



THEORETICAL GROUNDING

in African Research

CODESRIA COLLEGE OF MENTORS HANDBOOK II

EDITED BY
ABDUL KARIM BANGURA
JOSEPH MENSAH
ANTHONY BIZOS



Theoretical Grounding in African Research

This book is a product of CODESRIA College of Mentors.

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Handbook II**

Edited by
Abdul Karim Bangura
Joseph Mensah
Anthony Bizos



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
DAKAR

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The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is an independent organisation whose principal objectives are to facilitate research, promote research-based publishing and create multiple forums for critical thinking and exchange of views among African researchers. All these are aimed at reducing the fragmentation of research in the continent through the creation of thematic research networks that cut across linguistic and regional boundaries.

CODESRIA publishes *Africa Development*, the longest standing Africa based social science journal; the *African Sociological Review*; *Africa Review of Books* and the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. The Council also co-publishes *Identity, Culture and Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue*; and the *Afro-Arab Selections for Social Sciences*. The results of its research and other activities are also disseminated through its Working Paper Series, Book Series, Policy Briefs and the CODESRIA Bulletin. All CODESRIA publications are accessible online at www.codesria.org.

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Dedication

Heed and Hail the Aiding Caller Without Caning (Poem in Honour of CODESRIA)

Olumuyiwa Adekunle Kehinde

Clarion calls coded in colours,
Like a rainbow the strata created.
And before you go-giggle, is blue the warmest colour?
When others in rainbow have not reigned?
Being coached like gazelles to run and outrun others
In the race out of the race, and from a distinct race
But out of haste and hate.

Rare mentors, real mentorship
Fashioned-not lately-but passionately delivering
To make we-cubs roar like ogidan* across the cedars and oaks.
Souls alloyed, spirits paired, hearts glued,
Head-to-head not just a rule or fluke
But a formulaic of excellence-ing
So as a team, we are lovely raised and trained to reign.

From stories to theories, and now a memory,
Indelibly marbled and stamped on these mending minds.
Oh CODESRIA, here we hail thee!!!
And as we hail, we sail to research-gates and to the rest of the cosmos.
Of what are we made? The African Elephant of Erudition,
With majestic matches and lumbering from savannahs to rainforests.

Clarion calls obeyed, creative power instilled and installed,
Hail Africa – Hail CODESRIA –
Creatively Organising Diligent Erudition and Spreading Reformation in Africa!!!
Hail CODESRIA – Hail Africa!!!
You are “Great oaks from little acorns grow”.
We are Africa, We are the World.

* A Yoruba name for lion to show its majesty and physical power

Preface

This handbook is a continuation of *Conducting Research and Mentoring Students in Africa: CODESRIA College of Mentors Handbook* (2019). In the hardcopy textbook version of that handbook, Abdul Karim Bangura, Joy A. Obando, Ishmael I. Munene and Chris Shisanya noted their awareness of research methodology and mentoring needs in Africa, and addressed those needs. But they were also cognisant of the need for theoretical grounding.

The authors added that Divine Fuh, who was not present at the CODESRIA College of Mentors (CCoM) Institute in Nairobi, Kenya, made a similar observation at the first CODESRIA Meaning-Making Research Institute (MRI) convened in Harare, Zimbabwe from April 18 to 24, 2018.

This meant that there was a need for another volume that would cover the principal African-centred and Western theories. Bangura and his colleagues also noted that limited time and other resources could not permit them and the Doctoral Scholars to take up this task when they wrote the first volume. It was their hope that this second CCoM Institute (2019) would take up the challenge.

Undoubtedly, there are some students – and others – who see theorisation as an abstract, idealist, or academic, if not esoteric, exercise undertaken merely for the purpose of writing theses, dissertations, journal articles, etc. or for making arguments, with little or no social relevance outside of an academic context. To help address this misconception, it is important to make the *imperative of theory* as explicit as possible here, rather than simply assume that it is self-evident. Theories and theorisation help us to draw connections among different concepts or phenomena and thus help guide our thoughts and organise our ideas about reality. With the inherent, hidden and, sometimes, obvious interconnections brought to light, we are able to generate new insights and ask novel questions about phenomena in the real world. Not only does theorisation help us to make sense of empirical data, it also assists us to tease out the subtle and not-so-subtle relationships among variables.

Put differently, theories with their attendant theorisation help us to see the proverbial forest and not just the individual trees, isolated from one another. Many observers insist that *facts* speak for themselves. However, it is our belief

that facts never speak: it is only with theories and theorisation that we are able to interpret facts or data meaningfully. Facts are analogous to bricks lying around randomly in a brickyard; they become meaningful only after we systematically bring them together with the aid of theorisation. Clearly then, thought cannot proceed very far without some underlying theories, just as one cannot write a good dissertation, thesis, or journal article without a conceptual or theoretical framework.

Students are also unduly influenced by those in government circles who propound that theory is removed from the 'real' day-to-day public policy problems that need to be confronted and addressed. There are academics who accentuate this thinking by arguing that theory-based teaching is not consistent with policy-relevance. This short-sightedness perpetuates the erroneous assumption that theory and practice are separate spheres of activity, and that scholasticism which is devoid of 'real' world data is fraught with peril. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Since facts do not speak for themselves, it is theorising which helps us to decide which facts are important and which are not, and theory prompts us to explain how the same fact can be interpreted differently. Even policy-makers who are dismissive of theory are implicitly or explicitly relying on their own ideas and assumptions about how the world works in order to decide what to do. Thus, both scholars and policy-makers are always engaged in theoretical speculation, since it is difficult to make good policy if one's basic organising assumptions are flawed, just as it is hard to develop good theories without knowing a lot about the real world.

Even though this handbook deals with theories in general, the selection was based on the criterion of having social relevance and applicability to the African context. There are a few theories that have not been used to study Africa, but being the currencies of their disciplines, they have the potential to be used at some point. To ignore them would be foolhardy. We nonetheless give primacy to African-centered and African-related theories in the handbook. We make no claim, however, to *exhaustiveness* regarding the theories covered, or to *homogeneity* in the use of these theories for African people, or among African scholars. While Africans have some cultural values and ethno-racial attributes that bind them together as people, there is no denying that Africa, like any other continent, is imbued with substantial cultural and linguistic diversity. With its African-centredness, the handbook is a decidedly subaltern voice aimed at subverting the ersatz objectivity and value-neutrality in the Eurocentric orthodoxy in theorisation. It seeks to alleviate the systemic suppression of African voices in the production of knowledge in the global academy.

We must also add that this is a handbook dealing with about 150 theories from across the disciplines for easy reference. It is not a book on theories in one discipline where each theory is augmented by a case study or several case studies.

The reader who is interested in application will be well-served by looking at the four chapters in which the studied theories are applied to relevant case studies. In addition, a relationship between all the theories covered has not been established by making references across disciplines and chapters in the book because theories are used for different purposes in different disciplines, for the obvious reason that their foci of analyses are different. Furthermore, our handbook is not about challenging or refuting theories, no matter their origin. It is about their existence. It is up to the user to do so if and when necessary, just as we did in our four application chapters.

Moreover, this handbook is not an ‘academographic toolkit’ towards epistemic ‘decolonisation’. It does not offer a voice about the importance of critically situating knowledge production, by putting different epistemological perspectives into dialogue and by self-critiquing the colonial library in which we operate (as African universities are still a colonial project). This is not the goal of a handbook. There are special journals and books for that. Finally, we do not open the Pandora’s Box of ‘post-colonial’, ‘decolonisation’ and ‘deneocolonisation’ designations, as that is not the intent of the handbook.

The handbook is divided into the General Introduction chapter and two major sections. The first section comprises descriptions of the almost 150 theories covered and presented within various subject titles in alphabetical order. The second section is composed of a sample of chapters that show how a theory can be used to explore Africa in general or a particular African phenomenon. It must also be noted here that we could not name 50 authors in a chapter. We had the same dilemma for the first volume and decided that the designation Doctoral Scholars was better because all of them contributed to all of the chapters. Even though they were divided into eight groups, the entries ran into different disciplines. Also, the scholars reached out across groups for assistance from those who knew their assigned disciplines better, and during the oral presentations benefited from one another.

It behooves us to end this Preface with the brief history of the CCoM as presented by Ibrahim Oanda. In 2016, CODESRIA sought to reorganise and transform the Small Grants Programme for Thesis Writing that the organisation had used as a vehicle to support graduate students in African universities for about three decades. The small grants programme had been introduced in 1988 and provided fieldwork grants to masters and doctoral students registered in African universities. The grants programme contributed to ameliorating the needs of graduate students by supporting the fieldwork phase of their graduate work, as institutions faced resource scarcities. For a high number of graduate students in African universities in the late 1980s and most of the 1990s, a CODESRIA grant for thesis writing was all they would access to support their work. The requests for support from graduate students to CODERSIA continued to rise.

By 2014, proposals submitted from graduate students from across the continent were tending towards 1,000, competing for about 50 available grants. Even a proposal by the organisation to reduce the amount of grants and support more students would not lead to adequate grants compared against the number of applicants and would potentially lead to another problem, that of lack of quality.

Also, the expansion of higher education institutions on the continent had led to another staff crisis, undergraduate student enrolments had increased, and barely enough academics were available in most institutions to give sufficient and quality supervising and advising to doctoral students. An internal analysis of the doctoral theses submitted to CODESRIA from students who had benefited from the small grants from 2010 to 2014 showed serious gaps in quality across all the core parts of a doctoral thesis. While the broad objective of the small grants was to support students for fieldwork and improve quality, the quality of the theses suggested that a different approach was required if doctoral students were to be mentored in a culture of academic quality and with a focus on future scholarship.

In 2015, with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), CODESRIA 2015, established the College of Senior Academic Mentors as part of the African Academic Diaspora to African Universities Programme. Those who serve as mentors in the College are senior academics from the Diaspora (both outside and within Africa) who volunteer their time to be linked to doctoral students in African universities for purposes of mentoring and advising the students throughout their doctoral programmes. The mentors read and comment on the students' proposals and thesis/dissertation chapters; assist the students with relevant reading materials; and link the students to other means of support within their (the mentors') network for purposes of workshop and conference participation and co-publication. The doctoral students are paired with established scholars both in Africa and around the world working in the same areas of research and who have accepted membership of the College. The mentors provide the students with the critical methodological and epistemological guidance that they require for their doctoral studies and further academic development. The purpose of this mentor-mentee relationship is to raise the quality of academic material being generated by young African scholars. The College currently has 26 senior academic mentors linked to 91 doctoral students in African universities.

The students admitted to the College have to apply and be nominated by their schools/deans and involve their primary supervisors. A mentorship relationship, though virtual, involves three people: (1) the student, (2) the primary supervisor and (3) the mentor. The mentors have to copy any advice to students to the primary supervisors, and also to CODESRIA for purposes of monitoring the relationships. The primary supervisors likewise are requested to do the same.

We see this approach as beneficial in four respects:

1. It gives the students the academic support needed to complete their doctoral programmes in ways that would not have been possible without the support. A number of doctoral students in African universities lack quality and timely advice which would push them to complete their studies in time. Studies in a number of institutions have documented the lack of comprehensive written advice to students as a limiting factor in timely and quality completion of programmes.
2. The approach permits sharing of knowledge and insights between the mentors and primary supervisors in ways that contributes to enriching supervisory capacity in African institutions.
3. The mentor-mentee relationship has the potential for establishing long-term relationships beyond the doctoral degree in ways that ultimately contribute to re-establishing cultures of academic excellence in African universities.
4. By supporting the timely completion of doctoral programmes, the intervention contributes to increasing the qualified staff pool in a number of African universities, in the social sciences and humanities.

The first cohort of 49 doctoral students was linked to mentors in the College in 2016. About 90 per cent of this initial cohort has completed their doctoral studies, besides other achievements such as publication and conference attendance. The institute held in Nairobi from October 21 to November 1, 2019 was for the second cohort of 42 students who had been selected to the College that year. They are linked to the mentors for two years. CODESRIA undertakes an evaluation of the programme twice in a year to get feedback from the mentors and the students on how the relationships are proceeding and what needs adjusting.

Abdul Karim Bangura,
Joseph Mensah
Anthony Bizos

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Family members, colleagues and friends, for their prayers and support.

Notes on Editors

Abdul Karim Bangura is a Senior Mentor of the CODESRIA College of Mentors based in Dakar, Senegal for doctoral candidates in Africa; a Researcher-In-Residence of Abrahamic Connections and Islamic Peace Studies at the Center for Global Peace at American University and the director of The African Institution, both in Washington DC; a Visiting Graduate Professor of Regional Integration at the University of Cabo Verde in Praia, Cabo Verde; an External Reader of Research Methodology and Municipal Government at the Plekhanov Russian University in Moscow; and the International Director and Adviser of the Centro Cultural Guanin in Santo Domingo Este, Dominican Republic. He holds five PhDs in Political Science, Development Economics, Linguistics, Computer Science, and Mathematics. Bangura is the innovator of Ubuntugogy Educational Theory, Consciencist Communication Theory, Ujamaa Communication Theory, Theorem of Accelerated Language Deaths, African Peace Paradigms, Rekh Methodology, Utchā and Uhem Methodology, Behsāu-Pehsa Methodology, Er/Set/Sthenā/S-tut/Tut Methodology, Ujamaa Methodology, Consciencist Methodology, and Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ Methodology. He is the author of more than 100 books and more than 700 scholarly articles. He is also the winner of more than 50 prestigious scholarly and community service awards. He is fluent in about a dozen African and six European languages, and is studying to increase his proficiency in Arabic, Hebrew, and Hieroglyphics. Bangura was among the group of first four scholars to address the United Nations General Assembly. He is also a member of many scholarly organisations, has served as President and then United Nations Ambassador of the Association of Third World Studies, and is a Special Envoy of the African Union Peace and Security Council and the Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Living Together* dealing with peace and conflict resolution.

Anthony Bizos is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria in South Africa and the coordinator of the department's MA degree programme in Diplomatic Studies. His areas of specialisation are Theories of International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis and Research Methodology. He teaches modules on these and related topics at both an undergraduate and postgraduate level. His research interests include norm emergence, evolution

and contestation in international relations; the responsibility to protect and associated norms of human protection; decolonising the curriculum and indigenous knowledge systems, as well as African agency in international affairs. He has in the past taught Research Methodology at the Diplomatic Academy of the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation, as well as programmes on Negotiation and Conflict Management at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He is currently a member of the teaching faculty at the African Leadership Centre (ALC) in Nairobi, Kenya, where he conducts seminars on Research Methodology with PhD students from the University of Nairobi and King's College, London. In 2014, he was a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of International Relations, Sciences-Po, in Paris, France, and he is currently a teaching fellow at the Panteion University of Political Sciences in Athens, Greece. He is a committed Pan-Africanist and considers it a distinct honour that he was invited to serve as a resource person at the CODESRIA College of Mentors Institute in 2019.

Joseph Mensah is a product of the University of Ghana and is now a Full Professor of Geography at York University in Toronto, Canada. He completed his MA and PhD at the Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Alberta, respectively, and taught at the Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia before joining York in 2002. He was the Head of the Department of Geography at York from 2016 to 2019. Professor Mensah's specialties are in Social and Cultural Geography, Research Methodology, and Quantitative Techniques. His current research interests are in critical development theory, globalisation and health, and transnational migration. Professor Mensah has received several competitive grants from the likes of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Gates Foundation, the Global Development Network, International Labor Organization, and the Commonwealth Secretariat. He has written several journal articles, book chapters, encyclopedia entries, and books. He is the author of the well-received *Black Canadians: History, Experiences, Social Conditions* (Fernwood Publishing, 2002/2010). His latest book (co-authored) is *Boomerang Ethics: How Racism Affects Us All* (Fernwood, 2017). Professor Mensah has been an instructor for the Carnegie Corporation-sponsored Pan-African Doctoral Academy (PADA) at the University of Ghana since 2015. He was one of the winners of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa's (CODESRIA) Inaugural Diaspora Visiting Professor Fellowships in 2016 and a co-Applicant and Research Advisor to the Borderless Higher Education for Refugees project (BHER) that offers on-line degree courses to refugees in the Dadaab Refugee Camp in Kenya.

List of Doctoral Scholars

N°	Name	Institutional Affiliation
1.	Abati, Omomayowa Olawale	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
2.	Adeleke, Victoria Ajibola	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
3.	Ahmed, Beyan Yuya	Haramaya University, Ethiopia
4.	Aworefa, Tolulope Samuel	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
5.	Balogun, Cecy Edijala	University of Ibadan and the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan, Nigeria
6.	Bamidele, Seun	Ekiti State University, Nigeria
7.	Bekele, Helina Befekadu	Makerere University, Uganda
8.	Chollom, Kachollom Monday	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
9.	Dalalo, Tefera Tesfaye	Mekelle University, Ethiopia
10.	Dogbey, Nancy	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, South Africa
11.	Erima, Juliet Awinja	Moi University, Kenya & University of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa
12.	Eshalomi, Henrietta	University of Ibadan, Nigeria
13.	Gule, Zanele Muntu	University of eSwatini, Luyengo, eSwatini
14.	Gweru, Benjamin	Stellenbosch University, South Africa
15.	Hammond, Adubea Pearl	University of Cape Coast, Ghana
16.	Idowu, Harrison Adewale	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
17.	Kamanzi, Stella-Maris	Makerere University, Uganda
18.	Kehinde, Olumuyiwa Adekunle	University of Zululand, South Africa

19.	Kanyingi, Benson Waiganjo	Karatina University, Kenya
20.	Mayoyo, Nancy	Kenyatta University, Kenya
21.	Metu, Somtochukwu Janefrances	University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria
22.	Moli, Jacques Bertrand Mengue	International Relations Institute of Cameroon, Yaoundé, Cameroon
23.	Mugocha, Everisto	University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa
24.	Namukasa, Jacqueline	Makerere University, Uganda
25.	Nweke, Precious Ifunanya	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
26.	Odeyemi, Samuel Oladunjoye	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
27.	Ogbonna, Maimuna Immaculata	University of Ibadan, Nigeria
28.	Ojukwu, Njideka Charlotte	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
29.	Olick, Lilian	University of Nairobi, Kenya
30.	Oluwawehinmi, Ayokunle	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
31.	Omotuyi, Modesola Vic	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
32.	Omowumi, Moromoke Salau	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
33.	Onuoha, Nwawuloke Beatrice	University of Fort Hare, South Africa
34.	Oyekanmi, Omosefe	University of Ibadan, Nigeria
35.	Oyekola, Isaac Akintoyese	Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Nigeria
36.	Owusu, Emmanuel Asare	University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
37.	Oyinloye, Bosede Odunola	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
38.	Udo, Fidelis Joseph	University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
39.	Usman, Abdullahi Kofar Naisa	Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria

General Introduction

Abdul Karim Bangura, Joseph Mensah and Anthony Bizos

The focus of this handbook is to introduce scholars to African-centred and Western theories that can be employed to ground research on Africa or on an African phenomenon. This endeavour, however, requires an immediate word of caution. It would appear that some scholars regularly conflate 'grounding' one's research in a theoretical framework with Grounded Theory. This requires a bit more elucidation here since the two are fundamentally different.

Grounded Theory was introduced in 1967 with the publication of the book titled *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. As a product of Columbia University, Glaser had been trained in quantitative methods; whereas Strauss, as a graduate of the Chicago School of Sociology, understood social reality qualitatively, as the outcome of interactions among people in their given contexts. Both scholars, however, ultimately came to agree that 'pure' reality is what social science should endeavour to capture. As a result, they went against the mainstream of sociological research at the time and suggested that one should not start with existing 'grand' or middle-range theories so as to empirically test reality, but that one should rather be preoccupied with *discovering* theories.

Grounded Theory is therefore not a theory. Rather it is a methodology which consists of techniques and guidelines for data collection and analysis to *produce theory grounded in data*. As such, Grounded Theory is an inductive approach to research which seeks to 'build theories' which are grounded in data and which might also explain observed phenomena. According to Charmaz, who has applied the method to investigate real-life situations and offers cutting-edge examples and tips, the distinguishing characteristics of grounded theory are the following (Charmaz 2006:5):

- (a) 'The researcher begins with data collection and analysis as opposed to starting with an existing theory.'
- (b) 'Codes, concepts and categories to sort the data come from the data and not from hypotheses.'

- (c) 'Analysis proceeds in stages with constant comparisons between data and ideas.'
- (d) 'Theory is developed in stages.'
- (e) 'Memoranda in the field are used to elaborate on codes.'
- (f) 'Sampling is for theory construction not representativeness.'
- (g) 'The literature review comes later, after the independent analysis.'

Indeed, this handbook is not concerned with Grounded Theory or the question of how to 'build theory.' Rather it is concerned with the use of 'top-down theory' – understood as the use of theory that has been formulated prior to empirical research either by other theorists or by the researchers themselves. The focus of this handbook responds to the reality that many studies in the social sciences are conducted without, or with scant reference to, theory. Consequently, much of the existing scholarship in the disciplines tends to be atheoretical and overtly descriptive in nature. It can be said that descriptive studies do result in some interesting findings, but this handbook's proposition is that these studies do not necessarily serve to move knowledge forward. There are several explanations as to why researchers conduct studies that are not based on theory. Shoemaker, Tankard and Lasorsa (2011) highlight some of the possible reasons as follows:

- (a) '*Expediency* – it is difficult to formulate hypotheses which will contribute to our theoretical understanding; so, it is easier to conduct descriptive research.'
- (b) '*Inadequate training* – a thorough training in social science disciplines requires time and resources.'
- (c) 'Lack of clear definition or identification of theoretical problems in a particular discipline.'
- (d) '*Lack of precedent* – some areas of research have few examples of good theories or many social science theories are not well developed.'
- (e) '*A field's lack of a clearly defined and agreed upon paradigm* – in the Kuhnian sense (i.e. Thomas Kuhn 1962), a field moves forward when a community of scholars identify theoretical puzzles that need to be solved. However, it is often the case that many disciplines lack an agreement on what these puzzles are.'

One might also add that determining what constitutes a 'good' theory or deciding which theory to 'choose' contributes to the aversion to grounding research in theory. In this respect, one might ask whether this is a question of deciding whether one theory is better than another, or whether the existence of a plurality of theories makes it difficult for researchers to make a choice. So as not to fall into the relativism trap, it is prudent to recognise that theoretical options and preferences converge around researcher interpretations and practices when they evaluate the choice of theory and, simultaneously, these choices are bound by elements of subjectivity and disciplinary positioning.

Those scholars with a positivistic leaning, for example, are primarily interested in empirical and explanatory theories which are generally understood as a set of interconnected abstract statements consisting of assumptions, definitions and empirically testable hypotheses which purport to describe and explain the occurrence of a given phenomenon or a set of phenomena (Sanders 2002). According to David Sanders, the following are three main ways by which positivists might evaluate explanatory theories before deciding on which one to select (Sanders 2002:47):

- (a) 'A 'good' theory must be internally consistent: it must not make statements such that both the presence and the absence of a given set of antecedent conditions are deemed to 'cause' the occurrence of the phenomenon that is purportedly being explained.'
- (b) 'A "good" theory relating to a specific class of phenomena should, as far as possible, be consistent with other theories that seek to explain related phenomena.'
- (c) 'Critically, genuinely explanatory theories must be capable of generating empirical predictions that can be tested against observation.'

On the other hand, those with a more interpretivist or anti-foundationalist leaning might challenge the positivistic assumption that explanation needs to be a causal account of the occurrence of some phenomenon or set of phenomena, or that explanation needs to provide a set of antecedent necessary and sufficient conditions to account for this occurrence. Interpretivists might rather suggest that claims to knowledge are always provisional and contested, and that there is always a fusion among all types of theorising. Interpretivists might find that whereas it is difficult to generalise about the role of theory, at the very least, the use of a pre-formulated theoretical or conceptual scheme is indispensable when attempting to classify, characterise and understand the social world. For interpretivists, therefore, a major benefit of theory should be that it provides guidance for research. Starting with a theory mitigates against data-gathering and observation becoming a 'wild-goose chase' and prompts the researcher to interrogate the value of a research project and how this project might relate to other projects.

Since, as stated earlier, the focus of this handbook is on the principal African-centred and Western theories that can be employed to ground research on Africa or an African phenomenon, in the rest of this chapter we first discuss what a theory is, the general types of theory, the levels of theory, and why theories are important in systematic inquiry.

Next, we describe how a theoretical framework can be constructed. We must mention here that some of what is in this chapter also appears in *Conducting Research and Mentoring Students in Africa: CODESRIA College of Mentors Handbook* (2019). It is replicated here in the spirit of the proverbial 'there is no need to reinvent the wheel'.

Theory: What It Is, General Types, Levels, and Import

If a researcher is to consult 100 sources that have discussed *theory*, s/he will encounter at least 50 different definitions of the notion. For example, the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* alone provides the following six definitions:

1. a plausible or scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena: e.g., the wave theory of light
2. a. a belief, policy, or procedure proposed or followed as the basis of action: e.g., her method is based on the theory that all children want to learn
b. an ideal or hypothetical set of facts, principles, or circumstances often used in the phrase 'in theory, we have always advocated freedom for all'
3. a. a hypothesis assumed for the sake of argument or investigation
b. an unproved assumption: conjecture
c. a body of theorems presenting a concise systematic view of a subject: e.g., theory of equations
4. the general or abstract principles of a body of fact, a science, or an art music theory
5. abstract thought: speculation
6. the analysis of a set of facts in their relation to one another (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary* 2020:1).

Next, after discerning that the term *theory* tends to be conflated with other scientific concepts such as *conceptual framework*, *description*, *model*, *prediction*, and *typology*, and also that there is no universal agreement among writers about the meaning of *theory*, Graham C. Kinloch offers the following definition: 'a theory is [an] attempt to explain or account for a particular phenomenon in terms of some other phenomenon which is viewed as explanatory. It is this *explanatory function* which distinguishes a theory from related but nonexplanatory concepts' (Kinloch 1977:10).

According to Ian Robertson, a *theory* helps a researcher to organise a series of concepts in a meaningful manner by explicating the nexus among them. Thus, as he puts it, a valid theory can be used to accurately prognosticate that similar connections will take place in the future. He adds that while it is often said that 'facts speak for themselves', they actually do not. This is because, as he observes, facts lack meaning until they are endowed with meaning, and that meaning is furnished by *theory* (Robertson 1987:17).

Relatedly, we find Friedrich Nietzsche, for instance, noting quite provocatively in *The Will to Power* that there are no facts, only interpretations. Invariably, any interpretation is grounded in one theory or another, be it implicit or explicit. To the extent that research entails considerable interpretation (e.g., of concepts, methods, data, findings, conclusion, etc.), one can hardly conduct any meaningful

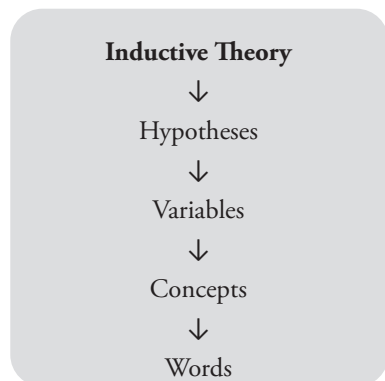
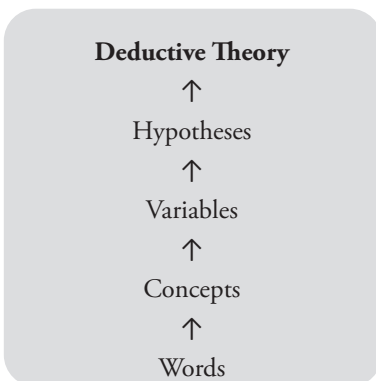
research without a theoretical grounding of a sort. Indeed, in research, theory (or theorisation) is always present – one cannot do without it, any more than one can write a language without adhering to the rules of grammar.

In addition, Jeanne H. Ballantine and Keith A. Roberts denote *theory* as a statement about *how* and *why* facts are connected to one another. They point out that a *theory* exists at each level of analysis in the social universe. Due to this verity, they add, a *theory* a researcher employs to investigate the social universe hinges upon the components of the social universe to be examined, which range from the individual within a small group to societies within the world system (Ballantine & Roberts 2007:34).

Realising that the meanings that underlie the many definitions of *theory* share certain similarities, Abdul Karim Bangura provides the following scientific definition of *theory* as ‘a generalised logical statement that shows the relationship between two or more *hypotheses* – i.e. generalised logical statements that show the relationships between two or more *variables* – i.e. elements, features, or factors that are liable to vary or change’ (Bangura 2019:22, 29).

Thereafter, Bangura describes two general types of theories. One type is *deductive theory*, which begins with the general and ends with the specific. The other type is *inductive theory*, which goes in the opposite direction: i.e. it commences with the specific and ends with the general. Bangura then provides the diagrammatic representation that follows to describe the building processes of these two types of theories (Bangura 2019:29):

Bangura then repeats the denotation of a *hypothesis* mentioned earlier: i.e. ‘a generalised logical statement that shows the relationship between two or more variables’. A *variable*, as he also defined it previously, is ‘an element, feature, or factor that is liable to vary or change, and it also shows the commonality among concepts’. A *concept*, he says, is ‘a definition of words which can be an abstract idea or a general notion’. And a word, he states, ‘is the smallest element of linguistic meaning’ (Bangura 2019:22, 29).



We ought to mention here that there are other contrastive categories under which various types of theories can be subsumed. Among the main ones are the following seven.

The first is the *informal-formal*, whereby the former is unstructured and reminiscent of assumptions pertaining to daily life and the latter is structured by assumptions that underlie the *scientific method* – i.e. a method of procedure that has characterised natural science since the seventeenth century, consisting in systematic observation, measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of hypotheses.

The second is the *descriptive-explanatory*: while the former lacks an underlying explicative paradigm, the latter has this feature.

The third is the *ideological-scientific*; while the former concerns ideas and manner of thinking, the latter is based on the *scientific method*. The difference between these two types of theories hinges upon a matter of degree rather than form, as they both contain elements entailed in each and no theory is completely objective.

The fourth is the *intuitive-objective*, whereby the former argues that knowledge is subjective and based on what one feels, while the latter argues that knowledge is external and not influenced by personal feelings or opinions in considering and representing facts.

The fifth is the *microscopic-macroscopic*; while the former's level of analysis is the specific and individual, the latter's level of analysis is the general and societal.

The sixth is the *structural-functional*, where the former focuses on the compositions of phenomena, while latter pays attention to how the phenomena develop gradually and metamorphose.

The seventh and final is the *naturalistic-social*, where the former employs biological and real-life variables to examine a phenomenon while the latter employs communal variables to investigate a phenomenon (for more on these, see, for example, Kinloch 1977:16–17).

Then, citing the work of Chava Frankfort-Nachmias, David Nachmias and Jack DeWaard (2014), Bangura discusses four levels of theory.

Level one is made up of *ad hoc classificatory systems* whereby 'arbitrary categories are constructed in order to organise and summarise empirical observations'.

Level two is comprised of *taxonomies* whereby 'systems of categories are constructed to fit general observations in such a way that relationships among the categories can be described'.

Level three entails *conceptual frameworks* whereby 'descriptive categories are systematically placed in a broad structure of explicit propositions, statements of relationships between two or more empirical properties, to be accepted or rejected'.

And level four is composed of *theoretical systems* that ‘combine taxonomies and conceptual frameworks by relating descriptions, explanations, and predictions in a systematic manner’ (Frankfort-Nachmias et al. 2014:37–39; Bangura 2019:29).

In terms of the importance of theory in systematic investigation, many aspects have been identified by various scholars. For the sake of brevity, only a few of these features are presented here. The interested reader can consult, for instance, the works by Graham C. Kinloch (1977), Jon M. Shepard (1981), Ian Robertson (1987), and Jeanne H. Ballantine and Keith A. Roberts (2007) for additional attributes.

To begin with, researchers have used their knowledge of theory to delineate the major organising features in post-industrial society. Theoretical knowledge has been employed to develop innovations (e.g., computers have led to more advanced defence systems) and to formulate government policies (e.g., computers are used to simulate economic forecasts using different theories to see their probable impacts if they were to be actually applied to the real economic system). Educational research and intellectual institutions are continuously enriched as theoretical knowledge continues to be treated as important (Shepard 1981:91).

Next, a researcher can employ a theory to make the facts of social life comprehensible to us. S/he can do so by simply placing what appear to be meaningless events in a general framework that allows them to determine causality, to explain phenomena, and to make predictions (Robertson 1987:17).

Also, a theory can inspire a researcher to engage in an investigation whose findings could render the theory either valid or invalid. This will allow them to modify the theory or to provide the rationale for novel theories. As the process repeats itself endlessly, the result is the accumulation of new knowledge (Robertson 1987:29). In essence, theories change and are themselves a reflection of the historical and cultural contexts of their enunciation.

Constructing a Theoretical Framework

Bangura culls from the work of the University of Southern California Libraries System (USCLS) to denote a *theoretical framework* as ‘the configuration that can accommodate or undergird a theory’ (Bangura 2019:28). He then proceeds to state the following six steps which a researcher can employ to generate an effective theoretical framework as delineated by the USCLS (parenthetical notes are Bangura’s; see Bangura 2019:28):

1. ‘*Examine your thesis title [hypotheses] and research problem.* The research problem anchors your entire study and forms the basis from which you construct your theoretical framework.’ (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).
2. ‘*Brainstorm about what you consider to be the key variables in your research.* Answer the question, “What factors contribute to the presumed effect[s]?” (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).

3. 'Review related literature to find how scholars have addressed your research problem. Identify the assumptions from which the author(s) addressed the problem.' (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).
4. 'List the constructs and variables that might be relevant to your study. Group these variables into independent and dependent [also, antecedent, intervening, and mediating] categories.' (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).
5. 'Review key social science [and other sciences] theories that are introduced to you in [the literature] and choose the theory [theories] that can best explain the relationships between [among] the key variables in your study.' (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).
6. 'Discuss the assumptions or propositions of this theory [these theories] and point out its [their] relevance to your research.' (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28).

Bangura points out that the USCLS text concludes by stating that a theoretical framework helps a researcher to restrict the extent of the pertinent data of their study by paying attention to the particular variables and defining the particular perspective or framework s/he will employ to analyse and interpret the data to be collected. Moreover, according to Bangura, the USCLS notes that the theoretical framework also assists the researcher to comprehend the concepts and variables in relation to existing definitions and to develop new knowledge by substantiating or questioning existing theoretical propositions (USCLS 2017:1; Bangura 2019:28). There is no need to belabour the process here as the referenced sources can be consulted for more details.

Some readers may argue that what is presented here is restrictive when thinking about how to conceive and build a theoretical framework and is thus highly positivistic and that it lacks a critical perspective on the framework. Readers may also ask how this applies or relates to African-centred theories; and whether one is supposed to go through the same 'Western' steps of formulation.

Such a postulation presupposes that African theoretical formulation need not be systematic. But even Afrenaissance Theory, among many others discussed in the next chapter, would debunk this proposition. Besides, the fact that positivism has been found to have existed in Ancient Kemetian/Egyptian philosophical and theological systems that date back to 4000 BC is hardly a matter of dispute (a detailed discussion of this is beyond the scope of this chapter).

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I

BRIEF DISCUSSIONS OF THE THEORIES

African-centred

Doctoral Scholars

In this chapter, we provide brief descriptions of 29 African-centred theories. At the core of these theories is the continent of Africa, with its culture as the major unit of analysis. The level of analysis for most of these theories is global as their foci are on the African continent and the Diaspora. There are scholars who would insist that some of these theories are actually ideologies, or the beliefs or thoughts of people in a community. Theories on the other hand are experimented concepts. The difference between the two concepts is overstated, as ideologies themselves are also experimented notions. A good example of this is Ujamaa as discussed later in the chapter.

Afrenaissance

Afrenaissance as a concept based on the combination of the words 'African' and 'Renaissance'. It postulates that African people and nations will overcome current challenges confronting the continent and achieve cultural, scientific and economic renewal. Cheikh Anta Diop was the first to articulate the theory in a series of essays which commenced in 1946 and were collated in a book titled *Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946–1960*. South Africa's second democratically-elected president, Thabo Mbeki, later popularised the concept during his tenure as president and continued to do so as part of his post-presidential campaigns.

More broadly, Afrenaissance speaks of the philosophical and political agenda which aims to eliminate the violence, racism, corruption and poverty that have plagued the continent of Africa. The political movements emanating from the idea are aimed at replacing these plagues with an equitable and just order. Mbeki proposed educational encouragement and urged African intellectuals to embrace their heritage and take full control of their lives (Mbeki 1996). According to

Noel Moukala, Afrenaissance cannot be attained without unity among African people. In his opinion, Africans must overcome their differences with respect to unity before they can sit down to talk about an African renaissance (cited by Mbeki 1998).

According to Mwalimu Ali Al'Amin Mazrui, who coined the term Afrenaissance (Mazrui 1977), the theory describes the living evidence of Africa's self-renewal, and is living testimony that the human spirit is reasserting itself among African people (Bangura 2019a). According to Abdul Karim Bangura, the theory, on the basis of Mwalimu Mazrui's idea, can be deployed to build a new Africa based on seven imperatives – i.e.

1. history,
2. language,
3. talent,
4. dignity,
5. self-reliance,
6. humane self-rule, and
7. creative accommodation of globalization' (Bangura 2019a:32).

The application of the theory can be seen in the indigenous rebirth of the belief in African gods in Ile-Ife in Nigeria. The reawakening of the forgotten gods was brought to light by the newly installed king. This caused much debate in the community with some arguing that the reawakening of these Africa gods was an example of 'backward' thinking which would limit the progress of the town. Other individuals thought that the reawakening of these gods was a step in promoting African culture, which is what this theory suggests (for more details, see Bangura 2019a).

The strength of this theory can be said to be the promotion of tradition and the reawakening of dormant languages and cultures. The theory also encourages the unity of Africans so as to promote culture and traditions that are dead or forgotten, and to revive languages like Numidian (Algeria); Kwadi (Angola); and Duli, Gey, Nagumi and Yeni (Cameroon).

African Essential Dignity

The theory of human dignity is more popularly known to African scholars as the African Essential Dignity theory and it describes Africans' quality of being worthy of honour and respect. Bangura (2019a) argues that African manners and styles, and a sense of pride and self-respect, are virtues with high and honourable standing in global civilisation.

In a study on the relationships that exist between dignity and race, Mwalimu Mazrui (1977) identified five key policy areas where tangible actions – vital to the promotion of the essential dignity of Africans – are required in order to eradicate

racism, prejudice and ethnic hostilities. Top of the list is the restructuring of the socioeconomic system in African nations, along with the effort to prevent class differences and race distinctions from coinciding. The second area of policy relates to the application of legal solutions to existing damaging racial problems in Africa. Increasing and disseminating useful information is the third policy area proposed. According to Mwalimu Mazrui, this policy could promote mutual comprehension between groups. The fourth policy area includes engagement in actions that can force the hand of a racist regime in the direction of greater liberty. These actions could range from simple protests or expressions of disapproval by influential spokespeople to demonstrations in foreign countries or military interventions or economic sanctions. The final proposed policy area deals with the mobilisation of the victims in a direct and continued confrontation with the system oppressing them.

African Humanism

The theory of African Humanism helps to shape the study of Africa. African Humanism examines norms and values that are in daily use in African communities and examines the history of Africa and its diverse ways of life. The theory played a major role during the transition period from the colonial era to democratic statehood. In new democratic states, there was a need to use the ideologies that fall under African Humanism to address social challenges.

The theory of African Humanism has been used in African communal settings as a tool to assist communities in addressing their conflicts. Good examples are Gacaca as applied in Rwanda and Mato Oput applied in Uganda. The theory is rooted in other African ideologies such as Ubuntu and indigenous knowledge. Kwame Nkrumah, the first Ghanaian president, adopted Humanism as his philosophy, which ran parallel to President Julius Kambarage Nyerere's 'African Socialism' in Tanzania.

Kanduza (2011) reminds us that history is a study of human agency and progress. The struggles for social justice and democratic value change over time. Steve Biko and Kenneth Kaunda's studies of African heritage were written during different historical periods, but the context and meaning remain the same. Kanduza (2011) notes that Biko and Kaunda believed in examining African heritage in order to understand the sources of strength needed for the vision underlying their struggles.

In essence, African Humanism pays attention to changes in social and political settings. For example, when a study focuses on the social challenges that are faced by the elderly in Africa, this theory can assist in explaining some of the changes that have taken place in the chosen study area, given that the study tracks changes that have occurred over time.

African Humanism pays attention to human self-development and to communal development, and to the need for people to work together in building their community. Ekanem (2012) tells us that Julius Nyerere's understanding of African Humanism is that people cannot be deprived of food and human dignity if their wealth is held communally. When wealth is held personally it cannot be shared. On the contrary, the wealth of the community could be the determining factor in the wealth of individuals.

African Humanism is comprised of many types, which include Islamic Humanism (relating to the faith of Muslims or Islam), Modern African Humanism (relating to the present), and Secular Humanism (relating to attitudes, activities or other things that have no religious or spiritual basis).

African Humanism provides for harmonious interaction among legal, political and social activities. African Humanism can be practically applied in many spheres of life, especially in the African context where there are many challenges. The theory plays an important role in promoting indigenous knowledge in societies where individuals need more freedom and more opportunities while at the same time valuing their beliefs and ethics.

African Nationalism

African Nationalism implies the establishment of new African nations with a view to achieving political and economic transformation for the benefit of the citizens of those nations. The theory propounds a state of togetherness and patriotism among the governed, who work toward national interests and toward one another (Olasupo, Oladeji & Ijeoma 2017). African Nationalism also seeks to liberate a nation from the clutches of colonial rule. It addresses the right of a people to choose how they participate in political, social, cultural and economic development.

Proponents of African Nationalism include Nkrumah Kwame, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta and others. Nkrumah's African Nationalism captures the right of people to determine the paths of their destinies and freedom without being subject to discrimination because of the colour of their skin or the level of their social development (Mjiba 2016). Senghor's version hinges on the uniqueness of the historical and cultural heritage of Black people within the context of the culture that expresses their values (Vaillant 1976).

The concept of nationalism in Africa is not new. Olasupo, Oladeji and Ijeoma (2017) argue that African Nationalism predates the colonial era as Africans had always operated their own political and administrative institutions. The Ashanti people's resistance to European colonialism and the battles of the Zulus of South Africa point to the pre-colonial nationalistic tendencies of Africans and portray a sense of national identity.

African Nationalism has contributed to the unity of Africa and has helped to create a sense of belonging in the areas of shared identity and shared political, cultural and social orientation. The Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union) was set up to ensure the political, economic and social integration of Africa. Integration has helped to strengthen economic development on the continent through bilateral trade in goods and services, as well as joint resistance to internal and external interference.

The drive for nationalism in Africa has not been without challenges. The proliferation of centrifugal forces (different religions and languages, unstable governments, internal conflicts, and geographic features) at different periods has undermined nationalism in Africa. The unity and cohesion envisaged by the proponents of the ideology have suffered setbacks as a result of ethnic divisions and divisive formations. Mwalimu Mazrui (1982) argues that racial consciousness promotes African Nationalism as opposed to ethnic consciousness, which is the bane of nationalism. He notes that African Nationalism, which thrived on the solidarity in shared Blackness, has been hampered by acute ethnic cleavages that permeate different parts of the continent. In extreme cases, such ethnic disturbances have led to secessionist groups. Resource sharing and control also raise questions that have implications for the survival of many African nations. The heterogeneous makeup of many African communities, especially localities where resources are located, is a challenge to the unifying prospect of African Nationalism.

Africana Womanism

The theory of Africana Womanism was developed by Clenora Hudson-Weems in the late 1980s. It is an ideology that addresses issues that affect African women and women of African descent. The ideology is based on the uniqueness of the woman in relation to her political, social and economic environment. Africana Womanism considers the particularities of the woman's world: her needs, desires, challenges and experiences in a complex environment (Goldfine 2015).

Hudson-Weems conceptualises the Africana woman as a 'self-namer' and 'self-definer'. This implies that the woman is who she sees herself to be and that she should see herself on a high pedestal, rather than accepting the identity given to her by the society. She is the one who defines how society perceives and names her. The Africana woman is conceptualised differently from the feminist who believes she is defined by man and is perceived as less than the man and, therefore has engaged in competition with her male counterpart in terms of her roles in society. The Africana woman conceptualised by Hudson-Weems is family-centred and believes that she is not in competition with her male counterpart; rather, she believes that the continuity of the African people is hinged on positive male-female relationships. The ideology proposes that the Diaspora Africana connects with Africa through a shared cultural identity that is defined by the authenticity of their activities rather than by a dominant culture (Gilliam 2013).

Womanism was first proposed by Alice Walker to highlight cultural affinity among Black women in the Diaspora (Gilliam 2013). Hudson-Weems, however, proposed the concept of Africana Womanism as the 'woman's establishment of her cultural identity'. She emphasised the mutual involvement of Black men and women in the emancipation of the African community and the relevance of the African tradition to the welfare of Africans globally (Hudson-Weems 1993).

Hudson-Weems's theory of Africana Womanism has been applied in establishing a space for Africana women to express their views in all spheres of life, including social, political and intellectual spaces. It has also found expression in gender and women studies (Goldfine 2013). A good number of Africana women in Africa have significantly impacted their spheres of influence and have continued to actively lend voices in advocacy on issues affecting Africana women. In Uganda, women's representation in legislative governance is one of the highest in the world. Also, women have been known to hold presidential and governorship positions in places like Liberia and Nigeria, respectively. Indeed, in both countries, women have asserted their rights by seeking the support of and working with men that are sympathetic to their causes.

