse (University of the Western Cape, South Africa)

Political Alchemy of Rejuvenating Democratic Ethos: Lessons from the Indian Farmers' Movement of 2020-21 as an Antidote to Majoritarian Aggressive Nationalism
Abhigyan Guha (Jadavpur University, India)

Moderator: Giovanni Poggi (Nelson Mandela University)

11:00 SYMPOSIUM 2 • Policies and Party Politics in South Africa, Ethiopia and Uganda

by the Department of History and Political Studies, Nelson Mandela University

1H30 MIN

The Nexus between Conflict Management and Coalition Politics in Three Selected Metropolitan Municipalities in South Africa
Ntsikelelo Benjamin Breakfast (Nelson Mandela University)

Party politics in Ethiopia: Coalition and Fragmentation in Opposition Parties since 2005
Solomon Tefera (Ambo University, Ambo, Ethiopia)

Citizenship/*Mwananchism* from Below: Constructing Citizenship in Uganda
Ivan Mugulusi (St Louis University, USA)

Social Security Provision for Lone Mothers in South Africa: Independence, Dependency and Dignity

Phakama Ntshongwana (Nelson Mandela University)

Moderator: Ongama Mtimka (Nelson Mandela University)

13:00 PANEL 1 • African Politics and Black Political Thought

1H30 MIN

The role of music as an aid to the struggle in South African politics

Phakamani Pungu-Pungu (Nelson Mandela University)

Pathologising Black Politics: An Analysis of the Representation of the Economic Freedom Fighters and Black Nationalism in the Media

Phumlani Majavu (University of South Africa)

The Contemporary Condition of Blackness in the Body of a Nation: An Insight to Subaltern bodies in a Democratic South Africa.

Ayanda Kubayi (Independent)

The politics of 'fighting corruption' in Africa: The example of South Africa and Nigeria

Aghogho Akpome (University of Zululand)

Moderator: Judy-Marié van Noordwyk (Nelson Mandela University)

15:00 PANEL 3 • Higher Education and Social Justice

1H30 MIN

The State of the South African State's Education System

Iviwe Mtubu (University of Cape Town)

Teaching transnational literacies for antiracist solidarities via virtual exchanges between learners in Cape Town, Fortaleza and Champaign/Chicago

Ken Salo (University of Illinois, USA), Ricardo Nascimento (UNILAB, Brazil), Greg Ruiters (University of Western Cape)

13:00 PANEL 2 (PARALLEL) • Racial Dynamics of Inclusion/Exclusion

1H30 MIN

Decolonising hiring practices at South African universities

Mandisi Majavu (Rhodes University)

Towards the Destruction of Whiteness (As Condition for the Possibility of Reconciliation in South Africa)

Paulette Coetzee (Nelson Mandela University)

Degrees of Higher Education Precariousness for Unregistered Students: Displacements, Exploitations and Forced Labour

Pedro Mzileni (Nelson Mandela University)

Moderator: Zukiswa Kota (Rhodes University)

15:00 PANEL 4 (PARALLEL) • Decolonising and Africanising Democracy

1H30 MIN

Decolonising and re-theorising the meaning of democracy: A South African perspective

Heidi Brooks (University of Johannesburg), Hlengiwe Ndlovu (Nelson Mandela University), Trevor Ngwane (University of Johannesburg), Carin Runciman (University of Johannesburg, South Africa)

Reflections on Claude Ake and Democracy, and Engaging the idea of Civil Society

Buntu Sixaba (University of Cape Town)

Campus disability activism and advocacy for students with disabilities at South African universities

Desire Chiwandire (Nelson Mandela University)

Moderator: Olutobi Akingbade (Nelson Mandela University)

Political Journeys in Consciousness At a Time Of Local and Global Tipping Points: The Possibility Of Doing Democracy Differently

Jean Mathews Wildervanck (Nelson Mandela University)

Moderator: Olivia Loots (Nelson Mandela University)

17:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Democracy and the City

Karin van Marle (University of the Free State)

Moderator: Sivuyisiwe Wonci (Nelson Mandela University)

18:15 CLOSURE

DAY 4 • FRIDAY 10 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 4 • Constitutionalism, Land and Securitisation in Response to COVID-19

1H30 MIN

Welcome by CANRAD Head of Research, Christi van der Westhuizen

Courts, accountability and democracy under COVID-19

Danie Brand (University of the Free State)

Deepening South African Democracy in Rural Spaces: The Political Economy of Labour Tenant Claims Resolution

Richard M Levin (Nelson Mandela University) & Mngqobi Ngubane (University of Western Cape)

“The situation required the adoption of those measures as they were adopted”: Securitisation and Quarantine of Roma Settlements During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Slovakia

Svetluša Surova (BARI-Global Research Network, Slovakia)

11:00 PANEL 5 • Nationalism and Black conservatism

1H30 MIN

The Arab Guilt: Meditations on a Postage Stamp

Rachid Boutayeb (Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Qatar)

Black Conservatism in Post-apartheid South Africa

Siphiwe I Dube (University of the Witwatersrand)

“There is a Khoe-San knocking.” “What do they want?” “Let them in!”

Sharon Gabie (Rhodes University)

Whose Democracy Is It Anyway? Framing South African Citizenship and National Identity in the Face Of Afrophobia

Yona Siyongwana (Independent) and Madoda Ludidi (Independent)

Moderator: Marc Röntsch (Nelson Mandela University)

11:00 PANEL 6 (PARALLEL) • Neoliberalism and the Left

1H30 MIN

Limitations of Neoliberalism and the Shift to the Left in South Africa

Peter Makaye (Independent Researcher, Zimbabwe)

From Import-Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) to Neo-Liberalism

Lucas Nkosana Sibuyi (Rhodes University)

The Effect of the Investor-State Dispute Settlement on the Domestic Regulation of Democratising States

Khwezi Matangana (Independent)

Lest we get Left behind: Engaging politics of the Left in times of COVID-19 & unfettered neoliberalism

Muzomuhle Ntuli (Independent)

Moderator: Lesego Nkosi (Nelson Mandela University)

13:00 ROUNDTABLE 2 • Who gets to publish? Academic publishing, decolonisation and recolonisation

1H30 MIN

Enver Motala (Nelson Mandela University), Suren Moodliar (*Socialism and Democracy* Editor), Kholeka Mabeta (Lukhanyo Publishers), Nirode Bramdaw (SUNMedia), Marc Röntsch (CANRAD) and Olutobi Akingbade (CANRAD)

Moderator: Allan Zinn (Director, CANRAD)

15:00 CLOSING PLENARY • 10 Years of CANRAD Community Building

1H30 MIN

Speaker: Allan Zinn (Director, CANRAD)

Moderator: Sonwabo Stuurman (Manager: Engagement, CANRAD)

16:30 CLOSURE

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DAY 1 • TUESDAY 7 SEPTEMBER 2021

OPENING SESSION

17:00 Welcome and opening remarks by Vice-Chancellor Prof Sibongile Muthwa

17:30 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Moderator: Christi van der Westhuizen (Nelson Mandela University)

Neither Settler Nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities
Mahmood Mamdani (Universities of Columbia/Makerere)

18:45 CLOSURE

DAY 2 • WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 1 • Constitutionalism and Democracy

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Thuto Thipe (University of Cape Town)

Welcome by Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Engagement and Transformation, Prof André Keet

The 'Juridification' of Politics in South Africa: How the Constitutional Court Shapes and Constrains the Political Process

Zwelethu Jolobe (University of Cape Town)

[N]o skill in the science of government has yet been able to discriminate and define, with sufficient certainty, its three great provinces—the legislative, executive, and judiciary. ... Questions daily occur

in the course of practice which prove the obscurity which reigns in these subjects, and which puzzle the greatest adepts in political science.

James Madison, Federalist Paper No. 37 (1788 [1987], p. 244)

To view the South African Constitutional Court (ZACC) simply as a legal institution is to underestimate its significance in the political system. For it is also a political institution i.e., for arriving at decisions on controversial political questions of national policy. Significantly, the development of the principle of legality as a broad ground for review of exercises of government power has given the ZACC a wider mandate with significant political implications. The resultant increased turn to litigation to tackle controversial political matters has laid bare the day-to-day workings of the government in court, with South Africa's political life increasingly finding its way into the court's judgements. The ZACC has thus become the principal arena of South Africa's epic political contestations, and an important forum for defining the very nature of the body politic. Is the increasing use of law as a medium to tackle political issues detrimental to the legitimacy of political processes? Specifically, is '*juridification*' (i.e., "relying on legal process and legal arguments, using legal language, substituting or replacing ordinary politics with judicial decisions and legal formality") constraining the political process? Through a discussion of relevant ZACC cases surrounding the actions of the executive branch, this article will show that juridification has given life to a new form of political contestation in South Africa, transforming the political process. After all, it is politics itself that calls on the judiciary to take care of traditionally political issues. By framing litigation, courts and judicial decision-making in political terms, the article will show that juridification is more a *political* than a legal process, and in so doing, bring law into the mainstream study of South African politics.

In Search of a Constitutional Democratic Developmental State in South Africa?

Isaac Khambule (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)

The South African National Development Plan envisions a capable democratic developmental state as the only response to the country's deteriorating triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. These developmental challenges burden the state and the country's social cohesion because of the disgruntled masses as 27 years of democracy have not delivered meaningful economic benefits to their lives. Some of these developmental challenges are compounded by the failure of the government to provide basic services and corruption in the public sphere, thereby making it impossible for the millions languishing in poverty to believe in the democratic project. Against this backdrop, this paper explores a constitutional democratic developmental state model as a possible solution to the country's developmental impasse. Most successful developmental states were led by authoritarian regimes, which requires us to dream of developmental states outside of authoritarian ambits in search of a democratic developmental state model embedded in constitutionalism, democratic development and the pursuit of economic growth, while also protecting human rights. The paper argues that by virtue of South Africa's constitution, the government is mandated to improve socio-economic standards by facilitating and promoting socio-economic development to promote economic equity. South Africa is an emerging constitutional democratic developmental state because it is underpinned by the developmental ideology of a developmental state; by assigning the state with the *ideological component* through recognising the state as the most important player in accelerating socio-economic development and growth, and the

structural component, by giving the state the necessary administrative power, political influence, resources and capacities to achieve transformative and redistributive economic development. This is evident as the Constitution instructs the subnational government to promote social and economic development, structure and manage their administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community.

Legal versus Political Mechanisms of Conflict Management: South Africa and Northern Ireland Compared

Adrian Guelke (Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland)

Consociationalism has emerged as a major means of external conflict management in the post-Cold War world. The political settlement in Northern Ireland, despite frequent crises, stands out as a relatively successful use of this particular means of promoting political accommodation in a deeply divided society. In the case of South Africa, by contrast, consociational devices have not played a significant role in sustaining liberal-democracy after apartheid. The establishment of a Government of National Unity merely smoothed the path to majority rule. Legal rather than political constraints have placed limits on the conduct of the Executive under a majoritarian system. These include the bill of rights and the office of the public protector. The paper explains why such different approaches to the challenge of creating a legitimate dispensation in a deeply divided society were adopted in these two cases. It also seeks to assess the pluses and minuses of the two approaches in their respective contexts.