Through the influence of the paradigm, Africana women understand their realm of possibilities in the realities of the world and actively participate in the global struggle to address common issues challenging Africana women in the Diaspora. Africana Womanism promotes self-naming as key to the emancipation of the dignity of women and helps them to reflect on life's experiences, beliefs, and practices based on the authenticity of their activities rather than as defined by another culture. The Africana woman has come to understand that she can genuinely connect to family, career and community without necessarily losing her identity. She is able to come to terms with the fact that she is equipped physically and emotionally to pursue her ambitions while upholding family status and, at the same time, maintaining healthy relationships with men.

Africanism

As a theory, Africanism encompasses all aspects of African history and culture and provides an outline for the future development of Africa. It includes all people of African descent, regardless of nationality. It aims to emancipate Africans from European cultures and traditions, and looks to the mental liberation of Africans from the lifestyles of Europeans and Western culture, along with self-discovery in all situations. Africanism is a systematic ideology that attempts to study African heritage from pre-historic times, believing that civilisation is rooted in Africa. It seeks to build a sense of unity among Africans and to aid the socioeconomic integration of the continent. Africanism is meant to reshape what has been taught and to upgrade knowledge about Africa, as well as to re-orientate Africans' worldview about Africa as a continent of people united in a culture of love, understanding, respect and communalism for the common good of all.

Achieving the goals of Africanism requires reorientation through African education on culture and history, as well as values that define Africans. Africanism can serve as an academic discipline to nurture African studies as an entity. Community involvement is also a key component of Africanism. Africans live communal lives, where injury to one is injury to all, the safety of one is the safety of all, the prosperity of one is the prosperity of all, and the suffering of one is the suffering of all. This is a mindset in which a unifying African social bonding helps to build communal relationships. Africanism also seeks to remove ethnic or religious labels in order to establish an inclusive Africa where all are free to relate to one another, irrespective of ethnicity or religion.

A number of Africans contributed to the theory of Africanism; they include Ahmed Sékou Touré, Julius Kambarage Nyerere (Bjerk 2017; Smith 1973) and Kwame Nkrumah. For example, Nkrumah's idea of Africanism portrays Africa as independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organised on a continental scale, founded on the concept of one united Africa. He argues that Africans are capable of managing their own affairs and strongly believes that the free development in all is the condition for the free development of all (Botwe-Asamoah 2005).

Africanism contributes to the regional integration of African countries as it helps to address the political, economic, social and cultural concerns of the continent through the African Union (AU). In the academic space, Africanism has enhanced the knowledge of Africa through scholarly studies of African culture, traditions and heritage. The African Studies Association of Africa (ASAA), for instance, is an agency that promotes Africanism in the academic space. The dignity of Africans is restored through Africanism as the de-neocolonisation (which transcends decolonisation) of the continent results in a sense of ownership and control of African heritage. Cultural and social values of African origin find expression through Africanism as an ideology. It is also worth mentioning that Africanism is a specialist knowledge area in Western social sciences.

A critique of Africanism is that the achievement of unity on the African continent is threatened by the diversity of cultural and ethnic sentiments. Lack of effective leadership has also affected the search for unity on the continent. Another critique of Africanism is the fact that it is an ideology that is pursued under the philosophy of equality without taking into consideration the varied capacities of the participating states.

Afrocentricity

In a bid to address the anomalies of the Eurocentric worldview of Africa, Mwalimu Molefi Kete Asante espoused the theory of Afrocentricity as a counter-ideology. He argues that Eurocentricity has succeeded in making Africa lose consciousness of Black heritage, leaving it without an understanding of the richness of African culture, which could aid the social and economic development of the African

(Asante 1990). He conceptualises Afrocentricity as a manner of thought and action that puts the interest of Africa at its centre. He raises questions about the natural responses that would occur in relationships, kinship patterns, preferences for skin colour, types of religion and historical heritage in the absence of the colonial experience (Asante 2001).

Reed, Lawson and Gibbs (1997) argue that Afrocentricity gives Africans a sense of the reality of their origins and define it as a transformation of attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours. In the view of Stickers (2008), Afrocentricity projects Africans as the centre of any analysis of African origin in terms of action and behaviours. In other words, it implies that whatever one seeks to know about Africans should be understood from the African perspective and defined in the context of Africa. Yoshitaka Miike (2008) identifies six dimensions of Afrocentricity:

1. Africans as subjects and agents who should see themselves as agents in the historical process;
2. the interests of Africans and Africa at the centre of knowledge reconstruction about the African world;
3. centrality of African values and ideals;
4. groundedness in African historical experiences;
5. African contextual representation of data; and
6. Critique of the dislocation of Africans.

Pioneers like Marcus Garvey, Cheikh Anta Diop and W.E.B. Du Bois made contributions to Afrocentricity ideology. Cheik Anta Diop views Afrocentricity as 'the doctrine to recover the past and systematically overturn Western cultural assumptions of Africa' (Asante 2001:1). In order to connect to Africa as a centre of origin, the Black person has to gain a self-defined dignity. Mwalimu Asante conceptualises Afrocentricity as a 'philosophical perspective associated with the discovery, location, and actualisation of African agency within the context of history and culture' (Asante 2001:1). These pioneers of Afrocentricity seek to liberate Africans from the very strong clutches of the West and situate Africa as the centre of humanity (Asante 2001). Afrocentricity is used widely in the areas of communication, history, sociology, social work, psychology and education, language development, economics, and intercultural communication.

Afrocentricity has its strength in giving Africans in the Diaspora a perspective on African history and cultural heritage as the bases of African knowledge that will help to correct the Eurocentric perspective on Africa. It also helps Africans to overcome the social malaise associated with marginalisation as it restores their sense of humanity and dignity by seeing themselves as subjects rather than objects of humanity. Afrocentricity allows Africans to be conscious of their identity and aspirations as they strive to defy racial stigma, giving a sense of self-motivation for success.

In addition, as Early, Moses, Wilson and Lefkowitz (1994) point out, Afrocentricity, as an interdisciplinary theory, serves to bind the various elements of African and African-American studies into a unified discipline with ideological and intellectual goals, political purposes and a set of commonly understood methods and theories.

Miike (2008) highlights some misconceptions of Afrocentricity held by critics of the ideology as follows: the ideology pays more attention to African-ness than African diversity; it ignores the dynamics of Africa; it contradicts the tenets of Eurocentricity; and it is still confined by Eurocentricity. He says that those who harbour these misconceptions are either ill-informed or have not bothered to read most of the works in the field.

Afropolitanism

Afropolitanism is a theoretical linkage between African heritage and cosmopolitan identity through the combination of the words 'African' and 'Cosmopolitanism'. Cosmopolitanism advances the idea of a world citizen, in the sense of a mental bridge between 'I' and 'humanity', while Afropolitanism advances the idea of an African of the world in the form of a mental bridge among 'I', 'humanity', and 'Africa'. This idea was popularised in 2005 by Taiye Selasi in an essay titled *Bye Bye, Babar*. Although the concept had featured in earlier discussions as a description of a pluralism of African cultures in one geographical space, Selasi referred to a generation of the African Diaspora seeking identity. She made the distinction between an 'African of the world' and a 'citizen of the world' in the bid to provide an understanding of the individual positioning of an average emigrant African in the worldview.

Afropolitanism is a theory of African Diaspora identity based on the experiences of ordinary citizens. It provides a lens for members of the African Diaspora to identify themselves as African without the labels of 'mixed race' and 'half-caste'. This way, geographic and racial differences are minimised. Although similar to Pan-Africanist ideology, given its reaction to the Afropessimism with which African identity has continued to grapple, it rejects its victimhood undertone. Instead, it defines African identity away from a backward-looking, past-digging and reactionary perspective to a forward-looking, continent-wide and multiracial perspective. Other proponents of the theory like Achille Mbembe (2001, 2007) have argued that to overturn the Afropessimism of African discourses, there is a need to identify sites within the continent which depict African excellence in areas like fashion, the visual arts and music.

The theory helps Africans in the Diaspora to 'recognise their face in that of a foreigner', as Mbembe (2007:28) puts it. For example, individuals who have never visited their fatherland, nor speak their mother tongue, can nevertheless associate themselves with Africa; this theory provides a closure in their search for identity.

At the same time, it provides a radical turn in the history of Black emancipatory discourse. While earlier discourses on Pan-Africanism and Afrocentrism had been criticised as being racial in their solidarities, Afropolitanism imagines a future where the difference between African-ness and non-African-ness is immaterial.

While the theory advances a closure for an African Diaspora identity search, it is not without shortcomings. First, its fusion of African and Cosmopolitanism implies that being an African is not cosmopolitan enough; the addition of Cosmopolitanism is needed for acceptance and validation. Second, identifying Afropolitanism with a chic and rosy lifestyle restricts its scope and opens it to accusations of class and elitist bias. It reserves 'modernity exclusively for a population who is wealthy enough to travel around the world' (Santana 2015).

Asanteism

Unlike Afrocentricity, for which Mwalimu Molefi Kete Asante provided the most cited definition and which has been developed by many other scholars, Asanteism is about his work on the theory and other African-centred aspects. Asanteism is a theory advanced to describe the philosophical contributions of Mwalimu Asante. He campaigned for a reconnection to ancient African consciousness with the view to overthrowing parochial, provincial and narrow visions of the world. Mwalimu Asante asserted the need for a paradigmatic shift from limiting perspectives on African knowledge towards an African truth that has been hitherto neglected. Asanteism holds that Eurocentric worldviews are not effective lenses for observing African realities, and aims to break the intellectual and cultural Eurocentric particularism that universalises knowledge and ways of knowing. The theory advances the belief that reconnecting with these African truths is the only way through which African people can regain sanity across the Diaspora.

Asanteism offers an epistemological, cosmological, ontological, ethical and aesthetic organisation of the world in a way that it is not compliant with European conceptualisations and hegemonic worldviews. It canonises the proverbial sayings of ancient African sages as a worldview in the same sense that a Socrates-based worldview is regarded as an accepted way of knowing. Asanteism employed Kemetic civilisation, similar to Afrocentricity, to rewrite the history of African civilisation as a way of demystifying both the European falsification of African history and the knowledge systems which legitimised racial superiority and colonial enterprise. The theory intends to provide a clear, coherent, and persuasive argument for the reconceptualisation of the way Africans view themselves and the way others view Africans.

Abdul Karim Bangura in his 2019 publication titled *Branches of Asanteism* canonises the structural depth into 13 epistemological and methodological branches as follows:

1. Mwalimu Mazrui's Afrenaissance,
2. Nantambu's Pan-African Nationalism Approach,
3. Collins' Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology,
4. Hudson-Weems Africana Womanism Theory,
5. Mazama's Afrocentric Spirituality,
6. Bangura's *Ubuntu*gogy,
7. Bangura's African Mathematization,
8. Bangura's African-centred Computational Techniques,
9. Schiele's Afrocentric Organizational Theory,
10. Schiele's Afrocentric Social Work Practice Paradigm and Social Welfare Philosophy and Policy,
11. Pellebon's Asante-Based Afrocentricity Scale,
12. Miike's Asiacentricity, and
13. Kondo's Black Consciousness Epistemology' (Bangura 2019a).

Bangura argues that what unites these branches is the way that they put forward a systematic, chronological, linguistic, and cultural approach toward liberating the minds of African people while also freeing truths from the hegemonic clutches of European dominance. Using analytic historiography, Asanteism displaces negative and revisionist Eurocentric anti-African history.

Ben Bellaism

Ben Bellaism is a theoretical postulate adapted from the foreign policy positions of Ahmed Ben Bella, a former Algerian revolutionary leader. Having fought for France in World War II, he returned to Algeria and rose to fight against France in a revolutionary struggle for Algeria's independence. He later became Algeria's first elected president. Addressing the United Nations General Assembly at the time of Algeria's admission into the organisation in 1962, he averred that 'liquidation of colonialism in both its classic and disguised form will be the credo of our political and diplomatic line of actions' (Ottaway & Ottaway 1970:145). This won him the admiration of many as a die-hard nationalist and de-colonialist.

Driven by the ideological principles of African Socialism, Ben Bella propagandised Algeria's socialism as the model for other African countries to follow. He believed that this was the only way African and Asian nations could come together to resist and overthrow imperialist powers. Consequently, he sought the unity and cooperation of North Africa, the Arab world and Africa. By Algerian Socialism, he meant the postcolonial movement away from economic and political exploitation to economic sufficiency and political dignity (Ottaway & Ottaway 1970).

Black Feminism

The theory of Black Feminism advances the notion that Black women are positioned within structures of power relations in fundamentally different ways from their white counterparts. As such, the experience of a Black woman cannot be fully comprehended by simply evaluating her being a woman and being Black; rather, the experience must be evaluated separately because these identities complicate and reinforce one another. That is to say that Black women experience a radically different oppression than both Black men in racial hegemonic characteristics and white women in manifestations of gendered segregation.

The theory started as a reaction by enslaved Black woman to the oppressive power structures of white supremacy and patriarchy during the slave era. During this time, racial discrimination was at its peak and Black women were *doubly vulnerable* to the two hegemonic powers of the predominantly racial and patriarchal society – (1) being female and (2) being Black. During the post-slavery era, the idea expanded to include advocacy for Black women's suffrage and a number of Black organisations were birthed. Among these were the National Association of Colored Women (NACP), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Association of Wage Earners (NAWE). Among the leading proponents of the theory are Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, Zora Neale Hurston, Anna Julia Cooper, Angela Davis, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Mary Church Terrell, and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. By the 1960s, the advocacies of Black Feminism included the fight for abortion, sexual orientations, proportion of representation in politics and a critique of the portrayal of Black women in television, movies, magazine covers, etc. (Blay & Gray 2015).

With the advent of social media, Black Feminism has gained more traction. The methods of 'call out' and 'shaming' of sexual and racial offenders on the internet are increasingly revolutionising the way Black Feminism is advancing its position in this digital era. This has given the theory more power and visible force than it has had in its several decades of existence. In this regard, celebrities like Beyonce and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie have also lent their voices and influence (Blay & Gray 2015).

While Black Feminism has been praised for making giant strides in the pursuit of equality for Black women, it has been criticised for its exclusionary tendencies. In a bid to fight for the social and political justice of Black women, it often excludes other groups and concerns which are not part of the dominant categories of race, class, gender and sexual orientations. Other critics of Black Feminism argue that this division along the lines of gender and race impinges on the overall agenda of women's right advocacy. In recent times, Black Feminism has been taunted with the dichotomous label of 'White Feminism' in a bid to point to the exclusive undertones of the theory (Blay & Gray 2015).

Cabralism

The theory of Cabralism is based on the influence of Amílcar Cabral on decolonisation and revolution in the African continent. Cabral was born in Guinea-Bissau in 1924 but was raised in Cape Verde during a time of colonial injustice: the famine in the 1940s. He studied in Lisbon and was known as an agricultural engineer as well as a poet and writer (Van Veen 2016). According to Rabaka, Cabral was known as 'an innovative and complex organic intellectual-activist' and a 'trans-disciplinary critical social theorist' (2014:14).

The driving force behind Cabralism Theory was liberation of Africa from colonialism. The theory emphasises rising above ethnic divisions to use unity among citizens to get justice and freedom. Cabral understood the differences between ethnic groups, but he aimed to bring all of them together to fight for freedom in the struggle for decolonisation in Guinea Bissau. This oneness among ethnic groups is referred to as 'unified revolutionary nationalism' by Rabaka (2014). This strategy was believed by Cabral to be the first step to decolonisation, even if there were disputes later about the geographical boundaries of territories (Rabaka 2014).

Cabral's first phase aimed to defeat colonialism, and also encompassed Humanism, a school of thought that believes that disputes can be solved through reasoning rather than religion. Cabral believed that Black people need to change the negative way in which they were portrayed by the colonialists, bringing about a new human and a new Africa. Importantly, Cabralism is also about a rebirth of Africa or a struggle to newness. Cabralism also called upon Africans to oppose the oppression of other groups. To be unlike Europeans like the British, Cabral urged Africans to dismiss the act of imperialism after decolonisation (Rabaka 2014).

Cabral believed that national revolution should focus on the liberation of citizens from oppressors, and should also entail a fight for material benefits, improved living standards, and a good and bright future for children. Cabralism Theory focuses on total liberation of the oppressed in terms of freedom, improved environment conditions, and a better life (Rabaka 2014).

The strength of this theory lies in the way Cabral preached about unity against ethnic divisions. Through the strength of unity, Cabral argued, walls are broken and freedom and independence can be achieved. Moving together with one voice and one aim is the key to progress, freedom and, most importantly, national revolution. The weakness of Cabralism Theory is that the unity of some groups in the cause of freedom could spring from a selfish perspective, or the strength of unity could be used to cause problems for other citizens in the same country.

Consciencism or Nkrumahism

Consciencism or Nkrumahism was developed by African philosopher Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of Ghana from 1952 to 1960 and first post-independence President of Ghana from 1960 to 1966. The theory envisioned the development of a Union of African States, free from foreign rule, in principle and reality. Nkrumah sought to build new Africa which could manage its own affairs and operate within the context of its social and political realities. Nkrumah drew out the three segments that made up African society:

1. western/Christianity,
2. Islamic, and
3. traditional beliefs.

These, he said, were always in conflict with one another. He did not recommend that these beliefs were to be regretted, but he stated that ‘practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty’ (Nkrumah 1964:78). This implies that the principles of both Christianity and Islam must be practiced purposefully and thoughtfully in a traditional African society context.

The philosophical ideology of Nkrumahism is that for social revolution to be effective, it must have an intellectual undertone which works towards the development and redemption of African society. For an African society to be redeemed, according to Nkrumah, it must aim to be an egalitarian human society where everyone is seen as one and the same, and its resources are used to satisfy everyone. Ikuenobe defines *egalitarian* as ‘a principle (which) says that everyone must be given equal treatment and accorded equal value, dignity and respect’ (2013:1). The concept of egalitarianism, in the context of Consciencism, rejects the idea of materialism, which holds material possessions and comfort as more important than spiritual beliefs. Ikuenobe argues that the political terrain in Africa must contain traditional African ideas along with Islamic and Christian ideas arising from colonisation. He adds that the successful practice of this idea can only be done through Socialism (Ikuenobe 2013).

Flowing from his belief in an egalitarian society, Nkrumah embraced Socialism rather than Capitalism. He argued that the fundamental basis of all humanist or socialist concepts, as identified by Immanuel Kant’s Moral Order, is that a person should be treated as an end in himself or herself, and not a means to an end. Nkrumah believed that capitalist society is a structure with ruling and working classes. This structure does not confer equal rights as the working class will be exploited by the ruling class (Ikuenobe 2013). This will lead to two competing and antagonistic groups:

1. the oppressors and
2. the oppressed.

These two groups cannot live together in peace because there will be a struggle for power. Nkrumah also stated that for peace and development to occur in a society, there must be development of the individual which can only be achieved through Socialism. Nkrumah argued that Capitalism does not conform to the moral principles of an African society of equality (Ikuenobe 2013).

The theory of Consciencism can be employed to analyse the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) movement in Nigeria whereby the Igbo, who feel neglected or marginalised by other ethnic groups in power, advocate for their own country. Their situation has caused unrest. In 2019, the agitation was taken abroad – to be specific, Germany – where some IPOB members attacked a Nigerian National Assembly leader visiting that country. The emergence of militants in the Niger Delta can also fit into this theory. The people in the region feel cheated and have come together to fight for their right to accountability and environmental care.

The strength of Consciencism can be found in the argument that religion should not be practiced with a blind mind but with an open mind to foster the unity of a society. Nkrumah did not place one religion over another, but instead advocated for the combination of different religious ideas to undergird the politics of a society without losing African traditional values. The weakness of this philosophy is that Nkrumah did not take into consideration that human needs are insatiable. It is not possible to have an egalitarian society in Africa because the rich will want to become richer and make the poor poorer.

Diopism

Diopism deals with the influence of Egyptian civilisation on the culture of African people. Cheikh Anta Diop's pioneering work asserts that Egyptians are Africans and have a strong place in African history and culture. Diop was born in Diourbel in Senegal in 1923. In this area, there are many Muslim scholars and historians. His environment stimulated a passion for this work and he took an interest in African history, the humanities and social sciences. He became an anthropologist, historian, linguist, and a nuclear physicist. Diop also became a nationalist and a voice for African federalism (Bangura 2018).

In his book titled *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (1974), Diop maintains that 'Western historians' claim that Egyptians were white people is false. Diop also questions the location of Egypt on the ancient map. He asserts that what is Egypt today was once one of Ethiopia's colonies brought into Egypt by the deity Osiris (Diop 1974). Diop references the writing of Herodotus, a Greek historian, who said that Egyptians were dark-skinned people with woolly hair. Herodotus said Egyptians have the same kind of skin as Ethiopians. Diop concluded that Ancient Kemetians/Egyptians were neither Asian nor European but were Africans who migrated from ancient Ethiopia to ancient Egypt (Diop 1974).

Diop argues that Western civilisation was influenced by ancient Egyptian culture, which was originally from Ethiopia. He asserts strongly that ancient Egyptians who migrated from ancient Ethiopia were acknowledged as Black people who brought civilisation to the rest of Africa.

Falolaism

Falolaism is a theoretical postulate that ‘focus[es] more on the life histories, the times, the political and economic contexts of the intellectual production of the prominent Yoruba intelligentsia outside of the Western academy’ (Bangura 2019b:2). Falolaism is supported by African-centred Gnoseology, defined by Bangura as the ‘scientific or philosophical study of knowledge strengthened by the positive-intuitive thinking that is driven by the African’s spiritual mind’ (2019b:8). Falolaism is heavily focused on African thinking and aims to give a positive picture of the great minds and schools of thought of African scholars.

Toyin Falola, after whom the theory is named, was born in 1953 in Ibadan, Nigeria. He is a historian and Professor of African Studies and the Humanities at the University of Texas in Austin. Falola’s work has continued to promoting the thinking and culture of Africans, especially the Yoruba culture in Nigeria. He obtained his first degree and PhD in History from Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He is a thinker who seeks to merge the ideas of Yoruba gurus who do not have Western education with the work of academic historians to provide a rich history of the Yoruba (Bangura 2019b).

The theory of Falolaism argues that for Africa to develop universal knowledge there is a need for scholars to acknowledge the intellectual contributions of great Yoruba thinkers and scholars who do not have Western educations. Falola notes that their ideas and thoughts are marginalised and treated as only a source rather than as knowledge production. In his article ‘Alternative History’, as quoted by Bangura (2019b), Falola stresses the fact that for solid knowledge production to occur, there is a need to encourage the production of local histories to add value to historical consciousness. This would promote knowledge that is specific to the Yoruba and aid understanding of the production of such knowledge.

Falolaism seeks to describe materialism in a different dimension from the Western interpretation of the concept. He draws ideas from African-centred scientific methodologies such as Utchā and Uhem Methodology (the former was an approach used by Ancient Kemetians/Egyptians to rectify facts and the latter was used by them to narrate, recount, repeat, or tell a story or dream); Diopian Intercultural Relation Methodology; Africentric Methodology; Complex Methodology; and Consciencist Methodology, among others (for more on these methodologies, see Bangura et al. 2019).

A strength of Falolaism is the way Falola acknowledges the thoughts and writings of Yoruba scholars who do not have Western education as a source of knowledge production about the history of the Yoruba. Falolaism draws its strength from the fact that the theory emphasises the reawakening of African historical consciousness.

Gaddafism

The theory of Gaddafism, also known as ‘The Third International Theory’, contains tenets of Islamic Socialism, Arab Nationalism, African Nationalism, and partly the principle of direct democracy. It was proposed as an alternative to capitalism and communism for African countries. It builds a form of Socialism based on religion, morality and patriotism. As noted by Damaji (1972), the major strands of the theory are postulated in Gaddafi’s ‘magnum opus’, *The Green Book* published in three volumes from 1976 to 1979. The theory propagates that governance must be based on social justice, high levels of production, the elimination of all forms of exploitation and the equitable distribution of national resources. It also advocates people power to solve the democratic dilemma as well as the social injustices underpinning economic problems (Damaji 1972).

Muammar Gaddafi (1942–2011) pioneered the theory based on his worldview, which was shaped by his environment, which included his Islamic faith, Bedouin (village) upbringing, and his anti-colonial stance, among others. According to him (as cited in Ozoigbo 2016), the purpose of a socialist society is the happiness of a person, which can only be realised through material and spiritual freedom. Attainment of such freedom depends on the extent of a person’s ownership of his needs, an ownership that is personal and sacredly guaranteed in Islam. He also rejected liberal democracy based on party politics, electing representatives and plebiscites. Instead, he advocated for direct democracy which allows direct people participation in a General People’s Congress named *Jamahiyyah*. True democracy, according to him, exists only through direct participation of the people and not through the activities of their representatives.

He also condemned Communism and Capitalism, arguing that they are two sides of the same coin, as the latter denotes monopoly of the powerful and the former denotes monopoly of the state, both of which are antithetical to natural justice. Although Arab Nationalism was at the core of his ideology (El-Khawass 1984), Gaddafi also aspired for the superiority of Black people. He wrote: ‘The world civilizations are now giving way to the re-emergence of black people after centuries of subjugations’ (Gaddafi 1972:1). In addition, Gaddafi proffers the idea of women’s liberation, minorities’ rights and the welfare state, among others (Gaddafi 1972).

Gaddafiism has a wide range of applications to African issues like African unity, democratic development, gender equity, social policies, and economic growth. For Garcia and Echeverria (2018), the theory could be used to explain many issues around African economic systems, especially a shift from a Western type of sociology to a home-grown one which accords private property to individuals but on a limited scale.

While the theory explains how nationalism and religion could be used to move Africa forward and provide solutions to many of Africa's political, economic and social problems, it, overemphasises Arab supremacy and contradicts African Unionism. Also, the *Green Book* contains more aphorisms than completely integrated philosophical statement. This is not necessarily bad, for even Nietzsche wrote mainly in aphorisms.

Garveyism

Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), who was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and leader of the Back-to-Africa Movement, was the pioneer of Garveyism as a theoretical proposition (Dagnini 2008). Garvey believed that Black people will never achieve true freedom while under the rule of whites. He therefore advocated for a return of Blacks to their African homeland as the only place they could attain the economic and political independence that would lead to true emancipation. Garvey viewed education as the means to liberate his people. He saw it as the medium by which a people are prepared for the creation of their own particular civilisation and the advancement and glory of their own race (Dagnini 2008).

The main goal of UNIA, as expressed by Blaisdell (2004), was to institute a separate-but-equal collegiate educational system for Blacks. Garvey also advocated for the purity of the Black race just as whites believed in a pure white race (Edgar 1976). Garvey also asserted that Black communities should strive for self-determination rather than integration. He said 'nationhood' was the strongest security of any people and Blacks must strive to attain the goal of an 'African Republic' on African soil. Above all, he preached African fundamentalism: 'We must canonise our own saints, create our martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honour, black men and women who have made their own contribution to our social history' (Blaisdell 2004:1). In the case of governance, he argued that 'government is not infallible. It is only an executive control, a centralised authority for the purpose of expressing the will of the people. Without the people, there can be no government' (Blaisdell 2004:3).

Garvey he supported the struggle of Africans in their fight against imperialist and colonial domination in the 1920s and 1930s. The essence of Garveyism is Black unity, Black consciousness, and Black liberation, as well as a desire to unify and uplift African nations and the African Diaspora as a universal community (Dagnini 2008).

The theory of Garveyism has applications to the study of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and African unity, among other topics. The strands of Pan-Africanism ingrained in Garveyism served as inspiration to famous Black nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Patrice Lumumba, to mention but a few. Nevertheless, it has been argued that Garvey's push for African redemption and the establishment of an African State as a sovereign political entity in world affairs is still a dream without fulfilment. Garvey's ideological stance on African pride is criticised for its near-extremist positions with its idolising of African sages seen as close to the idolisation of Western leaders such as Napoleon and Hitler (Dagnini 2008). The segregationist undertone of Black purity as advocated by Garvey led other contemporary Pan-Africanists like W.E.B. Du Bois to engage in an ideological conflict with him.

Gnoseology

The idea of Gnoseology embraces positive thinking in the mindsets of Africans over time. It involves a range of notions that represent the virtues of self-pride, independence, freedom, liberation, strength and peace promotion, as well as being a wellspring for knowledge production (Bangura 2018:215). It has a high-spirited belief in the ability of Africans to console themselves for the suffering caused by the operations of the white man from the time of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism to the present-day global domination of the West.

The theory of Gnoseology was birthed by late Guinean President Ahmed Sékou Touré, who referred to it as the positive intuitive thinking that is driven by Africans' spiritual minds (cited in Bangura 2018). In his essay titled 'A Dialectical Approach to Culture', Bangura states that Sekou Touré argues that Africans are right-thinking individuals, both in the continent and in the Diaspora. They demonstrate ingenuity and a positive mindset when dealing with things, no matter how unpalatable. This was manifested in their thinking as colonised and enslaved people throughout history. The pain of slavery and Western domination did not corrupt this positive mindset as can be seen in the singing of inspiring choruses to comfort themselves through the excruciating pains of slavery and colonisation (Bangura 2018).

The application of the theory is present in almost all African symbols, art and culture and is integrated in all aspects of African national identities. One can find derivatives of the theory (bravery, self-pride, independence, freedom, liberation, strength, peace and positive thinking) conspicuously incorporated in the national anthems of African countries. For example, the third line of the first stanza of the Cameroonian anthem depicts bravery: 'Their tears and blood and sweat thy soil did water'. The second line of Ethiopian anthem indicates pride as follows: 'National pride is seen, shining from one side to another'. In the anthem of Ghana, there

is clear expression of determination for freedom: 'And blazes the trail of freedom far and wide'. In other words, the theory lays down a philosophical foundation of group solidarity, which was central to the survival of African communities and triggered their liberation struggle in the 1950s and 1960s.

The theory has been praised for its cardinal tenets of bravery and tolerance which encourage the spirit of teamwork and group solidarity. This underlies the African struggle against hunger, deprivation, poverty and oppression. However, it has been criticised for being based on unrecorded practices and insufficient information.

Kagisano

Kagisano is a Botswanan philosophy which literally translates as 'making peace'. Botswana has not engaged in civil or international war, either pre- or post-independence, and is guided by this principle of peace and social harmony in ensuring individual development that will ultimately lead to a better society (Seekings 2016). While individual development is stated as the principal aim of Kagisano, it also reinforces the aims of nation building and national unity. These goals are based on the four principles of:

1. democracy,
2. development,
3. self-reliance and
4. unity, culminating in a national philosophy of Kagisano, embracing the concepts of social justice and harmony, interdependence and mutual assistance (Seekings 2016).

Seretse Khama (1921–1980), who ruled Botswana from 1966 to 1980, pioneered Kagisano as an ideology of equality, meaning that the benefits of economic growth must be shared widely, with everyone receiving a fair share (Khama 1972, cited in Ozoigbo 2016). He also taught people the essence of the four major social virtues of (1) unity, (2) peace, (3) harmony, and (4) a sense of community. For the actual realisation of these virtues, Khama was of the view that certain intrinsic concepts had to be in place: democracy, self-reliance, and development. If people could actually embrace these, then a better and fruitful life would be achieved (Seekings 2016). The ideology of Kagisano is that of hard work, both physical and mental, for the general good. With regards to development, Khama posited that besides the demands of the economy, government must consider access to basic education as a fundamental human right, and the education system must develop moral and social values, cultural identity and self-esteem, good citizenship and a desirable work ethic (Seekings 2016).

Kagisano could be used to examine the democratisation of education in Africa. Jotia (2006) applied the theory and explained how school governance through participative democracy could be improved. Similarly, Connie Scanlon (cited in Seekings 2016) employed the theory in her study titled 'Educating for Peace: Politics and Human Rights in Botswana' which demonstrates the wide range of applications of the theory in peace studies and human rights in Africa. Equally, Seekings (2016) uses the theory to study the welfare policies of Botswana in the sense that the theory is judged to be the normative foundation of a welfare state of food aid, workfare for working-age adults, and modest cash transfers for the elderly, orphaned children and other destitute people.

The theory has been applauded for providing a plausible basis for the ideological and programmatic foundations of a conservative welfare state in Africa. Also, it explains the dynamics of peacebuilding, democracy, and peaceful co-existence which led to the rejection of racism, apartheid, and ethnic schisms in Botswana. However, Khama was accused by critics of dressing up capitalism in the clothes of socialist rhetoric. Seekings (2016) noticed a shift in government policies in the 1970s to better accommodate the emerging elites' thirst for accumulation in cattle ranching, commerce and industry.

Mandelaism

According to Babjee (2013), Mandelaism (see Chapter 9) is a doctrine for conflict resolution through perseverance, tolerance and peaceful negotiations unfettered by past bitterness. Nelson Mandela, the first Black president of South Africa, is the proponent of this ideology. For Babjee, Mandela's legacy to the world was the achievement of freedom for Blacks, Indians, coloureds and whites of South Africa, uniting them into a single nation with equal rights protected by the constitution. He showed his benevolence in the peaceful negotiations with the white government by rising above his and the African National Congress's years of suffering.

Munusamy (2014) highlights how a United Nations resolution adopted in 2009 recognises Mandela's values and dedication to the service of humanity in the fields of conflict resolution, race relations, promotion and protection of human rights, reconciliation, gender equality, and the rights of children and other vulnerable groups, as well as the upliftment of poor and underdeveloped communities. It acknowledges his contribution to the struggle for democracy internationally and the promotion of a culture of peace throughout the world. Mandelaism continues to be relevant in the contemporary world; Mandela Day is widely celebrated and, more importantly, the Nelson Mandela Foundation continues to work in South African society. In the United States, the Obama Washington Fellowship was renamed the Mandela Washington Fellowship in honour of Mandela.

The people of South Africa are divided on the theory of Mandelaism. Some Black people demand that their lands, which were taken by the whites, should be given back to them. These people see no value in Mandelaism, which speaks of peaceful negotiations unregulated by past bitterness. Mandelaism has failed to equally unite whites and Blacks in South Africa because wealth is still in the hands of the few. Smith (2014) illuminates how academics such as Xolela Mangcu criticise Mandelaism by pointing out that the doctrine is preserved by political parties, which are impermanent. Mangcu also suggests that legacies of leaders such as Mandela need to be protected from misuse by succeeding generations.

Nasserism

Nasserism (Arabic: التيار الناصري at-Tayyār an-Nāṣerī) is a socialist system of ideas and ideals predicated on the philosophy of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the leader of the 1952 Egyptian Revolution (Mohamed Anwar el-Sadat was second in command). Nasser succeeded Mohamed Naguib as president of Egypt. When Nasser ascended to power in 1956, he brought with him a vision of building a new Egypt and Arab world. On the political front, he ushered in a centralised parliament and changed the country into a republic (Mansfield 1973). Nasser remains an iconic figure in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world (Ghanem 2016). Nasser's aim was to forge a united Arab nation led by Egypt. One of the distinguishing features of Nasserism is its emphasis on social justice and the adoption of Arab Socialism. During his reign, Nasser implemented land reform in Egypt, confiscating land from feudalists and distributing it to landless peasants.

While opposed ideologically to Western Capitalism, Arab Socialism also developed as a rejection of Communism, which was seen as incompatible with Arab traditions and the religious underpinnings of Arab society. As a consequence, Nasserists from the 1950s to the 1980s sought to prevent the rise of Communism in the Arab World and advocated harsh penalties for individuals and organisations identified as attempting to spread Communism within the region (Peter 1973). It is important to note that Nasserism was not considered to be as consistent or comprehensive as other ideologies such as Liberalism, Socialism, or Communism; instead, it was seen as a system of ideas comprising all or some of the following: anti-imperialism, Pan-Arabism (or Nationalism), and Arab Socialism.

Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, drawing from the works of other scholars who have written on the ideology, suggest five clusters within which the various elucidations of Nasserism can be subsumed. The first cluster comprises writers who characterise Nasserism as an ideological movement advocating “anti-imperialism, Pan-Arabism (or nationalism), and Arab socialism” (Podeh & Winckler 2004:1). The second cluster is composed of writers who portray Nasserism as a reflection of ‘Nasser’s charismatic personality, autocratic rule, direct connection with the masses, and the use of rhetoric ...’ (Podeh & Winckler 2004:2). The third

cluster includes authors who paint Nasserism as a 'modernization movement and Nasser as a modernizing leader' (Podeh & Winckler 2004:2). The fourth cluster is made up of authors who depict Nasserism as 'a protest movement against Western colonialism and imperialism, which appeared following a significant period of crisis or disorientation' (Podeh & Winckler 2004:3). The fifth and final cluster constitutes observers who see Nasserism as similar to 'populist ... movements, mainly found in Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century' (Podeh & Winckler 2004:4). Nasserism continues to be relevant in the contemporary Arab world (Podeh & Winckler 2004). Nasserism had a significant impact on left-wing movements in other parts of the developing world, especially Africa south of the Sahara and Latin America. Nasser provided moral and material support to liberation movements fighting colonialism and imperialism across Africa. In fact, Nasser stated repeatedly in his speeches and writings that Egypt is in Africa and that the country owes allegiance to the African struggle for freedom.

Nelson Mandela remarked that this support was crucial in helping to sustain the morale of such movements, including the anti-apartheid one in South Africa. Similar sentiments were expressed by Fidel Castro, the former Cuban President, with regard to the Cuban Revolution and the country's later adversities at the hands of the United States government (Podeh & Winckler 2004).

According to Mansfield (1973), Nasser's Arab Socialism has been criticised by both the right and the left. Marxists claim that Nasserism has not achieved a radical redistribution of wealth because there continues to be a huge gap between the rich and the poor. Mansfield (1973) also maintains that Nasserism showcases the unusual bureaucratic inefficiency of a huge state apparatus. More importantly, Nasserism set unrealistic goals: for example, hastily planned and unrealistic industrialisation, the flight of capital, and the loss of technical and commercial skills of foreign minorities. The ideology is also criticised by Mansfield (1973) for leading to the serious decline in Egypt's financial credit abroad which led to the loss of foreign aid and investment, especially during the 1960s. Other scholars argue that the term Nasserism is a Western invention; as a result many Arab intellectuals and politicians have been reluctant to adopt the term. The belief that Nasserism is of Western origin caused unease among followers of Nasserism, as it had been perceived to be an anti-imperialist and anti-Western ideology. The term seems to overstate the personal role of Nasser and, thus, unjustifiably diminishes other important aspects of the theory (Choueiri 2000).

Négritude

The word Négritude is fraught with connotations, some of which are negative. The theory was founded by Martinican poet, playwright and politician Aimé Fernand David Césaire and Senegalese president and scholar Léopold Sédar Sengor. Négritude is a framework of critique and literary theory developed by

Francophone intellectuals and writers of the African Diaspora in the 1930s. Négritude is violently opposed to the European reason. It is deeply grounded in the values of Black people but, at the same time, opens up to other civilisations. Launched as a literary movement in the hothouse of 1930s Paris, Négritude rejected the French colonial policy of cultural assimilation and espoused a renewal of African culture as a vehicle for Black consciousness. According to Echeruo (1993), the movement achieved post-war prominence with the publication of Senghor's *Anthology of New Negro and Malagasy Poetry* in 1948, which featured extended excerpts from Césaire's great autobiographical poem *Return to My Native Land* as well as an influential introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre (cited in Echeruo 1993).

During Césaire's studies in France he discovered the Black community. He saw Négritude as being Black and accepting that you are Black, and accepting this was the means by which decolonisation of the mind would be achieved (Echeruo 1993). Négritude was about freeing Blacks in the Diaspora from isolation. It was a cry against assimilation; because of this it holds interest today. Senghor's theory of Négritude lent itself to his political theory of African Socialism. In 1989, he made an important policy statement in which he defined his political goal as the creation of African Socialism. To him, the ideal society had to be both African and socialist (Echeruo 1993).

One of the strengths of Négritude is that it has united Black people. The theory inspired many movements across the African Diaspora including Black is Beautiful in the United States. It is also an important ideology taken up by various movements such as Hashtag Melanin on Instagram which emphasises the importance of Black skin. Criticising Négritude, Lundhal (2009) illuminates how aphorisms such as Sartre's celebrated phrase found in *Black Orpheus* that 'Négritude is a form of anti-racist racism' have sparked debate. The overemphasis on Blackness is said not to define a new kind of perception that would free Black people and Black art from Caucasian conceptualisations. There is now a lack of consensus about the movement. Scholars such as Thompson (2002) say the concept is of no service to African culture. To him, the concept has been overtaken by history and it is nonsensical to keep clinging on to it.

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism as a theory does not lend itself to simple or precise definition. Rather, it is a convenient assembly of related ideas. The ideas jostle and contradict themselves. Scholars have provided multiple definitions for Pan-Africanism. Senegalese writer and editor Alioume Diop believes that it is more or less synonymous with the concept of Négritude.

Its major constituent concepts are:

- Africa as the homeland of Africans and persons of African ancestry;
- solidarity among men and women of African blood;
- belief in a distinct African blood;
- Africans for Africans in church and state; and
- the hope for a united and glorious future for Africa.

Pan-Africanism can be seen as a collective effort by African peoples worldwide to promote unity and solidarity among people of African origin and to liberate them from various forms of European oppression (Enoh 2013). It is important to note that although the most visible aspect of Pan-Africanism is manifested politically, it is a multi-faceted approach that also includes economic, cultural and religious aspects in the struggle for the unification, rehabilitation and regeneration of peoples of African descent around the world.

Pan-Africanism as an intellectual idea and a political project had been advocated long before the Pan-African movement of the twentieth century. It was born in the African Diaspora of North America and the Caribbean, where people of African descent found emotional and intellectual satisfaction in identifying with the African continent as a whole. Being for the most part uncertain of their real areas of origin, descendants of enslaved Africans embraced the idea of the continent in its fullness as 'Mother Africa' (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2014).

Pan-Africanism was born at the beginning of the twentieth century as a protest against the supposed 'otherness' of Black people: i.e. the universal inferiority of their status. Minkah (2011) points out that at its core, Pan-Africanism is a belief that African people, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny. For Ackah (1999), Pan Africanism is a movement by Africans for Africans in response to European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism.

To Padmore (1956), Pan-Africanism offers an ideological alternative to Communism on the one side and ethnic cleavages on the other. The strength of Pan-Africanism is that it is all-encompassing – it rejects both white racialism and Black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality. Pan-Africanism looks above the narrow confines of class, race, ethnicity, and religion. In other words, it wants equal opportunity for all, which is its greatest strength. It is universalistic in that its vision stretches beyond the limited frontiers of the nation-state. All people, regardless of ethnic group, race, colour or creed, are equal and free in a Pan-African society, based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social and political progress. The theory aims to unify and uplift people of African descent.

The concept is said to have been coined by Pan-Africanist Henry Sylvester Williams, although today it is more known to have been popularised by Pan-Africanist and African-American W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963) who made it possible for African political thinkers during his time and Africans in the Diaspora (and other Blacks) to begin a political revolution that sought to free Africans or Blacks from slavery and colonisation, and also to unify Black people (Ola 1979). In Africa, as noted earlier, the theory was promoted by Nyerere, Nkurumah and Touré. In contemporary times, it has been supported by Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe.

Pan-Africanism as an idea of African self-affirmation and a political movement for African emancipation from colonialism and imperialism played a critical role in the decolonisation of the African continent, and it continues to inspire the dream of African political and economic integration. Contemporary efforts in this regard have been entrusted to the African Union with technical support from the African Development Bank. These Pan-African institutions have made some progress in galvanising support for a meaningful Pan-African agenda for the twenty-first century, although they cannot succeed in carrying out the tasks of African integration and development without the political will and the necessary financial contributions of African states (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2014). It is therefore imperative that these states be ruled by men and women with unequivocal identification as Pan-Africanists and unbending support for the Pan-African ideals and values to which scholar-activists such as W.E.B. Du Bois devoted a lifetime of struggle (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2014).

In Ghana, Pan-Africanism has given birth to the W.E.B. Du Bois Centre for Pan-African Culture (CPAC) and the Association for the Study of the World-Wide African Diaspora (ASWAD). In South Africa, the Economic Freedom Fighters as a political party follows the ideology of Pan-Africanism and during their election campaign in 2019, their leader, Julius Malema, called for the unification of Africa. A large apostolic sect in Zimbabwe founded by Paul Mwazha follows the ideology of Pan-Africanism – one of its slogans is ‘Africa *yedu*’ (loosely translated as ‘Our Africa’). Undeniably, Pan-Africanism paved the way for political and economic independence on the continent, at least in the context of allowing African leaders to realise the potentials existing within their respective countries (Ake 1965).

Critics of the ideology of Pan-Africanism have pointed out how Du Bois’ Pan-Africanism as a mechanism to remind Black Americans of their African identities and heritage (which can also be likened to the Négritude movement) differs from Africans’ conception of Pan-Africanism (Adeleke 1998). On this point, there is a clear emphasis on the significance of race in the Pan-Africanism dialogue that does not entirely exist today. Because Du Bois is recognised as the founding father of modern Pan-Africanism, some scholars scrutinise the concept as not being authentically an African idea.

One of the shortcomings in earlier studies on Pan-Africanism is the lack of focus on the development aspect of the concept as scholars tend to bend toward the political liberation and integration phases of Pan-Africanism. To Potekhin (1964), Pan-Africanism started as a political movement with its own ideological basis at the end of the nineteenth century and has since followed a very complicated, contradictory course. Pan-Africanism in the context of unifying Africa has shifted from a political approach to an economic policy. Adeyemo (2018) opines that establishing a United States of Africa is a mythical idea in contemporary Africa, no matter how popular the idea might be. To him, the idea is over-ambitious; Pan-Africanism does not outline how Africa can become united.