11:00 PLENARY 2 • Constitutionalism, Customary Law and Land

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Zwelethu Jolobe (University of Cape Town)

The 'Right to Say No': Black Land and Labour Rights in Early South Africa

Thuto Thiye (University of Cape Town)

In 2018, activists from mining-affected communities around the country marched outside the North Gauteng High Court holding placards reading, "the right to say no" as the court heard *Baleni and Others v. Minister of Mineral Resources*. The court ruled in this case that without the free, prior, and informed consent from people who lived on, used, and owned particular land under customary law, traditional leadership structures could not unilaterally enter into agreements with mining companies and evict people from their land. While this landmark judgment made possible the transformation of a landscape in which people have been unilaterally forced off their land, losing with it their livelihoods, community, homes and ancestral land, it stopped short of defining the meaning of consent. This paper will approach meanings of consent in the context of land, labour, and mining in South Africa through an examination of the state's legislating of black people's rights to land rights, movement, and labour during the years leading up to South Africa's formation and the first decades of the new state. The erosion through law and policy of black people's ability to consent to the state's seizure of their land, and to industry's control over their lives and bodies through labour, became embedded in the state's racial logics. The foundations of coercion and land theft in the early imagining and constitution of the South African state became embedded in how the state

understood black people's "right to say no" to what could happen on their land, and to them as people dependent on that land to live, to the extent that a quarter century after the end of minority rule the courts were forced to affirm this right.

Indigenous Law and Democracy in South Africa: The example of the Zulu Monarchy and the Balobedu

Sihloniphile Precious Bhebhe (University of Zululand, South Africa)

This paper interrogates the extent to which the existence of monarchies in South Africa is compatible with the attempt to deepen democracy in the country. The paper examines the practices involved in nominating and installing successors to traditional leadership roles against South Africa's 1996 constitution in general and the Bill of rights in particular. Some of the questions the paper seeks to address include whether the constitution itself can be seen as a violation of longstanding cultural practices and how the values of equality and freedom can be reconciled with the hereditary rights of traditional rulers. The paper focuses on the Zulu and Balobedu monarchies which perform an important role in bridging the gap and potentially forging a balance between historical customs and modern democracy in South Africa. It also discusses the current legal challenges of succession they are both facing. Towards this end, the paper provides a comparative review of constitutional provisions relating to traditional leadership and accounts of the Zulu and Balobedu customary laws concerning monarchical succession. The divergences and convergences between the two highlight the inequity and undemocratic nature of traditional succession customs in South Africa.

The Limits of Multiculturalism: Agamben and the Post-Colony

Amanda Gouws (Stellenbosch University, South Africa)

South Africa can be considered a multicultural society that evolved out of settler colonialism and apartheid segregation. It is often hailed as a success story – a country that avoided a full-scale civil war or revolution to become the "rainbow nation". Twenty-seven years into democracy the rainbow has lost its shine due to one party dominance the undermines the benefits of multipartyism, rampant corruption, troubling political divisions between nationalist, liberal and populist political parties, racial polarisation, continuing landlessness for a majority of the population and some of the highest levels of gender-based violence globally. Forging multicultural societies out of territorially segregated communities, plural legal systems (civil and customary law) and uniting colonially imposed identity groups in a bounded territory also entailed a re-determination of who are considered minorities and majorities and who are included as citizens and subjects, settlers and natives. In this regard processes of decolonisation have to address the challenges of embodiment – or racialisation – the construction of colonial subjects as backward, barbaric and uncivilised that informs identity formation of the settler and the subject, since identities exist in relation to each other. Embodiment also determines gender identities and gender relations that were made more static and immutable through the codification of customs and tradition. The particularity of codified customs and oral traditions becomes a point of contention when they come into conflict with the universalism of human rights of multicultural societies that would consider them (customs) illiberal and harmful, especially in relation to women and LGBTIQ communities. Sovereignty, land and embodiment are therefore crucial to understand the limits of multiculturalism in the post-colony. In

this paper I will show how the issue of territory or land is a crucial dimension of sovereignty without which citizens are still excluded from citizenship as rights bearers. In South Africa the slow processes of land reform have contributed to the precarious lives of rural farm dwellers and rural landless people, resulting in what Agamben calls “bare life”. Drawing on Agamben’s theory of the homo sacer, I analyse post-colonial sovereignty through the state of exception and bare life which are the antithesis of multicultural sovereignty, to show how processes of marginalisation and exclusion continue despite post-colonial sovereignty. I will also show how the shift from majority to minority status, allow white farmers, who own the biggest portion of agricultural land, to now claim that they have become the victims of a white genocide due to the murders of white farmers. These claims of genocide echoes Mahmood Mamdani’s analysis of the genocide in Rwanda of “victims [in this case those oppressed under apartheid] who have become killers”. The violent operations of power and land dispossession are also deeply raced and gendered.

13:00 SYMPOSIUM 1 • African Feminism in the Postcolony

by the Centre for Women and Gender Studies, Nelson Mandela University

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Babalwa Magoqwana (Interim Director, Centre for Women and Gender Studies)

When *Amalungelo* Are Not Enough: An Auto-Ethnographic Search for African Feminist Idiom in the Postcolony

Nomalanga Mkhize (Nelson Mandela University) and Mathe Ntšekhe (National University of Lesotho)

This paper attempts to understand the negative connotations of *amalungelo* – women’s rights – within the domain of African vernacular. We attempt to unpack the ways in which *amalungelo* are invalidated by neo-traditionalist discourse, and how the invalidation of *amalungelo* often occurs within the domains of African language and African traditions. We embrace a notion of African identity and culture to which we belong, and also unpack some of the contradictions this presents in the form of new traditionalisms (neo-traditionalism) that form and reform to justify patriarchy in modern Africa. Through conversation we search for a textured sense of the matricentric as offered by language and idiom, in the effort to further contribute to the ongoing work of building an African feminism. The paper sees itself as a non-linear exploration of ideas, with no pretensions to finding a concrete set of appropriate concepts for the ongoing search for women’s equality in Africa.

Brenda Fassie And Busiswa Gqulu: A Relationship of Feminist Expression, Aesthetics and Memory

Siphokazi Tau (Nelson Mandela University)

Works of art consciously or unconsciously reproduce or reject of the societal norms from which they emerge. Reading artists and creatives as bodies which articulate the social and political experiences (affirmation or rejection implies that the body can also construct and deconstruct particular social readings of itself. In this paper, I explore feminist corporality, aesthetics and gendered performativity in the translation of selected songs, by South African popular music icons Brenda Fassie and Busiswa Gqulu, into music videos. I argue that both artists construct “the self” and engage gendered narratives of “the self” through audio-visual form. I firstly employ the notion of homology, to compare the common thread in their articulation of black feminist discourse through their lyrics and

the self-performativity of their music videos. I then focus on the aesthetic and performative elements of Gqulu's music videos, notably the queer performativity of the Vintage Cru dancers and the staging of post-apartheid urban spaces. Through this intergenerational analysis I illustrate how popular audio-visual form participates in the representation of multiple iterations of queer and feminist performativity emerging out of the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

15:00 ROUNDTABLE 1 • Queering Democracy: LGBT Struggles in Africa

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Melanie Judge (University of Cape Town)

Peace Kiguwa (University of the Witwatersrand)

Monica Tabengwa (United Nations Development Programme)

Liberty Matthyse (GenderDynamix)

17:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Moderator: Pedro Mzileni (Nelson Mandela University)

Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma: Contrasting Approaches to Nation-Building

William Gumede (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)

Following colonialism and apartheid – with accompanying ethnic divisions, conflict and state-sponsored economic inequalities - the great challenge is to cobble together a new common South Africanness. Yet, more than 350 years of colonialism and apartheid has meant that South African cultures are not 'gated communities', with fixed borders, but more often than overlaps considerably, beyond just the occasional shared word or value. This means that a common South African identity is bound to be one of 'interconnected differences'. The ethnic, language and regional diversity bequeathed by both colonialism and apartheid must mean that modern South Africanness cannot be but a 'layered', interwoven and mosaic. Such a common South African identity and the future will have to be built as a mosaic of the best elements of our diverse pasts and present, histories and cultures. A central pillar of a common South African identity will have to be based on inclusive democracy, ethnic, colour and political diversity, core shared values and empathy for the vulnerable that cut across the racial, colour and political divide. Such a broader South Africanness will have to be based on self-identities that are vested in the commonly held Constitution, democracy, democratic institutions and democratic values. The challenge since the end of formal apartheid in 1994 has been how to build a common South Africanness on the basis of our 'interconnected differences', diversity and inclusive democracy. Leadership style matters very much to foster a common South Africanness out of our diversity, 'interconnected differences' and shared democracy. The paper will look at the national building approaches of former presidents Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, and critique their attempts to foster a common South African identity, to make an argument for new approaches.

DAY 3 • THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 3 • Parliament, Laws and Accountability

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Giovanni Poggi (Nelson Mandela University)

Welcome by Dean of Humanities, Prof Pamela Maseko

Public Procurement: Delayed Reform, Deteriorating Accountability and Integrity

Zukiswa Kota (Rhodes University, South Africa)

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and UN Office on Drugs and Crime, cite public procurement as a government's single greatest corruption risk. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed deep fractures and inequalities in South Africa's social, economic and political environments. Amongst these are fragmented, deficient and captured public procurement systems. These pose a fundamental threat to public finances at all levels of government. COVID-19 contract corruption has also deepened unequal access to basic and emergency services and placed additional pressure on public financial management (PFM) systems. Opportunities not only for rampant corruption but for the closing of civic space and curtailment of oversight in the name of urgency have proliferated. In 2020, the National Treasury released a Procurement Bill, to regulate public procurement and prescribe a revised framework for procurement policy per section 217(3) of the Constitution. While this constitutes a milestone in efforts to safeguard public resources; opaque and delayed processes pose barriers to potentially meaningful reform. This extraordinary moment in time offers an opportunity to interrogate the state of the state as well as to inform a reform agenda that prioritises inclusion, fairness and equity. Are the fractures fixable?

The Soul of South Africa's Legislatures: A Site of Struggle – Or Not

Samantha Waterhouse (University of the Western Cape, South Africa)

The Constitution envisages that legislatures play a critical role in our democracy. Their law making, oversight and accountability functions should follow, indeed be directed by their core purpose – to ensure government based on the will of the people, by representing the public and acting as forums for public consideration of *issues*. At heart, these '*issues*' must address inequality and discriminations against the majority of people in South Africa. I focus on how the democratic soul envisaged for legislatures in our Constitution, has been (re)defined through practice. While noticing the ways they add value, I consider legislatures; evident ineffectiveness to hold executive power in check; the apparent dominance of party leadership structures in defining the outcomes of legislatures' processes; and the telling ease with which they embraced their back-seat role under the National State of Disaster. In our multi-party democracy, legislatures are designed as a site of struggle. I reflect on the wider range of actors with a stake in the legislatures and the features of struggles that play out on that ground. How do the evolved terms of engagement enable or gatekeep against '*publics*'? And, who is struggling for the legislatures' democratic '*soul*'? Drawing on work undertaken

among civil society groups, I consider our attempts to expand the range of who draws on legislatures to advance social justice. Here the questions organisations have grappled with are not only why should we engage legislatures, and on whose terms, but also, why we shouldn't.