Pan-Blackism

The theory of Pan-Blackism has been used in different ways and so has been variously defined. While the theory is sometimes erroneously characterised as simply referring to being a Black person or having black skin, others state that it is a movement geared toward promoting Black people in every sphere of human endeavour across the globe. Pan-Blackism aims for an awakening to the re-identification and unification of Africans at home and in the Diaspora. It is a call for a conscious movement towards the freedom of the African continent from every form of foreign domination.

In the definition of Ajidahun (2019), Pan-Blackism is a tool used to redefine and reaffirm the primacy and identity of Black people in Africa and the rest of the world. In other words, the author views Pan-Blackism as an African awakening, a revitalising ideology that pushes for the total freedom and emancipation of Black people, including the rejection of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and ethnic strife among Black people all over the world. Critically analysed, Pan-Blackism is a post-colonial ideology which criticises the underdevelopment of the African continent stemming from the deliberate attempt to keep African countries in perpetual bondage by the former colonialists. As Ajidahun points out, the Pan-Blackism ideal underlies revered Nigerian writer Femi Osofisan's call for unity and solidarity among all Blacks all over the world to uplift all Africans (Ajidahun 2019).

One major criticism of Pan-Blackism is its conceptualisation. Its weak theoretical underpinning makes it challenging to develop it into a better and more encompassing concept. It is unlike Pan-Africanism, which is the movement that began among the leading African figures for the purpose of attaining political, economic as well as psychological power through strengthening the bonds of solidarity between all Africans at home and abroad (Falola & Essien 2013). Also, while Pan-Africanism transcends skin colour, Pan-Blackism is decidedly only for Blacks.

Sankarism

Sankarism, also called Sankaraism, is a political ideology which supports social equality and egalitarianism, often in opposition to social hierarchy. Thomas Sankara is one of the most famous political figures in contemporary African history. He served as a President of Burkina Faso (formerly known as Upper Volta) from 1983 to 1987 when he was assassinated in a military coup led by Blaise Compaore, his successor. Sankara attempted to bring about what he called the ‘democratic and popular revolution’, a radical transformation of society (Ouedraogo 2018).

Sankara’s pragmatic and ambitious agenda for his country and Africa propelled him into the spotlight of Cold War international politics and discourse. Ideologically, Sankara sought to reclaim the African identity of his nation and opposed neo-colonialism. Even though Sankara was a major figure in post-independence Africa and a strong voice of the Non-aligned Movement during the Cold War, only a few scholars have documented his legacy (Ouedraogo 2018).

After his death, Sankara is still celebrated and often remembered with deep sorrow among people who are familiar with his Pan-Africanist and anti-imperialist ideology, as many Sankarist leaders have attachments to either Sankara’s political ideologies or to the organisations he created. For example, one of the first groups to support the ideology of Sankarism was the Sankarist movement of Paris which was formed a few weeks after his death (Hughes 1992). *The Journal of Pan African Studies* in 2016 made a call for papers to evaluate how scholars and activists in and beyond Africa have employed Sankara’s political ideology and praxis since his assassination (Ouedraogo 2018). Many political parties and organisations within Burkina Faso, such as the Burkinabe Party for Refoundation, the National Patriots’ Party, The Citizens’ Boom and the Union of Sankarists’ Party (Hughes 1992), among others, have continued to identify with Sankara’s ideology. In the wake of the Burkinabe 2014 popular revolution, which ousted Sankara’s successor, many scholars have started to look back into Sankara’s ideological legacy and what it could mean today. The ousting of Blaise Compaore has offered multiple opportunities for people to talk openly about Sankara and to freely display his images in public (Kingsley 2014).

Despite his short rule, Sankara’s political ideology helped to shape the economy of Burkina Faso through the establishment of a self-accepting people and a self-reliant economy. His ideology also served as a drive to achieve African Nationalism in his country and other parts of Africa. For instance, the 2014 elections in South Africa featured the invoking of the name of Thomas Sankara by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) party (Kobo 2014).

A major shortcoming of Sankaraism is that to date, it is still a philosophical idea that lacks strong empirical underpinning. The death of its proponent did not allow the theory to be highly demonstrated in undiluted form.

Ubuntuism

Ubuntuism, which emerged from early usage in literary and philosophical writings, is a theoretical postulate that originated from southern Africa that literarily means 'humanity'. It emphasises collectivity and the connectivity of humankind and not individualism. Ubuntu has been succinctly defined in the phrase 'I am because we are'; however, it is more often used in a philosophical way to explain the belief in universality. Various words have been used to describe aspects of Ubuntu: sympathy, benevolence, harmony, compassion, interdependence, generosity, etc. Although the concept of Ubuntu has its origin in the Zimbabwean political context, its prominence in the wider world is based on three major developments: (1) its adoption as a post-colonial term in the 1980s when used to signify the return of African dignity after the dehumanisation of people by the British; (2) its use in the sense of brotherhood and distinctiveness from colonially given classifications; and (3) a shift from African liberalism and brotherhood to Christian values, identifying God as the creator. This gave room for the mixing of African culture and biblical teachings (Metz 2011).

From the theological point of view, Ubuntuism, which preaches love, togetherness and forgiveness, could be related to Nelson Mandela's political construct – Mandelalism as discussed earlier. Mandela preached forgiveness and love, not only to the citizens of South Africa, but to the entire world. Prior to Mandela's reign as a leader in South Africa, the spirit of brotherliness could be seen as the basis upon which Africa based its struggle to gain independence in all its states, including the fight against apartheid which culminated in the independence of South Africa.

The Ubuntuism approach could play a pivotal role in determining the success of any African organisation. By promoting collectivism and communalism, African culture can still come together to fight neo-colonialism, poverty and other challenges confronting it. With the overhauling of African culture by the Western world, however, only time will tell whether African leaders can come together to form a union.

In Ubuntuism, the community is more important than an individual, which negates the West's advocacy of rugged individualism (capitalism). The philosophy promotes positive behaviour through conscientiousness and love. Synergies and competitive advantages arise. Ubuntuism promotes teamwork, giving organisations and political systems competitive advantages, including effective human relationships, language and communication, decision-making, time management, productivity and leadership. There is respect for community in general. There is good corporate governance founded upon the values of business ethics (Metz 2011).

Some of the core values of Ubuntuism Theory are weak. For example, openness to new ideas and respect for authorities has often been cited as one of the major precursors to the advent of colonial imperialism in Africa. The philosophy may result in a herd mentality in a particular group and lead to possible exclusion of other groups. An example is the xenophobic attacks that have been witnessed several times in South Africa. According to Metz (2011), Ubuntuism has failed to recognise the value of individual freedom. It also promotes an indigenous, small-scale culture as against that of industrialised society.

Ujamaa

Ujamaa Theory emanated from President Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania in 1967 when he advanced the view that there is a need for Africa to develop, which can mainly be achieved through African Socialism. Just like the concept of Ubuntu, Ujamaa is used to depict familyhood, brotherhood, sisterhood, or socialism. These formed the basis of social and economic development policies of Tanzania after its independence in 1961. The Kiswahili concept Ujamaa, in its political form, asserts that an individual can only exist and be recognised as one through the people or community. Nyerere believed in a classless society where there should be respect for human rights and all talents and resources should be pooled to achieve a common good. From this political perspective, Nyerere developed several models which formed his national development plans among which were the establishment of a one-party system to strengthen the cohesion of the newly obtained independence, the abolition of social class discrimination through the promotion of socioeconomic and political equality, the implementation of compulsory but free education, and so on. Nyerere's ideology and political administration attracted international attention as a result of his respect for the community and its effect on economic development (Legum & Mmari 1998).

Ujamaa promoted consensus democracy, based on its promotion of a classless society and respect for the rights of all citizens. Many African countries still operate consensus democratic systems of government as a result of its flexibility and respect for citizens' rights, as opposed to autocratic rule.

The proponents of Ujamaa tried to end dependence on rich foreign countries. This movement served as a push for many of Africa's formerly colonised countries to develop economic self-reliance through societal collectivity in the production of goods and services and the eradication of the class society established by whites. Tanzania tried to achieve self-reliance through the mobilisation of its resources. One cannot ignore the concept of Ujamaa as it helped to define the new freedom and independence of Tanzanian society, and also in the whole of Africa and the rest of the Third World (Legum & Mmari 1998).

To this day, the spirit of Ujamaa is still used by the citizens of many African countries to fight erring political leaders and to communicate their needs to their governments. Ujamaa promoted unity, cooperation, and oneness between leaders and citizens. This led to some of the socioeconomic achievements of Nyerere during his administration among which are the reduction in infant mortality (from 138/1,000 live births in 1965 to 110 in 1985), the increase in life expectancy at birth (37 in 1960 to 52 in 1984), and the rise in the adult literacy levels from 17 per cent in 1960 to 63 per cent in 1975 (Legum & Mmari 1998). Ujamaa fostered cultural, ethnic and racial unity among its people. Although many African economies are still controlled by the West, Ujamaa has served as a philosophical model for other African countries to develop internally as well as gain political freedom the Westerners (Legum & Mmari 1998).

Although the goal of Ujamaa to promote societal collectivism for the greater good led to the formation of a one-party political system, it is arguably preferable to the autocracy of corrupt leaders who served in the years after Nyerere. These political figures created oppression in society by the rich, creating a class-based society. Ujamaa preached against capitalism, but, unknown to Nyerere, capitalism finds its way into all societies. Nyerere was ignorant of the continued inequality between rural and urban farmers during his administration; this situation affected productivity negatively. In addition, the promotion of self-reliance and collective mobilisation of resources without the introduction of foreign mechanised equipment and assistance cannot sustain an economy. Ujamaa's villagisation failed. Tanzania became one of Africa's poorest countries with heavy dependence on international aid. Other disadvantages of Ujamaa include underdeveloped industrial and banking sectors and poor transportation networks (Legum & Mmari 1998).

The absence of a complete overhaul of the political framework and ideologies of the colonial figures is also one of the factors responsible for the failure of Ujamaa. Nyerere, though he was an anti-colonialist, did not totally ignore the political ideologies of the British in Tanzania. Instead, he adopted some of their views and, as such, established capitalism, class distinctiveness, and the practice of British culture in society (Legum & Mmari 1998).

Womanism

Womanism is a social theory based on the history and everyday experiences of women of colour, especially Black women. United States writer and social activist Alice Walker founded Womanism based on the African-American experience of the troubled period of slavery and the long struggle for civil rights. As we learn from Alice Walker's book titled *In Search of our Mother's Garden: Womanist Prose* (1983), the term Womanism was coined in her short

story titled *Coming Apart* in 1979. As her literary scope continues to expand, she sees the need to have a movement different from feminism, which will offer Black women an opportunity to formulate their course of action. Womanism holds tenaciously the position that both femininity and culture are of utmost importance to the existence of women. One's femininity cannot be examined outside of the culture in which it exists. Proponents of the theory go further to advocate that the culture of a woman should not be a yardstick to measure her femininity; rather, it is the window through which femininity thrives. It then follows that a woman's blackness is not a component of her feminism; rather, her blackness is the window by which she understands her femininity.

Womanism emerged as a result of the racism suffered by Black women in the feminist movement. They believe that the experiences of Black women cannot be equated to those of white women who have treated Blackness with contempt throughout history. Womanism is not an extension of feminism; it is a theoretical framework that exists independent of Feminist Theory. Womanism presents itself as being stronger and more original than feminism. Womanists' intention is to 'decenter white feminists and challenge the normality of their perspective' (Bryson 2003:228). Many writers in Africa such as Buchi Emecheta, Mariama Ba and Miriam Tlali identify with Womanism rather than feminism as a paradigm in the analyses of their works about women. Womanism is a functional paradigm not just for Black women in North America and Africa but also for women in Latin America due to issues of common interest they share (see Nnaemeka 2010). Womanism challenges all structures of power that pose a problem for the development and growth of the human circle. Thus, according to Nnaemeka (2010), the impact of Womanism has gone far beyond the United States, and many women scholars and literary critics have embraced it as an analytical tool.

Womanism is a broader category that includes feminism as a subtype. It is a theory for the survival of the Black race and it takes into cognisance the experiences of Black women, Black culture, Black myths, spiritual life and orality (Walker 1983). Walker's most quoted phrase, 'womanist is to the feminist as purple is to the lavender' means that feminism is an element under the conceptual umbrella of Womanism.

One of the weaknesses of the theory of Womanism is its failure to critically examine homosexuality in Black people. There is a minimal amount of literature that associates Womanism to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) concerns. Womanism has also been criticised for its inclusion policy which led Walker to incorporate coloured or white women, and even men who are women-friendly, under the auspices of Womanism.

Zuluism

The theory of Zuluism encompasses a discourse that examines the role of Black Nationalism. The production of the image of the Zulu as fierce and war-like began with the first Anglo-Zulu encounter in the nineteenth century. In 1879, the Anglo-Zulu War set the pace for image-making which was developed further in the late nineteenth century. In 1982, Samuel Martin completed a work on British portrayals of the Zulu. His work critiqued the origins of images of the Zulu. He based his research on Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which depicts how Western images of the Orient fashioned by generations of scholars paint Orientals as lazy, deceitful and irrational.

The African continent offers fertile ground for self-fulfilling imaginings, providing a thematic space in which writers can discharge their fantasies. Africa was and is a symbolic hunting field leading to a magic world of trials and noble achievements (MacKenzie 1992). These fantasies – on which Zuluism is based – arose out of notions of heroic masculinity, the development of militarism in the late nineteenth century and the need for entertainment (MacKenzie 1992). The Zulu people believe that it is not victory that establishes a soldier's greatness but the qualities he shows in confronting defeat. Only in this way can the soldier's heroic virtue be made manifest (MacKenzie 1992).

The word Zulu means 'Sky' and history records that Zulu was the name of the ancestor who founded the Zulu royal kingdom in about 1670. They originally came from the Nguni people who inhabited Central and Eastern Africa and migrated to South Africa in the 'Bantu Migration' which took place centuries earlier. They are the largest ethnic group in South Africa today and are known for their strong fighting spirit. The history of South Africa would not be complete without them being mentioned (MacKenzie 1992).

The founder of the Zulu kingdom, Shaka Zulu, is celebrated and remembered in the month of September of every year. The celebration is held in KwaDukuza where Shaka's tombstone is located. It is marked by poets singing the praises of all the Zulu kings from Shaka to the current king (MacKenzie 1992).

A majority of the Zulu-speaking people live in KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa. They speak isiZulu. They strongly believe in ancestral spirits known as *amadlozi*, the spirits of the dead. Zulu ancestors are believed to live in a spirit ancestral home called *Unkulunkulu* (the 'greatest of the great'). They are the intermediaries between the living and the spirit world, and they work hand-in-hand with God. The presence of ancestral spirits undergirds Zulu beliefs (MacKenzie 1992).

The Zulu are known for their belief in and practice of Ubuntu, which denotes 'humanness' and it is also a part of the daily life of the Zulu people. This belief is enshrined in many proverbs relating to good and bad behaviour among human beings.

One may argue that Zuluism does not carry much weight in contemporary South Africa, considering that Zuluism is about Ubuntuism which implies humanness. One may argue that Zuluism does not carry much weight in contemporary South Africa. One tenet of Zuluism is Ubuntuism, and it hard to square this with the intra-racial attacks that take place in the country. These attacks do not resemble the Pan-Africanism which advocates for the unification of Black people.

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2

Architecture, Art, Community, and Culture

Doctoral Scholars

This chapter covers three theories on architecture, three on art, three on community, and seven on culture. The first set of theories deals with the complex or carefully designed structure of an entity or a phenomenon. The second set concerns the expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form such as painting or sculpture, producing works to be appreciated primarily for their beauty or emotional power. The third set is about a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common. And the fourth set has to do with what shapes a people's total way of life: i.e. the customs, arts, social institutions, and other manifestations of the intellectual achievements of a particular people.

Architecture

Abstraction Theory

In the field of architecture, Abstraction Theory refers to a conceptual process by which general rules and concepts are derived from the usage and classification of specific instances, which could be real or concrete signifiers. It is also a concept that acts as a common noun for all subordinate concepts and connects any related concepts as a group, field, or category. It can be done by sifting the information content of a concept or any observable phenomenon and picking those aspects that are applicable to a particular value. According to Milton, Abstraction in architecture is 'a process by which something innate is revealed whether willed or not. Abstraction is suggestive, oblique and symbolic. It is a dream, self-expression and hopefully even true insight. The abstracted element in intuition that specifically links to an idea and to notion of actual design that takes on reality as it is developed into building design' (2017:265).

This excerpt implies that Abstraction is a powerful tool meant to support architectural design and creative thinking. It is believed to be as old as human language. It involves the assimilation of an idea into one general theory about something. Abstraction was discussed in Francis Bacon's book *Noyum Organum* (1920) in which he encouraged modern thinkers to collect specific facts before making any generalisations.

A person's relationship with architecture has always been via nature, starting with early humans and evolving throughout history. According to Pashmeena, Abstraction Theory leads us to view the 'art, beauty and architecture' of nature (Pashmeena 2017:118). He goes on to say that the sole target of Abstraction 'is to simplify nature, to extract primary logic for design expression' (Pashmeena 2017:118). Through Abstraction, the intricate power of natural occurrences can be stripped down, simplified, studied and shifted into possible dynamic designs. The artist first distinguishes the appearance of things and by intuition recognises a design pattern that will fit their purpose. Abstraction has two basic design directions: the first leads to an abstracted design element for a two-dimensional design and the second extends the Abstraction process to a higher level for architecture and three-dimensional designs (Pashmeena 2017). These two possibilities begin from nature, but each departs from nature 'just as the body dies, but the spirit lives on' (Pashmeena 2017:118). In the design process, the more repetition, the further one gets from nature. At the end of the day, what is left of nature is its essence. The power of Abstraction proceeds from the spirit of nature to the creativity of the human mind and finally to an art form.

Abstraction is motivated by indicative ideas that task our minds, leading to the inspiration that precipitates abstract notions. These inspirations give organic design its psychological and inventive power. This inventive power of imagination can be either positive or negative and it is one of the most potent forces in the world, producing myths, religions, arts, architecture, peace, cold wars, hot wars, and oil wars (Pashmeena 2017:119). The significance of abstraction lies in its capacity to arouse creative thought, to inspire flexible reason, and to involve the mind, leading to creative power. A creative mind enables the designer to achieve continual perception, thereby leading to original construction.

Induction was promoted by Pashmeena as an Abstraction tool. It distorts the deductive thinking methodology that has dominated the intellectual world since the ancient philosophers. It can also be seen as a process which maps multiple different pieces of constituent data to a single piece of abstract datum based on similarities in the constituent data. In summation, according to Pashmeena (2017), the beauty of abstracting nature for the purpose of architecture and life is a timeless idea, with no final process. This means that there is an always an opening in Abstraction for architecture and other creative designs.

Concretion Theory

According to Norvig (1983) and Wilensky (1983), Concretion Theory is an approach in which a more specific interpretation of an utterance is made than can be sustained on a strictly logical manner. The two authors point out that French architect and author Eugène Viollet-le-Duc proposed the theory of Concretion based on his view that the art of building construction should create spaces arising from the structural materials used.

A Concretion Theory may differ from traditional theories in that a concretion inference may be incorrect. For instance, 'to use a pencil' means to write with a pencil, whereas 'to use a dictionary' means to look up a word. To use a pencil may mean writing; but in a particular context, it might mean opening the door with a pencil. In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, the natural interpretation is writing.

A concretion mechanism attempts to find clues in a set of general concepts to generate concepts that are more specific. *Writing*, for example, is a specific type of activity in which the tool being used may be a pencil. The use of such a principle allows a straightforward approach to manipulating hierarchical knowledge structures. The original interpretation of an utterance may include concepts too general for an utterance to be understood in computational analysis. Concretion Theory has the mandate of making the right interpretation of a concept by choosing one of its available models. It is important to know how to understand a specific concept before applying Concretion principles. Different categories are necessary based on various situations. For instance, it is okay in some cases to leave the meaning of 'eating' as 'eating some food'. Perhaps, in a context involving picnics, a more specific interpretation may be achieved. (Norvig 1983; Wilensky 1983).

It is also imperative that the mechanism be able to recognise from a wide variety of clues that there is sufficient evidence to 'concrete', to resolve an ambiguity. A constant process of demonstrating the rules by which a Concretion may be made would be welcome. Some means must be provided to correct wrong inferences and contradictory facts when found (Norvig 1983; Wilensky 1983).

Phenomenology Theory

Phenomenology Theory is an approach initiated by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and later developed by Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), which seeks to study lived human experiences and the way things are perceived and appear to the consciousness. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Husserl established his Phenomenology as a philosophy to challenge Cartesian philosophy which was objective, empirical, and positivist (Barnacle in Barnacle 2001). From a philosophical perspective, Husserl saw Phenomenology as a way of reaching

true meaning by penetrating deeper and deeper into reality. His theory was later followed up by Heidegger, who developed his own strand of the philosophy named Existential Phenomenology (Spinelli 2005) or Hermeneutic Phenomenology (Smith et al. 2009).

There are two main approaches to Phenomenology:

1. descriptive and
2. interpretive.

Descriptive Phenomenology was developed by Husserl and Interpretive Phenomenology by Heidegger (Connelly 2010). Husserl's approach is also known as Transcendental Phenomenology and preceded Heidegger's Interpretive Phenomenology historically (Spinelli 2005). Interpretive Phenomenology is also known as Hermeneutic Phenomenology (Lavery 2003; Langdrige 2007) and as Existential Phenomenology (Spinelli 2005). The general focus of the descriptive phenomenological approach is to examine the essence or structure of experiences in the way they occur to our consciousness.

Phenomenological Theory can be applied in every public and professional practice, including nursing science, education, psychology, social work, etc. In architecture, phenomenology involves the study of how light and shadow, material and space are controlled to provide an indelible experience by affecting the human senses. The theory advances the amalgamation of sensory perception as a *raison d'être* for a built form.

Phenomenology evolved into a relatively mature qualitative research methodology during the last decades of the twentieth century largely due to a seismic shift from mainly deductive quantitative research to inductive qualitative research. Such interest has also contributed to the proliferation of the approach with little consensus on what constitutes the methodology (Spinelli 2005).

Husserl's Phenomenology has been criticised by many scholars for being too philosophical, conceptual, and difficult to decipher. The notion that the ultimate human experience can be examined by setting aside preconceived knowledge has been dismissed as simplistic and unattainable. Pure experience advocated by Husserl is elusive and inaccessible because experience is usually witnessed after the event has already happened.

Art

Abstraction Theory

Abstraction Theory in the art discipline is used to explain the use of visual or pictorial language of form, shape, colour and line to define a phenomenon. It could also mean creating a composition through social language, which may exist independently of a visual object in the world (Arnheim 1969). Up to

the mid-nineteenth century, Western art had been underpinned by an attempt to reproduce reality, even if that was by means of inference. By the end of nineteenth century, however, many artists saw the need to develop a new kind of reality through art, which would encompass the changes and processes of transformation in different fields, including technology, science, and philosophy. Simply put, abstract art does not represent an accurate depiction of a visual reality but rather uses shapes, colours, forms and gestural marks to achieve its effect and purpose. A work of abstract art can be classified as 'non-figurative', 'non-representational', and 'geometric abstraction'. This tells us that abstract art is a rather vague umbrella term for any painting or sculpture that does not depict recognisable objects or scenes.

Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky (1886–1944) is considered the father of Abstraction Theory in art and was among the first artists to delve into pure abstract art. His paintings in the early 1900s are considered to be among the first completely abstract compositions in modern art history. Although the sources from which artists drew their constructions of visible reality differed, their work reflected the social and intellectual preoccupations in all areas of Western culture at that time (Gooding 2000). Abstraction indicates a departure from reality, but in art, Abstraction Theory describes how signs, lines, marks, and even inscriptions on rocks, walls, stones, sculpture works, textiles are used to define reality. For instance, one can enjoy the beauty of Chinese calligraphy without being able to read it (Leys 2013).

The works of painters like Van Gogh, Cezanne, Paul Gauguin and Georges Seurat developed what is known as 'modern art'. These artists used multi-coloured, expressive landscapes and figure paintings to portray visual reality. In Africa, several artists in abstract art have emerged among whom are Ernest Mancoba of South Africa; Cheri Samba of the Democratic Republic of Congo; El Anatsui, Nnenna Okore and Peju Alatise of Nigeria; and Aboudia Abdoulaye Diarrassouba of Côte d'Ivoire. Abstract art has also been used to express situations in Africa such as wars, colonial rule and emotions or has been used as a means of hearing the voice of marginalised populations.

As mentioned earlier, one of the major purposes of abstract art is its use of visual language, shape, form, colour and line to create a composition which may exist with a degree of independence from visual references in the world. Abstract arts aids creativity and is used to express feelings and thoughts. Nonetheless, Abstraction Theory in the field of art is somewhat complex to understand and use to define reality. In actuality it is separated from reality. Also, due to its abstract presentation, many interpretations could be given to explain a reality or an event.

Divine Principle Theory

The Divine Principle Theory, also referred to as the Divine Command Theory, is the fundamental theology of Sun Myung Moon (1920–2012), developed in 1935. Moon insisted that the words he spoke did not come from theological research or from books. Rather, he spoke of fundamental principles that he learned through experience, as he overcame all manner of difficulties and communed directly with God and the spirit world. He said that God is invisible. Ever since the creation of the world, his invisible nature (eternal power and deity) has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made.

In this theory, religion is often considered the most widely used system to make ethical decisions and to conduct moral reasoning (Pollock 2007): it serves a purpose in society. This resonates very well with the Durkheimian notion of religion (i.e. a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things – see Chapter 7). To rely upon the Divine Principle Theory, a person must believe that there is a rational God providing direction towards an ethical outcome. It is from God's commands that actions are determined to be right or wrong and, because of this, Divine Principle Theory provides an objective assessment of what is ethical or moral.

As it relates to art, Divine Theory focuses on the fact that even though we find artworks representing God, prophets and other figures in Christian houses of worship and sometimes in synagogues, the Holy Torah, the Holy Bible, and the Holy Qur'an forbid such images in houses of worship. Islam still eschews the practice. The Divine Theory of art is about the fundamental righteousness of the nexus between art and religion vis-a-vis the reciprocity between image-making and meaning-making.

There is ambiguity in the way in which some scriptures are interpreted (Pollock 2007). According to Pollock, there are four assumptions of Divine Command Theory:

1. there is a God,
2. God commands and forbids certain acts,
3. an action is right if God commands it, and
4. people ascertain what God commands or forbids.

What essentially makes religion such a powerful ethical system is that there is a potentially eternal punishment in the afterlife (Pollock 2007). This notion of eventual punishment reinforces in its followers the necessity to make ethical decisions based on the commands of their God. It helps followers decipher the truth in different situations and helps in preventing bad behaviour in a society. The theory also helps in administering justice in the judicial systems of African countries and elsewhere.

The theory is applied in most religious organisations whose belief is in one God. While Divine Principle Theory is widely used in research across the world, there are differences: the application of the theory may differ from religion to religion, and it may differ even within each religion (Pollock 2007). In many African societies, divorce, bisexualism, homosexuality and prostitution are prohibited while they are acceptable in other places. The theory is not uniformly applied in all places.

Science has no evidence of the existence of God. Divine Principle Theory loses its authority among a large portion of people who base their lives on science and empiricism. Those who believe in God can interpret the commandments in their own way, thereby establishing different interpretations to the solutions sought for ethical dilemmas; consequently, there can be confusion about what exactly is God's will.

General Theory of Patterns or Meta-Morphology Theory

This theory, which is based on a synthesis and continuation of the works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gregory Bateson, and Christopher Alexander, is popular in some parts of the computer science community through the Software Patterns movement. The theory introduces the concept of 'process patterns'. Contributions to the theory seek to establish some preliminaries for an art-theoretical foundation for the design of large edifices of process patterns – in other words, an Art Theory of Event-Scape Architecture (Goppold 2000).

Bateson (1972) defines 'Meta-Patterns' as patterns of patterns. In technical terms, this indicates the familiar computer science concept of recursion for the pattern processing mechanism of the nervous system. Meta-Morphology is the systematics of patterns that connect, or the Systematics of Meta-Patterns. Our familiar world of objects, phenomena and qualia is, by current neurological knowledge, based on the electrical activation and connectivity patterns of our nervous system. Inside our brains, the neuronal 'enchanted loom' weaves a complicated spatiotemporal meta-pattern structure from which derives our familiar world impressions. In abstract terms, the neuronal apparatus can be described as a Meta-Pattern Machine. The 'Art Theory of Event-Scape Architecture' is also expected to bring practical results, since computer software systems are large edifices of process patterns (Goppold 2000).

Pattern theories have a long history due to the protean character of patterns; they are a most general, most abstract concept. They re-appear in many sciences. There exists as yet no coherent way of organising and cross-referencing this thoroughly trans-disciplinary topic. At the level of research, the earliest attempts at constructing a General Pattern Theory date back to the ancient Pythagorean thought system. It is overgrown with folklore, magic, and mythology; and attempts at finding a unifying conceptual base for mathematics, music, and astronomy can be classed as one of the earliest recorded attempts at a general theory of patterns (Bateson 1972; Bamford 1994).

The concepts of General Neuronal Networks and Meta Pattern Machines served as an abstract formulation of that substrate which underlies the foundation of any higher-order symbolisation. The connection with ancient mythology serves to recall an earlier cultural phase of humanity when symbolisation had not yet reached its present form of standardisation (and ossification) that was mainly an effect of alphabetisation. Computing led to a new appreciation of the claim that ancient mythology contains not just old and discarded folklore, but rather that it contains a sophisticated kind of computational time machine device. More powerful practical graphic representation of process patterns would greatly enhance the control of the ever-increasing complexity of software systems (Goppold 2000).

The theory of computing machinery or pattern is difficult to understand or represent. This is because it is difficult to separate (temporally) when one pattern begins and when it ends. Then there is also the problem of storing the pattern. Meta machine pattern is contrasted against the familiar computer science model of the Turing Machine which uses an external storage tape and a clearly-defined character set, which is not recognised in pattern templates (Goppold 2000).

Community

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

According to the New World Encyclopedia,

Gemeinschaft and *Gesellschaft* are German words that mean ‘community’ and ‘society’ in English, respectively. Introduced in Classical Social Theory, they are used to discuss the different kinds of social ties that exist in small, rural, traditional societies versus large-scale, modern, industrial ones. Early German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies introduced the concepts in his 1887 book titled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* comprises personal social ties and in-person interactions that are defined by traditional social rules and result in an overall cooperative social organisation. The values and beliefs common to *Gemeinschaft* are organised around appreciation for personal ties and, because of this, social interactions are personal in nature. Tönnies believed that these kinds of interactions and social ties were driven by emotions and sentiments (*Wesenwille*) by a sense of moral obligation to others and were common to rural, peasant, small-scale and homogenous societies (New World Encyclopedia 2019:1).

Gesellschaft, on the other hand, is composed of impersonal and indirect social ties and interactions that are not necessarily carried out face-to-face; they can be carried out via telephone, in written form, through a chain of commands, etc. The ties and interactions that characterise a *Gesellschaft* are guided by formal values and beliefs that are directed by rationality and efficiency, as well as by economic, political and self-interests. *Gesellschaft*, frequently translated as ‘society,’ refers to associations in which self-interest is the primary justification

for membership. This kind of social organisation is common to large-scale, modern, industrial, and cosmopolitan societies that are structured around large organisations of government and private enterprise, both of which often take the form of bureaucracies. Organisations and the social order are organised by a complex division of labour, roles and tasks.

Although the concepts are useful tools for seeing and understanding how society works, they are rarely if ever observed exactly as they are defined, nor are they mutually exclusive. 'Instead, when you look at the social world around you, you are likely to see both forms of social order present. You may find that you are part of communities in which social ties and social interaction are guided by a sense of traditional and moral responsibility' (New World Encyclopedia 2019:1).

Brink (2001) observes that the ideas behind Tönnies' theory are on one side of a theoretical division. Brink notes the following weakness in the theory: common ways of life do not necessarily imply common beliefs; small numbers of people do not necessarily imply common ways of life; and continuous relations do not necessarily imply emotional bonds. Furthermore, social relations characterised by 'natural will' do not necessarily lead to all the outcomes Tönnies associated with *Gemeinschaft*. The 'natural will' of a commune or collective, for example, typically leads to considerably more social control (Kanter 1972) than the 'natural will' of an 'imaginary community' where physical co-presence is missing and the object of commitment is typically a vague and abstract symbol (Anderson 1983). Finally, Tönnies' highly connotative approach invited confusion about the defining coordinates of community (Brink 2001).

One advantage of *Gemeinschaft* over *Gesellschaft* is that its values are founded upon Communism and Socialism. That is, the wealth, means of production and resources are shared by the community. On the other hand, *Gesellschaft*, which can be equated to Capitalism, promotes self-interest and self-reproduction.

Independent vs Dependent Communities Theory

The Independent vs Dependent Community Theory encompasses opposing perspectives. The notion of Dependent Community was pioneered by plant ecologist Frederic Clements (1874–1945). Although Clements was a biologist, his theories also apply to human communities. The concept of Independent Community was later propounded by Henry Gleason as a response to various flaws observed in Clements' theory.

The idea behind Clements' Dependent Communities Theory is that a community can survive by the teamwork of its members. In other words, a community will continue to exist by depending on its members. The philosophy behind the Independent Communities Theory is that communities do not function in unions (associations); instead, a community is determined by the individuals (Relyea & Ricklefs 2014).

According to Clements, dependent communities act as super organisms. Based on this perspective, members of the community are like the organs of an individual. Just as an organism survives by the teamwork of all the organs, a community survives by the teamwork of its members. In other words, communities exist with the co-dependency of each organism on others of its own species. For example, people in a society grow and help one another in the development of the economy. An instance is the coming together of people in different African societies to attain independence and operate freely without external interference, as well as for the overall economic development of the countries. Despite their different political affiliations, the Zanu-PF and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) came together to remove President Robert Mugabe from power in Zimbabwe in November of 2017.

Contrastingly, Independent Theory emphasises the importance of individual existence, despite the fact that the people live in the same community. In other words, people cannot be grouped into units. Instead, the community exists as a continuum impacted by all individual members. One major advantage of this theory is that it brings together different ideas; however, it can be dysfunctional, since it does not call for unity and collective action (which Pan-Africanism advocates). For example, in the last presidential election held in Nigeria in February of 2019, there were more than 200 political parties contesting for the same post. Another example is Zimbabwe's harmonised elections held in July of 2018 which were contested by 23 political parties. One more example that shows how dysfunctional the Independent strand can be comes from Zimbabwe in the 2000s when Mugabe postulated the following: 'Keep your England and I will keep my Zimbabwe'. This affected Zimbabwe because no country in this era of globalisation can live on its own without relating to other countries.

Naturalistic Hierarchy Theory

This theory emerged from the General Systems Theory. Naturalistic Hierarchy Theory was developed with perspectives from the disciplines of management sciences, economics, psychology, biology, and mathematics. The theory is an alternative and complement to other approaches to complexity, based on the premise that 'complexity frequently takes the form of hierarchy' (Simon 1962:468). The originator of the theory was Herbert A. Simon (1916–2001). The idea of the theory is that real- and artificial-world complex systems are often hierarchically organised. In other words, they tend to be structured in layers of levels (Simon 1962:52, 56). This fundamental property is called near decomposability. As noted by Wu (2013), Naturalistic Hierarchy Theory is a general approach that aims to simplify the description of and improve the clarity of complexity by taking advantage of near decomposability.

Other influential contributors to the theory are Koestler (1967), Whyte et al. (1969), and Pattee (1973). The theory was extended and expanded by many other scholars such as Allen and Starr (1982), Eldredge (1985), O'Neill et al. (1986), Allen and Hoekstra (1992), and Ahl and Allen (1996). Janak (2014) explored the emotional dimensions of teachers' work by using the theory. The study sought to understand the emotional experiences of high school teachers in the type of work they do.

The theory also provides a unifying conceptual framework and an approach for testing the implications of spatiotemporal aggregation of demographic data (Ahl & Allen 1996). The theory can be helpful in dealing with the costs and benefits of simplifying or partitioning complex ecological systems across space and time (Wu 2013). The theory also provides a set of tools for population ecologists to identify a set of nested spatiotemporal scales to facilitate the understanding of population dynamics, make observations and develop models of population dynamics at a focal scale, and extrapolate or simplify demographic complexity across scales using a hierarchy of nested models (Wu 2013).

A fundamental weakness of Naturalistic Hierarchy Theory is that it is not a formal theory: i.e. it lacks clearly-defined terms, well-developed methodologies, and clear forecasts. Another limitation of the theory noted by Eldredge (1985) is that it fails to recognise the unique status of intentionality. The theory depends on a related ('objective' or 'mind-independent') world of its own.

Culture

Cognitive Theory

Cognitive Theory proposes that people's behaviours are reflections of their thoughts. In other words, the theory postulates that people become what they think. Interestingly, the theory also posits that people's external behaviours can be changed or controlled by changing their thought patterns, especially if individuals become conscious of them. This is applicable when one recognises destructive behaviours which, according to the cognitive theorists, are a result of distorted patterns of thought.

Cognitive Theory has its origin in the thoughts of Jean Piaget (1896–1980) who proposed that intelligence is not fixed, but is something that can be learnt. Piaget believed that people are born with intelligence or cognition, upon which all subsequent knowledge and learning are based. Cognitive development, then, is a result of one's interaction with one's environment. Put differently, one's socialisation, which is a result of environmental factors, shapes one's pattern of thinking (see Bandura 2002).

The idea that we learn from the society in which we live gives rise to Cognitive Theory, which adopts an agentic perspective to human development: i.e. development is through adaptation and change. Agency, then, refers to one's ability to take conscious action capable of changing one's life (Bandura 2002).

Cognitive Theory recognises three types of agency:

1. the individual,
2. the proxy, and
3. the collective.

Individuals can make conscious decisions to achieve what they desire. Proxy agency implies that people can influence others to act on their behalf to achieve their desired outcome. Collective agency means that individuals can come together to influence their collective action to attain a common good, which is a result of individuals' collective efforts (Bandura 2002).

The theory postulates that although determinants of the different modes of agency vary across cultures, all three modes are necessary to achieve desired outcomes, irrespective of the cultural context. Thus, the theory believes that variations in individuals' psychosocial orientations exist; and, the fact that intelligence is not fixed results in intracultural and intercultural differences and the diverse and dynamic nature of society (Bandura 2002).

If people can achieve growth through adjusting their thoughts, that implies that beliefs in personal or collective efficacy lead to proper functioning of individuals or society. Collective efficacy is a result of the shared positive beliefs of individuals to achieve required outcomes through collective action. As Cognitive Theory posits, the thinking that one needs the efforts of others to succeed motivates individuals to embrace collective action. As suggested by Albert Bandura (2002), perceived collective efficacy enhances group functioning, just as perceived personal efficacy enhances individual functioning. Cultural analysis then must consider the existence of individual differences and the necessity of collective action in its analysis.

Cognitive Theory is applicable to the concept of Ubuntu which, as mentioned earlier, is the African belief in the necessity of collective action. As the maxim goes, 'I am because you are', which means that even though we exist individually, our individual existence and success depend on the collective existence and efforts of others. The idea of Ubuntu has spurred people to embrace collective action. It leads to social cohesion, especially in societies with diverse cultures. The idea of Ubuntu is strongly emphasised in southern Africa, where it has great social implications, especially in culturally and racially diverse countries such as South Africa. In such countries, an emphasis on the philosophy of Ubuntu cannot be underestimated in its potential to shape people's beliefs and actions, thereby promoting social cohesion. The ideas of *Umunna bu ike* ('brotherhood is strength' of the Igbo in West Africa) and *Omólúàbí* ('person of integrity' of the Yoruba in West Africa), which both suggest social solidarity and emphasise unity and respecting the rights of others, are applicable too.

Cultural Relativity Theory

The theory of Cultural Relativity seeks to explain every event in the world from a point of subjectivity. For the relativist, there is no objective reality but, rather, truth or reality is dependent on the perception or worldview of the individual. Cultural Relativity Theory implies that no individual culture is superior to another; no cultural belief, practice or value is better than another. The goodness of any moral value, knowledge, or meaning is relative to the particular framework of an individual subject, culture, era, etc. Cultural Relativity Theory postulates a position that neutralises people from criticising any ethical standard of any society. Postmodernists therefore regard Cultural Relativity Theory as a postmodern way of thinking simply because of its disdain of the superiority of one culture or moral standard over another (Howson 2009).

Cultural Relativity Theory can be traced to Immanuel Kant's idea of cognitive relativism in *Critique of Pure Reason* (1788). Kant argued that people's experiences of the world are mediated through the ideas and knowledge they hold about the world (Howson 2009). As a result, it becomes difficult to have a universal experience, since no one's experience is the same as another's. This idea of cognitive relativity refers to the intellectual viewpoint that there is no absolute standard of judging what is real or true. Franz Boaz (1887) asserts that unlike the natural sciences, the social sciences cannot point out objective reality, but only customs and beliefs that differ from one society to another. Building on the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein on attempting to distinguish categories available to the social sciences to differentiate what is real and what is not, Peter Winch (cited by Howson 2009), argues that the social sciences should avoid using the methods of the natural sciences. Rather, they should rather seek to identify ideas distinctive from Western cultures and strive to understand or interpret how members of those cultures use those ideas. According to Winch, adds Howson, some cultural concepts are inexpressible among the languages of various other cultures. Hence, the idea of rationality seems not to apply to cultural comparison (cited in Howson 2009). One of the applications of Cultural Relativism is that proposed by Edward Said, who argues against the ideas that inspired Western colonialism (Howson 2009).

Cultural Relativity Theory is applicable to the study of gender and its relations to climate change adaptation. There is a tendency for practitioners to adopt a dichotomous view of gender: men versus women. This view seems to categorise all women of different classes, racial groups, ages, etc. as belonging to the same category. But climate change affects people differently based on their access to resources and positions in a society. So, an understanding that not all women have equal access to resources or are in similar privileged positions in a society helps in determining how an intervention should seek to understand the specific need of the specific group of women for whom the intervention is to be implemented.

For instance, interventions done for a group of women in an urban area need to be different from the interventions done for women in a rural area. These two groups of people may experience similar climate disaster, but their vulnerability to it is not the same, and their need for adaptation can also not be the same. Despite belonging to the same gender group, their socioeconomic and locational situations are different, which makes their experiences different.

Cultural Relativity Theory has the capacity to stimulate peaceful coexistence in countries with diverse cultures. It acts as a deterrent to subjugation of one group or culture over another, especially in countries with diverse cultures such as South Africa and Nigeria. Nonetheless, the theory fails to recognise that while some cultures promote good moral values, there are some cultural practices that are clearly detrimental to human rights – female genital mutilation/female circumcision/female genital cutting.

Cultural Selection Theory

Cultural Selection Theory holds that certain cultures (which include cultural elements such as ideologies, norms, symbols, rituals, morals, and traditions) have the tendency to replicate themselves from one stage or one generation to another and can undergo change. Second, the theory posits that some cultures have the tendency to withstand pressures and even spread at the expense of others which then disappear. Cultures that have the capacity to stand the test of time can even absorb other cultures into themselves. These attributes of Cultural Selection Theory are analogous to Darwin's theory of natural selection (Fog 1999).

In addition, the theory of Cultural Selection implies that some cultures possessing certain features or traits that are resilient or good or attractive have the tendency to spread and reproduce, or evolve more than others that may not have those desired qualities. It is also possible that these beneficial cultural features could evolve. Fog (1999) says that it is possible that not all cultures that have the capacity to evolve are beneficial to everyone. He believes humans have the tendency to rationalise unconscious motives or justify their bad behaviours so that they appear as planned and intended, even if they were not. What then influences the evolution of culture could be the unconscious motives of the participants of the culture, the unintended consequences of rational choices, the unintended consequences of the sum of the actions of the individual members of the culture, and other such factors (Fog 1999).

Cultural Selection Theory can also be attributed to the views of the British Economist Walter Bagot, who expressed his view of why an organisation survives as follows:

‘But when once polities were begun, there is no difficulty in explaining why they lasted. Whatever may be said against the principle of “natural selection” in other

departments, there is no doubt of its predominance in early human history. The strongest killed out the weakest, as they could' (Bagot, as quoted by Fog 1999:12).

The anthropologist Edward Taylor said: 'History within its proper field, and ethnography over a wider range, combine to show that the institutions which can best hold their own in the world gradually supersede the less fit ones, and that this incessant conflict determines the general resultant course of culture' (quoted by Fog 1999:12). Taylor also said that 'the more homely and useful the art, and the less difficult the conditions for its exercise, the less likely it is to disappear from the world, unless when superseded by some better device' (Fog 1999:13).

Cultural Selection Theory can be applied in several ways in society today. For instance, the dominance of the English language in the international business arena portrays the power that the language has over other languages. Despite the fact that other languages like French are widely spoken, English keeps spreading its global dominance as the medium of instruction.

Cultural Selection Theory's strength lies in its ability to explain social inequality and why some cultures disappear at some point, especially when such cultures are absorbed by other cultures. One weakness of the theory is that, as Winsmatt (quoted by Crozier) says, there seem to be no 'standard memetic models' for analyzing cultural change that will make its comparison to Natural Selection Theory's gametes, genomes, and genes valid (Crozier 2008: 464).

Ecological Theory

Ecological Theory was propounded by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979). According to him, in order to comprehend human development, it is important to consider the entire ecological system in which growth occurs. The ecological system encompasses an evolving body of theory and research concerned with the processes and conditions that govern the lifelong course of human development in the actual environments in which human beings live (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The theory has three main assumptions:

1. the individual is an active player and applies substantial force on his or her own environment,
2. the environment can force an individual to adapt to its restrictions and conditions, and
3. the environment is perceived to comprise of dissimilar size entities that are positioned one inside another (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

The theory explains the environment as a system that is composed of five socially organised subsystems that help to support and guide human growth. The five subsystems are:

1. microsystem,
2. mesosystem,
3. exosystem,
4. macrosystem, and
5. chronosystem.

The *microsystem* refers to the relationship between a developing person and the immediate environment. The theory explains that a microsystem is a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing individual in a given face-to-face setting. The *mesosystem* consists of the linkages and processes taking place between two or among more settings containing the developing person. An example is the relationship between home and school, neighbourhood, peer-group, or workplace (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The *exosystem* consists of the connections and developments taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not comprise the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence the development of the individual (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The *macrosystem* includes the principal pattern of micro, meso, and exosystem characteristic of a given culture or subculture, with particular reference to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, lifestyles, opportunities, structures, hazards, and life course options that are embedded in each of these broader systems (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The *chronosystem* encompasses modifications over time in the characteristics and the environment in which the individual lives. Examples include changes over the life course in family structure, socioeconomic status, employment and place of residence (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

One notable asset of the Ecological Theory is that it helps a researcher to understand how different actors and factors in the environment influence a person's experiences. It highlights the unique experiences of an individual that shape that person's development. It acknowledges agency and pays attention to details, rather than wholesale generalisations that do not work for many. Research on criminal justice systems in Africa could benefit from the theory. Ecological Theory can be useful in chronicling the social ecology of a person and identifying defective subsystems that must be corrected in order to address crime and proper rehabilitation interventions for criminals. Nonetheless, an observable flaw is that the theory seems too complex to apply because an extensive scope is required to build an accurate developmental account of a person. Since the theory does not provide specific mechanisms for doing this, it would be practically challenging to decide what aspects of a person's life experience should be considered or ignored to make a useful assessment.

High and Low Context Theory

High and Low Context Theory describes the broad cultural differences among cultures and societies. The theory classifies cultures and societies into two broad categories: High Context Culture and Low Context Culture. The classification is mainly based on the perceived distinctive manner in which every culture communicates. The theory postulates that one's manner of communication, in a broader perspective, is mainly determined by one's cultural context, which at most times remains largely embedded in a person's day-to-day life (Ryan 2011).

The theory was first described by Edward Hall (1914–2009) in 1976. When he was with the United States Army during World War II, Hall observed that there were significant differences in the way members of the Army communicated. He observed that people from a particular culture tended to have similar communication patterns with the members of their group which, in turn, were quite different from those by members of other cultures who also tended to have similar manners of passing messages across. Differences in communication patterns tended to cause some differences among members of a group. Hall then carried out research to explain the reason for the difficulties caused by intercultural communication and concluded that the differences among members of a group were a result of how each member perceived reality, which was responsible for miscommunication of the most fundamental kind. Hall then classified cultures, on a country level, into two broad categories:

1. High Context Cultures and
2. Low Context Cultures.

Each has its own distinctive way of communication. Countries such as the United States, Switzerland, Germany, and Sweden fall under Low Context Culture; while African and Middle Eastern states fall under the High Context Culture (Ryan 2011).

Individuals from a High Context Culture are collectivistic, pass messages across implicitly, value relationships over material achievements, have loyalty and attachment to cultural bonds, are non-confrontational and reserved, take responsibility for their actions and failures and are able to easily multitask, etc. On the other hand, individuals from a Low Context Culture are individualistic in nature, pass messages across explicitly, value achievements and authority over interpersonal bonds, are not very culturally attached, are confrontational, are assertive, blame others for their failures, value careful and strategic planning and scheduling, and finish one task before embarking on another. One thing to note about the High Context-Low Context classification is that it is not totally a dichotomous categorisation; rather, the differences exist in a continuum (Ryan 2011).

One advantage of the High Context and Low Context Theory is its ability to offer a succinct analysis of the reasons behind the differences that exist among people from different cultural and language backgrounds. The theory is also able to offer an explanatory model that can be applied in the analysis of conflict among groups of different language backgrounds. According to Ryan 'many other cross-cultural misunderstandings are unrecognised ... Intercultural communication theories are a good starting point to frame how these kinds of cross-cultural conflicts arise and how to highlight the underlying norms that exist as cultural background knowledge or schema' (2011:231). However, the theory seems to put human beings in a box in that it fails to recognise their

dynamic nature as changing beings. In addition, the theory seems to account only for the differences in worldviews that exist among groups of individuals from similar language backgrounds and not among the individuals in a group themselves.

Linguistic Relativity Theory

Linguistic Relativity Theory links language to culture. The main postulate of the theory is that the language that individuals speak determines their perception of the world. In other words, one's reality is shaped by one's language. The theory can be presented syllogistically. First, it assumes that languages can differ distinctively in their semantics and syntactic constructions (Wolf & Holmes 2011). Second, it holds that the semantics of a language can significantly shape the way its speakers view the world and, in extreme cases, completely shapes their thoughts. This is referred to as linguistic determinism (Wolf & Holmes 2011). Third and finally, the theory posits that because one's thought pattern is shaped by one's language, speakers of different languages must think or view the world differently (Wolf & Holmes 2011).

The early pioneers of linguistic relativism include Plato and Immanuel Kant. According to Plato, 'the soul, when thinking, appears to me to be just talking' (quoted by Wolf & Holmes 2011:2). For Kant, 'thinking is speaking to ourselves' (quoted by Wolf & Holmes 2011:2). Max Muller asserts that 'language is identical with thought' (quoted by Wolf & Holmes 2011:2). The German philosophers Johann Gottfried Herder and Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand von Humboldt added their perspectives to the theory. Humboldt, for instance, looked at the role of language in forming ideas. He believed that if language has the capacity to form ideas, it must also have the capacity to shape people's attitudes. Hence, people with different languages must possess distinctive worldviews. Later, the version of linguistic relativism as postulated by the early philosophers was employed to associate thinking to expressions, both verbal and non-verbal. A later version of linguistic relativism links language to culture. And, a much later variant by Edward Sapir claimed that the culture of a people finds some reflection in the language they use (Elmes 2013:12).

Although Sapir did not doubt the existence of an objective world independent of language, he did believe that the real world is inevitably unconsciously influenced by the language patterns of a group. Benjamin Lee-Whorf extended Sapir's view to a more radical extent by stating that the relationship between language and culture is a deterministic one. From the combination of the two scholars' ideas, we have the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (see Chapter 5), which claims that we see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation (Hussein 2012:2).

Linguistic Relativity Theory is therefore a call for a deeper reflection on how different writers writing about the same phenomenon tend to write from different perspectives. The theory also shows how different countries express a certain phenomenon with so much obvious linguistic difference. For example, a closer look at the national anthems of most African countries demonstrates the linguistic tokens that cut across many of them: words like ‘God’, ‘blessed’, ‘peace’, ‘together’, and other similar words express a seemingly passive, submissive, and theocentric approach to reality. On the other hand, an analysis of the words in national anthems of many Western countries such as France and the United States reveals a revolutionary, aggressive and authoritative undertone. The terms used in these anthems show their countries’ readiness to exert influence and protect their territories, by whatever means possible, from any influence. The differences in the use of language in this way could arise from the differences in their historical experiences, which tend to shape the way people act, react, or view the world.

A major strength of Linguistic Relativity Theory is its ability to account for the reasons individuals from the same language background are more prone to agree with the opinions of others from the same language background. It also helps to explain why people from the same language background tend to come together on occasions or at events that have individuals from diverse language backgrounds. Nonetheless, the theory fails to account for the existence of differing worldviews of individuals from the same language background.

Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory was proposed by Albert Bandura in 1977 and is often described as the ‘bridge’ between Traditional Learning Theory (i.e. behaviourism) and the cognitive approach. This is because Social Learning Theory focuses on how mental (cognitive) factors are involved in learning. The theory emphasises the importance of observing and modelling the behaviours, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others. According to Bandura (1977), learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Because of this, most human behaviour is learned observationally through modelling (Bandura 1997). This means that people observe others about how an idea is formed or how new behaviours are performed, which serves as code for later personal action. Social Learning Theory assumes therefore that personality is learned. It is premised on a stimulus-response orientation of behaviourism and extends it by changing its focus to the aspect of learning being influenced by social interaction. Earlier renderings of Social Learning Theory focused on society’s attempts to teach children to behave like adults in the society. Bandura, having introduced the important role of modelling in learning, believed that behaviour can be acquired by simply watching a model (Bandura 1986).

Consequently, according to Bandura, Social Learning Theory has a link with Constructivism since it holds the view that people are active agents in their environments. Some important constructs of social learning include the following:

1. 'vicarious reinforcement: the punishment or reinforcement of the model's behaviour has the same effect on observers';
2. 'abstract modelling: abstracting a general rule from observing specific behaviours'; and
3. 'reciprocal determinism: the entire learning context includes biological and psychological characteristics of the person; the person's behaviour, and the environment' (Bandura 1986:12).

These three components influence each other and are highly interdependent.

The principle of observational learning asserts that the highest level of observational learning is achieved by first organising and rehearsing the modelled behaviour symbolically and then enacting it overtly. The coding of modelled behaviour into words, labels or images leads to better retention than simply observing it (Bandura 1973). Furthermore, the principle holds that individuals are more likely to adopt a modelled behaviour if it results in outcomes they value. Similarly, individuals are more likely to adopt a modelled behaviour if the model is similar to the observer, has an admired status, and the behaviour has functional value (Bandura 1973).

Indeed, Social Learning Theory is applicable in working with people from all backgrounds, especially children with intellectual disabilities. For example, in special schools, social learning can be applied to inculcate social and behavioural skills. In the same manner, it can be applied to modify behaviours such as anger, disrespect, and bad social interaction skills. One of the primary strengths of this theory is its flexibility in explaining differences in a child's behaviour or learning. The theory provides a more complete explanation of human learning than the behaviourist approach by recognising the role of mediational processes. Many of Bandura's ideas were developed by observing children's behaviours in laboratory settings. A major weakness of the theory is the lack of emphasis on biological processes in mediating and constraining behaviour.

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3

Decision-making, Economics, and Education – Learning/Teaching

Doctoral Scholars

This chapter entails brief elucidations of three decision-making theories, five economic theories, and eleven education (learning/teaching) theories. The theories on decision-making concern the action or process of choosing among alternative options, especially important ones. Those on economics deal with the production, consumption, and transfer of wealth. And those on education – learning/teaching – discuss the acquisition and instruction of knowledge or skills through experience, study, or by being taught.

Decision-Making

Incrementalism/Muddling-Through Theory

Incrementalism or Muddling-Through Theory is a decision-making approach which suggests that policy decisions should be made in a progressive manner. Admitting that changes cannot be wholesale, Incrementalism posits that policy decisions must be developed and implemented to respond gradually to needs. It is also termed Muddling-Through Theory because it assumes less control over the external environment in decision-making (Bailey & O'Connor 1975). According to Incrementalism, there should be a step-by-step, piece-by-piece implementation of decisions. Since change cannot be a one-time instant occurrence, Incrementalism requires that decisions on a particular issue should be made in bits. This suggests that policies meant to address a particular phenomenon of concern must be broken down into units and addressed one after the other (Bailey & O'Connor 1975).

One principle on which Incrementalism operates is that there are many competing interests and competing needs in a context of scarce societal or institutional resources (Friedman 1975). These competing interests and needs culminate into competing policy formulations that confront insufficient resources for implementation. Against this backdrop, policies must be formulated and implemented in smaller and manageable units. This suggests that a policy consideration should not be fully addressed immediately. Instead, resources should be allocated to address parts of it in a gradual but steady manner. Furthermore, parts of many competing policy needs should be given partial consideration across a period until the entire policy needs are fully addressed (Friedman 1975).

A major proponent of Incremental Theory is Charles E. Lindblom (1917–2018). In the 1950s, Lindblom's theory was a response to the growing needs of the time to explain policy-making decisions. Lindblom (1959) opined that in order to make a rational decision that maximises value, there should be significant consideration of past decisions. For Lindblom, rational decision-making aimed at fully solving a problem is unattainable and idealistic (Friedman 1975). Consequently, policy makers must focus on ameliorating the presenting problems. Incremental Theory pushes for policies that focus on the management of problems. Based on Lindblom's theories, variations such as logical incrementalism and disjointed incrementalism have emerged to provide various perspectives for progressive decision-making (Friedman 1975).

Having been tested across a number of policy fronts such as social justice and law, Incrementalism has been found to have its strengths and weaknesses. The incremental model gains its advantage in its critique of Rational Choice Theory. Since it is an impossible reality for actors to have all the needed information required to make a rational choice, relying on the Rational Choice Theory in decision-making can lead to faulty policy decisions. The incremental model provides a safer option, with decision-making focussing on selecting alternatives that are similar or marginally different from previous policies or decisions. It also ensures fairness in the distribution of resources, thereby maintaining peace and satisfaction among people even when they have competing interests (Friedman 1975).

Incremental Theory is largely irrelevant in emergency or time-bound situations. For example, in the case of maternal deaths or outbreaks of Ebola, approaching a policy from an incremental orientation will make no valuable impact on the situation at hand. Another critique of Incrementalism comes from a legal perspective, where the theory is examined in the light of entrenchment, which happens when documents like constitutions or charters entrench certain policies and prevent change (Gilbert 2017). It is argued that when entrenchment deepens, change that is gradual and non-holistic cannot attain the purpose of helping end a bad situation (Gilbert 2017). Once a law is entrenched, relying

on gradual policy processes such as repeal to bring about a change is almost impossible. The incremental approach to policy changes is weak in such instances. The technicality of legal matters in a complex human institution reveals that addressing legislative matters using incremental models can be detrimental (Gilbert 2017) because gradual amendments to faulty laws impede the need to completely repeal or replace them.

Mixed-Scanning Theory

Mixed-Scanning Theory combines useful aspects of rational decisions and incremental thinking in decision-making and policy consideration. The theory refers to the search, the gathering, and the evaluation of all information for decision-making (Etzioni 1986). Mixed-Scanning Theory combines principles of economics and the progressive idea of making choices and meeting needs. Goldberg (1975) says this approach combines higher order and lower order decision-making processes. The theory proposes that decisions must be made incrementally, paying attention to fundamental rational decisions. In any major policy issues, Mixed-Scanning holds that the rational examination and assessment of all possible options in the cost and benefits of a situation should be fairly done while distributing resources among identifiable interests (Etzioni 1986).

The theory touts itself as a third approach to Rational Choice Theory (see the next section) and Incrementalism. It is considered as a realistic approach to decision-making. It does not run away from the two extreme theories. Rather, it blends elements of both theories in policy decisions. The viability of the Mixed-Scanning Theory is in fact embedded in its methodology. Etzioni asserts that ‘the decision on how the investment of assets and time are to be allocated among the levels of scanning is, in fact, part of the strategy’ (1967:389). Although the theory takes into consideration the allocation of resources and time, it also pays attention to other factors such as the total amount of time, availability of resources and other interests.

Amitai Etzioni, born in 1929, is one of the scholars who have contributed significantly to the Mixed-Scanning Theory. Etzioni supports moral social and political societies and communitarian ideas. He established the Communitarian Network for this reason. As someone who believes in having a careful balance between individual rights and social responsibilities, autonomy and order, his ideals in the Mixed-Scanning Theory offer a striking balance between personal satisfaction and collective welfare; rationality and Incrementalism.

The theory seeks to ensure that in any decision-making quest, the best elements of rational choice thinking and Incrementalism are to be employed in order to arrive at a final conclusion. Mixed-Scanning Theory acquires its strength from its eclectic nature (Etzioni 1967).

The complexity of some issues on the African continent cannot be handled using a single approach. In instances where one is presented with making policy decisions on both cultural and emergency economic situations, such as to invest in strengthening a community culture or in refurbishing a public toilet, the best approach would be the Mixed-Scanning Theory which can pay attention to both culture and economics.

Nonetheless, the combination of the principles of two conflicting theories makes decision-making under Mixed-Scanning complex. A policy decision is not a mere intellectual exercise; it is a complex practical venture that requires the simplification of an already complex issue to make it implementable. Indeed, relying on the Mixed-Scanning approach could make decision-making unrealistic and complicated. For example, how can a decision maker know how to practically scan through the economic benefits and costs of all issues, select some of them, and finally allocate resources to address them at the same time?

Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theory (also referred to as Rational Action Theory or simply Choice Theory) is premised on the assumption that a phenomenon must be explained by taking into consideration its possible outcomes (Boudon 2003). Its orientation towards examining consequences of actions prior to decision-making makes the Rational Choice Theory one of the best decision-making theories. The theory assumes that an actor chooses an alternative that they believe brings about a social outcome that optimises their preference under subjectively conceived constraints (Sato 2013). The theory maps outcomes to numerical values for the purpose of computation before making a policy decision based on the highest outcome or expected outcome based on cost effectiveness, average benefit, or benefit ratio (Sato 2013).

Utilitarianism, developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), served as the foundation for the development of the Rational Choice Theory. These philosophers, having coined the term ‘rational decision’, then developed ideas that helped build the theory. Their main idea was that policy decisions should be rational and must be aimed that attaining maximum utility. Rational Choice Theory can be crucial in guiding policy decisions in societies where very scarce resources are expected to yield maximum utility (Sato 2013). For example, a decision to construct factories in every district in Ghana under the government’s ‘one district one factory’ flagship programme versus constructing a national cathedral can be arrived at by examining all the cost components, and the short- and long-term benefits of both projects. A good policy decision can be arrived at after comparing the outcomes using the principles of Rational Choice Theory.

Rational Choice Theory lived up to expectations by providing incontrovertible explanations of happenings of the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Soviet Union (Mortazavi 2004). As a powerful theory, it provides an approach for assessing all real or perceived benefits and consequences of a phenomenon before proceeding with implementation. When confronted with competing interests, the theory helps policy-makers to decide which of the options should benefit from the use of scarce resources in a way that will bring the ultimate benefit. For example, the theory can be used to guide the government of Kenya to decide whether to invest KSH 100 million in the purchase of motor bicycles for the transport system or purchase buses or taxis, all of which are aimed at consolidating public transportation in the capital. The theory will provide policy makers with independent tools to make rational decisions usually using statistical methods.

Rational Choice Theory finds it difficult to provide rational justifications in every situation. Some sociologists have argued that the theory has failed significantly in explaining decisions that are founded on values and nontrivial and nonconsequential beliefs (e.g. Boudon 2003). Beliefs and values do not lend themselves rationally to material costs and benefits. Hence, it would be unwise to use Rational Choice Theory as a model to arrive at a decision on issues that compete purely based on values and beliefs that are non-material in nature. Acknowledging that social stabilisation is broader than political stabilisation (Mortazavi 2004), harmony or social equilibrium is attained when attention is also given to cultural value systems rather than just the economic decisions suggested by Rational Choice Theory. A critique of the theory is that it is reductionist and skewed to the subset of economic consideration, hence missing very important parameters of social stability.

Economics

Anarchist Theory

Anarchist Theory is geared toward investigating the state of disorder originating from the absence or non-recognition of authority and controlling systems. Such characteristics are associated with the absolute freedom of individuals. Harmony in such a society is then obtained not by submission to law or by compliance to authority but by free treaties on production and consumption established among the various groups, regions and professions. The underlying principle is that the state is a capitalist institution based on force. Since the state sides with capitalists, it is an unnecessary evil.

Anarchist Theory hold that the state should be completely eradicated and replaced by voluntary institutions. These voluntary institutions would then perform their respective functions with cooperation (Woodcock 2010). This means

that there would be social control over land and the factors of production. The elimination of the state would also mean the abolition of all political limitations. Anarchists also oppose religion and private property. They contend that there is no fear of anarchy even after the abolition of the state as they believe that the motive for all crimes is the unfair division of property. Crime will be eliminated as cooperation and education spread to everyone. Such claims are underpinned by a belief in the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity (Dolgoff 1974).

Anarchist Theory can be broken down into two variants: anarchists like Tolstoy were in favour of nonviolent means to achieve their aims, while anarchists like Kropotkin were ready to adopt violent means for the achievement of their aims (Dolgoff 1974). These can be divided into more branches: Political Anarchism, Religious Anarchism, Theoretical Anarchism, Applied Anarchism, Anarchism in Political Philosophy, Anarchism in the History of Political Philosophy, Contingent, Consequentialist, Posterior Anarchism, Individualism, Libertarianism, Socialist Anarchism, Nonviolence, Violence, Disobedience, Revolution, Utopian Communities, and Non-Revolutionary Anarchism, among others (Dolgoff 1974).

Dolgoff (1974) says French socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) was one of the first philosophers to propound this theory and the first to call himself an anarchist. His book *What is Property?* contained the well-known saying: 'Property is theft'. He criticised the state because it is synonymous with private property. Proudhon believed that governments of many and by many were a very strong form of oppression. He argued that the highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy. American naturalist Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) postulated that the individual is wise. Therefore, it is right to leave him to be free (Dolgoff 1974).

A major limitation of Anarchist Theory is that although it assumes that government is evil and should be eradicated, many modern governments are welfare institutions providing public goods and redistributing wealth to address high inequality levels. The claim by anarchists that in a stateless and classless society there would be an end to crime and all the functions would be performed on the basis of mutual co-operation has been observed not to be true in modern economies. Some anarchists are in favour of adopting violent action in order to achieve their aims, which could lead to civil wars and death.

Capitalist Theory

Capitalist Theory defines an economy generally dominated by two economic agents, namely the capitalists (bourgeoisie class) and the proletariat (working class). The bourgeoisie or the upper classes are the ones who gain wealth from the proletariat, the lower classes of society. Adam Smith is regarded as the father of Capitalism which he demonstrated in his 1776 work titled *An Inquiry into*

the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Capitalism is often thought of as an economic system in which private actors own and control the factors of production. Adam Smith emphasised the nature of Capitalism as hinging on the importance of specialisation, division of labour, and the gains and prominence of trade (Baumol et al. 2007).

Capitalists get richer while the workers do all the hard work and get poorer. Capitalists also get more power to promote their self-interests. Capitalism creates a working-class group of people who soon get angry at the way they are treated, and will eventually demand changes. The essential feature of Capitalism is the desire to make maximum profit, which is achieved by paying lesser wages and charging relatively high prices for their produce. Capital assets such as plants, mines, and railways are privately owned and controlled by the capitalists. All the capital gains on these assets accrue to private owners. Labour is procured via wages which are relatively low (Baumol et al. 2007).

In Capitalist Theory, there are six major pillars of functionality that explain how an economy operates. They are

1. private property,
2. self-interest,
3. competition,
4. market mechanism,
5. freedom, and
6. the limited role of government.

Private property allows people to own tangible assets, both movable and immovable. *Self-interest* is what drives the wedges among different economic agents. People act in pursuit of their own good, without regard to sociopolitical issues. Self-interest creates *competition* among the economic markets. Barriers to entry into economic markets are established through economies of scale, efficiency and price wars. The notion of a *strong market mechanism* is of great significance. Such a mechanism determines prices in a decentralised manner through market interactions between buyers and sellers (Baumol et al. 2007). Economic agents allocate resources and naturally seek the highest reward for goods and services. Another important pillar of capitalism is the *freedom* to choose with respect to consumption, production, and investment. This leads dissatisfied customers to buy different products and investors to pursue more lucrative ventures, while workers will leave their jobs for better-paying ones. Lastly, there should be *limited government role*; the main purpose for the government is to protect the rights of private citizens and maintain an orderly environment that facilitates the proper functioning of markets (Rajan & Zingales 2003).

Critics of capitalism point to its slow speed in correcting economic challenges like recessions. In his 1936 work titled *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, John Maynard Keynes argued that capitalism struggles to recover from slowdowns in investment because a capitalist economy can remain indefinitely in equilibrium with high unemployment and no growth. This is because the government has a limited role in driving the real economic variables. Externalities and imperfect market competition are among the economic ills of a capitalist economy. Keynesian economics challenged the notion that laissez-faire capitalist economies could operate well on their own without state intervention to promote aggregate demand and fight high unemployment and deflation of the sort seen during the 1930s. During a recession, there is a consensus on the need for cutting taxes and increasing government spending in order to restore the economy to its potential. According to Rajan and Zingales, society must 'save capitalism from the capitalists' (2003:1): i.e. take appropriate steps to protect the free market from powerful private interests that seek to impede its efficient functioning

Communist Theory

Communist Theory is a philosophical approach to studying society or government based on the ideas of Karl Marx (1818–1883). The theory is grounded on the idea of a classless and egalitarian society. There is common ownership of all resources, no private property and equality. Such characteristics were first observed in Greece and in the Mazdak movement in Persia (now known as Iran), both during the fifth century. Thomas More is one of the first contributors to the theory of Communism in his work named *Utopia* in 1516. More portrayed a society based on mutual ownership of property, whose rulers administered it through the application of reason. Marx and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) contributed significantly to the theory (Engels & Marx 1969). These two German philosophers both hated the conditions that the Industrial Revolution had brought to workers. Their essays were published in a book titled *Communist Manifesto*, also known as the 'Marxist Bible', which was issued in 1848 (Sedov 1980).

The evolution of government and economic theories starts with primitive communism and moves to feudalism, capitalism, socialism and finally to Marxist communism. Primitive Communism describes how humans first lived together in small groups. In these groups, everything was shared including food, jobs, and belongings. There was no private ownership of assets like land. This was followed by feudalism, then capitalism and socialism and finally Marxist Communism. Under Marxist Communism, everyone works together to develop and benefit one another. War is a thing of the past as different groups come together to contribute to the development of their communities. Sharing and working together removes capitalist structures as everything is now provided by the people and money loses its function. All economic and productive activities are channelled to benefiting each member of the society, thereby allowing all to live their lives to the full (Sedov 1980).

The main criticism of Communism is against its practicability and application in the modern world. Despite the existence of philanthropists, the ideology of self-interest can never be ignored. Marxism is criticised as historical determinism that suppresses liberal democratic rights. It is criticised for its economic reductionism – basing almost all explanations on the influence of economics or the economic base of society (Sedov 1980).

Public Choice Theory

Public Choice Theory (see Chapter 12) defines the use of economic tools to deal with traditional and political science problems. It includes the study of political behaviour. The theory studies self-interested agents like politicians, voters and bureaucrats and their interactions. The key tools used in making public choice include standard constrained utility maximisation, game theory, and decision theory, among others (Mueller 1976). *The Journal of Economic Literature's* classification regards public choice as a sub-area of microeconomics under the analysis of collective decision making, economic models of political processes, rent-seeking, elections, legislatures, and voting behaviour. The theory has roots in positivist analysis, but is often used for normative purposes as it identifies a problem and suggests improvements to existing systems. Public Choice Theory is related to Social Choice Theory which is a mathematical approach to aggregation of individual interests and welfares of a population (Buchanan 1990).

The ancestor of modern Public Choice Theory is Swedish economist Knut Wicksell (1851–1926). In his 1896 work, he treated governments as political exchanges connecting taxes and expenditures. Public Choice Theory therefore models the government as comprised of officers who, besides pursuing the public interest, might act to benefit themselves – for example, in the budget-maximising model of bureaucracy, possibly at the cost of efficiency. The government seeks to maximise social welfare functions subject to economic constraints. The founder of modern Public Choice Theory is Scottish economist Duncan Black (1908–1991), who is sometimes called ‘the founding father of public choice’. Duncan’s works culminated in the *Committees and Elections Theory and Voting Theory* (Mueller 2008).

The processes of Public Choice Theory and state decision-making start with how a constitution is drafted and enacted. The collective which chooses the constitutional rules process will require a collaborative and a critical process starting with nationwide consultation, creating respective committees and all the processes which lead to the acceptance and implementation of the constitution. The other branch of the theory includes the study of bureaucracy (Niskanen 1971). The model depicts the top bureaucrats as being chosen by the chief executive and legislature, usually the presidency or parliament. The characteristic image of a bureaucrat is a person on a fixed salary who is concerned with pleasing those who

appointed him or her (Mueller 1976). This includes civil servants whose benefits are protected by the bureaucratic system. The system is skewed towards the self-interests of bureaucrats, causing democratic irrationality as the system works to protect itself. According to Buchanan and Tullock (1999), calculus models are used in Public Choice Theory but that does not mean that all individuals act in accordance with the behavioural assumption made, or that any one individual acts this way at all times (Buchanan 1986). Thus, the theory cannot explain the undetermined results of collective action.

Socialist Theory

Socialist Theory emerged from Capitalist Theory. Under the Socialist Revolution, all capitalists, including all the rulers, are eliminated. The low-income group previously called the workers under the capitalists now takes control of the country in making key decisions about what to produce, how to produce, and how the produced goods will be distributed (Yunker 1992). The question of the ownership of the factors of production differs in different socialist theories. It can be based on public ownership by a state machine, direct ownership by the users of the productive property through workers' cooperatives, or universally owned by all of society with administration and governing delegated to those who operate and use the factors of production. The main pillar of this system is that nothing is made for profit; the system must increase the supply of public goods which include education, health, transportation, etc. The objective is for people to benefit from economic activities (Nove 1991).

In the socialist economy, production of goods and services is done directly and solely for utilitarian reasons. Given that the natural and technical resources of the world are held in common and controlled democratically, the sole objective of production will be to meet human needs (Campbell 2002). Such an economic structure thus eliminates market-induced needs which are meant to ensure sufficient demand for products to be sold at a profit. For the socialist economy to achieve the above, a well-planned and highly coordinated production system which does not suffer from business cycles characteristic of capitalism is needed. In some socialist economic systems, planning only covers the factors of production and not the allocation of goods and services produced for consumption, which would be distributed through a market system (Campbell 2002).

Socialist Theory uses self-management and self-governance techniques. Here, equal power is the order of the day in the workplace to maximise occupational independence (Sewell 2012). A socialist form of organisation eliminates controlling hierarchies so that only a hierarchy based on technical knowledge in the workplace remains. Early writers include Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a popular political economist during the nineteenth century, and a number of

anti-capitalists like Henri de Saint Simon, Thomas Spence, and Enrico Barone. The classical economist David Ricardo also influenced the early socialist writers (Busky 2000).

Socialist Theory is criticised for its reliance on a centrally planned economy. Advocates of Libertarian Socialism and Market Socialism point to the limitations of a centrally planned economy and are in favour of decentralisation and devolution in which different regions are given the right to plan and manage their economic activities. Such moves would increase efficiency and quicken decision-making. Socialist Theory eliminates the free market and its price signals, which are considered necessary for rational economic calculation. This could also cause a lack of incentive, leading to a slower rate of technological progress and sluggish rate of growth of gross domestic product (GDP). János Kornai (1992) argues that the abolition of private ownership of the factors of production would be likely to cause inferior economic conditions for the general populace than those that would be found in market economies. He argues that depriving the market of price signals is highly likely to complicate calculations of the rational concepts to be used in allocating resources (Kornai 1992).

Education – Learning/Teaching

Andragogy

Andragogy as a concept was coined from two Greek words, ‘*andr*’ (man) and ‘*agogos*’ (leading), and literally means ‘man-leading’. Andragogy, also known as Adult Learning Theory, simply refers to the art and science of adult learning. In 1833, German educator and editor Alexander Kapp used the concept to describe Plato’s educational theory but this was disputed until 1926 when American educator Eduard C. Lindeman wrote extensively on the concept (Van Enckevort 1971). In 1968, the concept finally came into the limelight when American educator Malcom Shepherd Knowles (1913–1997) proposed Adult Learning Theory and called any form of adult education or learning Andragogy. Before then, the whole idea of teaching and learning was unidirectional (encapsulated in a well-used concept of Pedagogy), where ‘teacher’ passes knowledge to ‘students’ without due consideration for the possibility of ‘students’ teaching ‘teacher’. Knowles was of the opinion that adults’ ways of learning differ markedly from those of children. His thoughts on Andragogy sought to emphasise the uniqueness and strength of adult learners (Van Enckevort 1971).

Knowles’ theory of Andragogy rests on key assumptions which include:

1. the need for adults to know why learning is important;
2. adults’ ability to decide what to learn;
3. the importance of experience in the learning process;
4. the positive relationship between a readiness to learn and the relevance of the learning content to evolving social responsibilities;

5. adults' expectation of life-centred content; and
6. adults' internal motivation towards learning (Knowles 1980; Krajnc 1989; Knowles, Holton & Swanson 1998; Noor, Harun & Aris 2012).

More elaborately, people mature over time and this gives them more control over their 'self-concept' which permits them to actively take part in the learning process. Next, individuals accumulate vast 'experience' as they mature, and this serves as a useful resource for learning. Also, individuals' 'readiness to learn' increases as they mature and see the responsibilities that are attached to their social roles. Also, 'orientation to learning' changes from subject-centredness to problem-centredness as individuals mature because knowledge application happens immediately and not later (as Pedagogy claims). In addition, emphasis is placed on internal 'motivation to learn' (such as a self-driven goal) as individuals mature, unlike external motivation (such as reward and punishment) in child learning (Knowles 1980).

Based on these assumptions, Knowles' theory of Andragogy rests on four principles applicable to adult learning. First, involvement of adults in the planning, process, and evaluation of their learning is important since they are 'self-directed'. E-learning, for instance, is an example where learners are self-directed and under less supervision: these have proven successful in developing countries (Barteit et al. 2019; Hubalovsky, Hubalovska & Musilek, 2019; Al-Fraihat, Joy & Sinclair 2020). Second, the basis of learning activities should focus on 'addition to knowledge', considering adults' life experience. This is a deviation from Pedagogy whereby a child's previous knowledge is not often recognised or seen as relevant. Effective learning requires that learning is directed towards building on prior knowledge as reflected in many pre-colonial African (Egizii 2015; Chen & Hong 2016). Third, it is expedient for the content of the learning to be relevant to adults' personal lives and works. With the emergence of unprecedented social problems affecting all facets of people's lives, knowledge must be directed towards solving immediate problems and learning/teaching must aim at achieving the same. Fourth, adult learning centres on problem-solving and not content memorisation (Kearsley 2010). The focus of learning must be redirected and the use of small group discussions (or a small number of students in a class) that will allow all participants significant contribution should be emphasised.

Andragogy fails to recognise different kinds of adults in different places and times and with different preferences; as a result, the theory cannot be adequately applied to all adults: third-agers and fourth-agers, young, middle-aged and older adults, healthy and unhealthy, working and retired adults, among many other classifications. In other words, differences in learning are associated with individual psychosocial and political economic characteristics such as context, power and culture, and not according to age or one's stage of life (Hanson 1996; Noor, Harun & Aris 2012). Furthermore, it has been questioned whether the continuous use

of the word ‘adults’ in Andragogy suggests that the theory only applies to adults and not children. In reality and in its true sense, Andragogy applies to both adults and children as Andragogy-Pedagogy represents a continuum process requiring a student-directed and/or teacher-directed approach depending on many factors, including context (Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner 2006). Empirically, some of the assumptions of Andragogy such as self-directed e-learning especially among adults have not been proven (Blondy 2007), and preference for an Andragogy-Pedagogy model is not one-sided; instead, it is located along the Andragogy-Pedagogy continuum (Delahaye, Limerick & Hearn 1994; Noor, Harun & Aris 2012). Perhaps, the most radical of these criticisms was the one provided by Kidd (1973) who stated that the principle of learning is a lifelong experience and that building Adult Learning Theory or Andragogy is pointless.

Conflict Theory

This theory postulates that society is made up of different groups and interests that compete for both power and resources. So rather than these groups working together for a social good, they compete for power and scarce resources and this division has led to two broad classes of people: the *haves* and the *have-nots*. The ‘*haves*’, usually called the bourgeoisie, are the owners of the means of production such as farms, businesses, and so on; the *have-nots*, usually called the proletariat, are the workers who earn wages and are of benefit to the owners of the means of production (Cole 2008).

The origins of Conflict Theory can be traced back to the classic works of Karl Marx who believed that the school as an institution is not striving for social equilibrium at all, but that it reinforces and perpetuates social inequalities that arise from class, race, gender and ethnicity. To conflict theorists, the school preserves the status quo and pushes people of lower status into obedience, protecting the power of those who rule society. The purpose of education is to maintain social inequality. Nearly every aspect of school functioning (academic achievement, level of aspiration, extracurricular activities, or drop-out rate, for example) is influenced by social class. Functionalists claim that schools sort pupils based upon merit, but conflict theorists argue that schools sort pupils along distinct class and ethnic lines. In other words, schools train those of the working class to accept their position as lower-class members of the society and those of the upper class to maintain their position (Ballantine & Hammack 2012).

Conflict theorists hold that the way one receives formal education is determined by social class which can dictate the ability to access and fund education. Power groups have access to resources and life chances which the unprivileged have not, a situation leading to social class reproduction. These theorists also argue that the curriculum reflects a dominant culture, not shared values. School knowledge is based on what is valued by the ruling class (Ballantine & Hammack 2012).

For example, when Zambia got its independence in 1964, the slogan ‘One Zambia One Nation’ was used. This slogan, instead of uniting the people of Zambia, was used to silence those people who would try to challenge the president’s decisions and way of ruling. The president’s power and that of other ruling-class people in Zambian society were maintained during that period. Consequently, inequality among people in society was widened.

One of the major strengths of the theory is that it can be employed to explain social change and how it is brought about by minority groups within the school set-up to effect change. Proponents of the theory urge the minorities to wake up from their slumber and revolt to receive the same education and equal opportunities, bringing about social change. This mode of ‘unmasking’ is one of the attractive elements of Conflict Theory. This also emphasises individual creativity, recognising that in any situation in which a person finds themselves, adaptations can be made to change the situation.

Conflict Theory is limited to certain environments. For example, the theory only affirms the negative and conflicted state of society and discounts all acts of kindness as having an ulterior motive or personal agenda. The theory suggests that the division between social classes is usually a power struggle in which one group seeks domination and control over the weaker group, neglecting that this power struggle may also exist within the weaker group.

Ergonagy

The term Ergonagy originated from the Greek words *ergon*, which means in English ‘work’, and *agogos*, which denotes ‘lead’. Generally, Ergonagy Theory refers to ‘the art and science of helping people learn how to work’ (Bangura 2017:1). This concept is associated with education and training that promotes one’s occupational, vocational and professional skills (Bangura 2017). In other words, the theory supports a continual combination of academic and vocational education or skills for improved working opportunities throughout an individual’s life whether in one or several careers.

According to Tanaka and Evers (1999), Ergonagy Theory rests on three basic key principles. The first and foremost is its integration of Pedagogy and Andragogy as a strategy for applied ideal learning. This principle emphasises a combination of those two models in order to enhance high-quality vocational learning (Tanaka & Evers 1999). The second principle is Ergonagy’s promotion of life-long education devoted to knowledge and skills associated with work. The third principle is the theory’s assumption of the considerate co-existence of humankind and nature. It seeks to reduce consumption and environmental wear by promoting education and training that include the importance of work that protects the environment (Tanaka & Evers 1999).

This theoretical approach is imperative for Africa's education system to fill the void created by preceding models. If well-planned in the context of solving practical societal problems, it can help to reduce unemployment as well as help in the development of African economies. Many African countries are encouraged to adopt and implement the tenets of this theory especially in secondary schools.

Among the theory's strengths is the ability to subsume strategies of Pedagogy and Andragogy to benefit both the individual and society (Tanaka & Evers 1999). During childhood and adolescence, learning is based on societal needs; and, during adulthood, teaching is based on one's individual interests and technological and job skills. The theory impacts an individual's subsequent careers and retirement activities due to the fact that learning is expected to produce multiple outcomes like securing a future life, leisure and work. Ergonagy rejuvenates and encourages African traditional education systems which, despite not having curricula content in the disciplines of arts, science, economics, among others, can weld children's daily routines and livelihoods of their families and lives into a single curriculum to prepare them to function efficiently in their communities.

Ergonagy is limited by the fact that it compiles individualities (traits) which stakeholders perceive as popular but lacks empirical scrutiny of the outcomes and challenges that they represent. Some studies have indicated that with the exception of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, a majority of African countries remain weak in integrating life-long learning in the pedagogical and organisational delivery systems. This, according to Walters (2006), has been attributed to the impracticality of providing life-long learning materials.

The theory needs to factor in the aspect of financial constraints as a hindrance to individual work progress. High rates of unemployment and poor living standards in the global South have affected the implementation of this theory in Africa.

Functional Theory

Functional Theory focusses on the way something works for a society and so looks at the role of education in a society. Functional Theory is based on the works of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton. These theorists viewed education as one of the important social institutions in a society, believing that the educational system and society are intertwined (Theodorson 1969).

The theory views education as having two important types of functions:

1. the manifest or primary functions and
2. the latent or secondary functions.

The manifest functions are those that are intended and visible and include transfer of knowledge and skills to children, socialisation, social placement, and cultural

innovation. The latent functions are those that are unintended and hidden and include, among many others, childcare, the establishment of peer relationships, the transmission of core values, social control, individualism, fostering self-esteem, and replacement of the family (Merton 1968). Functionalists also emphasise the interconnectedness of society by focusing on how each part of a society influences and is influenced by other parts, meaning that any change in education reflects a change in society and vice versa (Theodorson 1969).

The main strength of Functionalist Theory is that it posits that humans are predictable; therefore, one can tell over time how an education system will influence people. Also, humans are driven by values which aim to maintain social equilibrium; in the education setup, moral values such as integrity, honesty and punctuality are part of the hidden curriculum and contribute to society. The school transmits culture, promotes social and political integration and maintains social control.

The main weakness of the theory is the way it overemphasises social stability brought about by the education system and ignores other aspects of education that perpetuate social inequalities. The theory also ignores how the school can contribute to struggles over scarce resources.

Heutagogy

Heutagogy is an education theory that entails the study of self-determined learning within an educational environment (Hase & Kenyon 2013). This theory promotes a learner-centred instructional strategy that emphasises the development of autonomy, capacity, and capability. It looks at the learner as having the ability to set the learning objectives, resources, and means of learning and learning outcomes. In other words, it allows for the recognition of the critical importance of the learner in all aspects of the learning process (Hase & Kenyon 2013).

Chris Kenyon and Stewart Hase pioneered the theory in 2000 as a holistic form of learning and teaching that emphasises vocational, occupational and professional purposes with four basic assumptions. The first is *learners' agency* (learner-centredness) which highlights a self-defined path not designated by the instructor. It encourages giving learners complete responsibility to manage their own learning in addition to assessing their own success. The second is *capability* – the focus on developing capable learners who are prepared for the demands of complex and changing environments. The third is the principle of *self-reflection* and *metacognition* (double-looping), where a learner engages in self-reflection of the new knowledge they have learnt and the different ways through which the knowledge has been acquired. The fourth and final is the tenet of *non-linear teaching and learning* that empowers the learner to determine their own learning pathways (Hase & Kenyon 2013).

Heutagogy can be relevant in many developing countries where computer technology is gaining ground and social media outlets such as Twitter, WhatsApp, and Facebook are increasingly serving the young generation. It can offer support for learner-determined learning, and personalisation of learning by using connectivity networks that can bridge the gap between academics and other professionals. Heutagogy facilitates a new role for learners as active participants rather than passive recipients. The University of South Africa (UNISA), for instance, serves over 300,000 urban and rural students across Africa in First and Third World settings (Louw 2014).

The theory is ideal for the distance and online learning environments that many African universities are now encouraging their students to adopt. Through this method, students can enrol for online Master's and PhD programs on the continent and around the world. In countries like Uganda where the Ministry of Education and Sports is continuously embracing and encouraging e-learning, the theory can be helpful.

Among Heutagogy's strengths is the fact that it envisages a natural progression from earlier educational methodologies to allow an ideal approach to learning in the twenty-first century. This is because the theory provides a foundation for developing learning ecologies which can be maximised by digital media. Together with other available resources, learners can explore many community problems in order to become problem-solvers and experts in their different communities. Bangura (2005) recognises the theory as a potential route to the finding of the African voice as well as promoting its autonomy to suit the African context.

Heutagogy emphasises self-discovery which can develop confidence in a learner's perceptions to enable them to interrogate their interpretation of reality within the framework of competence. It is therefore an ideal approach for the current global market's demand for creative and competent employees within different organisations.

The limitations of the theory are manifest in its non-applicability at certain levels and in the area of assessment. For instance, in primary schools, it may be difficult for the learners to know how and what is required of them to gain certain skills. Also, the tenet of learning agency emphasises learners in determining their path which may turn problematic because teachers and learners are both learners. This makes it difficult to ascertain who the learner really is and whether learning has taken place.

Interactionist Theory

Interactionist Theory states that meanings are derived from interactions among individuals. Consequently, the theory focuses on the interactions during the schooling process and the outcomes of those interactions. The theory was influenced by the works of early sociologists and philosophers such as George

Simmel, Charles Cooley, George Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman. These scholars emphasised that human behaviour is influenced by definitions and meanings that are developed and maintained through symbolic interactions among people. In other words, a person's identity or sense of self is shaped by social interaction (Ballantine & Hammack 2012).

According to Manis and Meltzer (1978), people develop a sense of self-concept by observing how others interact with and label them. As a result, the interaction between teachers and students can give rise to expectations on both sides. For example, if a teacher expects a certain behaviour from a student, this expectation can lead to that very behaviour – i.e., a 'teacher expectancy effect'. Students pick up on their teachers' expectations of them and perform accordingly: i.e. a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. Students may pick up some subtle cues from the teacher about how well they should be performing. Thus, teacher's expectations of students can affect the learning process as students tend to behave in relation to what the teacher expects (Manis & Meltzer 1978).