Political Alchemy of Rejuvenating Democratic Ethos: Lessons from the Indian Farmers' Movement of 2020-21 as an Antidote to Majoritarian Aggressive Nationalism

Abhigyan Guha (Jadavpur University, India)

When the language of securitisation, triumphant majoritarianism and muscular right-wing Nationalism has crystallised the edifice of an authoritarian populist monolithic bloc, debilitating democratic indicators, subverting cooperative federalism, enfeebling the normative foundational constitutional values, a consolidated democratic pan-Indian farmers' movement spearheaded under the coordination of bodies like the Samyukt Kisan Morcha and All India Kisan Sangharsh Coordination Committee galvanised against the impugned three new agricultural reform laws and their unilateral parliamentary enactment in September 2020, paved the way for rampant privatisation and deregulation of the agricultural sector, proving detrimental to farmers' economic livelihood, who demanded the revocation of the three Farm Bills, legally ensuring Minimum Support Price (MSP) to restore state subsidies and ward off corporatisation. Following a series of nationwide strikes, occupation of the capital New Delhi, street demonstrations, rail blockades and peaceful sit-in agitation or 'Dharnas', the Gandhian modus operandi of the movement demonstrated extraordinary democratic resilience in the face of brutal state repression. The paper demonstrates the multidimensional trends, overall trajectory, strengths and limitations, and how the Farmers' Movement invoked patriotism, secularism, inclusive multi-religious pluralism and the tradition of agriculture's involvement in post-colonial nation-building vis-à-vis asserting citizens' rights, deterring the illiberal anti-democratic designs of the state dispensation.

11:00 SYMPOSIUM 2 • Policies and Party Politics in South Africa and Ethiopia

by the Department of History and Political Studies, Nelson Mandela University

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Ongama Mtimka (Nelson Mandela University)

The Nexus between Conflict Management and Coalition Politics in Three Selected Metropolitan Municipalities in South Africa

Ntsikelelo Benjamin Breakfast (Nelson Mandela University)

This paper compares the complexities and nuances of coalition politics in three selected metropolitan municipalities in South Africa (SA) during the period between 2016 and 2020. These municipalities are Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The main aim is to propose a conflict management mechanism for dealing with the contradictions among the political parties regarding power-sharing at local government level. The central question the article grapples with is whether conflict management is a workable approach to address the challenges experiences by political parties in coalition partnerships in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The paper outlines a

qualitative descriptive investigation, based on a literature review assessment, and employs integrative theory in the light of conflict management. Not much scholarly work has been undertaken with regard to the contribution of conflict management to the functioning of coalitions in South Africa. Thus, this paper intends to contribute to the ongoing debate surrounding coalition politics in SA. Conflict should not be viewed as a zero-sum game by political protagonists. The main line of argument is that political elites have a tendency to form coalitions without developing a conflict management mechanism to address their differences amicably.

Party politics in Ethiopia: Coalition and Fragmentation in Opposition Parties since 2005

Solomon Tefera (Ambo University, Ambo, Ethiopia)

This study examined the politics of party coalition and fragmentation in Ethiopian opposition parties since 2005. The study investigated the challenges of sustaining coalition by Ethiopian opposition political parties and the factors that led to their fragmentation. It employed qualitative methodological approach. Accordingly, empirical data were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The finding of the study illustrates that the Ethiopian opposition parties have been unable to build strong and sustainable party coalition. The study identifies the following major driving factors to form coalition includes financial predicaments, and party leaders. On the contrary, factors that have been challenges and leading to fragmentation include lack of able leadership, lack of internal party democracy, ethnic division in coalition, size of party coalition and ruling party intervention. The study suggests that reducing the number of parties in the coalition, democratising internal party structure, encouragement and support from the ruling party to the opposition parties rather than intervening to weakening the opposition parties, and forging a common agenda would lead to successful party coalition in Ethiopia. In Addition, the study addresses that political parties should constructively resolve their major differences and reach authentic consensus and forming national party will contribute for the success of party coalition. The parties have to have manifestos of the affiliate political parties merged to form a common manifesto for the coalition. Moreover, standardised training for party leaders and principle of leadership should be given so as to form effective party coalition and save from fragmentation.

Citizenship/*Mwananchism* from Below: Constructing Citizenship in Uganda

Ivan Mugulusi (St Louis University, USA)

Authoritarian regimes prefer obedient and docile citizens who will perform the public functions demanded of them and who will not try to change the status quo (Svolik 2012). Opposition groups hope for the opposite: citizens who will feel inspired to march in the streets demanding free elections, who will see themselves as responsible agents capable of effecting change. While regimes have many tools at their disposal to mould the citizens they want to have, opposition groups face a tougher challenge. They need to convince the public to behave in a new way in the face of years of socialisation to the contrary and often without access to popular means of mass communication. In this text, I examine the ways opposition groups in autocratic regimes nudge citizens out of docility and into action, helping them construct new identities as citizens empowered to act instead of subjects cowed into silence. Relying on original interviews with and observation of activists in Uganda, I show how activists offer people ways to participate that reject the docile roles

governments intend for them. In particular, I show how activists help people form horizontal bonds with others like themselves, constructing a new definition of citizenship from below.

Social Security Provision for Lone Mothers in South Africa: Independence, Dependency and Dignity

Phakama Ntshongwana (Nelson Mandela University)

This paper provides an insight into the lives of black African low-income lone mothers and their attitudes about the challenges they face relating to employment, social security and childcare. Focus group material is used in order to explore the paper's overarching theme, researching: *To what extent does social security provision for lone mothers encourage dependency and erode dignity, or promote independence and enhance dignity?* Though the findings are not of themselves nationally representative as they were drawn from focus group material in the main, they, nevertheless, contribute to a more rigorous understanding of the issues low-income lone mothers confront in present day South Africa. I demonstrate that poverty erodes lone mothers' sense of dignity as does their experiences of being unable to properly provide for their children. I also demonstrate that lone mothers are attached to the labour market in that they aspire to be in work and that there is no evidence of a dependency culture in the way that it is referred to by policy makers who caution against a more comprehensive social security system. I conduct some analysis using a South African Microsimulation Model (SAMOD) that shows that if one were to introduce a Lone Parent Grant it would reduce poverty. While there is evidently a great need for jobs there is also a need for South African policy makers to address the question of how to support lone mothers' unpaid labour which goes unrecognised.

13:00 PANEL 1 • African Politics and Black Political Thought

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Judy-Marié van Noordwyk (Nelson Mandela University)

The role of music as an aid to the struggle in South African politics

Phakamani Pungu-Pungu (Nelson Mandela University)

In this article, I provide a literature study of the ideals that underpinned the values surrounding the struggle era in South African politics and highlights the role that music played as an aid to the struggle. In the review of the literature, I also present relevant views and points of discourse on the topic that will help us better understand the themes that have dominated in the struggle in general strikes, women's march of 1956, the youth strike of 1976 and the dawn of democracy. I will also analyse how the music and themes found in struggle music of 1950s to the 1990s has informed the music in the Zuma presidency versus the music of the Ramaphosa era. In this comparative analysis I will emphasise the values which are shared, and which highlighted the possibilities of better the living conditions of South Africans. Music in the struggle of South Africa has presented itself as an aid towards different platforms of politics and this challenges us as future members of a community to better understand our role on how we can shape the country with the music that we sing or compose in a way that strives towards unity than division. It is thus this essay outlines the dynamics that have taken place in the struggle so that we look at music not only as a medium of entertainment, but rather an aid that has a leading potential to unite the country and eliminate any form of injustice and

promote value for dignity and celebrate shared humanity across races. By using this pattern, I stand to display that music can heal any form of injustice or human ill-treatment, advance the living conditions of South Africans and moreover give direction to future political developments that can exhibit motions that sought to celebrate shared humanity among South Africans.

Pathologising Black Politics: An Analysis of the Representation of the Economic Freedom Fighters and Black Nationalism in the Media

Phumlani Majavu (University of South Africa)

Historically black nationalism in South Africa has often been characterised and discussed as a pathological form of politics. The ANC Youth League of the 1940s, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement, before it became fashionable, were all once described as irrational and racist political formations. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), which often presents itself as an ideological reincarnation of these black political movements, has also been met with the same onslaught that its black nationalist predecessors faced. The EFF has been described as a 'right-wing', 'fascist', 'neo-Nazi', and as the foremost 'racist' political party in the country. In this paper, I argue that these characterisations of the EFF are driven by a white discourse that is hellbent on silencing and delegitimising political formations that put race and racism at the centre of our political dialogue. I argue that the pathological characterisation of the EFF arises from the party's critique of anti-black racism in the country: An anti-black racism that, in various modes, is there to maintain and perpetuate whiteness in South Africa. Rather than this paper being a defence of the EFF, the paper analyses how whiteness as a political ideology continues to shape our understanding of politics.

The Contemporary Condition of Blackness in the Body of a Nation: An Insight to Subaltern bodies in a Democratic South Africa.

Ayanda Kubayi (Independent)

This paper offers an extensive reappraisal of the concept of blackness as an ontological symbol in a democratic South Africa. It unpacks, in detail, the historical shift in the perception of blackness in order to divulge the complexities that exist in the term itself, as opposed to the popularised assumption of a group 'of a similar struggle' in a democratic state. Moving away from how the state ought to behave in the era of democracy, the paper redirects its focus to the marriage between a democratic state and subaltern bodies in South African politics. As a representative democratic state, the author troubles governmentality in South Africa and the appropriation of victimhood as a means of gaining mass support. From this position, the paper questions the contemporary condition of blackness in relation to the narrative of a 'common struggle' and a 'common enemy'.

The politics of 'fighting corruption' in Africa: The example of South Africa and Nigeria

Aghogho Akpome (University of Zululand)

What does the increasing local and international interest in 'fighting corruption' reveal about the state of African democracies today and what does it portend for sustainable development in the continent? Guided partly by Frederic Jameson's (1981) influential exploration of narrative as a socio-politically contingent act, I provide a critical discourse analysis of the major socio-political discourses

and narratives inspired by, and associated with, 'fighting corruption' in Africa with a focus on South Africa and Nigeria in the past decade or so. I highlight the ways in which most of the anti-corruption discourses and campaigns are influenced by and align with the political agendas of specific non-neutral political figures in alliance with particular politico-economic constituencies especially from the media, dominant political parties, the intelligentsia and big business. Against this backdrop, and in view of the uncertain outcomes of successive anti-corruption campaigns vis-à-vis unrelenting (and sometimes worsening) socio-economic problems, I argue that, in its current forms, 'fighting corruption' in Africa is apparently geared more towards particular parochial political schemes rather than the commonly professed altruistic objectives. Needless to say, this has negative long-term implications for democratisation and development in Africa.