In African schools such as those in Zimbabwe and eSwatini, the Interactionist Theory is relevant to classroom teachers and pupils. Some teachers use praises such as 'excellent' and 'good work' and rewards in the classroom. Some call their pupils 'bright', 'brilliant' and other names, and these affect the pupils positively in terms of academic achievement. Or teachers might label some pupils as bullies. These pupils eventually behave in accordance with the label, and bullies usually perform badly in their academic subjects. Alvidrez and Weinstein (1999) in their study on the subject conclude that teacher expectations explain some of the reasons some learners are successful and happy at school and others are not. As stated by Covington (1992), teacher expectations do often play a role in students' classroom achievements.

The major strength of this theory is that it helps us to understand what happens in schools themselves and how it is relevant for larger society: e.g., how children's playground activities reinforce gender-role socialisation. Girls tend to play cooperative games, while boys play more competitive sports. It also underscores the relationships between symbols and a person's behaviour (Booher-Jennings 2008).

A major weakness of this theory is that symbols may be interpreted differently or wrongly by different groups of people. So, at school, pupils can interpret their teachers wrongly. In addition, Interactionist Theory does not focus heavily on relationships between a formal education system and the economy. While the theory can be used to document how teachers' expectations and attitudes of requirements from students affect their opportunities in life and education, it fails to define the exact process of how teachers form these expectations or how students may communicate subtle messages to teachers about intelligence, skill, and so forth (Blumer 1969).

Organisational Theory

According to Kritsonis (2016), Organisational Theory is used to describe how schools and school systems are organised and managed. The major founders of and contributors to the theory are Frederick Tylor, Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick, and Max Weber. Organisational Theory is categorised into

1. the bureaucratic,
2. the scientific management,
3. the human relations, and
4. the open systems approach (Kritsonis 2016).

Bureaucratic Organisational Theory focuses on the structure and administrative processes of an educational organisation. It envisages

1. a hierarchical arrangement with separation of authority,
2. task specialisation among employees (division of labour),
3. hiring of professional personnel based on technical knowledge,
4. separation of personal and organisational property, and
5. implicit rules and regulations that govern official decisions and actions.

The intent of this theory is to maximise rational decision-making and facilitate increased efficiency within the organisation. This organisational theory has drawn four criticisms:

1. hierarchical authority can perpetuate rigidity and adherence to rules,
2. the impersonal focus can result in low morale and alienation,
3. division of labour can stifle initiative, and
4. informal relationships and individual needs are ignored (Goffman 1974).

Scientific Management Organisational Theory pays attention to increasing efficiency and maximising human productivity by identifying the ‘best’ way to do a job. Scientific analysis and time-and-motion studies were used to identify and help eliminate muscular and physiological activities that lead to worker fatigue. In an effort to optimise work performance, pay was linked to output. This theory has been criticised because it embodies a mechanistic view of workers as extensions of machines (Goffman 1974).

The major lens of the Human Relations Organisational Theory is on the social and affective needs of employees and emphasises the importance of feelings, attitudes, and the social climate of organisations. Although the basic organisational structure may resemble a bureaucratic model, informal interactions that exist outside bureaucratic norms or formal dimensions of an organisation are identified. Employees whose social and psychological needs have been fulfilled are motivated to work more productively (Goffman 1974).

Systems Organisational Theory can be viewed from three different perspectives:

1. biological (living organisms),
2. mechanical (automobiles), and
3. social (organisations).

Within each of these perspectives, there are two basic system types:

1. closed and
2. open.

Closed systems, like the bureaucratic and human relations models, have impenetrable boundaries and derive few inputs from the environment. Although thought to be self-sufficient, these systems can experience entropy, a movement to disorder, lack of resource transformation, and eventually death. In contrast, open systems have permeable boundaries exchanging resources with the environment. The open systems approach views organisations as open systems that interact with the environments in which they exist. The relationship of organisational parts and the link between the organisation and its larger environment are stressed. The input-throughput-output model is used in this approach. Organisations maintain themselves by processing inputs from their environments and converting them into outputs (Goffman 1974). One criticism of the systems approach is that it fails to adequately account for changes that result from interactions among people (Goffman 1974).

Pedagogy

This education theory is specifically formulated to study teaching/learning practices involving children. Its pivotal tenets highlight the underlying processes that teaching, learning and assessment follow. Pedagogy emphasises the study of methods in education. The theory addresses the fundamental issues that are peculiar to a unidirectional teaching method whereby instructions are handed over by the teacher to the students without objection or contribution (Freire 1970). According to Knowles (1984) and Bangura (2004), Pedagogy is suggestive of imposition and compelling attendance. This attribute contrasts with that of the Andragogy model which is more interactive and encourages learners' participation as against the inherent feature of dependence found in Pedagogy.

In Pedagogy, the entire process, methods, and even the type of study materials, are decided by the teacher because of the dependent nature of the learners (Tam 2010; Noor, Harun & Aris 2012). The instructional materials are expected to complement verbal and qualitative teaching. In this learning technique, the teacher defines the expected standard of intellectual response from the learners without paying attention to individual peculiarities and talents, leaving the learners at the receiving end.

The applicability of the Pedagogy Theory within the context of doctoral supervision in Africa is apposite. As Ellsworth (1999) argues, the Pedagogy model of teaching has elements of domination and victimisation, and this is the main reason some doctoral supervision processes drag on for longer than necessary. Supervisors try to impose decisions on the supervisee. At the very extreme, this practice often leads to drop-out cases among students.

One of the drawbacks of Pedagogy is that in a place where teachers do not receive enough training or where they do not have the skills to deal with students' learning deficiencies (for instance autistic pupils or other kinds of challenges), it becomes difficult for teachers to pass on knowledge. That is why the modern approach is called 'intellect-led'. This means that teaching is inspired by the abilities of the learners to identify and clearly state their own learning paths. This is also why artificial intelligence is coming to the fore in education, as it is no longer teacher-centric. It is not just about reading a text and passing it down as understood by the teacher, but about how it tallies within the situational complexities of the learner. This is done taking into consideration the intellect, psychological, psychoanalysis, and cultural factors affecting the individual learner so that the teacher no longer has a messianic approach but now has a participatory one. With the modern Pedagogy approach, everybody is taught based on his/her peculiarities, especially his/her intellectual prowess and disposition (Ellsworth 1999). Kullman (2019) suggests that pedagogic materials should be close to the lived experiences of the learner because the configurations and experiences of learners vary and that should be a critical variable for consideration.

In childhood education learning, classroom punishment is a mechanism that is seen to ensure orderliness in Pedagogy (Tam 2010). But this could swing to either side of the pendulum. Some pupils might become apprehensive or timid while others might improve on their academic ability as desired and expected by the teachers.

Although Pedagogy nurtures and grooms the learner, it also represses the intellectual ability of the learner. Pedagogy has become outdated because teaching and training are now more interactive. The Montessori Model, for instance, provides early educational support and one-on-one coaching for the child (Kinshuk 2002).

Social Closure Theory

As its name suggests, Social Closure Theory is an approach used to explain the type of social structure in which less advantaged (socio-economically, educationally, etc.) people are excluded from certain societal goods and privileges. While these boundaries are to the advantage of some individuals, others are at a disadvantage. The theory describes how social exclusion (Coetzee et al. 2019) creates some level of marginalisation and discrimination of those with little or no access to certain

opportunities. The 'privileged' use this opportunity not only to exclude others but also to monopolise resources, thereby demonstrating selfishness. Rooted in Max Weber's ideas postulated posthumously by Gerth and Mills (1946), Social Choice Theory promotes a framework that explains the different types of social marginalisation and exclusions prevalent in societies. This theory establishes that people may be alienated from a social group because they lack the capacity for inclusion, thereby giving monopolistic advantage to a few fortunate individuals, an outcome Schirmer and Michailakis (2015) call 'functional differentiation'.

Social Closure Theory posits that some members of society are excluded using criteria such as socioeconomic status, education, and knowledge, race, ethnicity and place of residence. The common practice of funding elementary and middle schools on the basis of local or municipal taxes is a clear case of social closure (per exclusion). With this practice, we have a situation where the low-income areas of cities, often populated by ethno-racial minorities, have less resources due to their lower tax base. Meanwhile, with the insistence that pupils attend school in their neighbourhoods, low-income children encounter social closure in their effort to access better schools outside of their poor neighbourhoods. This empowers the more privileged in society over the less privileged (Foucault 1978). Frank Parkin (1979) argues that in societies that are capitalist-oriented, social exclusion implies lack of capacity-building in certain individuals. This could be in the areas of academic and professional advantage and property ownership, etc. Parkin therefore suggests education would increase economic worth and respect that would translate into social inclusion.

According to Larkin (1983), the critical elements of exclusion basically take two forms:

1. formal or official, such as those that are products of the state; and
2. informal or unofficial, such as those that are products of family and relationships and manifested in different social contexts such as ethnicity, language, racism, gender, politics and governance, education and learning, marriage and family, profession, etc.

Social Closure Theory cannot be divorced from social class/status structures where interactions are balanced among people of relatable social status or imbalanced as in the case of a superior-inferior dichotomy. Murphy (1988) argues that even within interactions in a group of equal status, there exists a hierarchy that produces a group of people with similar interests which is oblivious of other members of the group. Put differently, social closure has layers and opportunities, and these are assessed based on disclosed or undisclosed criteria .

A major drawback of Social Closure Theory is that attention is not paid to the ameliorating mechanisms deployed to salvage the ruins of exclusion: for example, the efforts of social service providers like electricity and water suppliers and waste management bodies. Such service providers' scope is limited to cushioning of

the effect of exclusion and may not include the excluded into social groups. Nevertheless, these gestures may increase the chances of inclusion into existing socially closed groups. The position of Parkin (1979) shifts the pendulum of blame to the excluded rather than addressing a critical cause of ‘social construct’ that has been perceived and accepted as the norm. On the flip side, he underscores contemporary realities that have economic underpinnings with little or no emphasis on other aspects such as social factors (Parkin 1979).

Social Closure Theory best describes a plethora of social issues across Africa. Having educational or professional qualifications is not a guarantee of social inclusion because there are many higher degree holders who still experience exclusion especially in the search for economic empowerment. In that context, an educational criterion which Parkin (1979) emphasises as a requirement for economic empowerment that promises social belonging is questionable. In the same vein, the theory resonates with women marginalised from education especially in pre-colonial Africa and who suffer its residual consequences: exclusion from political participation, leaving the continent and its people economically weak.

Tirbyi

Tirbyi is an Arabic term which refers to a form of education which contrasts with Western education in terms of cultural orientation. It derives from the Islamic philosophy and way of life, *tawhid*. The term Tirbyi is associated with Bangura (2004), who argues that despite having different foundations, Western education and Islamic education – which Tirbyi epitomises – have something in common: i.e. they both prioritise knowledge. Tirbyi seeks to impart knowledge relying solely on the standards set by religious institutions. Bangura (2004) explains Tirbyi as operating to conform to an eternal force by championing the cause of unity. Tirbyi encourages the pursuit of knowledge and postulates that only Allah can give it (Qur’an 17:36; 20:114).

According to Bangura (2004), Tirbyi has three basic tenets:

1. religiosity,
2. consensus, and
3. dialogue.

Religiosity has to do with the belief that knowledge essentially comes from Allah and He alone has the monopoly on knowledge. To obtain knowledge, one must inevitably rely on God. For Tirbyi, knowledge is built on religious practices and beliefs. The *consensus* tenet of Tirbyi is demonstrated in its pursuit of widespread agreement (consensus) and reconciliation among peoples of the world. Islamic traditional societies and culture, including their educational systems, are built on this tenet of Tirbyi. The consensus tenet of Tirbyi promotes and protects the opinions and positions of minority groups in societies, while also appreciating

individual and group differences. This ensures societal and group unity (Bangura 2004). The *dialogue* aspect of Tirbyi emphasises flexibility, consideration for others, and unity in diversity. This implies that humans must be accommodating of others in all things, including in teaching, knowing the differences in skills, assimilation rate, and languages, and so on. Humans must be able to see and consider other humans in their actions and decisions; they must be ready to let go of certain 'self-interests' for the good of others. Humans must 'dialogue' their differences with their fellows and be able to shift ground whenever the need arises. The dialogue tenet of Tirbyi has been identified as a major factor responsible for the growth of Islam all over the world (Said & Bangura 2004).

Though its basic tenets, Tirbyi encourages unity in diversity, recognises the place and importance of knowledge in societies, and emphasises the need for human selflessness. All these characteristics are important to aid learning and teaching, and societal growth and development. Tirbyi is important in explaining, for instance, the activities of some radical Islamic groups. For example, the activities of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN), the Boko Haram in Nigeria, and the Islamic Movements in West Africa could be traced to some of the arguments of Tirbyi. These groups, just as Tirbyi posits, believe that knowledge can only be obtained through Islamic ways and that only Allah gives knowledge. The groups condemn Western education in its entirety and propagate the replacement of Western education with Islamic education (Tirbyi) which is rooted in the Holy Qur'an.

Tirbyi, however, falls short in not providing sufficient explanation for some Islamic extremism which exists even within the knowledge obtained from the Holy Qur'an. It fails to account for why people kill others while justifying their actions by the knowledge they obtain from Allah. The quest to impose such knowledge obtained from Allah on heterogeneous and religiously diverse societies across the world has resulted in religious crises and acts of Islamic extremism. While Tirbyi paints the picture that this sort of knowledge promotes peace, unity and selflessness, some radical groups have betrayed this and Tirbyi has not been able to account for this deviance.

*Ubuntu*gogy

Ubuntugogy is an African education paradigm embedded in the Ubuntu existential philosophy which emphasises community and cultural and social values, rather than individualism (Ganyi & Owan 2016). The father of Ubuntugogy, Abdul Karim Bangura, defines it as 'the art and science of teaching and learning undergirded by humanity towards others' (Bangura 2017:3). He advocates for knowledge systems that are integral to the traditional African environment.

Characterising it as an African-centred education paradigm, Bangura coined the term ‘Ubuntu-gogy’ from ‘Ubuntu’ in 2005 to demystify the reasons underlying the failure of Western-orientated educational theories to provide solutions to Africa’s education problems – seen for example in issues like low literacy rates. He urges African people and scholars to enhance their creativity by using ideas and methodologies that are compatible in the larger historical, economic, cultural and political African context (Bangura 2017). Bangura’s Ubuntu-gogy is based on three major tenets of Ubuntu.

First, Ubuntu rests upon religiosity, believing that Africans are indisputably religious. Ubuntu holds that ‘a person is a person through other persons’ and so ‘a person does not only exist as an independent entity but also as part of the entire humanity’. The entirety of a person can be expressed through the concept of ‘familyhood’ that metamorphoses into a true African society. To many Africans, dying is the ultimate home-coming and our ancestors are part of the extended family. In African tradition, the ‘dead are not dead’, which makes Africans believe and respect them as both sides care for and depend on each other. Ubuntu calls for deep respect and regard for religious beliefs and practices that Western education systems, with their epistemological approaches which detach Africans from their religion, failed to uproot. Ubuntu-gogy challenges policy makers and education practitioners in Africa to develop value-centred curricula applicable to the needs of their communities and to ensure that science and technology be generalised in ways that are relevant to address the problems of rural communities where most Africans live (Bangura 2017).

Second, Ubuntu’s principle of consensus-building provides the capacity for the pursuit of consensus and reconciliation. Although there may be hierarchy in the African tradition, all members in a group are given a chance to speak and deliberate before cohesion and consensus can be attained. Bangura emphasises slogans like ‘we are one’ or ‘unity is strength’ vis-à-vis Ubuntu-gogy. If applied in African education systems, the gap between African elites and the communities from which they come can be narrowed to ensure that education is available to all Africans and knowledge is drawn from communities (Bangura 2017).

Third and finally, Ubuntu sees dialogue as a means of inspiring us to expose ourselves to others in order to encounter humanness to inform and enrich our own. Bangura (2017) emphasises the genuine otherness of our fellow humans in order to appreciate the diversity in languages, histories, values and customs, all of which make up society. Ubuntu-gogy is an ideal vehicle for the increased input of African knowledge into the body of global human knowledge and for linkages between sources of African knowledge and centres of learning on the continent and in the Diaspora. The theory breaks the vicious cycle of the domination of Western-oriented approaches in knowledge production.

Ubuntu's diverse approaches can be applied in the area of conflicts, especially the intra- (with multi-layered issues of ethnicity, boundaries, resources and inequality) and inter-state conflicts that have touched all aspects of African life. The comradeship and sense of moral responsibility that this philosophical assumption emphasises can eliminate individual interests among African political leaders, major international actors and African Union member states. This unity can, through conflict-resolution mechanisms, foster social progress in the areas of peace, security, and development.

Drawing on Ubuntu, political leaders and education ministries in Africa can examine why significant amounts of human and financial investments in the education sector have failed to translate into quality education and better service delivery. This can help them develop value-centred curricula and make policy reforms applicable to the needs of their communities and citizens. The moral literacy emphasised in Ubuntu can inform practitioners, stakeholders and students in the education sectors of the different countries with a spirit of Pan-Africanism whereby education should promote peaceful coexistence and be available for the good of all Africans. Ubuntu provides the possibility of reawakening all sectors, researchers and politicians to the importance of African indigenous knowledge systems and practices that can address the realities of the day on the continent.

Ubuntu calls for a relational ethical framework in the production and dissemination of human knowledge on the global market. The theory is limited by the fact that its applicability and success depends on the implementation commitments of the concerned communities. In South Africa, for example, Ubuntu is practiced as a widespread way of life but issues like xenophobic attacks are still manifest in society. As the theory develops, insights on how school systems in African countries can respond to social changes caused by globalisation and migration (and suggested mechanisms of protection from their interference, infiltration, and negative inferences) would be welcome.

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Family, Geography, and Health and Medicine

Doctoral Scholars

Concise explications of two family, twelve geography and three health and medicine theories are presented in this chapter. The first group of theories postulates notions about a group consisting of parents and children living together in a household. The second group posits ideas regarding physical features of the earth and its atmosphere, and of human activity as it affects and is affected by these, including the distribution of populations and resources, land use, and industries. The third group broaches conceptions relating to the state of being free from illness or injury and the science or practice of the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of diseases.

Family

Biological Theory

Theories on family have been dominated by behavioural scientists for centuries without recourse to the role of biological factors. Biological Theory seeks to explain the influence of genetic factors on the behaviour of family members. It argues that genetic factors can only support (and not replace) the role that the environment plays on the behaviour of family members. According Ehrman and Parsons (1981), Charles Darwin was the first to introduce Biological Theory in the field of genetics and evolution research in 1859. Although psychologist William James (1842–1910) recognised the role of physiological processes in his study, these processes were neither empirically established, nor was their nature known until very recently when biological determinants of family processes and behaviour became an acceptable explanation in academic discourse (Booth, Carver & Granger 2000). This has generated what is now commonly known as the nature-nurture debate.

The introduction of genetics into family studies rests on two major pillars. The first is to recognise those factors that actually influence psychosocial behaviour without attributing those factors to either genetics or the environment by chance. The second is to advance a better model for the explanation of psychosocial behaviour. In other words, attempts to understand the biopsychosocial determinants of family behaviour prompted studies that examined the interrelationships between and among biological, psychological and social processes of family life (Cairns, Gariépy & Hood 1990; Pereira & Smith 2006; Frazier 2020; Odimegwu et al. 2020).

According to Biological Theory, DNA defines individual uniqueness and is inherited by one's children (Seringhaus & Gerstein 2008). This genetic factor influences the synthesis of proteins that combine to make the systems involved in behaviour. Genes mediate both short-term (such as response to hunger and sex) and long-term (such as reproduction and growth) processes through hormones, chemical messengers that balance and control bodily functions (Booth, Carver & Granger 2000). Hormones like testosterone, dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA), oxytocin, estradiol and cortisol have been established to influence individual and family behaviour (D'Onofrio & Lahey 2010). In other words, genetic factors have been confirmed to have an influence on behaviour right from childhood through to adolescence and adulthood.

Empirical studies by Udry, Morris and Kovenock (1995) and Walther et al. (2019) confirmed that hormones (such as estradiol and others that are related to reproduction) influence women's depression and decision to have children, initiation of and interest in sexual activity, and likeliness to conceive. Also, mothers' strong feelings of attachment to their children and calm feelings while breastfeeding their infants have been established to be caused by estradiol, which triggers the production of oxytocin – a particular hormone that influences various cognitive, affiliative, maternal and reproductive behaviour (Altemus et al. 1995; Kim et al. 2014). Moreover, later child development, parent-child relations, mate selection, and marital relationship quality and stability are all influenced by some biological factors (Freese, Li & Wade 2003; Kendler & Baker 2006; Diamond 2009). Today, there is growing research on the biological determinants of family life.

A significant limitation of Biological Theory is its failure to recognise the influence of culture on the expression of genes. Although the sequence of DNA cannot be altered, it can be turned on or off by environmental or cultural factors (Rutter, Moffitt & Caspi 2006). Biological Theory considers only one side of a coin by focusing on 'nature' without paying attention to 'nurture' or the role of cultural factors such as norms, values and socioeconomic status on human and family behaviour (Rutter, Moffitt & Caspi 2006; Troost & Filsinger 2009; D'Onofrio & Lahey 2010). In addition, an ethical issue has been raised against biological

theorists who follow their subjects (or individuals or groups) under controlled experiments in order to establish their claims. Today, researchers on family studies agree that behaviours are influenced by both biological factors (Germenis et al. 2019) and cultural factors (Rutter, Moffitt & Caspi 2006; Freese 2008).

Cultural Theory

Cultural studies on family began in England in the 1950s and 1960s by working-class men such as Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams with the purpose of teaching society appropriate behaviours through music and books. These men expected the power relations in society to be changed by the introduction of mass communication. The expected removal of power relations, however, demanded more effort than just mass communication (Hsu 2017).

Cultural Theory emerged as one of the sub-branches of the fields of anthropology, semiotics, political economy, sociology and communication. The theory aims to explain the power of culture in every aspect of life. Culture is defined as a society's unique thoughts, views and knowledge. It examines the techniques through which societies understand their social, economic and political environments. Cultural Theory focuses on issues like nationality, ethnicity, social class and gender. The purpose of Cultural Theory is broad, and its practitioners have borrowed many concepts from different fields of study and established relationships among diverse approaches, methods and academic models. The theory argues that individuals are the result of society's thoughts, philosophies, principles and knowledge. It also suggests that the culture of any society can be used as a means to boost development as long as solidarity is maintained, and individualism avoided. In addition, advocates of Cultural Theory agree that culture can facilitate a society's progress and improve life for its citizens. In order to benefit from culture, its nature and possible productivity must be analysed intensively (Serrat 2008).

Cultural Theory seeks to understand how culture can be used in the development agenda. The theory seeks to investigate coexisting issues in cultural practices and power relations; analyse the relationships between culture, social and political settings; and tries to study culture as an underlying factor of development or other issues (Serrat 2008).

Cultural Theory is important because it gives due consideration to general as well as specific aspects of social issues; values and value systems; and the interactions among variables such as countries, human beings, and the natural environment. It also tasks development workers with incorporating conceptual insights and the practical aspects of culture in their ment endeavours (Verhelst & Tyndale 2002). Nevertheless, there is a challenge with implementing the theory as it is not possible to apply one generic approach to every society.

Cultural Theory is useful for development workers in culturally rich African. For example, in Ethiopia, almost all ethnic groups have their own cultural means of dealing with socioeconomic and political problems. Even before the introduction of collaboration through sustainable development goals, they addressed their problems in a communal way. Before development workers impose that which they think is important for the society, it is necessary to start from the society's indigenous strategies and coping mechanisms and then merge them with modern strategies (Verhelst & Tyndale 2002; Serrat 2008).

Geography

Agricultural Land Use Theory

According to Norton (1992) Agricultural Land Use Theory was first introduced in 1826 by Johann Heinrich von Thünen (1783–1850) and translated into English in 1966. Reflecting the transport realities of the time the theory was developed, the model was based on the assumption that the food and fuel demands of a city were supplied by farmers from surrounding areas with traditional means of transportation (for example wagons). The arrangement of the areas around the city is in four rings. First are the dairy and intensive farming activities, where perishable products (i.e. fruits, milk, and related products) have to get to town quickly. Second are timber and firewood as sources of energy and for construction. Third is crop production to serve the city with bread and other food. Fourth is cattle raising which is placed further away, on the assumption that cattle can get to the city without transportation.

The model was developed in the era when modern transport and infrastructures were non-existent, but it is still important as a way of establishing the relationship between land value and transportation cost. The structure of the model helps to analyse the resources-based relation between the city and its surrounding areas. Von Thünen's model helps to analyse land usability for farming activities in relation to distance from cities and towns. The accessibility of a central market determines transportation costs and therefore the amount of profit one farmer can make in selling agricultural products. Easy access to the market allows farmers to hire more workers for longer periods. In addition, farmlands that are closer to cities are usually smaller in size owing to the high cost of land per square kilometre in such locations.

Agricultural Land Use Theory is not fully applicable to modern-day agriculture which uses technology and is based on different resources. For example, the sources of power and construction materials have been replaced by electricity and metal rods, cement blocks and bricks. The assumption of the location of timber production no longer applies. Widespread commercial farming and non-agricultural industries have replaced fruit and milk production. The movement

of fruit and milk production to locations further away from cities is due to the introduction of modern toll roads, refrigerated trucks and the cultivation of fruit varieties that take longer to perish. Nonetheless, the theory is important because it can serve as a springboard for decisions on major variables like the price of a product, the mobilisation of labour, and the size of land available for agriculture.

Von Thünen's theory is important in Africa because many African states are still developing. The model can inform urban planning in terms of establishing cities with proper consideration of agricultural food supply and power sources. In the case of rural economies, the theory can be employed to help boost the livelihoods of farmers in the surrounding areas by raising awareness of what to produce depending on the nature of the agricultural products and their distance from towns and cities.

Agricultural Models and Theories

Agricultural models are particularly used to explain the relationship between macroeconomic variables and agricultural decisions. The models posit that agricultural activity and individual decisions within society are impacted by the social, natural and political dynamics of a country in particular or the world in general. This affects the production, consumption and labour supply decisions of rural households, as well as the consumption patterns of urban households. Agricultural economics as a field has developed models and theories to analyse the relationship between macroeconomic variables and agricultural decisions.

An example is the Agricultural Household Model. According to Singh, Squire and Strauss (2019), the Agricultural Household Model helps a researcher to analyse urban and rural household decision-making on production, consumption and labour. The model is used to examine agricultural policy from three angles. The first angle is the implications of agricultural policy for the welfare of households in terms of income and nutrition. This examines how an agricultural policy provides food at affordable prices to urban populations while also establishing access to balanced nutrition to the rural inhabitants with the incomes they generate from their agricultural activities. The second angle analyses the 'spillover effect' of agricultural policy on other sectors' activities. Since the major aim of an agricultural programme is to increase the incomes of agricultural, a household that does not have land will not be a part of the programme. The model can help researchers to analyse the profitability of agricultural households and their spending on non-agricultural goods. The third and last angle of the model is to give feedback to governments so that they can make knowledge-based decisions on macroeconomic variables like agricultural input pricing and tax and foreign exchange. Generally, the model is used to analyse the spillover effects of agricultural policy on other policies, on individuals' spending decisions, and on economic activity at large (Singh, Squire & Strauss 2019).

The Agricultural Household Model uses producer, consumer and labour supply decision-making models. The analysis shows that the decision-making of households varies depending on prevailing macroeconomic variables and household levels of production. For instance, subsistence households make decisions on production, consumption and labour supply concurrently, whereas an increase in the level of their production would make their decision-making more complex. There is the need to consider macroeconomic variables like demand and labour price to secure profitability. Trade also affects the decisions of households on production, consumption and labour supply as it provides an opportunity to sell their products and get income to buy other agricultural and non-agricultural goods and services. The reduction of the price of agricultural products in turn reduces the incomes of agricultural households but at the same time, it benefits them as consumers of agricultural goods. The reciprocal effect of price also plays out clearly on the profit margins of agricultural households and their consumption patterns. Government decisions on tax and foreign exchange also affect the decisions of households as consumers and producers. It is necessary to analyse agricultural policy in order to discover the key issues affecting household welfare and the spillover effect of non-agricultural activities (Singh, Squire & Strauss 2019).

The Agricultural Household Model is important because it helps to fine-tune government decisions about macroeconomic and fiscal policies to improve life for rural and urban dwellers alike. This model is crucial for African states. Even though farming activities in most parts of the continent are still at subsistence level, agriculture is still the backbone of the continent and most agricultural production comes from subsistence farmers. To transform agricultural activities and increase the return from agriculture, the focus must be on households, and the government must be conscious about decisions it makes. For example, in Ethiopia, 85 per cent of the population earns its livelihood from agriculture, and this is usually from households (UNDP 2016). Government's decisions must be based on household conditions. Since the population of Ethiopia is large and resources are few, paying attention to the spillover effect of agriculture is very important. A challenge of the Agricultural Household Model is that it needs continuous analysis and tracking of the effects of the different factors on the decisions of households with respect to production, consumption, and labour supply.

Culture Theory

Culture Theory in geographic thought deals with concepts such as knowledge, beliefs, morals, art, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by humans as members of a society, as they interact with the physical environment (Stoddard, Wishart & Blouet 1986). From an anthropological perspective, culture is defined as an integrated system dedicated to transmitting the acquisition of values, beliefs and rules of conduct that delimit the range of acceptable behaviour

in a society (Oswell 2010). According David Oswell (2010:1) 'culture was deployed as a means to understand national and subnational social and symbolic systems. The economic organization has to do with how people produce, distribute and consume cultural values.' It therefore appears that Culture Theory is an analytical approach that intends to understand the modern world via various cultures (Oswell 2010).

In the early 1950s, cultural theorists such as the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss took advantage of the growing interest in the study of culture to provide an structuralist foundation of culture. The works of these authors were reinforced in the 1960s and 1970s by French theorists led by Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Jean-Francois Lyotard and Jacques Derrida, in what culminated in the post-structuralist and post-modernist traditions in the academy. In the late 1980s, cultural theorists turned their focus to nature and the environment, and recently to global information and cultural markets (Oswell 2010).

Culture Theory has been applied to understand African societies in the context of modern capitalism. A good example is a work of anthropologist Jean Comaroff examining a South African community in his book titled *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. In this book, he paints a picture of a society where the big South African cities consume the resources and the populations at the periphery reproduce their capitalistic patterns (cited by Switzer 1986).

In recent years, globalisation, global information, cultural markets and cultural hybrids have become leading issues in cultural geography, with cultural geographers such as Don Mitchell (2000), taking the lead in this scholarship. This development has seen the use of Culture Theory to investigate related phenomena such as cultural wars, cultural diffusion, and the cultural studies of ethno-racial issues, especially in modern cities. A tendency towards generalisation has been seen as a weakness in the approach. Another criticism of the theory is the fact that it is not a unitary theory and is not dictated by a normative style or narrative structure that might be seen as philosophical (Oswell 2010).

Geographic Location Theory

It behooves us to begin this section by pointing out that there is significant overlap between Geography Location Theory and Industrial Location Theory (see below). However, each theory has certain unique features and they developed separately. It makes sense to present them separately, the repetition notwithstanding.

The meaning of the term 'geography' is not limited to physical places; it includes existence (i.e. of people, cultures, settlements, animals, plants, landforms etc.). Geographic location deals with where existence lies, what brought it there or why it is there, and how the existence has historically changed (Friedman 2005). Geographic Location Theory therefore seeks to explain the forces (or the

extremely complex actions, interactions and interconnections among economic, state, religious and powerful individual actors) that shape or determine the location of existence, including the interaction of different geographic activities and how that has shaped the characteristics of the world as a geographical location. Specifically, Geographic Location Theory seeks to understand where things or existences are found and why they are not found in other places, the reason for their presence in those places, the influence of their interactions with other things in the same or another geographic location, and why they develop and change in certain ways (Dicken 2007).

Generally, the distribution of geographic locations has been influenced by people's search for opportunities and advantages. Countries or geographies with higher opportunities and advantages often achieve greater standards of living for their people. A country's opportunities and advantages can be determined by various factors such as natural (e.g., land, water, forest, and so on) and human (e.g., available unskilled workers and educated professionals) resources. Individuals can increase their opportunities and advantages by increasing their education or migrating to a geographic location with improved employment prospects. Spatial drift occurs when people, wealth and culture migrate from one geographic location to another. National, continental and global geographical distributions often follow a pattern where people and wealth are moved from places without opportunities (the 'have-not' geography or countries) to places with opportunities and advantages (the 'have' geography or countries). This migration pattern, which characterises rural-urban or periphery-core shifts, allows people to search for better opportunities or advantages elsewhere (Dicken 2007).

Various theories have been developed over the years to explain the geographical distribution of locations. Thompson's Demographic Transition Model and economist Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth are arguably the most relevant. While American demographer Warren Thompson's revised model explains population growth according to five stages of demographic change from rural traditional societies to urban modern societies, American economist Walt Whitman Rostow's model describes five stages of economic growth from traditional societies to the age of high mass consumption (Rostow 1959; Kirk 1996). The combination of the two 'five stage' models provides a broader and better understanding of the determinants of geographic locations.

The first stage describes traditional rural societies with agriculture as the main preoccupation and with no dependence on other geographic location (Robinson 1964; Dai 2016). The families in these societies are larger as a result of high birth and death rates and have low income levels and few opportunities and advantages. With a very low human development index (HDI), geographies at this stage of development attract no other geographic locations but are attracted to others for better opportunities and advantages (Rostow 1959).

As population grows due to large family size, improved modern medicine and nutrition and lower death rates, rural stage two geographies begin to urbanise and trade their economic activities with other geographic locations (Robinson 1964). At this stage, youths from rural areas often move to urban centres in search of employment opportunities, and industries consider cheap labour in these regions as a major determinant of their locations. Although income level remains low at this stage, countries often have a rapidly expanding population pyramid (Kirk 1996).

Stage three represents the rural-urban drift phase and defines regions as developed on the basis of industrial activities, increased service sectors and increasing income levels (Rostow 1959). These geographies attract multinational corporations because there is a cheap averagely skilled labour supply. As many more people migrate to urban areas in search of opportunities, urban populations grow and core cities experience a high number of self-developed slums. Although family size at this stage begins to drop, there is still an expanding population pyramid (Kirk 1996).

Regions in the fourth stage of development constitute urbanised, industrialised and globalised societies with very strong economic networks (Isard & Liossatos 1972; Sheppard 1979; Kirk 1996). More women in these regions enter the workforce and smaller numbers of children are born, causing small family sizes. Income levels and HDI continue to rise with a stationary population pyramid (Kirk 1996).

Stage five represents consumer societies with increasing levels of income and decreasing family sizes (Rostow 1959). Geographic regions at this stage of development experience dramatic economic development but negative population growth which eventually leads to reduced numbers of young people in the workforce (Kirk 1996; Dai 2016). These regions (such as Britain and the United States) serve as centres of attraction for people in other geographic locations (such as Nigeria and Kenya) in search of opportunities and advantages. This stage has a contracting population pyramid (Kirk 1996).

Geographic Location Theory has been employed to explain how people and resources are distributed differentially across different regions based on the availability of opportunities and advantages. The impacts of other demographic variables such as migration are, however, not considered in the demographic transition model, nor does the model predict how long a country will be in each stage. Regions need not necessarily pass through all the stages, as demonstrated by the Eastern-Asian region.

Industry and Economic Development Theories

Industrial and Economic Development Theories are approaches which provide explanations and a better understanding of global industrial and economic development. There is a plethora of such theories in the geographic study of

development. Nafziger (2012) identifies the classical models as Marx's Historical Materialism, Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth, Vicious Circle Theory, the Theory of Balance versus Unbalance Development, and the Coordinate Failure Theory. Others include the Lewis-Fei-Ranis Model, Baran's Neo-Marxism, Dependency Theory, Neo-Classicism, Solow's Neo-Classical, and the New Development Theory. The Schumpeterian Theory of Economic Development and Rostow's Stages of Development are discussed in the paragraphs that follow as well-known examples in the geography of development.

Joseph Schumpeter (1934) propounded a theory of industrial and economic development which was in sharp contrast with the classical school of thought which had exclusively linked economic development with capital accumulation. Schumpeter refused to align with the notion that economic development results exclusively from the accumulation of capital. For him, the entrepreneur who innovates (entrepreneur-innovator) and is creative is the major driver of a nation's industrial and economic development. Schumpeter refers to such an entrepreneur as a 'hero developer'. The theory argues that innovation and creativity are the driving forces of economic development. As such, any entrepreneur who is an innovator and a creative thinker contributes immensely to the economic development of a country. Schumpeter believed that the economic development pattern would become unbalanced over time because when inventions are newly introduced, the profits of the entrepreneur increase; over time, however, when the 'competition copies the invention', then profits begin to decline (Pietak 2014:50). Schumpeter referred to this process as the 'nature of the jump' (Schumpeter 1934:65). The theory links industrial and economic development to private property, competitive markets, and efficient financial markets. Schumpeter warns that this theory of economic development is only fully feasible among democratic states (Schumpeter 1934).

Schumpeter's Industrial and Economic Development Theory is demonstrated in the Chinese economy and the economies of the Asian Tigers. These countries' economies were comparable to those of African states only a few decades ago, but they are now far ahead of Africa, owing mostly to technological innovations. These countries serve as examples of Schumpeter's entrepreneur-innovator model as the driver of industrial and economic development.

A major strength of the theory is that it stresses the need for humans to be innovative and creative, thereby promoting individual development and intellect. The theory comes up short in exclusively limiting industrial and economic development to innovative entrepreneurs without looking at other economic, political and social indices which affect industrial and economic development. While the theory assumes that the model will only favour democracies, the examples of China and the Asian Tigers deviate from this assumption and the theory is not able to provide explanations for this deviation.

Rostow's five stages of economic growth hold that countries' economic growth must necessarily undergo five different stages before attaining full economic development. The stages of economic growth for Rostow include the traditional society, precondition for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption (Nafziger 2012; Rostow 1960:4–16). In 1971, Rostow added yet another stage, which he termed the quality stage where there is an expectation for there to be continuous improvement in the quality of goods and services. For Rostow, economic development is dependent on capital accumulation, a sharp contrast to the Schumpeterian school of thought. Rostow argued that poor countries have not been able to experience economic development because they have failed to achieve the third stage (take-off), which he believed is only achievable via capital accumulation.

Rostow's theory is well demonstrated in the history of economic development of some countries' economies in the world today. Europe (Britain, Italy, Spain, etc.) and America have passed through the various stages of Rostow's economic growth in history. The theory's strength is in its ability to treat economic development as a gradual process, and only achievable over time. The theory falls short by exclusively explaining economic development on the basis of capital accumulation without consideration of other social, political and economic factors affecting the economies of states. This also explains why not all countries that have attained economic growth have necessarily gone through Rostow's stages of growth. The spontaneous but steady growth of the economies of the Asian Tigers, for instance, demonstrates that some of Rostow's stages can be skipped by countries on their way to development.

Industrial Location Theory

Generally, Location Theory is an integral term that lends to the understanding of economic geography, industrial organisation, spatial economics, geographic information systems, rural-urban development and regional science, and so on. Industrial Location Theory is an economic theory that seeks to examine the determinants of industrial location in a particular geography. Specifically, it aims at unravelling the rationale behind the location of industries especially as it concerns what influences a firm or industry's location and how and why industries are located in one place and not another (Weber 1929). Building on the work of Johann Heinrich von Thünen (1783–1850), scholars such as Alfred Weber (1868–1958), Walter Christaller (1893–1969) and August Lösch (1906–1945) sought to offer universal explanations for industrial locations without being limited by any disciplinary orientation or prejudice.

To fill the theoretical gap noted in the works of classical economics, Weber (1929) proposed a 'Pure Theory' that explains those factors that pull an industry toward different geographical locations. In his definition, locational factors are

forces that determine industrial location decisions, especially as they pertain to cost reduction and profit maximisation. The theory posits that two broad factors affect location of industries: regional factors, which are the primary causes of industrial distribution, and the agglomerative factors, which are secondary causes of industrial distribution and redistribution (Weber 1929).

Industrial Locational Theory differentiates between special factors (those peculiar to an industry like nature of product) and general factors (those that affect all industries like costs of transportation, labour, buildings, and materials, etc.). Of particular interest to the theory are the general regional factors influencing cost of production which, in turn, determines industrial locational decisions (Abumere 1978; Nickel & Puerto 2006). These include transportation and labour costs. As a vitally important determinant of industrial location, transportation costs are influenced by cargo weight and distance of raw materials. Raw materials can first be categorised into ubiquitous raw materials (which can be found in virtually all places, e.g. water) and specific/fixed raw materials (which are only available in some places e.g. gold). While pure raw materials do not lose weight during production processes, gross raw material is that which has more weight than the finished product. This understanding in a given geographic market and using a particular raw material engenders three possibilities for industrial location (Predöhl 1928; Weber 1929). First, industries are located near markets when ubiquitous raw materials are involved as this will remove or reduce transportation costs. Second, industrial location is neither based on market nor raw material when pure raw materials are under consideration. Here, decision on industrial location is determined by other factors like labour costs. Third and finally, industries that deal with gross raw materials are located near markets (Predöhl 1928; Weber 1929).

Besides general regional factors, Industrial Location Theory also considers local factors such as the influence of agglomeration and deglomeration. In other words, industries are located where there is a cluster or agglomeration of other industries in order to gain economic advantage. When the costs of locating industries in an industrial area outweigh the perceived benefits, there tends to be deglomeration: i.e. the dispersion of industries from a given location (Predöhl 1928; Weber 1929). This accounts for the relocation of many multinational organisations from Nigeria to Ghana. Industrial Location Theory therefore affirms that costs/profits are greatly influenced by transportation costs, labour costs, and the agglomeration factor.

Evidently, not all industries, especially in developing countries in Africa south of the Sahara follow the principle of least transport cost. Some Dangote Cement industries across Africa are located close to sources of raw materials in mostly remote locations. Labour cost is another factor: some industries are located near cheap labour, despite the huge transportation costs involved. Labour

costs are influenced by factors such as differing levels of efficiency of labour and of organisation, population distribution, etc. (Kuchhal 1981; Nnamdi & Owusu 2014).

Despite its values, strengths and significance, and being one of the very few theories with universal application, Industrial Location Theory has some limitations. First, the theory has unrealistic assumptions such as two-factor determinants of transportation cost –

1. weight and
2. distance.

Other factors like type of transportation, topography, quality of goods and political economy are equally important (Ogbuagu 1985). Second, in a rapidly changing and globalised world, the idea of a fixed market or consumption point can no longer hold. Consumers' locations might have changed before raw materials reach the destination. Third, Industrial Location Theory cannot be considered a deductive theory as acclaimed by a majority of its proponents because the theory 'selects' transport and labour costs as the only general factors without explaining, for instance, why capital and management costs cannot be considered (Predöhl 1928). Fourth, the theory's focus on transportation costs overlooks the possibility of increased freight charges over the same distance, varied rates for raw materials, and finished goods (Dennison 1939). Nevertheless, this theory has laid the foundation for understanding some determinants of disparity in industrial locations across different geographies.

Land Use and Resources Models

It is worth noting here that the Von Thünen agricultural model described earlier is also considered a Land Use Model. These types of models are characterised as prototypes that aid a researcher to better understand the allocation and use within societies of land and other resources.

Stated differently, the models can be used to explain *how* and *why* land and other resources are put to use the way they are. The land share or the Econometric Land Use Model is the commonest of such prototypes (Chakir & Lungarska 2015). The model is associated with Lichtenberg (1989), Stavins and Jaffe (1990), Wu and Segerson (1995), Plantinga (1996) and Miller and Plantinga (1999).

The Land Share or Econometric Land Use Model posits that landowners will put their land and resources to use only for those causes that will maximise profit and yield returns. The theory argues that the land and other resource owner attaches profit or returns to his land and resources. Chakir and Lungarska (2015) identify at least five sources uses a land and other resources owner could deploy in order to maximise profit. They include:

1. agriculture,
2. forest,
3. pastures,
4. urban, and
5. other uses.

To determine the use to which land and other resources will be deployed, the landowner identifies the use that yields the greatest value in terms of profits (Stavins & Jaffe 1990; Plantinga 1996).

Land Use and Resources Models are demonstrated in every capitalist economy in the world today, as lands and other resources are solely and intentionally directed toward causes that will yield profit. From the United States (the pioneer state of capitalism) to other capitalist countries across Europe and Africa, land and other resources are deployed by both private and public institutions, including individuals, for profit maximisation. One strength of the Land Use and Resource Models hinges on their ability to explain how individuals and societies prioritise the use and deployment of land and other resources. The models also aid the understanding of why individual landowners use their resources and land the way they do. In addition, the theory can be used to emphasise the role and place of the individual landowner in the larger societal use of land use and other resources which, in turn, contributes to societal development. The models create a better understanding of how the deployment of individual land and other resources conditions a state's resource use and consequent development.

The theory's shortcoming hinges on the fact that it is a long-term model; it is not able to demonstrate or explain the transitions between resources, land use and cost at the time those transitions occur. Also, the theory fails to state how a landowner is able to predict the profit accruable from putting a particular land or other resource into a given use. In addition, while the theory emphasises that landowners will put their land and other resources into use that will maximise profit, it does not explain how a landowner knows which use which will yield the most benefit before proceeding. The models see profit as the exclusive motivator for putting land and other resources into use without accounting for other factors, such as their use for personal purposes.

Geopolitical Theory

Geopolitical Theory is employed to explain the link between a people, a state, and a territory. It is concerned with the study of particular circumstances on political processes and the way in which those political processes are influenced by particular contexts. Geopolitical Theory describes the world as a political theatre made of lines and poles (Rosière 2001). The lines here refer to the boundaries or territorial limitations, and the poles refer to the concentration of power in certain

regions, which regulate the functions of other regions. The territories or theatres can be at the level of states and regions, or they can be transnational. Although the boundaries which define political geography are mainly physical, there are also other boundaries which can be religious, linguistic, or cultural (Rosière 2001).

One of the pioneers of Geopolitical Theory was German geographer Friedrich Ratzel, who published a book in 1897 titled *Political Geography*, where he claimed that states are like human beings who need space and resources to feed themselves (James & Martin 1981). British scholar and geographer Sir Halford Mackinder extended the theory to include the idea of 'heartland' in 1904 in an article titled 'The Geographical Pivot of History'. As used by Mackinder and later geographers, the notion of 'heartland' or a 'core region' connotes the centre of hegemonic power for countries like Britain, the United States, and other advanced Western countries, which are distinguishable from the "hinterland" or "a peripheral region" in the global South (McCann 1987). But, as some analysts such as James and Martin (1981) have observed, Mackinder at his time could not anticipate the extent of technological innovations that would occur in the years ahead to break the stranglehold of the 'heartland'.

In the African context, an example of the application of Geopolitical Theory can be seen in the regular conflict between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). There was an attempt by Rwanda to capture some territories in the Eastern region of the DRC in order to secure development. Kigali politicians believe that the DRC is wasting the resources needed to sustain development, especially in the regions of South and North Kivu. These regions are near the Rwandan border and are rich in minerals, resulting in regular conflicts between the two countries.

One of the strengths of Geopolitical Theory resides in the fact that it helps to understand how powerful nations act, an example being the struggle between the United States and China to secure their access to petroleum. The theory examines how the two countries enhance their economies by controlling strategic resources.

Population and Migration Models

Several models have been propounded over time to explain population and migration, including ways to project population growth. Zlotnik (1998), Kupiszewski (2002) and Bijak (2006) have categorised these models into Sociological (intervening opportunities, push-pull factors, migrant networks, transnational social spaces, cumulative causation, Institutional Theory, and World Systems Theory); and Economic (Macro: classical, neo-classical, Keynesian, dual labour, cumulative causation, institutional and world systems model; Micro: neo-classical, value-expectancy, and new economics of migration) models. Others include Geographical (gravity theory, entropy, Catastrophe Theory, and bifurcations and mobility transition models) and

Unifying (Migration Systems Theory, multidisciplinary approach, and mobility transition models) models. The geographical models of gravity and mobility transition models which address more explicitly issues relating to population and migration will be the focus here.

The Gravity Model of Population and Migration is associated with Stewart (1941), Zipf (1946) and Isard (1960). The model takes its cues from the law of gravity as articulated by Isaac Newton. It posits that the population size of countries and regions can best be explained by the volume of migration between such countries and regions. The basic tenet of the model is that migration between countries/regions A and B is proportional to the product of population size in both countries/regions (Bijak 2006). This implies that migration influences the population size of both the countries and regions of origin and destination of migrants. The Gravity Model of Population and Migration explains the population sizes of countries/regions by looking at the volume of migration (emigration and immigration) taking place in such countries and regions (Bijak 2006).

In Africa, the gravity model plays out significantly in the rural-urban drift where populations of rural areas have been significantly decimated, while there is a population explosion in most cities and towns. Lagos State of Nigeria is a prominent example of an area where the population size is significantly influenced by migration activities. In another example, the influx of migrants to Canada has caused a drastic increase in the country's population. The model's strength is its potential to be used for population projections. It also aids in the tracking of the source of immigration and the destination of out-migration. The model, however, comes up short in that it is mostly suitable for explaining internal migration; it cannot quantify the processes that drive population and it lacks systematic effects (Poot et al. 2016). The model also seems to link population size exclusively migration.

The Mobility Transition Model of Population and Migration as propounded by Zelinsky (1971) posits that regularities in migration have been definite and patterned over time, and that this has contributed to the modernisation processes of societies. According to this model, urban-urban, international and rural-urban migrations have characterised human history. It argues that demographic transition (migration) has contributed to population explosion in major cities and towns (Skeldon 2013). Rural-urban migration is likely to peak and then decline, followed by increases in urban-urban and intra-urban migration. At an advanced stage of migration, the model predicts a decline in international migration. Zelinsky (1971) argues that with advances in the means of movement, people transit more than they migrate permanently to places. Zelinsky calls this transition 'circulation', and he posits that it will eventually result in drastic reductions in migration. The potentials of technological advancement in reducing migration are also put forward by the Mobility Transition Model.

Zelinsky argues that as people can communicate over long distances owing to the advancement in technology, migration would decline. The population explosions in most African cities like Lagos, Ibadan, etc. find expression in the model. It also explains how the urban-urban or intra-migration experience is predominant among South Africans rather than out-migration. The model is significant in explaining the high population concentrations in major cities and towns across the globe. It is limited in that it has not been able to provide explanations for the continued high rate of out-migration in Africa despite technological advancements and developments in communication technology. Rather, improvements in technology, communication and the means of movement (transportation) seem to have caused an increase in migration, especially in Africa. Migration activities in search of greener pastures, especially among Africans, are also not accounted for in this model. Lastly, the model was built on a developed United States country experience (Skeldon 2013), making its general application to developing countries difficult.

Process Theory

This theory explains the processes involved in geographical change and development. Generally, Process Theory explains how agencies, systems, structures and entities change and develop. Everything and everyone everywhere experience change and development, making this a multidisciplinary theory, drawing from fields such as education, psychology, sociology, geology and geography. For instance, there have been changes in the ways learning occurs, medical technology is changing everywhere, and people move from one place to another. There are many processes driving these dynamics.

The literature in the field of geography is laden with theories that describe change processes in organisations and, by extension, in different geographic locations. Van de Ven and Poole (1995) have summarised these theories into the following four categories:

1. dialectical,
2. evolutionary,
3. lifecycle, and
4. teleological.

These categorisations are used to explain geographical differentials in terms of change and development. This requires the understanding of complex processes which involve all natural components, their interaction and interconnection. This helps us to determine the peculiarities or uniqueness of separate territorial units or spaces, the character of their internal development, and the unique nature of external forms of the earth's surface.

Dialectic Process Theory is rooted in Hegelian philosophy which posits inevitable competing forces for power and domination among geographical entities. These contradictions are internal when different interest groups within a geographical unit compete for priority, or external when one geographical entity pursues goals that contradict the goals of another geographical area. This theory explains stability, change and development in terms of power tussles among opposing geographical entities (Harvey 1981; Van de Ven & Poole 1995). For example, the relative power of African societies during the colonial era (anti-thesis) led to their ability to challenge colonial rule (thesis), and this resulted in independence (synthesis). Over time, the resultant synthesis develops into a new thesis, thereby demonstrating the continuity of the dialectical process. It is possible for opposing geographic units to mobilise sufficient resources to overthrow and replace the status quo as happened in many ancient societies. It is also possible for powerful geographic entities to sustain adequate power to prevent the mobilisation of opposing groups as the relationship between the global North and South reflects. In terms of geographical change, maintenance of the status quo characterises stability while replacement of the status quo either by antithesis or synthesis signifies change.

Evolutionary Process Theory examines the cumulative changes in culture, social structures and institutions of a given geography. Evolution means change from a simple homogenous to a complex heterogeneous stage. Using Biological Evolutionary Theory, geographical dynamics are explained in terms of variations (establishment of new forms of geographies), selection (choosing between alternatives as a result of limited geographical resources), and retention (forces that preserve certain geographical forms) (Darwin 1859; Van de Ven & Poole 1995). Evolutionary Process Theory is used to explain change as a recurrent and accumulative progression of variation, selection and retention of geographical entities. Being rooted in Charles Darwin's 1859 *The Origin of Species*, this theory emphasises a gradual and continuous process of evolution. Darwin wrote: 'as natural selection acts solely by accumulating slight, successive, favourable variations, it can produce no great or sudden modifications; it can act only by short and slow steps' (1859:3). But how are traits inherited, and at what rate does change occur? While some scholars argue that traits are inherited through intergenerational processes (e.g. Hannan & Freeman 1977, 1989; McKelvey 1982), others claim that traits are acquired within a generation through socialisation and acculturation (e.g. Burgelman 1991; Boyd & Richerson 1993; Kuczynski & Navara 2006). Variations in traits account for differences in societal and geographical evolution (from hunting and gathering to artificial intelligence, and from rural areas to mega-cities).

Lifecycle Process Theory posits that change is a continuous process and every stage of development is simply a preparation for future changes. Every entity has within itself the capacity to regulate and propel change as determined by the

entity's experience, rationality, and structure (Audretsch et al. 2008). An idea, value, norm, or logic that defines a geographic location or a traditional society progressively becomes more realised and mature through developmental processes. External processes or a diffusion of ideas can influence how a geographic location changes; but such external factors are often regulated by the immanent logic, norms and values of an entity's system (Van de Ven & Poole 1995).

Teleological Process Theory is used to analyse geographical changes by deliberate social construction and reconstruction among members within a geographical entity. In this type of process theory, change proceeds toward a goal, an envisioned end state that has been constructed. Change or development is as a result of repetitive sequences of goal formulation, implementation, assessment and alteration based on geographic experience and intentions (Driver 1988; Van de Ven & Poole 1995). A geographic unit that adapts faster or that establishes a better relationship with other geographic entities changes more than others. The Industrial Revolution that started in Britain due to its internal innovations and then spread to other parts of the world, is a good example of this teleological process. Although Teleology Process Theory emphasises the rationality of a geographic unit as the driver for change, the theory also identifies certain limitations. For example, geographical environment and resources constrain what can be achieved. These constraints eventually serve as an opportunity for a geographic entity to achieve its purpose through the process of working together to overcome obstacles (Gibson 1988).

Urban Structure Theory

There is no better time to revisit Urban Structure Theory than the present, characterised as it is by rapid urbanisation and development in different shades and hues across the continents of the world. First propounded by sociologist Ernest Burgess in 1924, the theory describes the rippling nature of cities' growth. For Burgess, a city's expansion is represented in concentric rings in ways that produce fragments of spatiality and settlement patterns, like the ripple effect produced when a stone is thrown into water. These fragments move from the innermost to the outermost part of the ring, from the central business district to transitional districts, to the middle-class zones, with a last ring known as the commuters' area or suburb. In 1939, economist Homer Hoyt critiqued Burgess's position of fragmenting the city in rings. Hoyt argued that a city's development can only be achieved by sectors. For him, different areas of the city are distinct and have their strengths and weaknesses, making particular activities attractive in those areas.

Geographers Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman (1945) proposed what they called the multiple-nuclei model of the city. According to them, this model accentuates the attraction of activities to a city because it contains more than one

centre; clusters of activities are produced. In other words, and as theorised by Hoover and Giarratani (1984), the siting of an institution or parastatal would result in the emergence of other, related activities.

With the rapid proliferation of tangible and intangible phenomena (physical structures, ideas, cultures, patterns, practices, etc.), the discourse of urban studies and urbanisation is not only pertinent but has continued to occupy centre stage in academic discourse.

Lynch (1981) espoused the evolutionary development and survival of a city. Crucial to his position are elements such as the ecological and spatial patterns of humans, communication networks, economic strength, multiple synergies of interactions and social constructs that inform the continued metamorphosis of an urban space.

Urban Structure Theory has relevance to the African context, especially when economic, social and political parameters are considered. If we consider big cities like Cairo, Lagos, Johannesburg, Nairobi and Accra., the indices for urban structure are not only prominent but thriving. The spatial settlement patterns accentuate inequalities that divide the rich from the poor. A further narrowing of the context with specific emphasis on, say Lagos, gives more credence to the theory as the city shows typical urban structures and constructions in housing, infrastructural, economic, social and political configurations. These variables cannot be discussed in isolation without linkages to globalisation, multiculturalism and government, and the city's policies, especially because housing policy determines the structures that exist in the society.

The theory is not without limitations. For starters, the theory has only an overarching focus on the developmental process that informs the prevalent urban structures often found in developing countries. Also, it shows the oppositional standing between countries of the global North and global South and not what unites them. The theory highlights the processes that shape cities and its proponents emphasise fragmented elements inherent in the theory's discourse. But from society to society, the dynamics are different in ways that defy the idea of unitary formations (Banai & Rapino 2009). The structure cannot be divorced holistically from the urban construct and the peculiar perceptions of the people. Today, Urban Structure Theory is caught in the matrix of developed/underdeveloped or high/low disparity that has continued to reinforce the rich/poor dichotomy.

Urbanisation Models

Urbanisation Models are theoretical constructs that emerged with the rise of industrialisation to help a city manage its use of space better. There are many strands to this theory, although there are many convergences in ways of thinking about a city. Four significant models are mentioned when talking of urbanisation

theory (Norton 1992). First is the *Concentric Zone Model*, also called the Chicago Model, which was introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century by Burgess. The model postulates that the business centre located around the intersection of communication channels gives birth to cities. People come to do business in the centre and rich people move out of the business centre to enjoy a comfortable life.

Second is the *Sector Model* which was developed by Hoyt (1939). The model claims that industries establish themselves along railway lines, well-connected roads and canals to access the commodities needed for their businesses. In these zones, businesses can easily acquire the goods necessary for their activities and export the products of their industries to the zone of consumption.

Third is the *Polycentric Model*. This was developed by Harris and Ullman the late 1940s. The model proposes that train stations, metro stations, airports and ports produce many activities in a city and, therefore, each can become the centre of a town.

Fourth and last is the *New Urbanism Model*. This was developed in the United States in 1980. The model has as instigators a group of American architects whose aim was the promotion of ecological and sustainable cities.

Health and Medicine

Germ Theory

The Germ Theory of health and medicine can be considered as the successor to the Humoral Theory (see below). The germ theory contends that microorganisms are the genesis of disease. These organisms are so small that they can only be seen via a microscope. According to Germ Theory, infections are directly linked to the entry of these microorganisms into the human body (Stewart 1968).

The pioneers of Germ Theory are Louis Pasteur, John Lister and Robert Koch. They developed the idea that the changes in human cells and tissues that affect human organs are because of microorganisms known as germs (Lagay 2002). As pointed out by Lagay (2002), Pasteur's formulations examined air-borne organisms; Lister oversaw the adoption of anti-septic surgical procedures, whereas Koch is credited with the discovery of the causes of tuberculosis as well as cholera.

In an African context, Germ Theory is applicable in the use of traditional medicine. Most African communities have community-based healers who use special herbs to treat various infections. While these communities may not have fully embraced Western medicine arising from Germ Theory research, they have recognised that there are non-spiritual causes of diseases or infections and have embraced some non-traditional African medicines to combat health problems.

Germ Theory is considered the basis of modern medicine. By linking diseases to infectious microorganisms, subsequent research focused on controlling them and led to the development of antibiotics and other medications to combat the diseases (Lagay 2002). With time, there has been a realisation that germs/infections from microorganisms affect each person differently and, thus, it is essential to focus on the medication administered to enhance efficiency.

Germ Theory simply links infection to a host of germs/microorganisms. The theory, however, overlooks other aspects that can influence infection such as behavioural, genetic and socioeconomic factors (Stewart 1968). The theory is also challenged in some regions by religious beliefs; some religions do not believe in the use of medicine to treat infections as they contend that illnesses are spiritual and, thus, only spiritual intervention can result in healing.

Hippocratic Theory

The Hippocratic Theory of health and medicine concentrates on the causes of diseases. Its dominance as a medical opinion reaches back 2,000 years. Hippocrates of Kos (460–377 BC) believed that the body consists of four fluids or *humours*:

1. black bile,
2. yellow bile,
3. phlegm, and
4. blood.

He also believed that four elemental conditions controlled the body:

1. cold,
2. hot,
3. dry, and
4. moist (Wright 1920).

Hippocrates postulated that diseases emerge because of an imbalance of humours in the body. A state of health exists when the humours are in balance. The balance of wet, dry, cold and hot preserved health while the dominance of any one of these elements produced disease (Wright 1920).

Hippocrates is regarded as the father of modern medicine. He introduced the term 'epidemic' that is still used in contemporary epidemiological practices (Wright 1920). This theory emanated from observations of clinical signs and then drawing a rational conclusion. Hippocrates discounted the belief of the time that supernatural forces caused diseases. A physician had to diagnose the imbalance of *humours* and facilitate a healing process through bleeding (bloodletting) or surgery (Wilson 2006). To achieve the state of balance, a physician is supposed to first examine the patient, observe symptoms carefully, draw a conclusion, make a diagnosis, and then treat the patient. It is through Hippocratic Theory that medical science established the basics of clinical medicine that are now universally applicable (Wright 1920).

Bloodletting is widely practised in Africa; also, many African societies perform purging; for example, mothers suck nostrils of toddlers to remove the mucus in order to get rid of blockages. Induced vomiting is also practised in Africa, where concoctions are mixed to remove ingested poison or to settle a stomach upset.

Hippocratic Theory taught people that sickness had a natural cause – a rational and scientific view rather than superstitious (Wilson 2006). But one could not pinpoint what made one humour dominate the others. Hippocrates associated imbalance with improper diet and bodily injury. The theory did not inform the Hippocratic physician of the cause of the disease or illness; they often knew only the effects. The theory failed to show the correct amount of fluid one was to draw from various organs to reach the state of balance (Carrick 2001).

Humoral Theory

The Humoral Theory attempts to demystify the human body by defining the cardinal fluids in it. The fluids, as stated in the previous section, include blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. According to the theory, there are four humours with each linked to a different body organ and season. According to proponents of this theory, black bile is related with spleen and autumn, yellow bile with the liver and summer, phlegm with the brain and winter, and blood is linked to the heart and spring (Sebers 2016). The theory further contends that every human being is defined by two contrasting qualities:

1. hot vs dry and
2. moist vs cold.

The maintenance of equilibrium for these fluids is distinct in each individual and defines the person's health. Any deviation from this would lead to illness (Sebers 2016).

The genesis of this theory is traceable to the pre-Greek period; nevertheless, Hippocrates of Kos later reworked it into the Hippocratic Humoral Theory. The overriding factor that characterised the beliefs of the pioneers of this theory was the departure from the belief that diseases were caused by supernatural forces. According to this theory, diseases result from an imbalance of the fluids in the body. The treatment is thus possible by reversing these imbalances (Bos 2009). Galen, 600 years after Hippocrates, did some additional work on the Humoral Theory. He espoused that a combination of humours could impact human moods, emotions and behaviours.

One of the practices associated with the Humoral Theory is bloodletting (plethora). This involves making an incision into an artery, allowing blood to flow out. According to humoralist theorists, this practice would remove illness from the body and the fluid balances of the body would be restored, leading to a subsequent recovery (Thomas 2014). This practice started in Egypt before spreading to Greece, Europe and other regions. Some North African countries still practice bloodletting to treat infections such as pneumonia (Thomas 2014).

The major strength of the Humoral Theory is that it discarded the notion that diseases are attributable to supernatural causes. Based on the belief that illnesses resulted from an imbalance of the four *humours* and the subsequent efforts to restore this balance in the human being, a foundation for modern medicine was laid down (Kushner 2012). Humoral Theory provided a platform to understand the human body from a medical perspective as opposed to the religious viewpoint, as was commonly practiced.

A major limitation of this theory is the numerous deaths that resulted from the bloodletting exercise. Although there were other forms of regaining the fluid balance in the body such as induced vomiting or improved hygiene, bloodletting was the most common exercise and, in some cases, it proved fatal (Thomas 2014).

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Language and Linguistics, and Law and Order

Doctoral Scholars

Summaries of nine language and linguistics and four law and order theories are provided in this chapter. The theories on language and linguistics explore methods of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way, and the scientific study of these features. Those on law and order examine the system of rules which a particular country or community recognises as regulating the actions of its members and which it may enforce by the imposition of penalties, and a state in which the laws and rules regulating the public behaviour of members of a community are observed and authority is obeyed.

Language and Linguistics

Deficit Hypothesis

The Deficit Hypothesis, also known as the Deprivation Hypothesis, is the theoretical view that some children are handicapped linguistically because they belong to a societal collective with a deficient body of languages (Broughton et al. 1978). Bernstein (1973) defines the theory as a set of propositions which try to explain failure in education by tracing its roots to the learner's community and family. Therefore, deficit theorists hold that socially stratified educational attainment is a result of differences between languages spoken by working class or lower class and by middle-class families (Jones 2013). Deficit Hypothesis distinguishes between the languages of learners from the middle class and the lower class. According to Halliday (1978), Bernstein's Deficit Hypothesis is about societal persistence and change. It is a theory of the processes and nature of cultural transmission and the important role of language therein.

The concept of 'elaborated and restricted language codes' was proposed by Basil Bernstein in 1971 (for details, see Bernstein 1973). Bernstein was from

an education background and attempted to explain the reason behind the underperformance of lower-class students in languages compared to learners from the middle class. According to Bernstein, lower-class language was deficient in comparison to middle-class language. His theory directly correlates language and learners' social backgrounds and proposes that a learner's social class determines his or her competence and proficiency in language use. This implies that an individual's social class determines the extent of his or her level of proficiency in the language used in the society. Bernstein's 1973 theory was later tagged Deficit Hypothesis by his critics (Ajayi 2015).

In the African context, the Deficit Hypothesis can be applied in several ways. Social class is perceived as a form of culture whereby individuals' behaviours, manners and etiquette are dictated by the societal classes in which they belong. This can be seen in the health sector, where access to health facilities is dependent upon the social class of individuals, resulting in the glaring disparities in healthcare in most countries. It has been noted that lower-class individuals are more vulnerable to physical diseases and psychological hardships than their middle-class counterparts because the former have limited access to health services. People from the lower classes have a higher risk of long-term and short-term health conditions in comparison to their middle-class counterparts (Ajayi 2015). African countries are also increasingly focusing on the provision of better and affordable healthcare to citizens, irrespective of social class.

The Deficit Hypothesis triggered discussions about the connections between the school, family and social backgrounds of learners, resulting in ongoing debates in the education sector advocating for joint efforts to ensure learners' success.

The Deficit Theory has been criticised for being in favour of, and biased towards, the middle class (Labov 1972). There is a feeling that the theory misrepresents lower-class children's verbal capabilities (Labov 1968). Bernstein's theory assumes that learners who have poor language skills will inevitably be poor performers, irrespective of other internal variables (Muvindi & Zuvalinyenga 2013). Bernstein's work is not in support of, and even opposes, an explanation of the failure of students as a result of deprivation or cultural deficits (Atkinson 1995). Karabel and Halsey (1977) are in support of this view and they construe Bernstein's work as directing the attention of the reader away from school processes that influence the failure or success of learners who come to school from different linguistic backgrounds and social classes.

Guthrie's Association Theory

In linguistics, Guthrie's Association Theory, also referred to as Contiguity Theory, is used to compare the historical developments and the pros and cons of uncertain linguistic evidence in language learning. The focus of users of the theory in linguistic inquiry has been to identify the consequences of the connection

between a specific stimulus and response for learning a language, especially in a classroom setting. According to the theory, a multiplicity of stimuli accompanied by movement will, when repeated, result in learning.

Edwin Ray Guthrie (1886–1955), the initiator of the theory and after whom it is named, advocated that the process of learning occurs as a result of the interaction between a specific stimulus and response. Guthrie contends that stimuli and responses will result in specific sensory-motor patterns. The learning process results in movements, not behaviours. Guthrie argues that the simple *association* within a given period of an external stimulus and a behavioural response is enough for human beings or animals to connect the two mental activities (Guthrie & Horton 1946).

The general test of the theory was first done on cats to observe them trying to get out of a puzzle box fitted with glass panels. The box took photographs of the cats as they attempted to move out of the box. Images of the cats' movements resulting in the same sequence of events were captured, leading to the conclusion that improvement can only occur when unnecessary movements are discarded or excluded from sequential activities (Guthrie & Horton 1946).

In the context of Africa, Guthrie's theory could be applicable in the process of bringing about change within societies, organisations, and individuals. The continent has many countries run by dictatorships, some of which could be changed, for instance, by citizens deciding to vote along non-ethnic lines. The same is needed to deal with corruption and bad governance within organisations and or with the negative behaviour of certain individuals. Guthrie's theory is a strong base for achieving cognitive-oriented learning where individuals can learn from past mistakes and bring about the required changes.

Guthrie's Association Theory can be criticised for extending the misconception that the relationship between stimulus and movement must occur repeatedly for a required action to occur. In reality, in some cases, one action is enough for learning to take place.

Metalingual Theory

The Metalingual Theory refers to the use of a language to explain itself. In the statement 'God has three letters', language is being used to explain itself. Tribus (2017) defines metalinguistic function as one that is used to explain grammatical or semantic constructs. According to Russian-American linguist and literary theorist Roman Jakobson (1960), the metalingual role works whenever parties in a conversation are triggered to confirm whether they are using the same code: the people in the conversation are deriving meaning by using codes. Jakobson (1960) uses the term 'code' to refer to signs that help language users to reference their signifiers distinctively and consistently. While there is consistency among the descriptions of the metalingual function offered by various scholars and

researchers (i.e. confirmation of code), linguists vary in their definitions of the term 'code'. Martin and Ringham (2006) describe the metalingual function as communication that orients itself by confirming the code used. The authors describe the code as the lexical meaning in a verbal text or number symbolism – for instance, in a mathematical discourse.

Metalingual Theory is one of the subareas that deal with communicative functions in the field of Linguistics. The theory was named and developed by Jakobson (1960) as an extension of Bronisław Kasper Malinowski's Phatic Communion Theory (see below). Jakobson differentiates the metalinguistic function from five other language functions:

1. phatic,
2. referential,
3. poetic,
4. conative, and
5. emotive.

Angela Tribus (2017) defines the metalinguistic function as one where utterances are not only characterised by codes but also used to explain grammatical or semantic constructs, provide individuals with tools to monitor their own learning, and to clarify misinterpretations. With differing meanings of 'code' as a key concept of the theory, there would be obviously diverging interpretations, usages, and applications.

A metalanguage is a necessary scientific tool used by logicians and linguists in the Western world and in Africa. It comes into play in everyday language. For instance, it is a key component of early language for children who are learning to speak their mother or native tongues and for second language acquisition.

In Jakobson's communicative function model, the metalingual role is defined as one that deals with shared communication problems due to the variety of the codes used. The metalingual function can be used to not only address code problems but also to correct speech errors (the substitution of a chosen lexical item by another one that the speaker feels is more appropriate in terms of his or her intended meaning, etc.). In other words, the metalingual function should be understood to include code-directed activity that may be either interactional or speaker-oriented (Jakobson 1960).

Phatic Communion Theory

The phatic concept refers to verbal communication between the hearer and speaker with the purpose of maintaining a social relationship. The communication does not necessarily emphasise the conveyance of meaning and information content. The concept of phatic communion was pioneered by British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski in 1923. Malinowski (1923) described phatic communion as aimless social intercourse: inquiries about health, comments on the weather,

greeting formulas, etc. The approach birthed by Malinowski (1923) became a theoretical foundation for research on the functions of language and gave rise to other phatic-related theories.

The Phatic Communion Theory describes a type of discourse that is different from the conventional one where there must be a conveyance of information. It describes a social function of language where it is used to establish or keep an interactive contact between individuals through the flow and exchange of purposeless and aimless words or ‘vocables’.

Jakobson (1960) defines Phatic Communion Theory in terms of the phatic function of language, which emphasises the existence of contact between the receiver (hearer) and sender (speaker) of a message. Tribus (2017) defines phatic communion as a function of language that deals with the connection between two speakers. Its key goal is to establish/create, extend, prove, confirm, or cease the connection, and may comprise of phrases like ‘really?’ ‘Uh-huh’ ‘have a nice day’ (what is generally referred to as small talk). Commonly, it is used to establish social relationships (Tribus 2017). Jakobson (1960) extended and modified Malinowski’s concept, describing it as a function of bonding and as a function of language which is channel-oriented in that it contributes to the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact.

Velghe (2014) demonstrates how impoverished communities of Westbank Township near Cape Town in South Africa use phatic communication and a sustained connected presence as critical strategies of social networking. In a situation of impoverishment, aloneness, unemployment and tedium, the use of phatic communicational expressions or ‘vocables’ such as a text message or a short phone call forms one of the many coping tactics that the residents in Westbank use to deal with the harsh conditions of poverty and insecurity.

Most writers and researchers consider phatic communion and phatic communication as similar concepts; nevertheless, the terms are differentiated, with the former describing the seeking of rapport or a social bond while the latter achieves a social contact. Malinowski’s work involved a more exact description of a field of communication that had not until then been clearly identified and extended in the review of the functions of language. Nonetheless, as Laver (1975) argues, the very act of description and identification provided by Malinowski hindered further inquiry as a result of the traditional excessive focus of linguistics on the review of form at the expense of a deeper insight into the communicative functions and realisations of phatic communion.

Rhetic Theory

Rhetic Theory, also called Rhetic Act Theory, is characterised as a linguistic phenomenon responsible for functions in language usage, such as designating reference to texts or conversations; resolving the use of deictic words, expressions,

and utterances; and removing uncertainty from meaning in utterance-inscription either lexically or grammatically. Odebo and Dabi (2015) define rhetic acts as one of three subsets of locutionary acts. The other two subsets are:

1. phonetic acts and
2. phatic acts.

According to Thau (1972), rhetic acts use 'vocables' with a more or less well-defined perception of sense and reference or allusion. Within the locutionary act, one can differentiate the phatic and rhetic concepts by marking the former with *oratio recta* quotation marks (direct speech) and the latter with indirect quotations. Thau (1972) says that a rhetic act occurs when individuals utter 'phemes' (i.e. words or sentences) with certain specific meanings that have the most preferential philosophical senses of those words. In sum, Rhetic Theory focuses on the specific or particular sense or reference.

Rhetic Theory was developed and pioneered by British philosopher of language John Langshaw Austin (1911–1960) and described in the 1962 book titled *How to Do Things with Words* compiled by his students. Many researchers have defined the theory by differentiating it from illocutionary and locutionary acts. Searle (1968) describes locutionary as voicing a sentence with a distinct meaning, with connotation or meaning, which Austin (1962) characterises as sense and reference, while an illocutionary act is defined as uttering a sentence with a certain force. Whichever approach is used to describe the Rhetic Theory, reference, sense, and connotation are key concepts.

The application of Rhetic Theory is limited because it is not well researched and studied. Rhetic theory was applied by Moltmann (2016) in a study that proposed a specific way of conceptualising the idea of a rhetic act. The study says the rhetic act is well-reflected in the semantics of natural language, specifically in the semantics of verbs of saying and particular sorts of plural noun phrases in English (and German). The author further established a novel semantics of quotation by making crucial use of Austin's differentiations among lower-level linguistic acts, a semantics that promises a unified and compositional semantics of quotation. Generally, a rhetic act or concept is used in the semantics of natural language mainly to provide meaning and reference.

The distinction between Rhetic Theory and locutionary or illocutionary acts is unclear. This situation has led to many differing distinctions, with Odebo and Dabi (2015) classifying it as a locutionary act while Thau (1972) has classified it as illocutionary act. Also, both Searle (1968) and Cohen (1964) endeavour to demonstrate that, at least in some cases, the illocutionary force of an utterance cannot be differentiated from the meaning of an utterance. The two authors believe that the rhetic and illocutionary acts cannot be differentiated. Searle (1968) rebuff Austin's description of the rhetic act and Cohen (1964) rejects Austin's notion of the illocutionary act. Typically, unclear distinctions lead to divergence in the interpretations of the concept.

Rhetorical Theory

Rhetorical Theory was developed by Aristotle (384–322 BC). The literature is however not clear about the year in which the theory was developed (Burke 1969).

The term rhetoric refers to the method of bringing about action or the formation of attitude in others (Burke 1969). Rhetoric is also defined as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case (*Rhetoric* I–II, 1355b26f.). Rhetorical practices constitute varying styles of persuasion or influence. Persuasion refers to altering the attitudes of others or causing them to act in a manner that they would otherwise not do on their own. Aristotle describes three types of persuasion or appeal that speakers can use to influence their audience. These are:

1. *logos* – using sound and reasonable arguments to appeal to the audience’s sense of logic;
2. *ethos* – drawing upon a speaker’s own character or credibility; and
3. *pathos* – the speaker appealing to the emotional investment of the audience on a subject (Aristotle 1954).

In African countries, Rhetorical Theory can be used to provide insights into the forces that influence and persuade people to work in cooperation within organisations otherwise believed to be dysfunctional. Organisations have leaders who are hardworking, intelligent and competent individuals. Nevertheless, it is common to find that the organisations they lead are dysfunctional as a result of inherent or external forces (Demkiw 2010). Rhetorical Theory can be useful in understanding the causes of the dysfunctions of the modern organisational environment.

The theory is also applicable during national campaigns where politicians use persuasive language and calculated actions to persuade citizens to vote in their favour.

The limitation for this theory lies in the diversity of methods used by rhetoricians to examine rhetorical discourses to comprehend how they operate to influence audiences (Demkiw 2010). The goal is to understand the rhetorical processes that influence communication between people, to understand the people being persuaded, and to gain insights into the nature of their persuasions.

Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis states that there are certain thoughts of humans expressed in language that cannot be understood by another individual living in another cultural context (Kay & Kempton 1984). The hypothesis claims that the mental state of a person is strongly determined by his/her mother tongue. To be more precise, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis posits that the structure of a language itself affects the cognition procedures of its user (Kay & Kempton 1984).

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis was developed by Edward Sapir in 1929 and later advanced by his student Benjamin Whorf in the 1950s. The hypothesis has been important for African scholars attempting to break free of the tentacles of Western domination. For example, Mwalimu Ali Al'Amin Mazrui in an article titled 'Language and the Quest for Liberation of Africa: The Legacy of Frantz Fanon' (1993) maintains that an African language is a reservoir of culture which contains the paths of human thought. He claims that language influences the way we perceive reality, evaluate ourselves, and arrange our conduct. For African liberation to be real and complete, Mwalimu Mazrui believes that there is a need to make use of African languages. In his 1995 book titled *Nations Nègres et Culture*, Cheikh Anta Diop states that African languages are useful for Africans to better understand the world and manage themselves. He shows how it is possible to use those languages, taking the example of Wolof, to deal with sophisticated scientific notions like Einstein's theory of relativity.

Despite the many criticisms against the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis by Noam Chomski and other scholars, some believe that it has relevance. In fact, categorical perceptions seem to be language dependent. Overall, the scientific community has validated the statement that language can at certain moments influence the thoughts of a person (Robertson, Davies & Davidoff 2000).

Tolman's Sign-Gestalt Theory

Tolman's Sign-Gestalt Theory is employed in the field of linguistics to examine cognitivism in language learning. The use of the theory in the field has been prevalent in the study of sign language, as the mental action or process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and the senses is critical for the comprehension of a system of communication that uses visual gestures and signs.

This theory describes attributes of behaviour; it expounds that goals drive behaviour and that the environment plays a key role in shaping that behaviour. Cognition also plays a key role in the prevailing behavioural state. This theory posits that learning certain behaviours does not hinge upon a fixed pattern or sequence; rather, learning changes based on variations in the situations at hand (Tolman 1968). In addition, the theory defines learning as a process that can be transferred to new situations leading to a redefinition of goals and, ultimately, new results being obtained. Furthermore, according to this theory, repetitive trials during learning lead to the development of cognitive mental maps that are dependent on the end goal and environment (Agbonlahor & Oasgiede 2017). These maps thus impact one's behaviour and actions based on the environment and the goal being targeted.

Edward Chace Tolman (1886–1959) developed the theory. According to Ritchie (1964), Tolman was a scholar who conducted a series of experiments

to try to understand learning processes as well as behaviours. Tolman held that experiments are needed to understand the concepts that encompass animal behaviour. He thus carried out experiments using rats to clarify the concepts of learning and rewards as well as the connection between stimulus and response (Ritchie 1964).

The theory attempts to clarify the stimulus behaviour response based on the environment. It states that different individual's learning and response rates are different based on the cognitive maps that they form during learning, which is a useful insight for understanding the learning process (Tolman 1968). The use of this theory can therefore aid in modifying the teaching approach to obtain the desired behaviour as the ultimate goal.

Tolman's Sign-Gestalt Theory can be applied during a teaching process in an African context. Based on this theory, the teacher needs to understand the cultural backgrounds of the learners as well as their expectations. This is because the teacher has a specific approach to teaching, which would seem to benefit the learners, whose expectations may or may not align with the teacher's approach. The teacher can try to understand the thoughts and actions of the learners and try to come up with an inclusive teaching approach that would be beneficial to the learners in attaining the desired learning outcomes (Agbonlahor & Oasgiede 2017). By applying this theory, the understanding of the concepts being taught can be greatly enhanced.

The arguments against this theory are mainly based on the subjects used in the experiments/trials carried out by Tolman. The major query appears to be whether the behaviour as exhibited by rats can readily predict the way that humans would respond if learning was initiated in a similar environment.

Variability Concept

The Variability Concept emerged from the perception that languages possess multitudinous capabilities for reproducing a single linguistic expression. This variation exists at all levels of the linguistic hierarchy. Linguistic variations are evident in the pronunciation of words and syntax chosen (Labov 1972). The concept of variation was coined by William Labov in 1968. Nonetheless, there is scanty literature on the concept.

In Africa, most countries have a multiplicity of ethnic groups, with people speaking different languages and dialects of those languages peculiar to a given region. The variation concept comes into play when specific languages spoken are influenced by external factors such as the speakers' social classes or social environments. For example, the youth in most countries have their own languages which they use to communicate amongst themselves. For example, in Kenya, the language of the youth is known as *Sheng*.

Language variation can play a unifying role by creating a connecting bond among the youth and the old in a nation. A criticism of language variation is that it also results in exclusivity when members of a given subgroup communicate only among themselves, making the rest of the community feel left out.

Law and Order

Marxist Theory

This theory proposes that laws and states emerge from social interactions within economic and political structures that promote distinctions in classes. Simply put, state and law arise from the ownership of properties by individuals. The main proposition of the Marxist Theory of law and order is that society has classes because of the existence of private property. Higher-class individuals who own the means of production and who can exploit the lower class make laws to protect their private property. Marxist theorists argue that societies in the primitive era did not have states or laws. They recommend that achieving perfect equality in the context of communism will translate into the extinction of private property and, consequently, state and law. The contemporary version of the theory postulates law to be the product of capitalistic economic, political and social structures. Marxist approaches indicate that laws are political, coercive, expressive of economic relations, ideological and often manifest the interest of the dominant class (Hunt 2010). The dominant class in this context is often the class with power, status and property.

The pioneers of this approach to the conceptualisation of law include Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). The explanation of subordination-domination relations in different epochs of history, as well as the continued existence of such relations, was given by Marx who also proposed a solution for its eradication. He argued that the attainment of an equality that is perfect among individuals would translate into the eradication of law and state, as there would be no private property. Engels added to this proposition by considering the family and not just the state and property (Collins, cited in Hunt 1983), thereby incorporating issues such as gender rights.

In Nigeria, for instance, the dynamics of law formulation and political leadership which are characterised more often than not by the dominance of major ethnic groups to the detriment of minority ethnic groups manifest the major themes of Marxist Theory. This is also manifested in the dominance of the political leadership in the different contours of laws. For example, business laws are favourable to the minority elite rather than the larger population, which is often poor and marginalised. A new tax law in Nigeria that increases value added tax (VAT) on all products, irrespective of the differences in the purchasing power of its citizens, is an example. Similarly, the privatisation of the electricity distribution company is indicative of a bias to the elite but oppression of the poor.

A major strength of the theory hinges upon the fact that in most societies, the basis and/or foundation, the emergence, the sustenance and the promulgation of most laws remain primarily products of economic, political and social dynamics between high-class and low-class members of society.

A major limitation of the Marxist Theory on law and order is the reality that some laws, such as traffic laws, may arguably not be related to economic and political structures, the mainstay of Marxism. In addition, the failure of the equal distribution of property as was (arguably) done in nation states such as the United of Soviet Socialist Republics confirms its limitations (Beyene 2006).

Positivist Theory

In the traditional form of Positivist Theory, rules are said to become laws simply by being commanded by the sovereign with possible sanctions for not obeying them. This is irrespective of any other consideration like morality or legitimacy. For this theory, three elements are pertinent:

1. sovereign,
2. command, and
3. sanction.

The sovereign is the command-giver, the command is the rule, and the punishment for command violations is the sanction (Patton 1967). In its modern rendition, the theory postulates that the validity of any law is dependent upon its source and not on its merits (Patton 1967; Waluchow 1998; Gardner 2001), implying a separation of 'what is' (i.e. realism) from 'what ought to be' (i.e. idealism).

Pioneers of this theory include Jeremy Bentham (1748–1842), John Austin (1790–1859), and H.L.A. Hart (1907–1992) who based their postulates on the foundations of empiricism and logical positivism. Command and separation are major aspects of the theory. In the classical version of the theory, Bentham and Austin viewed the sovereign as the 'unobeyed' who enacts and enforces a command with use of force or power whether or not it measures up to moral standards. For his part, Hart introduced the concept of the authority of rules as an attempt to debunk criticisms that 'there is a difference between a valid law and the orders of a gunman' (as quoted by Beyene 2006:24). For Hart, the general acceptability of a rule as the standard for conduct and the enactment of rules in line with specific rule-creation procedure(s) gives authority to such rules referred to as 'primary' and 'secondary' rules ('rules of recognition'). These rules give legal validity just to sovereign commands (Beyene 2006). In other words, a law becomes a law not only because it is given as a command, but because it is in line with the primary and secondary rules.

The proclamation by Shaka Zulu of two years of sexual abstinence for his subjects as a grieving period illustrates commands given by sovereigns without consideration for his subjects. Similarly, laws that either allow or restrict

abortion and homosexuality in the Western world and that seem to contradict beliefs held in society are illustrations of laws based on the Positivist Theory. Other relevant examples include apartheid laws in South Africa and the laws enacted in Nazi Germany.

The ‘distinguishability’ of law from social norms inclusive of moral standards and etiquette, as well as the acknowledgement of an overlap between the two, is the strength of this theory. Positivists accept that laws can be ‘good or bad, wise or foolish, just or unjust’ (Lyons 1977:417). The merit of the law is not as important as its source in this context. The satisfaction of moral conditions is not necessary to establish its validity.

The proposition that the command of a sovereign validates a law rather than a rule being accepted by the people because it is reflective of natural justice is a shortcoming of the theory. Similarly, law observance is not only secured by sanctions; sometimes, positive rewards, habits, and respect for laws may secure observance (Patton 1967). An individual can elect to obey a law not because of its sanctions but because s/he feels fulfilled being obedient.

Social Contract Theory

This theory proposes that laws emerge as a result of an agreement among members of a state. The agreement specifies rights and duties for the achievement of common goals. Citizens agree to give up rights to the state in exchange for the state ensuring the preservation of order, peace, fair access or the distribution of resources of nature for the good of all (Ellis 2006; Laskar 2013; Jiboku & Jiboku 2019). The key element here is ‘agreement’.

The initiators of the Social Contract Theory include Thomas Hobbes (1588– 1679), John Locke (1632–1704), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712– 1778). Hobbes said that the natural need of humanity for safety and pain-avoidance led to the formation of agreements in which individuals gave up their rights and freedom to a sovereign who had absolute power to give commands for the good of all. He proposed an agreement constituting a mix of individualistic, materialistic, utilitarian and absolutist principles (Laskar 2013). This perspective is different from those of the other pioneers.

In Locke’s variation, citizens surrender only the rights of the preservation/maintenance of order and enforcement of the natural laws to the state. Other natural rights such as those to life and freedom of speech, among others, remain with the citizens. The contract between government and its citizens becomes invalid and not binding when the government fails to fulfil these rights surrendered by the citizens. For Rousseau, sovereignty belongs to the majority of the people whose general will determines the laws and it is within this context that laws are representative (Laskar 2013). In essence, the people’s will validates a law.

Trade relations among West African countries as captured in the pact binding the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are an example of an agreement among countries that is legally valid and binding on the partners of the agreement, a reflection of the Social Contract Theory. Many laws establishing businesses at individual, organisational, national and regional levels reflect agreements based on this theory.

The theory is relevant now particularly in terms of the 'social contractibility' nature of laws; there is always an agreement of some sort for the emergence and validity of laws (Laskar 2013). This agreement is ideally between the parties affected by the law in question.

The placement of absolute power in the sovereign as proposed by Hobbes is one of the major limitations of this theory. Other limitations include Rousseau's proposition of the interchangeability of government, state and law.

Utilitarian Theory

Utilitarian Theory as it pertains to law and order purports that the promulgation of laws is aimed at the production of the greatest possible good for the majority of individuals. It is considered a consequentialist theory because it seeks the most positive consequence for the greatest number of individuals in any state. It also emphasises an individualistic view of law built on the principle of utility. This entails the prevention of evil and/or the procurement of good for the happiness of the majority in a society. Enjoyment, pleasure-seeking, happiness or gratification is proposed to be the primary obligation of the government to its citizens. In simple terms, laws exist to ensure the furtherance of happiness of the majority of the members of a state. Therefore, any action that contravenes the happiness of the greatest number of the people of a society is unlawful (Welch 1989).

According to English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the major proponent of this theory and who attempted a pain or harm calculus, the validity of a law is dependent on its usefulness in ensuring the prevention of the most pain and production of maximum pleasure. Laws function to meet the requirements of citizens' equality, subsistence, abundance and security. John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), another pioneer of this theory, emphasised hedonism as pertinent in the formulation and functions of a law but differentiated the quality of pleasure in terms of whether or not there were higher or lower pleasures (Smart & Williams 1973). This categorisation of pleasures differentiates sensual pleasure from other types of pleasure such as intellectual pleasure.