13:00 PANEL 2 • Racial Dynamics of Inclusion/Exclusion

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Zukiswa Kota (Rhodes University)

Decolonising hiring practices at South African universities

Mandisi Majavu (Rhodes University)

The findings of the 2020 Report of the Ministerial Task Team on the recruitment, retention and progression of black South African academics shows that black and coloured academics remain underrepresented in South African academia. According to the report, "white females are the most overrepresented group, making up 25.3% of the academic staff compared to a 4.5% general population share." The inclusion of white women in the affirmative action programme has led to white women being the biggest beneficiaries of black labour and black struggle against oppressive white regimes in this country. According to the report, when black academics are recruited, they tend to be from other African countries like Zimbabwe and Nigeria. The reports show that 34 percent of international staff at South African universities are from Zimbabwe and Nigeria, "with Zimbabwe accounting for 25%". The report recognises the value of employing international academics at South African universities, but points out that "for this to be true, the international representation needs to be truly international, rather than predominantly from a few countries, as appears to be the case in South Africa." This paper argues that the hiring practices at South African universities are the product of the longstanding racist discourse that was used to justify the need for indentured labour in South Africa. Both the Indian indentured labour and Chinese indentured labour were brought to South Africa because whites claimed that local blacks were an "indolent race" that valued "basking in the sunshine" and "smoking daga" the whole day rather than work for whites. These are long standing racist stereotypes that have roots in the seventeenth century Cape of Good Hope. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association deployed the same discourse when it recruited cheap black labour from Southern African, particularly from Mozambique.

Towards the Destruction of Whiteness (As Condition for the Possibility of Reconciliation in South Africa)

Paulette Coetzee (Nelson Mandela University)

This paper will take the position that our current situation in South Africa does not allow us to impose 'reconciliation' as 'essential' for democratisation. Past and present histories of colonial and apartheid trauma impose an imperative for redress and liberation that cannot be held hostage by a minority unwilling to confront its past and transform itself. For the majority of citizens, democratisation can and should proceed regardless of full 'reconciliation' across racialised groups. For those who have been racialised as white, however, and who, by and large, still exist and operate within the culture and practices of racism, the possibility of undoing their own whiteness will determine whether and to what extent they will be able to participate as equals within a truly democratic society. Though this prospect of destroying whiteness may seem slim at present, my paper will grapple with it and make some tentative suggestions as to what kinds of unlearning and relearning would be required. In doing so, I will draw upon insights from Achille Mbembe and various South African literary texts.

Degrees of Higher Education Precariousness for Unregistered Students: Displacements, Exploitations and Forced Labour

Pedro Mzileni (Nelson Mandela University)

Televised protests in universities are reported as being led and undertaken by students. The public assumption is that these students belong to these universities. This paper reveals that the status of being "a student" itself is embedded in structural hierarchies of access and existence. The 'missing' and 'unknown' group of unregistered students is not recognised in government, university, and media documentation despite their involvement and claim in the higher education political landscape. This unrecognition of these group of students subjects them to numerous forms of exploitation, forced labour, displacement, and precariousness. The conversation on the democratisation of higher education cannot be critical unless these 'informalised students' are recognised as one of the outcomes of the racial and class structure of the post-apartheid higher education model.

15:00 PANEL 3 • Higher Education and Social Justice

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Olutobi Akingbade (Nelson Mandela University)

The State of the South African State's Education System

Iviwe Mtubu (University of Cape Town)

Twenty-seven years after South Africa's democratic transition, its most disadvantaged communities continue to be denied access to decent education. It is concerning that rural schools still lack concrete infrastructure after 27 years. Without sufficient educational tools, students are taught under trees and mud rondavels. South Africa's most disadvantaged students are taught by underqualified educators in severely under-resourced institutions. However, this is not the case with the wealthy. This is the irony in South Africa's push for "equitable education." Clearly, equality has failed our

people if, even after the democratic dispensation, they continue to learn in settings that reflect their deplorable poverty. South Africa must forsake its push for equal education in favour of a push for a “justice-driven” education system. One that recognises the need for redress for the country's poor, a system that recognises and actively works to dismantle Apartheid's legacies. How may this be accomplished? Schools must resemble “opportunity and success” to the African child via investments in infrastructure. The appearance of a school reveals a lot about what goes on within. The disadvantaged communities of South Africa need schools that reflect their potential – with resources that maximise their educational capability.

Teaching transnational literacies for antiracist solidarities via virtual exchanges between learners in Cape Town, Fortaleza and Champaign/Chicago

Ken Salo (University of Illinois, USA), Ricardo Nascimento (UNILAB, Brazil), Greg Ruiters (University of Western Cape)

Our presentation will reflect on how virtual exchanges shape the transnational literacies of learners in dialog on socially just responses to urban injustices in Cape Town, Fortaleza and Chicago/Champaign. Invoking the work of decolonial educators like bell hooks and Gayatri Spivak that frame transnational literacies as the dominant ideas that privileged learners need to unlearn, I offer a reflection on the challenges of virtual education from the perspective of an educator who has led in person study abroad social justice tours and taught at both historically privileged and underprivileged universities in Cape Town and Champaign. More specifically, the aim is to assess how virtual exchanges offer different opportunities for students in both the global North and South to unlearn dominant ideas through dialog with their transnational others. The aim is to strengthen transnational literacies against racially exclusionary urban zoning policies and practices, across local and trans-local scales.

Campus disability activism and advocacy for students with disabilities at South African universities

Desire Chiwandire (Nelson Mandela University)

The advent of democracy in South Africa saw the newly elected government immediately responding to the historical exclusion of students with disabilities (SWDs) by enacting various inclusive education policies aimed at providing equal opportunities to access higher education institutions (HEIs). The lack of practical implementation of these policies has however resulted in most SWDs being confronted with unique, unsurmountable barriers that hinder their opportunities to equally participate, with success, in HEIs. Despite recent research showing the potential positive impact of disability activism and advocacy by SWDs in creating an enabling higher education (HE) environment, there is a dearth of literature on this topic. The purpose of this study is to explore whether SWDs at South African universities are involved in campus disability activism and advocacy, and the potential impact this might have on their full inclusion at these institutions. I conducted a synthesis of literature from peer reviewed journals and online newspapers on issues of disability inclusion at South African universities and disability critical race theory (DisCrit) was used as theoretical lens. The study found that challenges to disability activism and self-advocacy for SWDs were associated with; oppressive institutional bureaucratic structures, SWDs’ lack of awareness of their national and institutional disability rights to inclusive education and their overreliance on

Disability Unit Staff Members to advocate on their behalf. In contrast, few SWDs involved in Societies of SWDs as well those in the Student Representative Council (SRC) were found to be more actively involved in disability activism. The study adds new knowledge to the field by highlighting the importance of active involvement in disability activism and advocacy by SWDs themselves as a way of achieving meaningful inclusive education. I conclude by recommending the need for HEIs' relevant stakeholders to deepen democratic values if they are to create conducive campus environments for SWDs to thrive academically and socially. This could take the form of limiting institutional disabling barriers which prevent SWDs from engaging fully in disability activism and advocacy initiatives and creating inclusive platforms of engagement aimed at educating SWDs about their rights as well as also giving them a voice necessary to be involved in important decision-making processes on issues affecting their campus daily lives.

15:00 PANEL 4 • Decolonising and Africanising Democracy

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Olivia Loots (Nelson Mandela University)

Decolonising and re-theorising the meaning of democracy: A South African perspective

Heidi Brooks (University of Johannesburg), Hlengiwe Ndlovu (Nelson Mandela University), Trevor Ngwane (University of Johannesburg), Carin Runciman (University of Johannesburg)

Although democracy itself is a contested concept, in general, definitions and measures of democracy are often drawn from the canon and experiences of the global North. Contributing to the growing decolonisation movement in the social sciences, our article examines understandings of democracy by ordinary people in post-apartheid South Africa. It examines the understanding of democracy in South Africa's most dominant vernacular languages, and analyses how democracy is practiced by citizens mobilised in community protests, to demonstrate how it is conceptualised. We argue that popular understandings and expectations of democracy are rooted in traditions of popular organisation that emerged in the struggle against apartheid and in the experiences of the post-1994 state. The paper draws upon four separate sets of interview data to explore meanings of democracy 'from below'. Its analysis highlights the interpretations found in indigenous languages of democracy as a theory and practice. By rooting the analysis of democracy within local histories, practices and contexts, the paper provides lessons for democratic theorists by illuminating how citizens and popular organisations articulate the current crisis of democracy and its possible alternatives, promoting a re-imagination of normative democratic thought based on ideas of democracy from below.

Reflections on Claude Ake and Democracy, and Engaging the idea of Civil Society

Buntu Sixaba (University of Cape Town)

This paper reflects on the scholarship of Claude Ake. Beyond this, the paper demonstrates my divergences and convergences on some of his ideas on democracy. In addition, the paper engages and draw from African examples on democracy's progress on the continent so far- post independence and post-apartheid South Africa. The ideas of the state on how democracy could be best practiced is often contradictory with the very essence of democratic practice or more simply

with what the people of this continent aspires. These contradictory ideas from the state and the imagination of African peoples are often articulated within the lexicon of 'civil society' and 'citizenship'. The notion of 'civil society'- its place in the South African context- is an uneasy posturing in imagining democracy in South Africa. For the reason that this notion's limitations are concealed by the idea of a *Rainbow nation*, it consistently obscures racial tensions from which practices of democracy are often performed and experienced in South Africa. Given this, the paper asks if Africa needs democracy (as understood in the West), and what are the alternatives.

Political Journeys in Consciousness At a Time Of Local and Global Tipping Points: The Possibility Of Doing Democracy Differently

Jean Mathews Wildervanck (Nelson Mandela University)

For many years, in many nations, democracy claimed the high ground and presented itself as the preferred system but now, across the globe, proponents of the democratic ideal battle to do so with conviction. By many accounts, democracy is failing its constituents with democratic processes bogged down in political polarisation and plagued by oligarchies not much different to those present in autocracies. In this paper I explore this statement by not only referring to the state of democracy in Africa but also relate it to similar concerns expressed at the 2021 Integral European Conference which I recently attended. Furthermore, one cannot discuss democracy without referencing the double-edged sword that is capitalism: the danger endless economic growth models hold for a finite planet on the one hand and on the other, the way in which competitiveness fosters excellence. Collectively, it would seem, the world finds itself at a tipping point, also with regards to governance and polity. All of this speaks to our political journeys in consciousness and the need for a new story. I therefore make the argument that if democracy is to have a future on our continent, we have to rethink democracy specifically for our context. How might we do democracy differently; can we do it in way which is congruent with South Africa and the African continent?

17:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

1HR 15MIN

Moderator: Sivuyisiwe Wonci (Nelson Mandela University)

Democracy and the City

Karin van Marle (University of the Free State)

The more than two decades after the shift from parliamentary sovereignty to constitutional supremacy in South Africa have seen many engagements with literature, film, music and other symbols and forms in an attempt to make sense of the paradox of change and stability; transformation; and endurance. These engagements have been described for example in terms of an "aesthetic turn" (Le Roux) and an "aesthetic mode of coping" (Du Plessis, Van Marle). Constitutional discourse has relied amongst others on the notions of the bridge, the book, the monument and the memorial in attempts to unearth new and alternative ways to think about, to talk about and to theorise the multiple facets of the struggle to transform. I want to reflect on the value of these tropes as well as the idea of "city life" as the "being together of strangers" (Young) for constitutional democracy.

DAY 4 • FRIDAY 10 SEPTEMBER 2021

8:45 PLENARY 4 • Constitutionalism, Land and Securitisation in Response to COVID-19

1H30 MIN

Welcome by CANRAD Head of Research, Christi van der Westhuizen

Courts, accountability and democracy under COVID-19

Danie Brand (University of the Free State)

In the COVID-19 crisis, with other of the usual mechanisms of democratic accountability such as regular parliamentary oversight absent, and with accountability through elections rendered irrelevant by the acuity and immediacy of the crisis, people have often turned to the courts to exact accountability from and assert democratic control over the state. For a time, courts became the only available formal channels through which to exact democratic accountability. In my paper I wish to consider a number of the most prominent judgments rendered during this time, as instantiations of democracy under COVID-19. What, if anything do these judgments tell us of democracy in times of crisis? What models or understandings of democracy do we see operating in them? Can we extrapolate anything from them about the state and nature of our democracy more generally?

Deepening South African Democracy in Rural Spaces: The Political Economy of Labour Tenant Claims Resolution

Richard M Levin (Nelson Mandela University), Mngqobi Ngubane (University of Western Cape)

Labour tenants on South African farmland were incorporated into state relations of power as subjects distinctively from the subjects of traditional authorities in the countryside during colonialism and apartheid. Under the current democratic dispensation more than 20,000 'former' labour tenant households lodged land claims against the 500,000 estimated by the NGO community in the 1990s. The resolution of these claims has tested the depth of South African democracy in the Constitutional Court, culminating in the extension of judicial supervision over the executive and administration through the appointment of a Special Master. These developments create possibilities for deepening democracy and progressively realising the socio-economic rights of labour tenant claimants with all their differences in terms of gender, class, and localised notions of 'insider/outsider' social relations. Accordingly, this paper examines efforts and possibilities for deepening democracy and transformative constitutionalism by way of legal eradication of oppressive social relations remaining on former labour tenant farms, and the attendant unleashing of accumulation from below on the basis of petty commodity production, especially through small scale livestock production. The paper also explores the prospects for successful all-encompassing land reform through a participatory development evaluation discourse and practice.

“The situation required the adoption of those measures as they were adopted”: Securitisation and Quarantine of Roma Settlements During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Slovakia

Svetluša Surova (BARI-Global Research Network, Slovakia)

Recent analysis indicates that the coronavirus pandemic has disproportionately affected Roma people, amplified pre-existing exclusion, poverty, discrimination and exposed marginalised Roma to vulnerability even more than before. One of the measures that affected Roma disproportionately were lockdowns. This study explores the securitisation and quarantine of five Roma settlements during the COVID-19 pandemic in Slovakia. Paper analyses how and why were Roma communities locked down, what caused lockdowns and if they were legal, necessary and proportionate. The topic is approached from the perspective of political science. The study deploys a new institutionalism approach, securitisation as an analytical frame, and qualitative research design. This includes a case study, elite-interviews and qualitative content analysis. This study shows that Roma were exposed to the most restrictive measures that the rest of the population in Slovakia didn't face. They have faced a discriminative approach and disproportionate measures that restricted their fundamental rights and freedoms. This paper contributes to the understanding of how are Roma still seen in a securitising manner in public debates and policy-making. Institutionalised promises and legal guarantees of equality and inclusion have failed in the circumstances of the corona pandemic in Slovakia.

11:00 PANEL 5 • Nationalism and Black conservatism

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Marc Röntsch (Nelson Mandela University)

The Arab Guilt: Meditations on a Postage Stamp

Rachid Boutayeb (Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Qatar)

This study is based on the hypothesis that we can read the past critically, know it scientifically, and judge it objectively, exclusively in a democratic context, in the context of a “*Schulddemokratie*”, which teaches us that building a critical relationship with the past and with traditions, is a *conditio sine qua non* for building a democratic order. However, the major political currents in the Arab world, namely authoritarianism, sectarianism, and Salafism, do not enter a critical relationship with the past, but still attempt a heroic restoration of it— an ideological, enchanted relationship that sacrifices *historical specificity* in favour of *imagined authenticity*, the *individual* in favour of the *collective*, and the *present* in favour of the *past* or the *illusion of the past*.

Black Conservatism in Post-apartheid South Africa

Siphiwe I Dube (University of the Witwatersrand)

In South Africa, we take it for granted that to be a black politician and public intellectual, means to be situated someplace on the left-liberal spectrum. However, a figure such as Gatsha Buthelezi put that assumption into question in the 1980s, including a large number of black male intellectuals who were part of the 80s reform. A reform that was about creating a new black middle class with a stake in the system of preserving rather than overthrowing this system. Fast-forward to twenty-first century South Africa and the post-apartheid era and we can observe the fruits of the 1980s project begin to

take prominent shape in the greater push for expanding the black middle-class. That is, despite its rich history of left politics, South Africa is not shielded from the rise of the type of black conservatism ripping through America (but also England, Canada, and parts of Northern Europe). In America, the names of Condoleezza "Condi" Rice, Clarence Thomas, and Ben Carson are just a few that roll easily off the tongue in the defence of black conservatism. In the South African context the likes of Herman Mashaba and Sihle Ngobese are certainly newer reflections of this phenomenon in the post-apartheid era. Drawing on this seemingly eclectic examples, this paper aims to illustrate what constitutes black conservatism in current day South Africa. Thus raising a question of how our democracy will respond to this challenge. A challenge that leaves open the possibility that South African politics remain fertile ground for new orientations, albeit mainly conservatively black in my estimation.

"There is a Khoe-San knocking." "What do they want?" "Let them in!"

Sharon Gabie (Rhodes University)

In this paper, I reflect on the issues of the creation of 'traditional communities' that is currently at play in the South African landscape on identity politics and the quest for indigeneity on a global stage. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) was signed on the 13th of September 2007. One hundred and forty-four countries voted in favour of the adoption of UNDRIP. South Africa formed part of the countries that voted in favour of the Declaration and 'officially' adopted UNDRIP in 2016. The 'Declaration' imposes many obligations on member states concerning their dealings with the indigenous people within their borders. The 'Declaration' prohibits discrimination against indigenous peoples and promotes their full and effective participation in all matters that concern them. There are efforts made to deal with recognising indigenous people. However, the irony that exists in defining the indigenous people contradicts the South African stance that all people are indigenous in the country. The United Nations recognise Khoe-San people as indigenous peoples. The inconsistency of identity politics is further complexified by the fact that South Africa is a constitutional democracy and individual rights and freedoms are enshrined in the constitution.

Whose Democracy Is It Anyway? Framing South African Citizenship and National Identity in the Face Of Afrophobia

Yona Siyongwana (Independent) and Madoda Ludidi (Independent)

The post-1994 South African democratic project is often lauded as being proof of the power of dialogue and negotiation in conflict-ridden contexts. Bequeathed a racially fragmented country still reeling from apartheid and colonialism, the Government of National Unity (GNU) and subsequent administrations were tasked with leading the way in building a united South African democracy with a strong national identity. Sharing a similar historical trajectory to other culturally diverse nations on the continent, the South African democratic state has had to manage the plural interests of numerous communities while simultaneously bringing about equitable redress, access and (social) justice to those who live within its borders. However, the South African state's domestic record as guardian of its people leaves much to be desired as the advent of Afrophobia has proven to be indicative of unequal access to socioeconomic gains in the democratic era, the communal tensions

said unequal access has inflamed and, ultimately, the still deeply wounded South African psyche. Afrophobia threatens to then not only destabilise and delegitimise South African democracy in a substantive sense, but also reveal the unwinding of the delicate national social fabric, and the incompleteness of the state-led nation-building project. This paper thus seeks to engage the performance of Afrophobia as a means of citizenship preservation and assertion through the weaponisation of identity politics. Also considering the position South Africa holds as a continental leader in human rights and democracy, this paper will also delve into the implications a phenomenon such as Afrophobia could have on its geopolitical standing and role.

11:00 PANEL 6 • Neoliberalism and the Left

1H30 MIN | PARALLEL SESSION

Moderator: Lesego Nkosi (Nelson Mandela University)

Limitations of Neoliberalism and the Shift to the Left in South Africa

Peter Makaye (Independent Researcher, Zimbabwe)

Touted as the panacea to economic growth and development challenges in the South, neoliberalism has not always lived up to those expectations on the ground. Fiscal austerity, deregulation, free trade, privatisation and cuts in government spending have been lauded for bringing economic growth in countries grappling with the challenge of development. 27 years into democracy in South Africa (SA), neoliberalism has failed to bridge the socio-economic and racial divide that afflicts society. The free market approach to health, education and land in SA has exacerbated inequality. The exponential rise in Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) membership and seats in Parliament are testament to the appeal of their nationalisation narrative. The ruling ANC party's moves to amend the National Constitution to provide for land expropriation without compensation are symptomatic of failure of neoliberalism in SA. For better social justice, a fine balance of neoliberalism with some leftist policies is necessary.

From Import-Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) to Neo-Liberalism

Lucas Nkosana Sibuyi (Rhodes University)

Theories, some underpinned by -ISMS have hegemonised ideological, intellectual and academic thinking, elucidation, analysis, uses and abuses for aeons. Neo-liberalism is but one of the theoretical frameworks. The aim of this paper is to reflect on the gravitation from South Africa's import substitution-industrialisation (ISI) to neo-liberalism. This paper strongly contest the widespread view, associated with neo classical economics, that countries develop best through free markets, there is no doubt secondary industrialisation in South Africa rested upon extensive state intervention. It was due to state intervention from the 1920s that South Africa moved from the role of supplying the West with raw materials for manufacturing, into developing an economy centred on a local manufacturing sector (Lumby, 1983: 196. 220). The move from light industry, mainly serving the mines or local consumer goods with natural protection (bricks, some food, paint etc.) involved import-substitution-industrialisation (ISI) (Kemp, 1991). The ISI model was subsequently abandoned from the 1970s, which saw a profound shift in South African economic and industrial policy and a major restructuring of parastatals like ESKOM, ISCOR and SASOL. This paper examines these

developments, the late apartheid move towards neo-liberalism and analyse the neo liberal shape of postapartheid economic policy.

The Effect of the Investor-State Dispute Settlement on the Domestic Regulation of Democratising States

Khwezi Matangana (Independent)

The ability for governments to write and implement regulation and reforms is one of the strong foundations of a democratic state. The liberalisation of international trade, often under the guise of foreign direct investment, has seen the power balance between states and multinational corporations shift in favour of the latter group. Since the advent of neoliberalism, multinational corporations – through the investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) – have significantly gained (and utilised) the ability to sue sovereign states for implementing domestic regulation meant to benefit local people and the environment. Moreover, studies have shown that this phenomenon is on an exponential rise with each passing year seeing an increase in cases and states brought before the ISDS arbitration system. This paper seeks to investigate the future of democracies in the face of global capitalism. Specifically, it aims to uncover the role played by the ISDS in the regulatory framework of corporations found in democracies, especially in states that have yet to fully democratise. This will be done through a cross-sectional analysis between case details and subsequent domestic regulation of multinationals in select states still undergoing the process of democratisation.

Lest we get Left behind: Engaging politics of the Left in times of COVID-19 & unfettered neoliberalism

Muzomuhle Ntuli (Independent)

What is left of the Left, so asks the famous retort. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and China's massive economic reforms, left-wing politics took a major blow which it has struggled to recover from. In the early 2000s, the Left seemed to be recovering from this when various left leaning politicians and parties won election after election in South America. This phenomenon, characterised as the Pink Tide, revitalised and once again galvanised support for the Left in times of a unipolar world and the fascism that culminated in the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. Alas, these countries were doing the unthinkable right in the belly of Uncle Sam's imperialist agenda and, as history has shown, that is akin to a slave revolt that ought to be thwarted by the master. Are there prospects for economic justice in this COVID-ridden world? Is there a relevance for the Left and can the Left provide any solutions in this current epoch? We argue that, yes, the Left is very much relevant and has solutions that can not only guide us through this pandemic but also forge alliances that can create a new world free from exploitation, hunger and diseases. Recently, a Marxist teacher and unionist Pedro Castillo, won the 2021 presidential election, defeating the reactionary far-right Keiko Fujimori. The Left is very much alive. Having said that, the Left must heed the call from Fanon (2017, 300) that "if we want to take humanity one step forward... we must innovate, we must be pioneers". This would, amongst other things, mean that the Left moves away from ambitious ideas of building a big state, but should rather focus on using the state for the will and greater good of the people. The massive avoidable deaths that we see as a result of privatised health sectors, defunding of social

programmes and lack of housing, hunger and destitution of the working class as a result of not working: these are all symptoms of a much larger disease, capitalism. As such, the Left should adopt an internationalist view of world events and problems as they are all connected. As Fisher (2009, 77) alerts us, we “need to begin, as if for the first time, to develop strategies against a Capital which presents itself as ontologically, as well as geographically, ubiquitous”. That is the task of the Left, to wage a constant struggle against an all-engulfing capitalism.

13:00 ROUNDTABLE 2 • Who gets to publish? Academic publishing, decolonisation and recolonisation

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Allan Zinn (Director, CANRAD)

Enver Motala (Nelson Mandela University)

Suren Moodliar (*Socialism and Democracy* Editor)

Kholeka Mabeta (Lukhanyo Publishers)

Nirode Bramdaw (SUNMedia)

Marc Röntsch (CANRAD)

Olutobi Akingbade (CANRAD)

15:00 CLOSING PLENARY • 10 Years of CANRAD Community Building

1H30 MIN

Moderator: Sonwabo Stuurman (Manager: Engagement, CANRAD)

Speaker: Allan Zinn (Director, CANRAD)

16:30 CLOSURE

BIOGRAPHIES

Conference Organising Team

PROF CHRISTI VAN DER WESTHUIZEN is an author, media columnist and Associate Professor at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD), Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. Her publications include the monographs *White Power & the Rise and Fall of the National Party* (2007) and *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa* (2017). Her analysis of policies and institutions appeared in a sole-authored volume titled *Working Democracy: Perspectives on South Africa's Parliament at 20 Years* (2014). Upcoming publications include (as co-editor) the *Routledge International Handbook on Critical Studies in Whiteness* (forthcoming, 2021). She has published articles in several journals, including *African Studies* (as co-editor on a special edition), *Matatu Journal for African Culture and Society* and *Critical Philosophy of Race*. Prof Van der Westhuizen serves on the international editorial board for Social Sciences, Humanities, Education and Business Management of AOSIS Scholarly Books and the editorial board of *Transformation in Higher Education*. She has held fellowships with various universities, including the University of KwaZulu Natal, and previously worked as an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Pretoria. She holds a D Phil in Sociology from the University of Cape Town.

ALLAN ZINN obtained a Fulbright Scholarship to complete an M Ed in Curriculum and Teaching and an MA in Social Studies, both from Columbia University in New York, USA. He lectured at Rhodes University, Columbia and Clark universities in the USA. Earlier he had taught History and Human Movement at Bethelsdorp High School and was part of the initiative to establish the Eastern Cape Teachers Union in 1985. Having been involved in a wide range of community and political organisations, he served on the six-member National Executive of the Anti-Apartheid South African Council on Sport (1984 - 1988) as Publications Secretary. He worked for non-governmental organisations and donor-funded projects, most notably managing the IMBEWU II Programme in the Eastern Cape. Allan has published and edited materials in the Political, Education, Gender Equity and Sports arenas. He has been Director of the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy since inception in 2010. His publications include: (as editor) *Struggle and Hope: Reflections on the recent history of the Transkeian People by Mda Mda* (2019); (as co-editor) *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography* (2018); and (as editor) *Non-Racialism in South Africa: The life and times of Neville Alexander* (2016).

DR OLUTOBI AKINGBADE is a Vice-Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy. His research focus examines the intersection of journalism and various forms of media with frames of public health communication and questions of social justice and democracy on the African continent. He completed his Master's and Doctoral degrees at Rhodes University's School of Journalism and Media Studies.

OLIVIA LOOTS is a Research intern at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy. She completed her undergraduate and Honours degree in Visual Studies at the

University of Pretoria (UP) in 2016 and 2017 respectively. Since the publication of two multimedia travel books on her time in France – a personal journal (2016) and a visitor’s guide (2018, in collaboration with the *Institut Français d’Afrique du Sud*) – she has worked on various projects including illustration, film and French translation. In 2018 she commenced her Master’s research in Visual Studies at UP, which was promoted to a PhD in 2020. Her dissertation, ‘Stuff Matters and Moves: Analysing Environmental Consciousness and Memory Objects Through a New Materialist Lens’, is due to be submitted for examination shortly.

LESEGO NKOSI is currently pursuing a BA in Sociology and Psychology at Nelson Mandela University. She serves as a Research intern in the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy. Lesego is a member of the Golden Key International Honours Society, and held a fellowship with the Democracy Works Academy, a partnership initiative with the In Transformation Initiative. As a member of the Global Shapers Community Tshwane Hub, Lesego has been a part of several working groups which strive towards conversations and solutions for the creation of a better world. As a social activist, she is greatly interested in education, mental health, and self-development to improve human rights accountability.

MARC RÖNTSCH is a Vice-Chancellor’s Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy and the Department of Music at Nelson Mandela University. His research focus is on identity politics and critical race theory in post-apartheid popular music of the Western Cape. Marc completed his PhD in Musicology at Stellenbosch University under the supervision of Prof Stephanus Muller, and previously held an Andrew W Mellon Postdoctoral Research Fellowship at the Africa Open Institute for Music, Research and Innovation. He is also a guitarist and bassist, having performed with bands such as Stereo Zen, Tape Hiss and Sparkle, The Hot Club of Cape Town and Black Moscow.

Keynote Speakers

PROF WILLIAM GUMEDE is Associate Professor and former Convener, Political Economy, School of Governance, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He is the Founder and Executive Chairperson of Democracy Works Foundation, now based in eight countries. He is the Chairperson of Action Aid. He is one of the founding directors, in establishing PLAAF, the platform for the protection of whistle-blowers in Africa, based in Senegal. Previously he was Programme Director, Africa Asia Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He was Course-Leader, School of Public Policy, Central European University, Budapest. He was Senior Associate Member & Oppenheimer Fellow, St. Antony’s College, Oxford University; Senior Research Fellow & Graduate Student Mentor, London School of Economics and Political Sciences (LSE); Course-Leader, New School University, New York; Press Fellow, Wolfson College, Cambridge University, and Visiting Fellow, Duke University. He was former Member of the Editorial Panel, PostGlobal, Washington Post Newspaper & Newsweek, Washington DC; and former Deputy Editor of the Sowetan newspaper. He has won a number of South African and international awards for activism, journalism and writing, including the South African Courageous Journalism Award (1995), the British Diageo Award for Excellence in Reporting on Africa for work on Nigeria (2005), and was

awarded a Special Commendation by UNESCO (2006). He is the author of a couple of number one bestsellers. His most recent book is *South Africa in BRICS* (Tafelberg).

MAHMOOD MAMDANI is the Herbert Lehman Professor of Government and Professor of Anthropology and of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies (MESAAS) at Columbia University and Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research in Kampala. He received his PhD from Harvard University in 1974 and specialises in the study of African history and politics. His works explore the intersection between politics and culture, a comparative study of colonialism since 1452, the history of civil war and genocide in Africa, the Cold War and the War on Terror, and the history and theory of human rights. Prior to joining the Columbia faculty, Mamdani was a Professor at the University of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania (1973–1979), Makerere University in Uganda (1980–1993), and the University of Cape Town (1996–1999). Some of Mamdani's books include *Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities* (2020), which was recently awarded the Herskovits Prize by the African Studies Association; *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror* (2009); *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror* (2004); *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and Genocide in Rwanda* (2001). He has received numerous awards and recognitions, most recent of which being listed as one of *Prospect Magazine's* 'top 50 thinkers' for 2021.

KARIN VAN MARLE joined the Department of Public Law, University of the Free State in February 2019. Before joining the UFS she worked as Professor in the Department of Jurisprudence, University of Pretoria where she taught Jurisprudence on undergraduate and postgraduate levels for many years. Several Doctoral and research Master's students completed their studies under her supervision and she currently supervises a number of postgraduate students working in the field of critical jurisprudence, law and transformation and feminist theory. Her research falls within the broad field of law and the humanities and involves critical theory, legal philosophy and jurisprudence. Her work on post-1994 jurisprudence engages with the crisis of modernity and a rethinking of law and legal theory along the lines of fragility, finitude and a 'giving up of certitudes'. She is an ethical feminist and her research and writing are inspired by and embedded in feminist theory. She has published widely in national and international journals and books. She serves on the international editorial boards of *Law and Critique* and the international advisory board of *Feminist Legal Studies and Legalities*. She is an Adjunct Professor at Southern Cross University, Australia and is a Fellow at Stias (Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study).

Conference Participants

AGHOGHO AKPOME is currently based at the Department of English, University of Zululand, South Africa. His research interests include postcolonial literatures, African Studies, narratives/representation, and migration.