The Petroleum Act mandated by the Nigerian state that employs the resources of the petroleum sector for the entire country rather than only for producing states is indicative of the consequentialist attribute of utilitarianism. The good of the majority of the people in the country as a whole rather than regionally is the focus. Similarly, the prohibition of imports in many countries (for example

the staple food, rice, in Nigeria) also falls in line with the consequentialist feature of this theory. The hedonist ethic is somewhat implicated in the ongoing debate concerning sexual orientation and LGBTQ+ rights in many African countries, including Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya, where there is an apparent clash between individual happiness and a purported societal interest, at least from the standpoint of those who oppose these rights.

A major strength of this theory lies in its relevance to the promulgation of economic laws, particularly with regards to the importation and exportation of products. The common good of the majority of the citizens overrides that of the business individuals or organisations. Nevertheless, its shortcomings remain its simplistic attempt to graft idealism and materialism and its failure to ensure equilibrium between interests at the individual and community levels.

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6

Literature, Mathematics, and Peace and Conflict Resolution

Doctoral Scholars

In this chapter, we provide brief reviews of eight theories in the field of literature, three in the field of mathematics, and eight in the field of peace and conflict resolution. The first category of theories pertains to written works, especially those considered of superior or lasting artistic merit. The second category relates to notions dealing with abstract science of number, quantity, and space. Mathematics may be studied in its own right (*pure mathematics*), or as it is applied to other disciplines such as physics and engineering (*applied mathematics*). And the third category is in reference to concepts regarding freedom from disturbance and approaches two or more parties can use to reach a peaceful resolution to a disagreement between or among them.

Literature

Cultural Studies Theory

Cultural Studies Theory is an outgrowth of a literary field that first emanated from British Cultural Analysis, drawing tenets from *The Long Revolution* and *Culture and Society* by Raymond Williams (Castle 2007). In the books, Williams demonstrated that communication and media were changing citizens' outlook on life. Thus, Cultural Studies Theory is deeply rooted in the mechanics of popular and contemporary cultures. Stuart Hall, in his lecture on Culturalism, argues that culture is 'experience lived, experience interpreted, experience defined' (in Slack & Grossberg 2016:33). Hall contends that even though many earlier academics considered the study of popular culture to be an affront to their intellectuality, Cultural Studies Theory 'tells us things about the world that more traditional studies of politics or economics alone could not' (Hall 1981:2). As an approach

and an interdisciplinary stance, Cultural Studies Theory tends to fuse a number of other approaches and theories like those found in gender studies, Marxism, post-colonialism, feminist theory, history, and critical theory.

According to some observers of the Cultural Studies Theory, the crux of the research by its practitioners examines the ideas that engender cultural practices and how these practices are connected to the systems of power that emanate through social phenomena and constructs like gender, sexual identity and orientation, class divisions and structures, identity formations and queerness. Cultural Studies Theory is therefore said to prompt examination of different classes of culture and the varied margins of difference between categories of expression; however, for Cultural Studies Theory critics, cultures are dynamic and are constantly changing and merging with current trends and practices (for more on these aspects, see Hall 1981).

Raymond Williams contends that works on Cultural Studies Theory 'were revolutionary in that they sought to analyse culture through new ways of conceiving the relationship between base and structure. Each of these categories offers something of value to the critic, but none of them alone is sufficient' (Williams 1961:85). He also contends that the 'theory of culture must take into account elements from each and respond to the complexity and significance of specific cultural organisations' (Williams 1961:85). He defines the theory 'as the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life' (Williams 1961:85).

The theory allows for the fusion of different tenets from other theories in its application, and therein lies its strength. Its limitation, however, is connected to its strength because the diversity of its approach posits it as a theory that depends on a number of other theories to support its postulates.

Ethnic Studies and Postcolonial Criticism

Ethnic Studies, which is also called Minority Studies, has a historical relationship with Postcolonial Criticism (Singh & Schmidt 2000). This relationship is based on Euro-American imperialism and colonisation directed at some ethnic groups: Latino/Latina, African and African-American, Filipino, Irish, the subaltern peoples of India, indigenous American, and Chinese, among others. On the one hand, Ethnic Studies is located within literature produced by groups that have either been marginalised or which are in a subordinate position to a dominant culture. Postcolonial Criticism, on the other hand, investigates the relationships between the colonisers and the colonised in the period of post-colonisation. To put this more succinctly, Postcolonial Criticism addresses the issues around politics and literature. It examines politics, economics, issues of power, culture and wealth and what

underlies the ethnic imbalance which was informed by colonial incursion, power and education relativism; and the demarcation of the colonised country for administrative convenience, bringing people of different cultures together to achieve their aims. Postcolonial criticism attributes the underdevelopment of the colonised states to footprints and structures left by the colonial masters. Although the two theories have points of intersection and are both activist intellectual enterprises, Ethnic Studies and Postcolonial Criticism have substantial differences in their history and ideas (Singh & Schmidt 2000).

Afro-Caribbean and African writers such as Aimé Fernand David Césaire (1913–2008), Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), Chinua Achebe (1930–2013) and others made significant early contributions to the theory. They explored the traditions, sometimes repressed or subversive, of ethnic literary activity while providing an evaluation of representations of ethnic identity as found within the majority culture. Ethnic and Minority Literary Theory emphasises the relationship between cultural identity and individual identity in historical circumstances of obvious racial oppression.

Even though he was not the first writer to explore the historical condition of post-colonialism, Palestinian literary theorist Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1977) is generally regarded as having inaugurated the field of Postcolonial Criticism in the West. Said argues that the term 'the Orient' was produced by the 'imaginative geography' of Western scholarship and has been instrumental in the colonisation and domination of non-Western societies. In the book, Said characterises the concept of 'Western Style' as 'dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said 1979:2–12, 94). The work of Gayatri C. Spivak (1988) focuses on the question of who speaks for the colonial 'Other' and the relationship between the ownership of discourse and representation and the development of postcolonial subjectivity. Like Feminist and Ethnic Theory, Postcolonial Criticism also investigates the inclusion of the marginalised literature of colonial people into the dominant canon and discourse (Spivak 1988).

According to Said (1979), Postcolonial Criticism offers a fundamental critique of the ideology of colonial domination and at the same time seeks to undo the 'imaginative geography' of Orientalist thought that produced conceptual as well as economic divisions between the West and the East, 'civilised' and 'uncivilised', First and Third Worlds. In this respect, the theory of Ethnic Studies and Postcolonial Criticism is critical and adversarial in its basic aims. It therefore emphasises the issues of identity and social justice orchestrated by ethnic imbalance from the leftover structures of the colonial powers. Questions on the theory always revolve around distribution of opportunities and privileges within a society.

Formalism and New Criticism

Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) and Viktor Shklovsky (1893–1984) are popularly known proponents of Formalism and New Criticism Theory (Curtis 1976). Their study on formalism had a wider impact on later developments in structuralism and theories of narrativity. The critical approach that interprets or evaluates the inherent structures of a text and its analysis is known as Formalism (Hansen 2004). These structures involve grammar, syntax, and literary devices such as tropes and rhythms. The formalistic approach aims to reduce the significance of a text's historical, biographical and cultural context (Van Manen 2016).

Formalism and New Criticism Theory advocate for methodological and systematic readings of texts. This premise led to the advancement of reading strategies that isolate text objectively by looking at structure as well as authorial techniques and use of language. The theory aims at classifying, categorising, and cataloguing works by their formal attributes. Northrop Frye, John Crowe Ransom and T.S. Eliot are among the contributors to the development of theory (Drake et al. 2013).

The New Criticism component of the theory gained significant attention in American academe in the 1930s and 1940s. This Anglo-American variety of Formalism, developed as a new strategy for reading, viewed literature as autonomous, an aesthetic object independent of past contexts, and treated as a unified whole, echoing the unified sense-making of an artist. The primary objective of New Criticism is to bring greater intellectual rigour to literary study, emphasising metaphysical poets and a poetry type that is tailored to new critical practice. The approach focused on delineating the formal structures of paradox, irony, ambiguity, and metaphor, as well as to restraining itself to cautious examination of a text (Castle 2009).

Formalism shared common assumptions that a work is autotelic: that is complete in itself, that it is written for its own sake, and that it is unified by its form (Ousby 1992). Table 6.1 illustrates the figurative usages and applications.

The strengths of Formalism and New Criticism Theory are rooted in the following: it is a commonly understood approach that makes sense of literature; it is appropriate for poetry analysis; and it enhances the development of reading skills. Loesberg (2015) argues that a multiplicity of meanings exists in literary language, diverting the reader from the familiar and making fresh the experiences of daily life.

Castle (2007) argues that an inherent criticism of the theory lies in the internal logic of aesthetic form. He denounces the theory for being insufficiently historicised. Another defect of the theory is that it fails to pay attention to biological matters and social issues by focusing only on content and form.

Table 6.1: The Application of Formalism in Studies

Element	Usage	Application
Character	Creation and representation of fictional persons and entries	Antagonist, antihero, dynamic, flat, protagonist, round, static, symbolic, analogy, irony, sarcasm, satire, metaphor, metonymy, personification, simile, symbolism, intangible, tangible, and synecdoche
Imagery	Specific details used to describe character, situation, things, ideas or events	Hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, touching, extrasensory
Plot	A series of events or happenings that organise a text	Climax, complicated, conflict, external, internal, denouement, foreshadowing, implausible, inciting event, plausible, recognition, reversal, simple
Point of view	Perspective of the controlling narrative voice	First person, limited omniscience, objective, omniscient, reliable, subjective, third person, unreliable
Setting	Atmosphere, historical period, physical setting, or mood of text	Place, time, ahistorical, chronological, backward, forward, circular, flashbacks, historical, projections, fragmented, atmosphere, mood
Theme	A major idea or message in the text	Controlling ideas, separate issues

Source: Self-generated by the authors

Gender Studies and Queer Theory

Gender Studies Theory is an interdisciplinary approach that looks at how gender shapes our identities, our social interactions and our world. It is employed to examine identities and how these identities are categorised (Kieley et al. 2018). According to Jagose and Genschel (1996), Queer Theory is commonly perceived as the latest institutional transformation in the field of Lesbian and Gay Studies. Combining the two theories, Piantato (2016) posits that Gender Studies and Queer Theory comprise an interdisciplinary approach that examines the dominant understanding of gender and the challenges surrounding the association that exists amid gender identity, sexual orientation, and anatomical sex (see also Fineman 2009). Subversive approaches that challenge the hegemonic idea of gender and sex highlight differences in the perspectives on identity inherent in Feminism

and Queer Theory (Piantato 2016). Abes and Kasch propound that Queer Theory aims to 'explain development toward complex ways of understanding identity' (2007:3).

Teresa de Lauretis is acknowledged as the coiner of the phrase 'Queer Theory' which she introduced during a conference at the University of California in 1990. Other known queer theorists are David Halperin, José Esteban Muñoz, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and many others. Queer Theory 'critically analyzes the meaning of identity, focusing on intersections of identities and resisting oppressive social constructions of sexual orientation and gender' (Piantato 2016:1). It is through the idea of fluidity that Queer Theory expresses a new understanding of gender identity, by refusing the binarism between men and women (Piantato 2016).

Both Gender Studies and Queer Theory explore issues of sexuality, power, and marginalised populations (woman as other) in literature and culture (Purdue Online Writing Lab, undated).

The application of Queer Theory in the African context is evident in the work of Vasu Reddy (2005). The author formulates a critical method that demonstrates the political construction of homosexuality in South Africa. The author reveals that the appearance of the political queer character has its origins in the apartheid state and the grounding of the identities is reinforced in the present post-apartheid project. In addition, Reddy conceives homosexuality as a queer identity that resists and subverts heteronormativity (Reddy 2005).

One of the strengths of Queer Theory is that it is perceived as a kind of inclusive approach that 'encompasses the whole marginalised identity, thus considered as fluid and free-floating, incapable of fitting in a normative study, permitting their legitimate recognition alternative to originality identity' (Piantato 2016:17). Queer Theory is considered to be strong because it embraces all forms of studies that are labelled odd, weird, queer and gives them opportunities to be explored and to pass through the inferno of criticism (Piantato 2016). In addition, Queer Theory's deconstruction of gender presents a wide range of implications that leave the possibility of reviewing gender and sexuality in a new and more complex way.

Marxism and Critical Theory

The nexus between Marxism and Critical Theory hinges on the fact that the latter (i.e. Critical Theory) seeks to expose any ideological system that buttresses any aspect of economic subjugation. The theory's objective is to add to the efforts to eradicate such subjugation. In essence, the theory seeks to contribute insights about socioeconomic life that are liberating: i.e. people come to perceive the subjugation they are experiencing as subjugation and are thereby partly emancipated from it. It is from this purview that the Marxist critique of capitalist economic relations is akin to Critical Theory, as Marxism regards participants in

a capitalist society as uncritically accepting all aspects – including the oppressive ones – of free exchange, laws of demand and supply, private property rights, etc. as justifiable. In the same vein as Critical Theory, Marxism seeks to eliminate every aspect of capitalist subjugation. The basic objectives of Marxism and Critical Theory are to marshal actions geared towards ridding a society of despotism and exploitation.

Ian Birchall argues that Marxism and Critical Theory are concerned with ‘the analyses of the dynamics and contradictions of the capitalist system, and to show how the working class has the historical potential to overthrow capitalism and establish a classless, socialist society’ (Birchall 1977:9). Terry Eagleton says that ‘Marxist criticism is part of a larger body of theoretical analysis which aims to understand ideologies, the ideas, the values and feelings by which men experience the society at various times’ (Eagleton 1996:12).

Marxist criticism holds that literature can be viewed as ideological, and that it can be analysed in terms of a Base/Superstructure model. Karl Marx argued that the economic means of production in a society account for its base, which then determines its superstructure. Human institutions and ideologies that produce art and literary texts comprise the superstructure. ‘Marxist criticism thus emphasizes class, socioeconomic status, and power relations among various segments of society.’ (Eward-Mangione 2020).

For Marx ‘the history of a society is the history of dialectical transformations in the relationship between labour and production’ (Castle 2007:108). There are two classes dominant in a society as identified by Marx:

1. the capitalist and
2. the proletariat.

Important to Marx’s philosophy is his meeting with Friedrich Engels who collaborated with Marx for the production of ‘the critique of capitalist society based on a materialistic conception of history’ (Habib 2005:527). For Engels, the aim was to formulate an ideology for socialism in order to seek the point of intersection between natural science and dialectics and to explore the state of the working class. Other notable proponents of Marxist and Critical Theory are Gyorgy Lukacs (1885–1971) and Terry Eagleton (born 1943).

Critical Theory emanates from the Institute for Social Research (*Institut für Sozialforschung*) at the University of Frankfurt. Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), director of the institute from 1930 to 1953, is recognised for his immense contributions to the founding and upholding of the Frankfurt School tradition of Critical Theory (Bolanos 2013). Other critical theorists like Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Eric Fromm were all affiliated with the Institute for Social Research. The initial plan of these theorists was to critique and study a society from the angle of Marxism. However, owing to their preoccupation with

'superstructural' phenomena like class formation, ideological hegemony and problems of culture, they deviated from the mainstream 'mechanistic' approach by rejecting economic forces and modes of production associated with classical Marxism (Castle 2007:65). Drawing his conclusion from Horkheimer's essay, 'Tradition and Critical Theory', Bolanos notes that Marxism and Critical Theory concerns itself with 'potentiality and liberation' which create a path for humans to transform themselves in society which appeals to an idea of liberation that may not necessarily mean total freedom (Bolanos 2013).

The charm of Marxism and Critical Theory to African sensibilities (and the rest of the world), lies in its foundation in political economy. The theory concerns itself with social actualities but also sees a human as a political, social and economic being. Marxism and Critical Theory propose that the realisation of human potentialities is attainable through social structures. Chief among these structuring efforts is the scrapping of all forms of tyranny which will bring about the annihilation of injustice (Bolanos 2013). Whereas Marx's concern was on the exploitation of the proletariat in the *production* process, critical theorists were mainly concerned with the explorations and deceits in the realm of consumption, especially through the mass media and advertisement.

The strength of the theory hinges upon its almost perfect applicability and suitability in the critical analyses of literary texts. It envisages a utopian state – which is only possible in a fictitious universe. The theory's limitation is therefore embedded in its inapplicability to the actual world.

New Historicism and Cultural Materialism

American scholar Louis Montrose, a major innovator and exponent of New Historicism, defines it as a combination of 'the textuality of history, the historicity of texts' (quoted by Peter 1995:1). This implies that literary texts, as cultural products rooted in their time and place, should be studied and interpreted within the context of the history of both the author and the critic (Parvini 2012). New Historicism has its origin in America and was popularised in the 1980s by Stephen Greenblatt. Other proponents were Michel Foucault and Clifford Geertz. The term Cultural Materialism was coined by Raymond Williams and originated in Britain. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield made a huge contribution to this theory through their work titled *Political Shakespeare* published in 1985.

The two theories are usually combined because of their similarity of focus on the relationship between text and history. They both highlight how individuals perceive themselves, their interactions with others, and how they exercise power or are subjected to power. They also emphasise the close relationship between literary texts and other texts. They do, however, differ in that while New Historicism emphasises power and how the 'self' is created through society,

Cultural Materialism pays more attention to ideology and leans towards Marxism (Bertens 2008). The theoretical assumptions of the theories are:

1. every expressive act is entrenched in the cultural practices of a place;
2. culture is said to fundamentally contain characteristics of a text and, consequently, can be studied just as texts are;
3. literary texts are intertwined with cultural texts through a connection with other texts and rhetoric and can be analysed in similar way;
4. power always seeks to accommodate dissidence and this drive for containment must be overcome if genuine subversion is to be achieved; and
5. an engagement with the 'real' lived experiences of people as documented by anecdotes can lead to the reproduction of 'counter histories' (Parvini 2012).

The theory has been used in the analysis of *Coming to Birth*, an award-winning work by Kenyan author Marjorie Macgoye (2000). The text demonstrates that history does not homogeneously impact on both women and men. This is reflected in the progressive social transformation of the female character Pauline against the male character Martin's regression. The novel depicts how social, economic and political transformations are intertwined with the historical events of the nation. In addition, the author is said to depict a conflict between the main characters resulting in bitterness and lack of hope (Abungu 1997). This scenario is comparable to the hopelessness experienced by Kenyans in the newly independent country as a result of the failure of their new government, seen as a new pattern of colonisation.

A strength shared by New Historicism and Cultural Materialism is that they are grounded on post-structuralism and presented in an approachable way. The empirical foundation upon which the interpretation is based is openly available for scrutiny. The theory is not argumentative and relies on historical evidence. The theory has contributed to literary criticism in its re-evaluation of the association between the present and past. It also emphasises the influence of readers' values and attitudes in their interpretation of literature, their own culture, and the past (Makaryk 1993).

A limitation of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism is that in using it to study literary texts, critics highlight the history of the period in interpreting dramatic facts, thereby disregarding the literary text's own principles (Vickers 1993). It can be accused of bias as it can manipulate proof and circumstance to fit a one-sided interpretation. Finally, the theory is anachronistic as it forces contemporary political and cultural perspectives on (for instance) Renaissance texts (Levin 2003; Parvini 2017). Finally, the theory is also limited in that could exhibit political bias with its practitioners choosing texts that authenticate their positions (Makaryk 1993).

Structuralism and Poststructuralism

Althusser opines that Structuralism started as an intellectual paradigm in France in the late 1950s (Elliot 1990). It developed across Europe over the rest of the century as a result of an increase in human science research. Poststructuralism, according to Beaumont and Baker (2011), also originated in France during the time as a critique of Structuralism, arguing that all elements of human culture, including literature, are understandable when seen as being a part of a system.

Structuralism is defined in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and linguistics as a methodology that implies that elements of human culture must be understood by way of their relationship to a broader, overarching system or structure. Poststructuralism is defined as 'a movement that views the descriptive premise of structuralism as contracted by reliance on borrowed concepts or differential terms and categories and sees inquiry as inevitably shaped by discursive and interpretive practices' (Merriam-Webster 2021).

The main idea of Structuralism Theory is that human activity and its products, even perception and thought itself, are constructed and not natural, and in particular that everything has meaning because of the language system in which we operate. Poststructuralism entails the study of underlying structures, which are culturally conditioned and therefore subject to myriad biases and misinterpretations (Foucault & Hurst 2017).

According to Foucault and Hurst, although German physiologist and philosopher Wilhelm Wundt is often listed as the founder of Structuralism, he did not coin the term. The theory was propounded by his student Edward Bradford Titchener in the fields of anthropology and sociology. In the fields of architecture and literature, the theory is associated with Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In anthropology, it is associated with Claude Levi-Strauss (Foucault & Hurst 2017).

Applied to the African context, Sunday Anozie, an African literature critic, feels that most Africans have ignored Structuralism as a theory because it is not clearly defined and because it does not relate to political options and goals in the African context. According to Anozie, most structural models and African poetics are devoted to a critique of 'traditional' Structuralism as it is applied to the African context (Eagleton 2014).

This theory's concentration on structure is its strength. Studying the structure of a work, for instance, gives room for the deconstruction of the work, leading to greater understanding. Nonetheless, the theory does not go beyond the structure; thus, it becomes reductionist by limiting the exploration and reading of a text to its connection to other texts.

Traditional Literary Criticism

Traditional Literary Criticism Theory is the approach that dominated the study of literature until the 1930s and is still relevant today (Coyle et al. 2014). This approach sees literary work as a reflection of its author's life and times or the life and times of the characters in the work. In other words, Traditional Literary Criticism Theory sees literature as essentially biography or history. It explains works of literature in relation to the history of the writer or the characters in the work, or in terms of the moral philosophies that are embedded in a literary work. The approach is much articulated in the writings of the nineteenth century French historian and literary critic Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (Koller 1912).

The theory hinges on four pillars:

1. a focus on the purposes of the canonical writers;
2. the works of literature produced by geniuses – these works are associated with great authors such as Shakespeare and Chaucer;
3. the works are self-explanatory and have organic unity; and
4. the works should be studied for intellectual reasons and not ideological purposes (No author 2019).

Works such as Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968) and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) are typical examples of the relevance of the application of the theory in the African context as they treat their subject matter as essentially biographies or histories.

There are several strengths of Traditional Literary Criticism Theory. To begin with, the approach can be used to explain literary works that deal with politics and power dynamics. Examples include John Milton's 'On His Blindness', and John Dryden's satirical poem 'Absalom and Achitophel'. The approach tells us about the historical events that informed the writing of the literary work, the geographical settings, as well as the politics prevailing at the time. The approach's foci on history and bibliography are helpful because knowledge of the past gives readers a way to understand the language, ideas, and purposes of literature more deeply and clearly. Such knowledge can make readers familiar with the social trends and convictions that would have influenced a writer's attitude and tastes. Also, the approach explains the writer's choice of words and expressions. Furthermore, the approach identifies differences between contemporary writers (No author 2019).

A weakness of Traditional Literary Criticism Theory is intentional fallacy: i.e. the problem inherent in assuming that the meanings and values of a work may be determined by the author's intentions. Some critics of the theory believe that the approach tends to reduce art to the levels of biography, meaning that the work has no wider meaning. Other critics also argue that the approach tends to be deficient in imagination as it is simply a common-sense interpretation of material.

Mathematics

Ethnomathematical Theory

Ethnomathematical Theory can be defined as ‘the cultural anthropology of mathematics and mathematics education’ (Gerdes 1997:332). The term ‘ethno’ is a combining form that means race, people or culture, while ‘mathematics’ points to ‘the techniques of doing and understanding activities like ciphering, arithmetic, classifying, ordering, inferring and modelling’ (D’Ambrosio 1987:1). Ethnomathematical Theory then focuses on mathematical practices outside scholarly settings among particular groups of people sharing a culture such as national-ethnic societies, work groups, young people of a certain age bracket or professional classes (Powell & Frankenstein 1997). The theory was propounded by D’Ambrosio in 1984. According to him, culture affects the ways people acquire and put to use mathematical knowledge; thus, this approach deals with the application of mathematical ideas and practices to problems encountered in the past and present culture (D’Ambrosio 2013).

The basic tenet of the theory is that mathematical ideas are cultural communication tools entrenched within cultural contexts. The ideas emphasised, expressions and application differ from culture to culture (Ascher 2008). The theory’s major goal when applied in the teaching of mathematics is to facilitate the empowerment and transformation of learners. These learners are enabled to make a connection between scholarly mathematics and other forms of mathematics; thus, a connection is made between socio-cultural-ethnic aspects of culture and mathematics. This paradigm enables educators to put into place practices that take care of all learners, thereby giving them an opportunity to appreciate their culture and other people’s cultures (Gay 2000).

The application of this theory is evident when used to understand how different people from different cultures use and understand mathematics. The theory explores how different people use mathematics in their daily workplace activities. Research has been conducted to describe how bus conductors, for instance, compute their mental mathematical calculations and to examine how this insight can enhance the study of everyday mathematics (Naresh 2008). The theory can also be applied to informal situations in teaching of mathematics to specific groups like prisoners or even in schools. In school situations, the approach empowers learners and widens the pedagogical understanding of both teachers and learners (Naresh 2015).

One of the strengths of Ethnomathematical Theory is that when applied to school situations, it promotes the equality of all students as they get to express their cultures in the classroom. It also offers students opportunities to appreciate the contributions of cultures in the establishment of a global society. This is made possible through the ethics of diversity advanced by the theory (D’Ambrosio & D’Ambrosio 2013:22).

A limitation of the theory is that it generally maintains the mainstream or Eurocentric dominance in the field of mathematics while claiming to promote equity since the subject is understood and used based on cultural perceptions (Rowlands & Carson 2002). Hence, critics advocate for a homogenous curriculum and pedagogy in teaching mathematics (Brandt & Chernoff 2015).

Relativity Theory

Relativity Theory, initiated by Albert Einstein in 1905, is a complex mathematical postulate. Unlike Newton's theory which assumes that the problems of Newtonian Mechanics can be resolved with algebra alone, for Relativity Theory the degree at which time moves and an object's length with regards to speed of time change noticeably with the speed with which the object approaches the speed of light (Einstein 2011). This means that more computations and more variables are needed to figure out an object's motion. Einstein's theory with its famous equation $E = mc^2$ (E = units of energy, m = units of mass, and c^2 = the speed of light squared, or multiplied by itself) brings us the calculation that it takes light from the sun eight minutes to reach Earth (Plus Magazine 2016).

In their application of the theory in an African context, James and his colleagues did the following:

[They] calculated seismic velocities and rock densities from approximately 120 geothermobarometrically calibrated mantle xenoliths from the Archean Kaapvaal craton and adjacent Proterozoic mobile belts. Velocity and density estimates are based on the elastic and thermal moduli of constituent minerals under equilibrium P–T conditions at the mantle source (James et al. 2004:1).

The researchers found that both xenoliths and generic petrologic models of the upper mantle differ from commonly used standard earth models IASPEI (the International Association of Seismology and Physics of the Earth's Interior) and PREM (Preliminary Reference Earth Model) (James et al. 2004:29). Relativity Theory applies here because it is one of the two dynamic theories of plate tectonics that are used to conduct research on the aforementioned earth models. The other theory used in this area of research is quantum mechanics, which describes the physical properties of nature at the scale of atoms and subatomic particles.

One of the strengths of Einstein's theory hinges on the postulate that mathematics cannot deal with contradictions; it requires an allegiance to axioms or premises and postulates. The beauty of the theory lies in its simplicity, which makes it one of the best-kept secrets in the sciences (Williams 2005). Nevertheless, the theory is not without limitations. Williams (2005) points out that Relativity Theory is intimidating, leading some observers to assume that they would need a degree in advanced physics to understand it.

Ideal-Proof Dialectic Theory

The Ideal-Proof Dialectical Theory in mathematics presents a more modulated resolution of mathematical problems, giving proofs and discoveries that are achieved by paying attention to the aspects of mathematical argumentation which can be captured by informal, rather than formal, logic. Proofs are usually presented as inductive-defined data structures like plan lists, boxed lists, or trees, that are constructed according to the axioms and rules of inference of logical system. Thus, as Jeremy Avigad maintains, the definition of the theory 'is syntactic in nature, in contrast to a model theory, which is semantic in nature' (Avigad 2006:1).

Dialectic or dialectics (Greek word *dialektike*) is related to dialogue. Literature indicates that the theory was one of the philosophies of Socrates and Plato in the fourth and fifth centuries BC. According to Aristotle, the theory was propounded by a pre-Socrates philosopher named Zeno of Elea (Popper 2004). Socrates's main objective was to improve upon the process of interlocutors by doing away with unrecognised error and teaching the spirit of inquiry.

Dialectic Theory is different from a debate. There are three dialectic components:

1. the thesis or the statement of an idea,
2. the reaction or the antithesis, and
3. the synthesis or the combination of the first two (i.e. thesis and antithesis) to form a theory or system (Smith 2017).

The pioneer of Proof Theory was German mathematician David Hilbert (1862–1943), who initiated the Hilbert Program as a proposed solution to the foundational crisis of mathematics. Writers like Gottlob Frege, Giuseppe Peano, Bertrand Russell and Richard Dedekind made contributions to the theory (Smith 2017).

According to Munene (2011), the main idea behind the theory was to give a finite proof for all the complex formal theories needed by mathematicians, so that these theories could be grounded in terms of mathematics for an adequate output. The theory can be used for mathematical arguments, showing that all their purely universal assertions are finitely true.

Simon Blackburn (2004) writes that dialectic can be used to understand the process of enlightenment. For example, one can find a path to enlightenment through a mathematical algorithm – a process or set of rules to be followed in calculations or other problem-solving operations. It is an expression of the beauty in mathematics that it can yield such freedom and peace.

Peace and Conflict Resolution

Negative Peace vs Positive Peace Paradigm

The renowned scholar and founding father of the field of peace studies, Johan Galtung (1969), posits that the definition of peace depends on one's understanding of what violence is. In a 1964 study titled 'An Editorial: Armed Conflicts 1946–2010' Galtung develops the two-sided description of peace:

1. positive peace – the situation of an absence of indirect or structural violence; and
2. negative peace which denotes an absence of visible or direct violence (see also Boulding 1978; Grewal 2003).

Negative peace is the absence of violence, war and chaos, while positive peace is emancipatory in nature, and implies the integration of human society (Galtung 1964). Peace research involves the study of the conditions for moving closer to peace or at least not drifting closer to violence (Galtung 1964). The concept 'structural violence' was placed in opposition to 'human integration' in Galtung's 1964 study on peace. These concepts are relevant in social and political philosophy today (Grewal 2003).

The major difference between negative peace and positive peace is stated by Grewal as follows: 'Negative peace is absence of violence, pessimistic, curative, peace not always by peaceful means, while positive peace is structural integration, optimistic, preventive, peace by peaceful means' (2003:4). Grewal (2003) says negative peace is common in a world dominated by a small number of superpowers that possess coercive power with the readiness to use it.

The conceptualisation of conflict resolution as depending on an understanding of violence, both direct and indirect, is the central point of Negative and Positive Peace Theory. The founding assumption of peace research was to study the conditions that attract peace while averting violence. Galtung conceptualised negative peace as the absence of violence and positive peace as the integration of human society and maintained that the two were interconnected and inseparable. Negative peace can be seen in the military interventions of the superpowers using their coercive power to end conflicts, war, or violence. For Galtung, this kind of action occasionally leads to positive peace, although he did not endorse this form of negative peace.

In his application of this theory to an African context, Makanda (2014) seeks to understand the failings of the AU and ICC peace-building approach used for resolving the 2007–2008 post-election violence in Kenya. He concludes that the *negative-positive peace approach* advocated by Galtung offers a more robust solution for dealing with post-conflict peace building.

The strength of the theory is in line with Galtung's proposition that negative peace may be essential for positive peace (Sandole 2010). Although the concept of positive and negative peace has been expanded, the change has not altered the basic paradigm in which negative peace is the absence of visible and direct

violence, while positive peace is emancipatory in nature (Grewal 2003). This idea has remained the foundation of peace theory and a valuable concept for realistic international relations theory.

Oliver Richmond (2015:3) says 'hybridity' characterises the contingent and complex nature of the politics of peacemaking and the dynamics of power, agency, and identity it involves. According to Staub (2005), in a post-conflict society, addressing effective war resolution systems requires the participation of all participants in the war (victims, committers, humanity, and decision makers), thereby promoting the relevance of the negative and positive peace paradigm.

For a limitation of the theory, Sandole (2010) posits that irrespective of the advantages of negative-positive peace, it fails in solving the fundamental causes and conditions of conflicts. At the end of a war, various conflict resolution or solution mechanisms arise which tend to solve issues from a political angle and neglect the basic causes of conflicts, war, and violence (Sandole 2010).

Peace through Communication and Conflict Resolution Paradigm

The concept of 'peace' has its basis in both religion and culture. Embedded in the concept of peace are values of security, harmony, justice, and human dignity (Sponsel 2017). Peace is a continuous process of skilfully dealing with and, if possible, preventing or transforming conflict. The concept of peace is always used for an enduring solution in a conflict-ridden community. Abdul Karim Bangura opines that 'positive peace will eliminate the factors that spark violent conflict. The process of establishing positive peace will require negotiations and cooperation' (Bangura 2012:215).

The presence of conflict in every human society has made peace – desired by all – elusive. The Peace through Communication and Conflict Resolution Paradigm provides a pragmatic approach to peace through the development and refinement of skills for analysing conflicts and responding to them with effective strategies of communication and negotiation. It emphasises the processes of interaction among individuals and groups and the relationships that characterise such interactions (Bangura 2012).

The Conflict Resolution feature of the paradigm addresses the causes of conflicts and seeks to build a new and lasting relationship between and among hostile groups. It seeks to devise a way to counteract the sensationalism and divisiveness that lead to conflict by focusing on viable options of living and working together. Examples of conflict resolution mechanisms are negotiation, mediation, arbitration, third-party intervention, peace-making, peace enforcement, and peace-building, among others. The Peace through Communication and Conflict Resolution Paradigm seeks ways of ensuring the absence of violence and the integration of human society by engaging the parties to a conflict in communication with each other to settle their differences (Bangura 2012).

The paradigm advocates for a total departure from habitual conflict management styles (competitive, collaborative, avoidance or submission) in order to bring about a 'win-win' situation rather than 'win-lose' or 'lose-lose'. This is done with the assistance of an external third party or moderator. Proponents of the peace through communication and conflict resolution paradigm like Mahatma Gandhi and Bangura advocate direct interaction with the 'other': i.e. if you want peace, then you have to train for the processes of peace. Peace is tied to developing skills for communication and coexistence.

This paradigm is linked to various distinctions between 'negative peace', which is the absence of direct violence, and 'positive peace', which is the absence of indirect or structural violence' as noted by Galtung. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his *An Agenda for Peace* (1992) defines peacebuilding as the mechanisms put in place to address the root causes of conflict in such a way that relapses are prevented.

According to Bangura (2006), the positive notion of communication postulates that unless the peace deals with the underlying issues, the peace will not last. Rather than empowering individuals in the conflict, African tradition places emphasis on empowering communities. Unlike in the Western World where written agreements close the resolution of a conflict, Africans use rituals and other symbolic gestures such as handshakes, breaking of bread, or drinking of a local brew from the same bowl.

An application of the Peace through Communication and Conflict Resolution Paradigm on an African issue can be found in Bangura's 2012 work in the discussion of 'The Wajir Peace Dialogue'. The inhabitants of Wajir, a district in north-eastern Kenya bordering Somalia, are pastoralists. There is constant competition over limited resources such as water, grass, and livestock in this area. In 1993, this resulted in raiding, robbery and general lawlessness, loss of life and properties. This problem prompted a group of women to form an advocacy group to facilitate a dialogue among the parties in the conflict, with the aim of a peaceful resolution. They convinced the elders of the importance of ending the violent conflict. They held a community conference that involved all stakeholders: elders, youth, women, religious leaders, and businesspeople. The outcome of the conference was a peace declaration and a set of principles to guide the community in its search for peace. They held an annual festival after embarking on disarmament and gave an award to the most peaceful village (for more details, see Bangura 2012).

The strengths of this paradigm lie in the fact that it promotes peaceful coexistence. It is less expensive to manage than war and peacekeeping, and it calls on people to reflect on and develop skills of communication and patience. The limitation of the paradigm is captured by Fogarty (cited in Albert 2008) when he states that values and justice in different societies are conceptualised differently, thereby making the paradigm problematic: the assurance of basic human survival differs from one society to the other.

Peace through Law and World Order Paradigm

'Peace' is often defined as freedom from war or a state/period of no war or when war has ended or being free from disturbances, while 'order' is frequently defined as 'the arrangement or disposition of people or things in relation to each other according to a particular sequence, pattern, or method or an authoritative command or instruction' (Ranney 2012:3). One of the earliest proponents of the Peace through Law and World Order Paradigm was British legal philosopher Jeremy Bentham, who in his 1789 *Plan for Universal and Perpetual Peace* proposed 'a plan of general and permanent pacification for all Europe,' with troop reductions, especially in naval forces, and 'a Common Court of Judicature' (Ranney 2012:3).

The main notion of the paradigm is substituting the use of force with the rule of law to resolve international conflict. The paradigm advocates societal friendship and harmony in the absence of hostility and violence through the rule of law. The idea is to conceptualise the process of peace through legal and policy processes. The ideal of peace is very important in political and governance practices. The cultivation of a peaceful disposition for oneself and others can contribute to resolving of otherwise seemingly irreconcilable competing interests, without the use of coercive power (Kelsen 2000).

An application of the theory to Africa issues is reflected in the work of Mwalimu Toyin Falola and Raphael Chijioke Njoku (2011) who posit that while armed conflicts in Africa have led to havoc, ironically, most conflicts in society have been settled through negotiations and dialogue. They report that the Western approach to conflict resolution using sophisticated weapons has failed on the Africa continent over the years. This brings to mind the traditional ways of settling disputes in Africa.

The strengths of the Peace through Law and World Order Paradigm have resulted in the reduction and prevention of war, which has given rise to democracy and political tranquillity in countries such as Senegal. It has enhanced the building of strong state institutions and broadened a range of agendas and sectors for development, security, governance and humanitarian aid among others.

The weakness of the paradigm is that the international community is not able to check the essence of the applicability of the law in developing countries. This is a result of the international community still being largely dominated by states with powerful governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which strive to promote self-serving agendas rather than the interests of countries they purport to assist.

Peace through Nonviolence Paradigm

Holmes (1971) proffers the Peace through Nonviolence Paradigm from a philosophical point of view. The theory assumes that nonviolence involves a significant degree of power and is a forceful concept. It is not a passive form of struggle, but a highly active struggle applying political, social and economic pressure to overcome an opponent (Sharp 1973). Nonviolence has two strands:

1. pragmatic and
2. principled.

Principled nonviolence is a philosophy of life while pragmatic nonviolence is a method used to achieve social or political change. Nonviolence includes pacifism, strikes, civil disobedience, civil resistance and large-scale nonviolent campaigns (Sharp 1973).

Pioneers of this theory include Mahatma Gandhi, Gene Sharp, and Martin Luther King Jr. Truth and *ahimsa* (which, in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jainist tradition, means respect for all living things and avoidance of violence toward others) are the two pillars of Gandhi's moral structure. Gandhi coined the concept *satyagraha*, which refers to holding on to truth in a firm way. *Ahimsa* provides guidance for humans to discover complete truth (Gandhi 1961). According to Gene Sharp, nonviolence consists of: 'non-violent direct action, non-resistance, peaceful resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, non-violent revolution, selective non-violence, passive resistance, and *satyagraha*' (Sharp 1959:46). For Martin Luther King Jr., nonviolence is a practical moral principle. He illustrates his philosophical commitment to nonviolence by outlining five notions. First, nonviolence is not for cowards. Second, it aims at acceptance and the forging of friendship with an opponent without harming him/her. Third, it is aimed at evil acts and not at the actor. Fourth, it is not a fight against individuals but against oppressive structures. And fifth, it is situated in self-suffering, which King considers a course of discovering oneself and healing from bitterness (King 1958).

Nonviolence always involves a process of a person desisting from harm to himself or herself and others. Positioned on an ethical, religious foundation and on a collective philosophy of absence of violence, theorists believe that it is not essential to harm people, animals or the environment so as to achieve a goal. The paradigm focuses on the search for truth which seeks to deal with the source of problems rather than the system of conflict (Naess 1965). Nonviolence works perfectly and is morally acceptable in the fight for truth and for peacebuilding in societies. Therefore, according to the Peace through Nonviolence Paradigm, genuine power derives from will power and human solidarity rather than violence.

A study by Batstone (2014) outlines how a nonviolent civilian resistance strategy was successfully applied during the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt against repressive regimes. Oppressed masses stormed the streets in protests in a fight against oppressive authoritarian regimes which had denied them their freedom and human rights. The theory can be applied in the search for justice and social reforms and societal equity, fighting internally oppressive governments, and solving long standing conflicts and oppression.

A major strength of this approach is that it shields agents against the outrages that combative conflict resolution movements constantly create. When successful, the approach produces positive regime change as leaders who ascend to power non-violently are likely to respect democracy and civil liberties. More people are likely to participate in nonviolent campaigns than in violent ones as the moral, physical and informational barriers to participation are much lower than for violent insurgency (Chenoweth & Stephan 2011).

A weakness of the theory is that nonviolence does not always work to bring about major socio-political change as such struggles can be crushed by regimes. Only a small fraction of nonviolent campaigns remains consistent with strict nonviolent discipline. Several resort to guerrilla tactics when nonviolence fails, as in the cases of Palestine and Kosovo (Dudouet 2015) and it has proven difficult to apply in societies that lack free media and freedom of association.

Peace through Personal and Community Transformation or Love Paradigm

This paradigm advocates for the imperative of consciousness, education, cultural changes, and of spirituality in all genuine attempts to make peace a reality. The paradigm postulates that through personal transformation, a person is empowered and can positively impact his/her community. Human nature is viewed within this paradigm as optimistic and good. The decision making is a movement from within the self toward the outer world. Some of the virtues and values given prominence within this paradigm are integrity, creativity, community, respect, and cooperation. These are demonstrated by the behaviours of the masses and by society as a whole. It is believed within this paradigm that 'individual or community conscience is strong enough to act as a sanction for any wrongdoing' (Bangura 2012:217).

Essentially, transformation involves the cultivation of a peaceful consciousness and character together with an affirmative belief system and skills through which internal disarmament and personal integration may be expressed. Peaceful behaviour is learned behaviour, and each individual is a potential as well as a needed contributor to a culture of peace. Therefore, from the Peace through Personal and Community Transformation or Love Paradigm, peace-making is also an internal process in which the transformation of an individual becomes a metaphor for and an instrument of broader change (Bangura 2012).

Mahatma Ghandi, Julius Nyerere and Abdul Karim Bangura are proponents of this theory. Bangura, for instance, explains that within this paradigm through inner personal transformation, one is empowered and can impact his/her community (Bangura 2012).

The application of this theory on an African issue is described in Shaw's 2000 work cited in Bangura's 2012 work. The story goes as follows: Queen Nefertari Merit-en-mut (the last name means 'the lovely one') was the Great Royal Wife of Ramesses the Great. She is one of the best-known Egyptian queens. Her marriage to Ramesses of lower Ancient Kemet/Egypt is one of the greatest royal love affairs in history. The marriage brought to an end the hundred years of war between upper and lower Kemet, leading to the unification of both into one great Kemet. The monuments of love still exist today in the temples built by Ramesses for his wife at Abu Simbel.

The paradigm places a premium on love and transformation as the best mechanisms of resolving a conflict and uniting enemies. Some conflicts, however, require that resolution be achieved through forceful means which the paradigm cannot fulfil.

Peace through Power and Coercion Paradigm

The Peace through Power and Coercion Paradigm is rooted in the works of Thucydides (c. 460–c. 400 BC) and later elaborated in the works of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (1469–1527) and others (Funk 2000). This paradigm highlights the dark side of the human psyche, the desire for power and the competitive promotion of self-serving interests. Peace is therefore only achievable through the coercive use of force (Funk 2000). The Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) defines coercion as 'the threat and/or the actual imposition of costs on an actor that is directed towards eliminating this actor's freedom of action with regard to a specific set of actions' (PRIF 2018:6).

One of the proponents of this paradigm, Nathan Funk (2000), posits that for peace to exist, a nation must be ready for war. This is to be expected because competition breeds violence. When this happens, peace is secured through the forcible infliction of law and order. In the use of coercion, violence is unlawful and is often a violation of rules and, therefore, possibly subject to reprimand by some authority. Citing Jane Manbridge, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt argues that 'in an increasingly interdependent world we need more coercion in order to guarantee the provision of public goods such as peace, security and wellbeing' (PRIF 2018:9).

In the application of this approach, policies are formulated to pander to a nation's assumed national interest which Funk describes as the 'the acquisition of material power and military capability to compel and deter others' (Funk 2000:2).

This paradigm can be seen in use in Malcolm X's intervention in the Congo War, of which Bangura says: 'The United Nations dialogue on the Congo was one of Malcolm X's finest hours. The State Department credited him or rather blamed him for a good part of the strong stand against American imperialism in the Congo. Malcolm X unquestionably was threatening the United States' role as leader of the "free world"' (Bangura 2016:75).

Bangura also notes that Malcolm X 'took a stance against the nonviolent way Martin Luther King Jr. handled the Civil Rights Movement. Malcolm X preached violence to counterattack violence. Infuriated by the atrocities of Jim Crow laws and Ku Klux Klan violence in the Southern states, Malcolm X saw an increase of resistance to violence as the only answer to an augmentation of rights' (Bangura 2016:88). Bangura argues that Malcolm X believed that 'peace, freedom, and action were tied in undeniable ways. Furthermore, Malcolm X used his "true" Islam, discovered through brotherhood, to send messages of peaceful action to all races and religions, all of which presently contribute to Malcolm X's legacy' (Bangura 2016: 82)

The threats which are part of coercion may be in different forms: they may be implicit, explicit, verbal, written, implied, in the form of actions to follow after a warning, the cancellation of an agreement, a boycott, military action, and so on (Rummel 1975). The strength of this paradigm lies in its call for the enforcement of certain rules and regulations which some factions of the citizenry may find problematic. Its weakness is in the coercive aspect, which bears some elements of force.