SIHLONIPHILE PRECIOUS BHEBHE is currently pursuing a Bachelor of Laws degree at the University of Zululand, South Africa. Her research interests include, inter alia, South Africa indigenous law, human rights, and democracy literatures, labour law studies, international humanitarian law, and Public international law.

RACHID BOUTAYEB has been Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Qatar, since 2019. He worked as a Lecturer in the disciplines of Philosophy, Anthropology, and Islamic studies in several German universities. He holds a BA in Arabic Language and Literature from Mohammed V University in Rabat, Morocco (1997), a BA and Master's degree in Philosophy, Sociology, and Political Science from the University of Marburg, Germany, and a PhD in Philosophy from Goethe University, Germany.

NIRODE BRAMDAW is a publisher in the capacity of Managing Director of African Sun Media. He serves on three scholarly publishing editorial boards and is a member of the National Scholarly Books Publishing Forum. As a journalist, he worked for the anti-apartheid weekly *The Leader* in the capacity of Managing Editor and as KwaZulu Natal Bureau Chief for *Business Day*. He has co-edited and has contributed to journals, amongst which ranks *The Africa Quarterly*, published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, and wrote regular columns for *Sunday Times* and *The Mercury*. As a philanthropist he is engaged with literacy, youth and documenting slave history.

NTSIKELELO BENJAMIN BREAKFAST is Acting Head of the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University.

DR HEIDI BROOKS is Senior Researcher in the Humanity Faculty at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA) and a Senior Research Associate of the Centre for Social Change at the University of Johannesburg. Her research interests lie in politics and government in South Africa, South African political history, and democratic theory.

DR DESIRE CHIWANDIRE is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Chair for Critical Studies in Higher Education Transformation (CriSHET) at Nelson Mandela University. He holds a PhD in Political Studies from Rhodes University and his thesis focused on disability inclusion in higher education.

PAULETTE COETZEE teaches in the Department of Language and Literature at Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. She previously taught at the University of Zululand and obtained her PhD from Rhodes University.

SIPHIWE DUBE is a Senior Lecturer and former Head in the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. He is an author of numerous interdisciplinary articles and chapters and has also supervised postgraduate students on a range of topics covering African politics and religion, feminisms, post-colonial literature, race, religion and masculinities, religion and identity politics, religion and popular culture, and transitional justice.

MS SHARON GABIE is a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology at Rhodes University, South Africa. Her research interest is among the Khoe-San people of southern Africa, focussing on 'particular claims to indigeneity' in South Africa post-1994. Her work marries an investigation into identity politics and personhood at an individual and collective level with the political economy of particular territories, unpacking the relationship between citizens and the state at both the micro and macro levels.

AMANDA GOUWS is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, where she holds a SARChI Research Chair in Gender Politics. Her research focuses on women and citizenship, women's representation, and gender-based violence. She has published widely in these areas. Her latest co-edited book with Olivia Ezeobi, *COVID Diaries: Women's Experience of the Pandemic*, has just appeared with Imbali Press (2021). She was a Commissioner for the South African Commission for Gender Equality from 2012-2014.

ADRIAN GUELKE is an Emeritus Professor in the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics at Queen's University, Belfast and attached to the Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict. His publications include *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies* (Polity Press).

ABHIGYAN GUHA is recently pursuing a Master's in Political Science with International Relations at Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. Guha was a gold medallist at the Graduation level from the same university and a certificate from Oxford University's Department of Continuing Education. A member of International Association for Political Science Students, Guha has five peer reviewed publications. As a theatre activist from Spandan IPTA, he has performed more than 500 shows globally and has been the Indian cultural ambassador to Pakistan and Germany.

ZWELETHU JOLOBE is an Associate Professor, and Deputy Head, of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. Professor Jolobe is the convenor of International Relations in the Department and teaches International Mediation, Global Governance, Conflict in Africa and International Relations. He has published extensively on South African political issues such as elections, political parties and the dynamics of political coalitions in South Africa. His recent book publication, *Brokering Power in Intractable Conflicts: International Mediation in the South African Transition* (published by Routledge in 2019), examines the role of the Commonwealth and United Nations in assisting the political transition in South Africa.

PROF MELANIE JUDGE (PhD) is a queer and feminist activist and scholar. She is Adjunct Associate Professor in public law at the University of Cape Town, author of *Blackwashing Homophobia: Violence and the Politics of Sexuality, Gender and Race* (Routledge, 2018), and lead editor of *To Have and to Hold: The Making of Same-Sex Marriage in South Africa* (Fanele, 2008). Melanie has been integrally involved in advocacy and law reform for LGBTIQ rights in South Africa, and is a trustee of the GALA queer archives. Melanie is the recipient of the 2016 Psychology and Social Change Award, granted by the University currently known as Rhodes in recognition of her activism and scholarship on sexuality.

DR ISAAC KHAMBULE is a Lecturer and Academic Coordinator at the School of Built Environment and Built Environment, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He teaches Political Economy, Economic Development and Development Management to postgraduate students.

PEACE KIGUWA (PhD) is Associate Professor in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research interests include critical social psychology, affective politics of gender and sexuality, racism and racialisation and the nuances of teaching and learning. Her research

projects have included focus on young women's leadership in Higher Education and the Destabilising Heteronormativity project. She is currently Editorial Board member on three accredited journals publications. She is the current Chair of the Sexuality and Gender Division of the Psychology Society of South Africa (PsySSA).

ZUKISWA KOTA is currently a Programme Head at the Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM) at Rhodes University. The PSAM promotes social accountability in Africa with a focus on South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi. Zukiswa is the Coordinator of Imali Yethu, a civil society coalition working with the South African National Treasury to develop South Africa's first online portal for provincial and national budget data, vulekamali. She serves on the Board of Trustees of the Equal Education Law Centre (EELC) and has contributed to various budget and social justice initiatives including the Budget and Expenditure Monitoring Forum (BEMF) and the Budget Justice Coalition. Zukiswa is passionate about promoting environmental justice and inclusive, open governance in Africa. Twitter handle: @Zukiswa Kota Email: z.kota@ru.ac.za

AYANDA KUBAYI is a former student leader, and a social and children's rights activist. She currently holds a BA and an Honours degree in Political Science and Conflict Studies from Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. Most of her research focuses on subaltern rights, indigenous epistemologies and political models and how these models can be used towards the Africa we all want.

RICHARD LEVIN holds a PhD from the University of Liverpool. He is a Visiting Professor at Nelson Mandela University and the University of the Witwatersrand. He has occupied numerous leading roles in the South African State since 1997; presently the Special Master Labour Tenants, previously a Director-General between 2004 and 2019 and has published on land reform, the state and public administration in South Africa and internationally.

MADODA LUDIDI is an alumnus of the University of Fort Hare, with an Honours degree in History. He is also a 2018 Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Fellow and alum of the Fort Hare Autumn School on Social Democracy and Political Economy. Currently, he is a rugby coach for the Fort Hare Blues and is pursuing an IRB Level III. His research interests include ethics, social theory, political economy and African history.

KHOLEKA MABETA is Publishing Director at Lukhanyo Publishers, a new entity in the scholarly publishing sector. Her research interests are knowledge dissemination through book publishing entities, marginalisation and gatekeeping. She has 21 years of experience in education and publishing, having worked for established publishing houses such as Pearson and Oxford University Press as a publisher for their local and international markets. She was headhunted by HSRC Press and she later worked for UKZN Press. She served as Editorial Board secretary at HSRC Press, as Chair of the Editorial Committee at UKZN Press and as Chair of the Editorial Board for the Women's Imprint at UKZN Press.

BABALWA MAGOQWANA is the (Interim) Director for the Centre for Women and Gender Studies, at Nelson Mandela University in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. She is a fellow of the African

Humanities Programme. She is also a Research Associate of the South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI) Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa (UNISA). She is the principal investigator of the Catalytic Project on *Maternal Legacies of Knowledge in the Eastern Cape* supported by the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences. She was also a recipient of the National Research Foundation / First Rand Foundation Sabbatical Grant for her project on “Woman-Centred Vernacular Sociology of the Eastern Cape”.

DR MANDISI MAJAVU is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University, South Africa. His research investigates the political history of racial formation in South Africa.

PHUMLANI MAJAVU is a PhD candidate in Development Studies at the University of South Africa.

PETER MAKAYE is a Zimbabwean researcher who writes and publishes mostly on the political economy of Zimbabwe. Currently he is a Grant Proposal Writer with the Harare-based Maxutra Reliable Energy Solutions. He holds a PhD in Development Studies from Nelson Mandela University, South Africa and also has MA and BA Hons. degrees in Economic History from the University of Zimbabwe.

KHWEZI MATANGANA is a recent Honours graduate in Political and Conflict Studies at Nelson Mandela University. Having been active in student politics at NMU; he formed part of the executive leadership of the United Nations Association of South Africa NMU chapter where he served as its Vice Chairperson for the year 2020. Khwezi’s passion for tackling social issues has seen him venture into activism with a particular focus on animal rights, environmental protection, and the advocacy for plant-based living. His research interests lie in the Political Economy of the Global South, with specific focus on the SADC region.

JEAN MATHEWS WILDERVANCK has taught various modules at the University of Venda, Rhodes University and the Nelson Mandela University Business School, South Africa. She also presents leadership and personal mastery workshops for corporate and public sector clients in South Africa and has worked in East Africa and South East Asia.

LIBERTY (GLENTON) MATTHYSE is the Executive Director of GenderDynamix, the first registered Africa-based public benefit organisation to focus solely on trans and gender diverse communities. She/They previously worked as the Legal, Policy and Education Advocacy Officer at GenderDynamix. Identifying as a trans non-binary person, she/they is a member of the Golden Key International Honour Society and holds a Master’s Degree in Law (cum laude) focused on non-discrimination and marriage equality for transgender persons from the University of the Western Cape. Liberty also holds qualifications in Project Management, Leadership, Financial Management and Strategic Business Management from the University of Cape Town. As a community-centred, critical-thought, human rights and social justice activist, her/their passion is fighting for dignity, equality and freedom for trans

and gender diverse persons to achieve positive change. In her/their spare time, she/they enjoy hiking outdoors, reading and writing, exercising and spending time with loved ones, particularly in their/her hometown of Darling, South Africa.

NOMALANGA MKHIZE is a historian based at Nelson Mandela University. Her research and teaching interests are in African language and vernacular historiographies, theories of African archive and big history.

ENVER MOTALA has worked in the field of education for some five decades, during the course of which he has worked in the labour movement, an education non-governmental organisation, in government and at various universities. He is presently an Associate of the Centre for Community, Adult and Worker Education at the University of Johannesburg in South Africa and of the Centre for Post-School Education and Training at the Nelson Mandela University, South Africa.

ONGAMA MTIMKA is a Lecturer in the department of history and political studies at Nelson Mandela University with an extensive work experience in industrial development, local government, community and small business development, and higher education. He holds a bachelor of arts from Rhodes University and MPhil in SA Politics and Political Economy from Nelson Mandela University. His research and research engagement experience includes political economy, party politics, and development. Ongama is the Chairperson of the Emerging Academics Research Committee of the South African Association of Political Studies.

IVWE MTUBU is passionate about leading system change to achieve quality education for all learners. Currently, he serves as Director: Academics and Curriculum at the Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (SHAWCO) education, he is a Geography Teaching Intern at Westerford High School, a Jakes Gerewel fellowship Candidate fellow, a 2021 Mail & Guardian Top 200 Young South Africans winner under the Education category, a Democracy Works Academy Fellow and a Final year Environmental and Geographical Science, History and Industrial Sociology student at the University of Cape, South Africa.

IVAN MUGULUSI currently serves as a Teaching Assistant at Saint Louis University, USA. His research interests are social movements, seeking to understand how identity and representation shape relationships between political elites and the public, and when these interactions turn violent in least developed countries. He holds a Bachelor of Law from the Islamic University in Uganda, a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Institute of Legal Practice and Development, an LL M in Dispute Resolution from the University of Missouri and an MA in Political Science from Saint Louis University. ivan.mugulusi@slu.edu

PEDRO MZILENI is a PhD Sociology candidate and manager of Internationalisation at Home, Student Development and Strategic Programmes in the Office for International Education, Nelson Mandela University. He is a former SRC President and lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Nelson Mandela University.

RICARDO NASCIMENTO is a Professor at the Universidade de Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira (UNILAB), Brazil. His teaching and research focus on *capoeira* as cultural practices of resistance worldwide.

DR HLENGIWE NDLOVU is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for Women and Gender Studies, Nelson Mandela University. She writes on questions gender, democracy, local governance, popular protests and forms of claim-making. She is the co-editor of *Rioting and Writing: Diaries of the Wits Fallists*.

MNQOBI NGUBANE holds a PhD in land and agrarian studies from the University of Western Cape. He is a researcher at the office of the Special Master: Labour Tenants, and Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies. He has lectured human geography at the University of South Africa, and the University of Western Cape.

DR TREVOR NGWANE is a scholar-activist based at the University of Johannesburg where he teaches Sociology and is Director of the Centre for Sociological Research and Practice. His latest work is *Amakomiti: Grassroots Democracy in South African Shack Settlements* (Pluto and Jacana 2021).

MATHE NTŠEKHE is an intersectional African feminist and a Lecturer at the National University of Lesotho in the department of Mathematics and Computer Science. She is also an Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D) practitioner. Specifically under this role, her interest and passion lies in promoting the development of fitting and appropriate ICT solutions that are rooted in the understanding of the African context.

PHAKAMA NTSHONGWANA is a Professor in the Department of History and Political Studies and holds a DPhil in Comparative Social Policy. Her research interests include social policy in developing countries; social citizenship and identity. Her Social Security research has had a gender focus, in particular experiences of women in receipt of the Child Support Grant in relation to their children, the labour market and their communities. She is developing this research further by investigating the role of government's emergency economic and social relief measures to alleviate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on low income families.

MUZOMUHLE NTULI is a student of life and aspiring revolutionary, constantly trying to understand the inner and outer working of this neo-colonial world we live in. Having studied Political Studies and Sociology at Nelson Mandela University in South Africa and helping to form the Thinkers Collective, he dreams of an African continent that is liberated: "i-Afrika ekhululekile". He is a member of the Economic Freedom Fighters.

GIOVANNI POGGI is a lecturer in the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University. His foundation is in International Studies (Stellenbosch University), but he migrated research interests as a postgraduate toward philosophy, ideology, comparative politics and political economy. His MA dissertation, housed at Nelson Mandela University, contributed to the growing bank of knowledge on resource-related ethnic and ethno-religious conflict in sub-Saharan

Africa. His current research efforts are centred on comparative regime studies and the lessening of political and socio-economic exclusion on the African continent. Working toward his PhD, he is presently researching models of developmental political economy for sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa.

PHAKAMANI PUNGU-PUNGU is a student at Nelson Mandela University doing his second qualification in Music. He is passionate about African music, music education, music history and politics.

GREG RUITERS is a Professor of Governance and Public Policy at University of Western Cape, South Africa. His teaching and research focus on the history and geography of social inequalities in South Africa and public policy responses.

PROFESSOR CARIN RUNCIMAN is the Director of the Centre for Social Change and an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, University of Johannesburg. Her research specialises in working-class politics and collective action in post-apartheid South Africa.

KEN E SALO is a Clinical Professor in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, USA. His teaching and research focus on comparative international human rights law, social and environmental justice in South Africa, Brazil, and USA.

LUCAS NKOSANA SIBUYI is a PhD candidate at Rhodes University, Department of Sociology, South Africa. The title of his research study is *Competing Policy Imperatives in Post-Apartheid South Africa: An analysis of the effects and larger significance of Eskom restructuring on the South African automotive industry, 2005-2014*. He completed his Master's in Philosophy in South African Politics and Political Economy in the Faculty of Arts at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in 2008.

YONA SIYONGWANA is an alumna of Nelson Mandela University, holding an Honours degree in Political Studies. Currently, she is a 2021 Democracy Works Academy Fellow. She is also a 2021 Young African Leadership Initiative Fellow, 2019 Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Fellow and 2019 Fort Hare Autumn School on Social Democracy and Political Economy alum. Her research interests include African feminism, political psychology, African politics and international relations.

BUNTU SIXABA is finishing his Master's degree in History at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He is interested in the late colonial period and 20th century British rule with a focus in the former Ciskei. He engages issues of power and colonial techniques employed to realise British rule in the former Ciskei.

SONWABO STUURMAN is the Senior Manager of Advocacy, Education and Training at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD). He has served on, and advised, different youth structures within the university and broader society. His research interests include youth social and political activism, democracy, development and human rights, social justice, and institutional culture transformation.

DR SVETLUŠA SUROVA is Senior Researcher at Gnarum, s.r.o. and founder of the BARI-Global Network. She received her Doctorate and graduated with honours in Political Theory at the Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica, Slovakia. Dr Surova is currently working on the projects examining the impact of Covid-19 measures on human and minority rights in Slovakia and political participation of minorities in Serbia. In the long term, she investigates collective identities of Slovak minority in Serbia, Slovak diaspora policies and works on proposing a new definition of diaspora using combinatorics. Her research interests include political theory, comparative politics, diaspora studies, minority rights, ethnic politics, collective identities, identity politics and multiculturalism. Her latest publication. 'Identity from a conceptual and empirical perspective: a case study of the multiply identifications of Slovak diaspora living in Serbia' was published in *Diaspora Studies*.

MONICA TABENGWA is a human rights lawyer from Botswana. She holds an LLB from the University of Botswana and an LLM degree from the University of Pretoria's Centre for Human Rights. Formerly the Executive Director of Pan Africa International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), she is an experienced human rights defender, activist and feminist with extensive experience in human rights and social justice advocacy, extending to regional and international human rights mechanisms. She is also a former Human Rights Watch LGBTI researcher, conducting research and documenting human rights violations, with specific focus on the rights of sexual and gender minorities in Africa. She has extensive experience in gender and rights-based training and strategic litigation. She managed many multi-country projects and funding, including the UK Department for International Development (DFID) funded HIVOS LGBTI inclusion project. Monica is one of the founders of the Envisioning LGBTI project, which worked to build networks of knowledge across Commonwealth countries on LGBT issues, and is a founder and supporter of LEGABIBO, an LGBTI organisation in Botswana that has been behind the campaign to decriminalise same-sex relations in Botswana. Monica Tabengwa is now based at the United Nations Development Programme Africa regional office as a Programme Specialist with the Inclusive Governance Initiative project. The Inclusive Governance Initiative is a regional project that seeks to support countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region to become increasingly accountable to, and inclusive of, their entire populations, including sexual and gender minorities – who are often particularly marginalized and excluded.

SIPHOKAZI TAU is an MA student in the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University, focusing on intergenerational interpretations and understandings of African feminisms. She is affiliated with the Centre for Women and Gender Studies at Nelson Mandela University. She was previously based with the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy at NMU.

SOLOMON TEFERA graduated in Civics and Ethical Studies from Ambo University, Ethiopia, before completing his MA in Political Science with distinction at Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia, in 2018. Two of his original works are published in accredited scientific journals. He has been conducting research on Ethiopian politics, particularly on Ethiopian party politics, national dialogues, nation building and the role of multi-ethnic party coalition in nation building. He currently works at Ambo University as a lecturer and researcher.

THUTO THIPE is a Lecturer in African Studies at the University of Cape Town. Her primary fields of study include land tenure, African cities, local governance systems, race and racial formation, and feminist studies. Thiipe earned her Doctorate from Yale University in History and African American Studies where her PhD dissertation, "Black Freehold: Landownership in Alexandra Township, 1912-1979", won the Yale Afro-American Cultural Center's award for "Outstanding Graduate Research in the African Diaspora." Thiipe also holds degrees in History, Gender Studies, and Political Science from the University of Cape Town and Macalester College. She previously worked as a researcher in the UCT law faculty's Centre for Law and Society.

JUDY-MARIÉ VAN NOORDWYK is Director of Communications at the DG Murray Trust, a South African foundation committed to public innovation. She is also a PhD candidate at Nelson Mandela University, focusing on whiteness studies and emphatic repair. She is committed to supporting civil society initiatives that work towards an equal and fair South Africa. She previously headed up programming, monitoring and evaluation at loveLife, a non-governmental organisation focused on HIV prevention among youth. She holds an Honours degree in psychology and a Master's degree in social impact assessment from the Universities of Pretoria and Johannesburg, respectively.

SAMANTHA WATERHOUSE is currently the Head of the Womxn and Democracy Initiative of the Dullah Omar Institute, University of the Western Cape. She's focused on enhancing 'feminist democracy' for social justice in South Africa by strengthening efforts to hold government accountable to the public, including strengthening public claims on the legislatures. She has worked for over twenty years in the women and in the children's sectors. This history is threaded into her current focus to enhance an intersectional feminist approach to governance in South Africa. Her work emphasises connected and collaborative approaches, believing in the strength of co-creation and collective action, while respecting and grappling with the often uncomfortable realities of supporting pluralism. She holds a diploma in photography (Peninsula Technikon) and an MPhil in Social Justice (University of Cape Town).

SIVUYISIWE WONCI is a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Nelson Mandela University. She specialises in health policy, gendered health systems, healthcare systems strengthening, and the National Health Insurance in South Africa. Sivuyisiwe is also PhD candidate in the Sociology Department at the University of South Africa under the Social Policy DST/NRF SARChI Chair. Her doctoral research focuses on health policy and health system strengthening in South Africa, using the National Health Insurance as a case study. Sivuyisiwe holds a Master of Public Health from Montclair State University, USA through the Fulbright Scholarship Programme. She also holds Bachelor's and Honours degrees in Sociology from the University of the Western Cape.

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