Peace through Respect

The Peace through Respect Paradigm is as old as the existence of humankind. As humans coexisted, and conflicting interests arose, the increasing need for a better way of living together birthed ideas that could reduce the effects of conflict in society. With the principle of collective security that formally established the United Nations (www.un.org) in 1945 and the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 (United Nations 1948), these concepts became important in global and local politics. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declaration of states in 1989 formally grounded the idea of peace through respect, stating that peace is more than the end of armed conflict; it is a mode of behaviour with deep-rooted commitment to the principles of liberty, justice, equality and solidarity among all. This definition underpins the paradigm. In essence, peace is examined through respect for persons (regardless of race, sex, background, religion, or ideology), law, environment and traditions. The common good is a *sine qua non* for a peaceful society. Peace through Respect refers to a demand for rights and equal treatment to advance the dignity of a person as a human being (Sen 2011).

Bearing in mind the far-reaching effect of violent conflicts on societies and humankind, a peaceful world that is achieved through respect is critical. Both international and state actors have been burdened with managing incessant conflicts, especially because of the rise of global terrorism (Adetula 2014).

Specifically, for Africa, considering the volume of armed conflicts, which hinge on the transcultural and multidimensional relationships across the continent, the African ideology on communalism, couched in sharing and cooperation for the common good, gives credence to the Peace through Respect Paradigm. In essence, the nature of civil wars and armed conflicts in Africa, induced by ethnicity, religion, resource mobilisation and allocations, appears to be a deviation from the principle of respect informing peace in the continent. Consequently, since most conflicts in Africa are outgrowths of mistrust and intolerance, the Peace through Respect Paradigm provides a fundamental basis for understanding the dynamics between incessant conflicts and respect for human dignity in Africa.

Although not all member states in the international system comply with the rules guiding engagement, the paradigm shows its merits in numerous international treaties and agreements binding signatories, such as the agreements on trade and security. And, where there is a breach of an agreement, the use of sanctions is explored when necessary. Importantly, these agreements are premised on mutual respect for a peaceful international community, thereby averting the possibility of a Third World War or nuclear war. Significantly, this systematic pattern of peace and respect has resulted in more interconnectedness in the global space, leading to more innovation and advancement for all.

Nevertheless, the idea of advancing peace through respect is not without its limitations. In the proliferation of terrorist groups and separatist agitation, anti-governmental groups base their demands on specific group ideologies, whether in conformity with the common good or not. The Peace through Respect Paradigm which is based on the equality of all is problematic in this context. Under the law, all citizens are equal. But resource control and allocation, and the ethnic rivalry characterising Africa, allows marginalisation and disproportional representation to sow the seeds for exclusion and inequality.

Peace through Ubuntu/Communalism Paradigm

The transformative effect of culture in determining human relations has increasingly generated scholarly interest in recent times, making the Ubuntu ideology a fundamental discourse in promoting peace and development in Africa. In other words, a methodical frame showing the relationship between peace and Ubuntu is imperative for understanding Africa's particular characteristics in order to advance a peaceful society.

As mentioned earlier in this book, the term Ubuntu originated from Nguni aphorism *Umuntu Ngumuntum Ngabantu*, meaning that ‘a person is a person because of or through others’ (Tutu 2004:25–26; Moloketi 2009:243). This ideology of peace through Ubuntu hinges on the five stages of peacemaking found among Ubuntu societies:

1. acknowledging guilt,
2. showing remorse,
3. repenting,
4. asking for and giving forgiveness, and
5. paying compensation or reparations (Murithi 2009).

These five stages signify the principles of reconciliation, reciprocity, inclusivity, democracy, and humanism.

Asike (2016) affirms that Ubuntu is an African construct bearing both positive and negative peacebuilding approaches in promoting tolerance, peaceful coexistence, a culture of peace and, by extension, mutual development. Essentially, it is a cultural global view of the dignity in humanity. Tutu (1999) succinctly puts it that the Ubuntu ideology speaks to the very essence of being human; there is interconnectedness in humanity that binds everyone together. The Peace through Ubuntu or Communalism Paradigm is premised on the assumption that human beings are only humans by virtue of their relationships with others in a society.

The levels of corruption and widespread disconnection among citizens and their governments in most African states are not only appalling, they also have hampered the quest for development on the continent. A survey on citizens’ views on corruption by Transparency International (2019) reveals that corruption undermines chances for a stable and prosperous future, affecting the wellbeing of individuals, families, and communities. Hence, as African citizens suffer the consequences of corruption by the political elite, citizens’ apathy and unpatriotic tendencies toward the state increase and become toxic. Unvaryingly, the political class exacerbates security issues and the state of unrest. Violence then becomes a weapon for marginalised citizens, especially with the median age of Africa’s population being 19.5 years (UNDP 2017). For instance, in Northeast Nigeria, the large conscription of youths into the Boko Haram group has been attributed to the high unemployment and illiteracy levels in the region (United Kingdom Border Agency 2013). The ripple effect of the negligence of the state in its obligation to the people is evident in kidnappings, rapes, and suicide bombings, all of which affect not only the poor but the rich and political class as well. Against this backdrop, the Ubuntu spirit which asserts that what we do to others eventually trickles down through the interwoven fabric of social, economic and political relationships to influence the general public should be incorporated as a way to bring peace in African governance.

This ideology undermines ethnic fragmentation that breeds centrifugal forces and rather focuses on humanity. It also promotes unity in diversity. This ideology was used by Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu in restoring peace in South Africa. Similarly, the principle promotes social and common good. Nonetheless, the Ubuntu philosophy is not well known in parts of Africa beyond Southern Africa; thus, its applicability in those other parts of the continent could be problematic without serious efforts to educate other Africans about its tenets.

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Politics, Race and Ethnicity, Religion, and Sexuality/Gender

Doctoral Scholars

Here, the brief explorations comprise six on politics, two on race and ethnicity, five on religion and nine on sexuality/gender theories. The first category deals with activities associated with the governance of a country or other area, especially the debates or conflicts among individuals or parties having or hoping to achieve power. The second category looks at theories around the major divisions of humankind (i.e. Australian Aborigine and Papuan/Australoid, Black/Negroid, Oriental or Amerindian/Mongoloid, and White/Caucasoid) having distinct physical characteristics, and state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition. The third category is about postulates on the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods. The fourth category is related to theories dealing with a person's sexual orientation or preference – i.e. relating to the instincts, physiological processes, and activities connected with physical attraction or intimate physical contact between individuals – or attributes dealing with two sexes (male and female), especially when considered with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones. The term is also now used more broadly to denote a range of identities that do not correspond to established ideas of male and female.

Politics

Idealist Theory

Idealist Theory is a normative approach that upholds moral values in international relations through reason, science, and education. It opposes war, violence, inequality and force at the global level, with the goal of reforming the

international system by exploring morality as a mechanism for states in securing their development. This theory is attributed to Woodrow Wilson, Hugo Grotius and others who thought that politics could be a medium for advancing good life and respect for all humans at the domestic and international levels. Proponents of this theory do not support the realist view of international politics centred on power and national interest; rather, the theory posits that human welfare is a general concern.

Significantly, Idealist Theory shares some features with African cultural ideology. The African communal system, which emphasises morality and values as a means of achieving a harmonious society, is one of the major characteristics of pre-colonial Africa. In an African sense, this theory informs the numerous memberships of African nations in international organisations. An idealist view of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA), for example, suggests that an African unity through economic prosperity is possible. The AfCFTA is pegged on the growing interdependence and unity of persons and institutions globally, which cannot be ignored in Africa. The assumption is that all Africans desire the same thing in terms of security, welfare, recognition, and respect (Wilson 2011). An idealist perspective presents a cosmopolitan approach to addressing Africa's long-term problems, starting with economic relevance. Intra-African trade is less than 13 per cent, while trade in regional organisations like the European Union stands at around approximately 60 per cent (African Union 2019). The idealist perspective of African unity would strengthen African economies, especially by boosting small and mid-size enterprises (SMEs), thereby advancing prosperity and development.

An advantage of this theory is that it is anchored in the morality guiding the formation of international organisations as a way to solve global issues. Through this value principle, the United Nations and some other international organisations have averted possible conflicts. Nonetheless, there appears to be a somewhat incoherent approach to how the ideal can be maintained in practice. Idealist Theory emphasises the importance of universal bodies as a way to harmonise the conflicting interest of states and governments in the international system. However, there is insufficient evidence on why or how conflict can be eliminated without resorting to war and violence. The theory also does not take cognisance of the assumed interest underlying every perceived good. Most United Nations decisions do not reflect the interests of the entire United Nations membership; rather they reflect the interests of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (i.e. China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States).

Marxist Theory

The central variable of the Marxist Theory is power relations. The theory argues that the location of humans in the class hierarchy is dependent on their contributions to the processes of production (Parkin 1979). In *Das Kapital*, Karl Marx (1818–1883) groups all human relations into two classes:

1. the capitalists – i.e. owners of the businesses and the means of production, and on the other hand
2. the proletariat – i.e. the labour hands who account for the larger proportion of the population.

This philosophy, propagated by Karl Marx and followers such as Friedrich Engels, Max Weber, Walter Rodney and Antonio Gramsci, has at its centre a specific focus on the activities of capitalism and their attendant manifestations in socio-political and economic processes. Marx introduced the idea of Base and Superstructure to explain the relationship between the social classes. The Base comprises the forces of production and various divisions of labour (employer-employee relationship, clergy-worshipper relationship, etc.) all of which engage production. The Superstructure refers to the immaterial: the policies, the state, the various regulatory institutions and ideology. In orthodox Marxism, the relationship between the Base and the Superstructure is often unidirectional. Raymond Williams, on the other hand, attempts to explore economic determinism in a cycle – in that as much as the base affects the superstructure, the superstructure also affects the base (Parkin 1979).

The French philosopher Louis Althusser (1918–1990) offers insights into the level of control that the Superstructure asserts over the Base through the various agencies of the state. In his engagement on ‘Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses’, Althusser demonstrates how the state through its various agencies wields both brutish and subtle power through repressive and ideological state apparatuses in the control of the Superstructure. His term ‘interpellation’ (in other words, ‘hailing’), quoted by Vincent Leitch, explains the process by which the state turns individuals into subjects (Leitch 2001).

In looking at the manifestations of religion (especially Western religions) in Africa, which Karl Marx describes as the opium of the masses, one sees in varying degrees how the Superstructure determines the Base and, on some rare occasions, vice versa. The volatility of the African political space in postcolonial dispensations also illustrates Althusser’s thoughts on repressive and ideological state apparatuses.

The dominance of the Superstructure is exemplified by the way Malawian literature was affected by the censorship regime of President Kamuzu Banda. Malawian poets Jack Mapanje, Frank Chipasula and Steve Chimombo faced repression of various magnitudes (Mthatiwa 2012). Mthatiwa writes:

During the reign of Banda in Malawi, the dominant political discourse was shaped by what is called Kamuzuism, an ideology that produced a powerful myth of Banda as the 'fountain of all wisdom' and a leader who always knew what was best for the nation, that is, an individual who possessed supernatural or divine wisdom (Mthathiwa 2012:98).

Marxist Theory is a relevant tool for unravelling how the various dimensions of class play out in both private and public life.

Marxism seeks to curtail the excesses of capitalism and entrench a society of social equality. But critics like Geoffrey Hodgson have depicted the applicability of the Marxist doctrine of equality as a farce that only exists in the human imagination (Hodgson 1995). Critiqued from a different perspective, it can be said that the goal of Marxism is to achieve a socialist world in which individual agency is taken away.

Rational Choice Theory or New Political Economy

Rational Choice Theory or New Political Economy is a social science methodology associated with the works of Gary Becker (1976), along with many other scholars. This theory is based on the idea that individuals have preferences and make choices based on these preferences. The theory also holds that collective behaviour in a society reflects the choices made by individuals. For Wittek et al. (2013), the basis of all rational choices is individual preference and belief, informed by individual constraints. The theory identifies three major assumptions:

1. individuals have selfish preferences,
2. they maximise their personal utility, and
3. the preferences act independently (Wittek et al. 2013).

This theory predicts the outcome of choices made and choice patterns, rather than the choice processes as people try to maximise their benefits and minimise their costs. The theory is important in analysing the political and economic effects of individual choices in societies across the globe.

Vote-buying has sadly become an integral part of politics in Africa's elections. Adopting the Rational Choice Theory in examining voters' behaviours in Nigeria, the theory assumes that voters' choices are premised on a maximised cost-benefit analysis with the objective of self-gratification. Citizens' behaviours during voting are influenced by several factors, including vote-buying. Most electorates assume that the election period is the only time they can benefit from the national cake, since most of the promises made by politicians are never met. According to Jensen and Justesen (2012), poor voters are significantly more likely to be targets of vote-buying than wealthier voters. Vote-buying rather than the competence of the electoral candidate becomes a rationale for voters' preferences in developing regions like Africa.

The theory expects an optimal decision output derived from a rigorous approach which emphasises logic and problem definition in making ideal choices. But this can be time-consuming, which makes this an unsuitable method for addressing short-term issues given the processes required for a careful decision. Also, the theory assumes that decision-makers have accurate information and skills on which to base their choices (Jensen & Justesen 2012); this, however, is not usually the case. For instance, in the case of vote-buying in Africa, electorates may be unaware of their rights and privileges in the state.

Realist Theory

Realist Theory is defined as an approach employed to study how politics is practiced and how powerful actors in the game of politics engage in battle. In other words, it claims to explain the reality of international politics by examining on the constraints on politics that result from humankind's egoistic nature and the absence of a central authority above the state. Realism can be discussed based on the traditional thoughts of classical and neorealists. Classical realists look at the role of power and self-interest in determining state behaviours. Classical realists such as George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau, among many others, believe that human nature causes people to serve their own interests, rather than ideology, to rule a state. Neorealists agree but discard human interest and replace it with the anarchic structure of the state. They believe that the state is the main actor in deciding how society operates (Hodgson 1995).

Realist Theory is associated with thinkers such as Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Robert Art, Robert Gilpin and Barry Posen. Thinkers associated with classical realism include Carl von Clausewitz and Reinhold Niebuhr (Hodgson 1995).

A good example of the application of the Realist Theory is the study of the relationship between the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the African Union. African leaders and scholars have called for a complete African withdrawal from the ICC because all the leaders that have been prosecuted at The Hague are Africans. Leaders and allies of major Western powers accused of major human rights violations have not been prosecuted by the ICC. This causes a loss of credibility for ICC, and a lack of cooperation with it.

Some important issues in contemporary world politics have been analysed through the lens of Realist Theory. They include the refugee crisis in Europe and the Middle East, the rise of China as a major power, and human rights and humanitarian law. These issues also provide insights into some of the theoretical tenets of classical and structural realism. Overall, the issues show that realism offers a multifaceted understanding of world politics and enlightens us about the challenges of world politics. The theory also recognises the similarity between international and domestic politics in different states (Hodgson 1995).

Realist Theory is adjudged weak in that it does not agree on the nature of factors that produce the global system in which we live. Even though it offers an objective approach for investigating many phenomena occurring throughout the world, its vision is limited by its own boundaries, since its major focus is on power politics and materialism. Also, it is difficult to evaluate how power and interest work in individual countries, where ideologies differ.

Social Contract Theory

Social Contract Theory is based on the premise that in the beginning, humans lived in a state of nature, with no government or laws to regulate them, resulting in chaos and hardship. Humans then agreed on two things: first, they sought the protection of their lives and properties; and, second, they came together and agreed to surrender their freedoms to the rule of a supreme authority (Elahi 2005).

The theory was pioneered by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and then built upon by John Locke (1632–1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Hobbes believed that in a world characterised by a state of anarchy, people will act in their personal best interests. He described the natural state as that wherein morality is non-existent and every individual lives in fear, especially of death. He said humans attempted to ensure self-protection and self-preservation, and to avoid misery and pain, by voluntarily surrendering all their rights and freedoms to an authority. This authority could use force to get people to be it subject to it – and is installed to enforce the renunciation of violence by the people (Laskar 2013).

Locke said that in the natural state might be chaotic, but people live in ultimate freedom. He opined that people decided to abandon some of their freedoms to limit chaos and regulate life. People surrender their power to a ruler or government, which functions to enforce the safety and possessions of its subjects. In Locke's natural state, the government can and should be overthrown when it is no longer capable of fulfilling its task (Laskar 2013).

Rousseau's view of the natural state is based on the idea of humans as noble savages. He describes a state in which people are inclined to cooperate rather than engage in conflict. He also argues that society has corrupted humans and that politics brings violence. He therefore advocated for direct democracy, wherein the will of the people and what is best for them should be pursued by the state (Laskar 2013). Table 7.1 is a summary of the positions and limitations of the postulates of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau on Social Contract Theory.

Table 7.1: Positions and Limitations of the Postulates of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau on Social Contract Theory

Pioneer	Position on the Theory	Limitation of the Postulates
Hobbes	Hobbes held a realist perspective of the evil nature of humans.	Very pessimistic about the nature of humans: egocentricity and aggression. Humans need to be protected against themselves by the state through force, if needed. People do not have to be represented by the government or ruler, if the government fulfils its primary task of protection. Hobbes posits a ruler who has the absolute power over his subjects since their alternative is the 'brutish and short' life of the state of nature. The government or ruler is an almighty entity.
Locke	Locke had a more positive view of human nature. He maintained that government power should be limited to protecting natural rights, including the life, liberty, and happiness of each individual. He believed that the individual rights of citizens should be preserved from the tyranny of social rulers. He was confident that the state of nature is reasonable and that a government or ruler should be a representation of the people in order to prevent suppression. He placed emphasis on the protection of life, liberty and property.	Portrays equality among humans and an atmosphere of liberty in which individuals can do what they perceive to be in their individual interests. While this may appear good, it can lead to selfish living, which can incite oppression and suppression. There is bound to be havoc because one 'person's meat may be another person's poison'.
Rousseau	According to Rousseau, justice cannot be defined as the right of the stronger. If justice were so defined, the most powerful individuals will always be better served by justice. Rousseau's justice consists in individual acts of harmony with civil authority. But individuals are forced to act as if the authority is legitimate. He suggested that pity indeed exists in the state of nature and has an advantage over the laws of civil society. The political process should not be dominated by the state but should be actively participated in by the population.	Emphasis placed on general will presupposes that the decision of the majority is superior to that of the minority. Rousseau believed that one individual is not subject to another but rather to the general or majority will.

Source: Self-generated by the authors based on the works of Elahi (2005), Mouritz (2010), Hickey (2011) and Laskar (2013)

Social Contract Theory suggests a state of monarchy: i.e. one in which the authority has absolute power and the subjects have no rights against the absolute authority, and he or she is to be obeyed in all situations, no matter how bad the authority may be. There is monopoly of power. Mouritz compares Hobbes Social Contract Theory with that of Locke and concludes that Locke's state of nature is free of Hobbes' '...force and fraud, with men, instead living together according to reason, they live without a guiding authority to follow. Naturally, individuals are inclined to avoid a solitary life and, inevitably, start a family; this situation eventually leads to the formation of political society' (Mouritz 2010:126).

Systems Analysis Theory

Systems Analysis Theory is an empirically oriented approach to political life. David Easton (1957) sought to understand political life by viewing each of its aspects piecemeal. For instance, if we examine the operation of political parties, interest groups, government, and voting, we can analyse the nature of and consequences of such political practices as manipulation, propaganda, and violence; we can also reveal the structure within which these practices occur. Therefore, if we compute the results, we can obtain an overview of what is contained in any human political unit. It should be noted that the implicit notion exists that each part of the larger political canvas cannot stand alone but is related to each other part. Better put, a unit in a system is interrelated to other units in that system (Easton 1957).

The basic unit of analysis of Easton's System Analysis Theory is 'interaction', which is generated from the behaviours of the members of the system when they play their roles. When these myriad interactions in the perception of a scholar become a 'set of interrelations' they are considered as a 'system'. Easton's subject matter is confined to political interactions (Easton 1957), which are evident in the African context. For example, Hadland (2007) applied Systems Analysis Theory to investigate state-media relations in post-apartheid South Africa, augmented with an application of comparative media systems strategy. He focused on the relationship between the state and the media, an interconnection of profound significance in the South African context, as the aspect has not been explored sufficiently by other scholars. Hadland found that South Africa's media system falls largely into the Polarised Pluralist Model, although it retains strong liberal model traits.

Easton's framework of Systems Analysis Theory is conceptual and analytical. His 'political system' is born of concepts and is 'constructivist', using a set of variables for description, explanation, and research. It is different from and not a concrete or natural system. An actual, concrete or natural system, also called membership-system, consists of human beings or actual individuals. Easton's analytic system is made of abstractions that focus on selected elements of human behaviour (Easton 1957).

There are four major premises to Easton's flow-model or input-output analysis:

1. System,
2. Environment,
3. Response, and
4. Feedback.

Easton calls them an 'authoritative allocation of values', 'binding decisions and actions', or 'exchange between the system and its environment' (Easton 1957:1). Output – an outcome or a production made by the political authorities – affects the political environment and triggers feedback that leads to the generation of new input that starts the political system all over again. This allows for a feedback mechanism (Easton 1957).

Whatever happens in a subsystem is explained by the contradictions that appear in the system. Liberation movements are seen, for example, as 'arising out of the structural contradictions of the capitalist world economy. Consequently, the external forces – i.e. those external to the subsystem – are the determinant forces of what happens within each subsystem' (Easton 1957:3). Class structure and class struggle within a country, for example, are determined by the position which the country occupies within the global system. Some autonomy is granted to the interior forces; but in an exterior/interior relationship, the former is determinant over the latter (Easton 1957).

Race and Ethnicity

Darwinian Theory

Darwinian Theory, also referred to simply as Darwinism, is a biologically based evolution theory credited to British naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and others like British naturalist Alfred Russell Wallace (1823–1913) who came to the same conclusion as Darwin did. However, Darwin was widely known and honoured for the theory even before his well-cited book titled *On the Origin of Species* was first published in 1859.

The theory states that the natural selection process is responsible for how all organisms evolve and develop, and the selection, which happens through small, inherited variations tends to aid an individual's capability to compete, survive and reproduce. The term Darwinism was coined by English biologist Thomas Henry Huxley (April 1860), and later was called Modern Evolutionary Theory. Scholars like Olivia Judson (2008) and Eugenie C. Scott and Glenn Branch (2009) have criticised the use of the term Darwinism.

The theory has been much debated (Segerstrale 2000; Richerson & Boyd 2001), both negatively and positively. This may be due to its two main emphases. First, the theory believes that the evolution of various animals is from one or few common ancestors; and, second, that evolution occurs as a result of a natural selection mechanism (for more on this, see Wilkins 1998).

Evolution Theory is based on the idea of natural selection which has been established in various scientific disciplines such as developmental biology, geology, palaeontology and genetics. This focuses on behavioural and physical changes in organisms over time resulting from heredity; these changes are integral to how organisms survive their environment and are able to produce offspring (Than & Taylor 2021). Cell differentiation, which causes metabolic constraints and adaptation inside organisms, has been established as one of the ways in which natural selection drives evolution (Kupiec 1997).

Ideas from Darwinian Theory were raised from the point of view of the proponents' disciplines up till the earlier part of the twentieth century, meaning the theory had little applicability to the social sciences. The latter part of the twentieth century saw some concerted efforts to adapt and apply Darwinian Theory to people's behaviours and to the study of cultural evolution (Richerson & Boyd 2001).

Darwinian Theory has been used to explain the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of all life forms on Earth. The theory is applicable to how ethnic groups evolved, as well as the comparative advantages one may have over the other due to natural selection processes. The characteristics of ethnic groups in Africa can be viewed as modifications occurring in a population through natural selection. This may offer an explanation for the inequality that persists among organisms, even of the same species. For instance, an organism behaves altruistically when its behaviour benefits other organisms, at a cost to itself. It may also be said that traits of some individuals or groups may be more suited to their environments than others, and that this will affect their ability to procreate and survive (Than & Taylor 2021).

Some weaknesses of this theory include Darwin's unsubstantiated and ambiguous explanations concerning evolutionary progress, and the inability to make it a central focus of his theory (Richerson & Boyd 2001).

Genesis Theory

Adherents of the Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) believe that God created all things, while science has other theories to account for how the Earth was made. The Bible states that humans were created on the sixth day of creation (Genesis 1:1–23), but the scientific response is that this is wrong (Wolper 2011). An understanding of Genesis Theory must take into account the fact that there are different Christian creation theories which are prone to change. (Janse van Rensburg 2012). There are many creation theories; so, only a small number of the Christian creation theories are discussed here for the sake of brevity. They are the Young Earth Creation Theory, the Progressive Creation Theory, the Theistic Evolution Theory, and the Gap Theory. References are made to their subjective contexts, theological or main views, and meta-theoretical frameworks or theological principles (for more on these, see Janse van Rensburg 2012).

The *Young Earth Creation Theory (YECT)* centres on literal and historical readings and interpretations of Genesis according to the propositions of Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) in the mid-seventeenth century. More recently, it posits that the Darwinian Theory of evolution contradicts Genesis regarding the creation of Earth and humanity (Manthei, referenced in Janse van Rensburg 2011). In addition, YECT maintains that bids to reconcile the creation account in Genesis Theory with Darwinian Theory led to the unification of the Gap Theory and Day-Age Theory. This development was made possible in the later part of the eighteenth Century by the belief that the findings of modern science would align with biblical text. Thus, when it became evident that the Earth was millions of years old, Protestant thinkers quickly started to interpret Genesis 1 to align with the scientific explanation. From these core theological perspectives, YECT sees God as the Creator of everything and says Christians especially should be educated to read and interpret the creation account historically and literally (see Janse van Rensburg 2012).

Progressive Creation Theory believes in the all-powerful and loving God as behind the creation account in Genesis. This serves as an inerrant, progressive dual-revelation as well as a historical-metaphorical view concerning the Genesis creation account with ‘underlying meta-theoretical theological principles’ (Janse van Rensburg 2012:17). Stated differently, there is a need for a higher order (meta) theory of theories on existing theological postulates in order to develop a strong ethical or normative foundation for theological explication.

Theistic Evolution Theory emerged from the liberalist creation movement. It says the creation account is based on mythology. Kenton Sparks (2011, referenced in Janse van Rensburg 2012) explains that proponents of this theory are thinking along the lines of scientists and, in most cases, believe that God started creation (for details, see Janse van Rensburg 2012).

Gap Theory, also known as the Ruin-Reconstruction Interpretation, is often credited to Thomas Chalmers’ work from the early nineteenth century (Janse van Rensburg 2012). This theory suggests that there was a gap of billions of years between Genesis 1:1 (original creation) and Genesis 1:2 (reconstructed creation), and in line with the scientific beliefs of modern mainstream, the theory promotes an Old Earth historical framework (Janse van Rensburg 2012). This framework is an amalgamation of

1. ‘day-age creationism’, which refers to the creation accounts in Genesis;
2. ‘gapcreationism’, which denotes the six-*yom* creation era described in Genesis; and
3. ‘theistic creation’, which describes tenets about God being compatible with modern scientific findings on biological evolution.

Genesis Theory in general is useful to account for human evolution from an Abrahamic point of view. The theory puts Adam and Eve at the centre of humanity which spread across the planet due to (re)procreations over the centuries. This is

in sharp contrast with the biological human evolution explanations offered by Darwinian Theory and others.

This theory is applicable to the study of the existence of humankind in terms of creation and (re)procreation by descendants. African descendants nowadays occupy a unique position in the world's population stage, as there is not a country in the world in which one will not find an African or a descendant of Africa. This suggests that Africans cannot be overlooked in terms of heritage, culture, values and norms. The theory serves as a basis to challenge the elevation of one race, culture, or personality above others because it offers Abrahamic, supernatural, or divine explanations that all humans originated from the same source.

Theories associated with the Genesis Theory (i.e. Young Earth Creation, Reasons Progressive Creation, Theistic Evolution, and Gap Theory) have no critical or systematic account for how humans developed into different ethnic groupings, with diverse cultures, languages, norms and values (see Janse van Rensburg 2012).

Religion

Culture Theory

A number of works on culture exist but they offer conflicting definitions of the concept. According to Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (1952, cited in Jensen 2016), no fewer than 146 definitions of culture exist, and this may be said of religion as well. The complexity of the subject has made contextualising of and theorising about culture and religion, and acceptance of their assumptions, difficult. Culture or Cultural Theory is traceable to the launching of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in 1964 by Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart, as well as efforts by Raymond Williams. Sociological pioneers such as Max Weber, Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim and Georg Simmel have demonstrated the interrelationships between social, sociological and cultural theories, and their paradigms have moved from structuralism to poststructuralism and then to postmodernism (Oswell 2010).

Culture Theory, like many social science theories, points to religion as a promoter of in-group solidarity and social cohesion (Durkheim 1995 cited in Wilson 2002; Sosis & Alcorta 2003). In relation to religion, Culture Theory emphasises how symbols, communities, and religious institutions interconnect with and embody other aspects of society. In other words, most theories of culture focus on meaning construction and cultural boundaries, and how they are interpreted by communities, and how social interactions and mediated communications are arrived at using the institutions and symbols of religion (Hall, Neitz & Battani 2003). Importantly, Culture Theory as advocated by Durkheim (see next section) holds that culture and religion may be in conflict

but not all the time, and that depends on religious types (e.g., axial – i.e. the period of ancient history from the eighth to the third centuries BCE, or pre-axial i.e. the period before that) being practiced (Jensen 2016). In addition, religion is not detachable from culture (Geertz 1973; Boyer 2001; Ramadan 2010; Beyers 2017). Religion may be based on tradition rather than conviction (Jensen 2016). The crux of Culture Theory from the perspective of Durkheim is that culture functions like religion within society by providing certain guidelines on the location of identity (Beyers 2017).

Africa is a centre of culture and religion, and the interconnectedness and social functions of both have been described by Cultural Theory, but many contemporary Africans have allowed religion to negatively affect their cultural identity and the functionality of their culture. This may be a social problem as the people's potential may not be realised. This is in opposition to Durkheim's view that culture tends to help people function through collective representation as well as systems of class. From another point of view, many contemporary Africans are dropping their pre-colonial cultural practices and moving to Western religions. Cultural Theory from Durkheim's sociological and functional viewpoint suggests that people's social lives (what is wrong and what is right) are then regulated by classificatory systems derived from Western religions. These systems help to explain concepts such as collective space and time, kinship and family, what is sanctified or not, and so on. Cultural Theory stimulates the understanding that symbols and rituals are collective representations with certain values and meanings purposed for a social group; an example being the totem pole, according to Durkheim (Durkheim 1912/1995).

Culture theory as advocated by Durkheim looks exclusively at certain cultures and religions without looking at the varieties of rituals and symbols whose meanings and applications to certain societies may differ. This may lead to labelling some cultures, religions and social actions as primitive, or non-conforming, or 'outsider, uncultured and irreligious' (MacKay 2000:98).

Durkheimian Theory

The pioneer of Durkheimian Theory is of course the person after whom it is named, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who was born in France and was a popular secular sociologist whose theories focused on social issues. Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* was published in 1912, based on a study of totemic societies in Australia. During the nineteenth century, researchers and theorists like Durkheim, Max Weber (1864–1920) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) focused on what makes society function. Durkheimian Theory on religion focused on the nature and effects of religion on people and how religion permeates people's daily lives (Simpson & Conklin 1989). According to Durkheim, social cohesion is attained through religion; it is a part of what unifies society.

The Durkheimian Theory of religion postulates that religion is society's product; no divine or supernatural influence creates it. The theory suggests a functional definition of religion in terms of what constitutes sacred and profane objects, symbols, ceremonies, and rituals, and how those who adhere to a religion, especially in a church setting, view them. Sacred objects and symbols are considered divine and are viewed and used with respect and awe, separating them from other things that are considered profane. The theory identifies and examines various common elements which religion emphasises and analyses the effects of religious beliefs on the lives of people in a society. The theory holds that religion is a source of an individual's solidarity and identity in a society and helps the individual to affirm his/her common values and beliefs. The theory proposes that the influence of religion will weaken as modernity and technology increase in a society, which will lead to religious thinking giving way to scientific thinking, with a reduction in religious rituals and ceremonies.

In Africa, religion is a notable part of people's lives and a strong element of African culture and society. But religion (from traditional to Protestant) can be used to oppress and deceive people, particularly those with socioeconomic problems. In Africa, religion is largely seen as divine rather than sociological as the Durkheimian Theory believes. Religion in Africa is claimed to be sacred in doctrine but there is blasphemous language from both religious leaders and their followers. This suggests that African religious systems do not regard sacred objects, beliefs and practices, or individuals in the way as Western religions do. The negative aspects of religion can harm individuals, communities and African society at large.

Evan Pritchard and many other philosophers have raised several substantial issues concerning the theory (Priya 2018). To start with, among the shortcomings of Durkheimian Theory on religion is the non-exactness of what is sacred; profane and sacredness are not always antithetical to each other. The theory emphasises societal religion and not individuals. Another shortcoming of the theory is that its assumptions have failed to manifest in society. An example is the assumption that the concept of 'God' is about to die, and that society will begin to promote civil religion instead. This is far from what is happening in Africa where religion continues to grow. All of this notwithstanding, Durkheimian Theory still has a profound and positive influence on the general understanding of the social function of religion and its connection to both extraordinary and ordinary aspects of people's lives.

Social Change Theory

Strasser and Randall (1981) state that change can be defined a modification in the state of any phenomenon observed over a period of time. They add that social change involves an alteration in the structure and functioning of social

forms or processes – a modification in the established patterns of inter-human relationships and standards of conduct. The authors point out that since the inception of sociology as a discipline, sociologists, have drawn from several other disciplines and philosophical perspectives to examine historical data pertaining to social change (Strasser & Randall 1981). There are three basic theories of social change:

1. Evolutionary Theory,
2. Functionalist Theory, and
3. Conflict Theory.

Social evolutionists in the nineteenth century drew from Darwin's theory of biological evolution to theorise that society progresses over time to a higher level (Strasser & Randall 1981). A precursor to Darwin, Auguste Comte (1798–1857), described as the father of sociology, and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) posited unilinear evolutionary theories which said that all societies move through the same order in the stages of evolution to attain a common end.

Functionalist theorists place emphasis not on what changes a society but on what maintains it. Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), in his Equilibrium Theory, posits that a society will tend towards homeostasis. Furthermore, rifts in a social order constitute social change in one aspect of a society and require adjustments in other aspects of another society to create stability (Strasser & Randall 1981).

Conflict theorists advocate change because it is important for addressing injustices and inequalities in a society (Strasser & Randall 1981). Although Karl Marx adopted the evolutionary notion of societies progressing along a specific direction, he disputed the notion that every successive stage presents an improvement over the prior. He argued that history proceeds in stages in which the powerful and wealthy in a society maintain the status quo of institutions (such as religion) and social practices that continue to favour the exploitation of the poorer class. He also maintained that religion as a powerful institution in the society hinders social change and serves to maintain existing class structures by espousing beliefs and ideologies that make poverty and suffering a virtue, while subverting a society's need for revolution under the pretext of rewards being available in other supernatural spaces of existence such as 'heaven'. Marx's notion of social change in *Das Kapital* is that 'it will drive a society to its last stage of development: i.e. a classless, free and communist society' (Strasser & Randall 1981:5).

These theories aid in our understanding of the significant role religion plays in most African countries (Agbiji & Swart 2015) as religion pervades institutions and government apparatuses. For example, religion has been the primary influencing factor in the Nigerian government's reluctance to legitimise same-sex marriage, pushing against the current legal trend.

Religion is also instrumental in initiating and sustaining social change. For instance, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. (who was greatly inspired by Gandhi's religious practice of non-violence) and the broader Baptist Church in the southern United States initiated social change through their role and activities in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (McKinnon 2005). The 'Arab Spring' that began in Tunisia in 2010–2011 and swept across the Middle East, which saw Islamic groups using the Internet and social media to highlight the political injustices in their countries, is a contemporary instance of religion's role in precipitating social change. Here, the functionalist fails to consider the fact that an impression of stability in a society can be established by a powerful group using force. Although conflict theorists might applaud the use of protest and riots in revolting against the 'oppressive regime' of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and that of Muammar Gaddafi, the theory fails to account for social upheavals which lead to negative and unexpected social transformation as in the case of Libya where the country has seen a record level of unemployment and social unrest since Gaddafi's death.

Social Ecology Theory

Social Ecology Theory is an approach used to study the interconnection of the natural world and social institutions. The term 'social ecology', sometimes referred to 'urban ecology', was first developed at the University of Chicago in the 1920s. According to the Better Worlds blog (2018), Social Ecology Theory is concerned with social roots and implications of 'ecological dislocation'.

A popular contemporary proponent on social ecology theory is Murray Bookchin. He was an American historian and political scientist who situated Social Ecology Theory within anarchist, libertarian socialist and ecological thought. It is essentially a multidisciplinary field which begins with scientific notions of ecological issues, and follows that by seeking solutions to the issues through the comprehension of their origins in society.

Social Ecology Theory attempts to demonstrate that ecological issues on the global, regional and local levels are a product of hierarchical, exploitative and authoritarian social institutions (Clark 1997). The theory is at the forefront of contemporary ecology theories which demand a radical change in existing spiritual values. According to this theory, religion establishes an authoritarian and hierarchical social class structure with deep social issues (Clark 1997). These social issues such as industrial expansion, trade for profit and economic, ethnic, gender and cultural conflicts lie at the heart of serious ecological dislocations (Better Worlds Blog 2012). This is because these issues raise serious conflicts between personal desires and community needs.

In Bookchin's earlier works, he posited that many religious and spiritual traditions are compatible with ecological objectives. He commended the non-dualistic worldview some traditional societies – including many in African and

Native American cultures – employed to unify nature, morality, and custom. Some social ecologists are critical of the Christian religion. This is captured in the claim by Biehl (1991) that Christianity is the most anthropogenic religion in the world. Social Ecology Theory advocates for the replacement of the domination mentality found in Christianity with one which regards human life as a mere intelligent primate; as such, the role of the human in the natural world should be appreciative and supportive of non-human life (Clark 1997).

Some religions have strong respect for the natural world – Hinduism is an example. In the eastern part of Nigeria, some traditional religions and practices have reverence for the interrelationship between human and human life. There is a belief that nature is part of the divine and the natural environment is constantly communicating with humans. There is always the need to safeguard and revere nature as it is the mouthpiece of the gods.

Social Structure Theory

The contemporary usage of the Social Structure Theory to study religion, especially in the field of sociology, can be traced to Emile Durkheim and Herbert Spencer. Durkheim posited that society is segmented and the different segments are interdependent, giving a structure to the behaviours and interactions of members and institutions within that society. Put simply, Durkheim claimed that human behaviour is externally influenced. In the study of social structures, sociologists analyse social categories in order to explicate matters such as inequality and integration in society (Nadel 2009).

Social structure can be categorised in terms of micro, meso and macro levels. On the micro level, social structure denotes the way norms mould an individual's behaviour within a social system. The meso level is the system of social network links between individuals and organisations in society. The macro level looks at the ordering of social institutions according to a socioeconomic classification: i.e. class structure or other organised relationship among large social groups in society (Nadel 2009).

One of the theoretical approaches used to analyse the concept of social structure is structural functionalism. British social anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown is the foremost proponent of this approach. He views society as an organic integrated entity which is dependent on the various components of its social structure (the existence of one component is dependent on the existence of another component). He defines social structure as a pattern, or as 'normal' social relations (Wilterdink & Form 2019). Talcott Parsons regards social structure as normative. He argues that social behaviour conforms to rules, values, and norms that control individual behaviour in certain situations. The norms delineate various roles that differ according to the positions of individuals (Nadel 2009). Radcliffe-Brown's and Parsons' approaches and definitions have been criticised

for lacking empirical and methodological confirmation; being too abstract; and not accounting for change and conflict and the complexities of power, wealth and social rewards (Nadel 2009).

Robert K. Merton contends that social structure contains normative patterns, and that these patterns contain status, material and power inequalities, providing members of a society with varying choices and opportunities. The inequalities that exist in complex societies can be seen in stratification systems or class structures (Wilterdink & Form 2019).

The preceding perspectives on social structure provide a valuable lens for understanding the structures of religious groups as well as the role of religion as a social institution in establishing social structures in an African society. The structural-functionalist Radcliffe-Brown says the existence of one component of a society is dependent on the existence of another component. Functionalists argue that religion and society are interdependent for their values, significance, and existence. This justifies the claims of scholars such as Deng (1998) and Schuurman (2011) that religion makes up the key fabric of African societies. It is intertwined with general existence as well as with the socio-political and economic development of African societies. Social Structure Theory explains the existence of structure in the Catholic Church, for instance, where there are different organs – the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Reverend Fathers, Reverend Sisters, altar boys and parishioners – that play different roles in the church and society at large. Additionally, the roles of women and men in the church are structured and different. Christian ideology places women below men; thus, the societal role of a woman, in comparison to a man, in many societies in Africa is regarded as inferior.

Sexuality/Gender

Africancentric and Third World Theory

Africancentric and Third World Theory, as expounded by Mwalimu Molefi Kete Asante and Mambo Ama Mazama (both members of the Temple Circle—a group of scholars with a connection to the Department of Africology at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States of America) in the late 1970s, is a general approach used to study all cultural, economic, political and social questions related to African people. It is a brand of Social Change Theory which proposed the first full argument of the concept of Africancentricity/Afrocentricity and, thus, has been employed to investigate sexuality/gender issues.

The pioneering theorists and scholars in the Temple Circle of Africancentrists are Mwalimu Molefi Kete Asante, Tsehloane Keto, Kariamuwelsh Asante, Abu Abarry, Mambo Ama Mazama, Theophile Obenga, and Terry Kershaw (Verharen 2000). The Africancentric paradigm is a revolutionary move in thinking proposed as a constructive change to Black disorientation, decentredness, and inaction. The

Africancentrist asks the following question: ‘What would African people do if there were no White people?’ (Chawane 2016). In other words, what ordinary reactions would occur in the interactions and attitudes toward the environment, affinity patterns, inclinations for colours, types of religion, and historic referent points for African people if there had not been any interference by slavery, colonialism or dependency? Africancentricity answers this question by stressing the central role of the African subject within the context of African history, thereby eliminating Europe from the centre of African representativeness. In this way, it becomes a ground-breaking idea that studies notions, concepts, events, dispositions, and political and economic progressions from the stance of Black people as subjects and not as objects. The approach suggests that Black people (at home and abroad) must look at information from an African viewpoint. It also calls for looking at matters at hand from an African perspective; that we misconstrue Africa when we use perspectives and terms other than that of the African to study Africa (Chawane 2016).

Africancentricity does not call for the replacement but rather for the alteration of existing Eurocentric views that seek to eliminate or tone down the influence of Africans in the advancement of the world (Chawane 2016). There is a need for a modification of the educational curriculum in most of our institutions. Apart from not giving recognition to African authors, most curriculum content also does not speak to the problems of the African countries and, thus, the knowledge gained cannot be applied to meeting or solving the problems of African societies. How best to learn about one’s society and solve societal problems if not when the knowledge being acquired is rooted in the ideologies and philosophies of African society? Africancentricity theorists are not saying that Europeanism is not good; what they are saying is that there is an urgent need for what speaks Africa, denotes Africa, and pictures Africa. This is the core strength of the theory.

When employed to investigate sexuality/gender issues, Africancentric and Third World Theory emphasise that the influence of Africans in all areas of development should be reflected in world history. It focuses on achieving the precise end of ensuring that African tradition and culture, and its history and impact on world civilisation and scholarship, are echoed in the curricula on every level of academic instruction when dealing with sexuality/gender and other issues. Africancentricity allows other cultures to interpret the history of such issues from their own outlook.

Africancentric and Third World Theory is labelled as an antithesis, a self-protective countermove to Eurocentricity. Critics argue that many of the discipline’s findings are arrived at in unscholarly fashion, stating that the educational qualifications of many Africancentrist are in fields other than African Studies. The theory has also been criticised for the lack of a collective language spoken by Africans and for class variances which hamper Africans reaching agreement about their collective methodology of knowledge production. But, of course, these same criticisms can apply to just about any intellectual discipline.

Biological Theory

Biological Theory, from the perspective of sexuality/gender, addresses issues surrounding sex – the quality of being male or female – in terms of the possession of distinctively different sexual and reproductive organs and of living the experience of that gender. In recent times, conversations surrounding this topic have taken on a complex turn given that new knowledges and experiences have shown that individuals manifest traits that are conventionally not associated with their gender. Influenced by the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) and the feminist Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), Judith Butler, a gender-feminist theorist, draws a ‘distinction between sex as biological facility and gender as the cultural signification of that facility’ (Butler 1988:25). In other words, gender, to Butler, is largely performative – a process by which a woman or man acts in conformity with social rules rather than in accordance with her/his daily lived-experience. Butler’s ideas, like De Beauvoir’s, are woman-centred; however, they can be applied to men too (Butler 1988:25).

The existential thoughts of Merleau-Ponty are significant in understanding these seemingly contradictory situations or experiences. His notion of phenomenology points to the human body as the frame through which one perceives the world (rather than the existing orthodox notion of ‘consciousness’ in which gender is socially interpreted and constructed). Merleau-Ponty’s episteme is more gender-inclusive and sees the human body (the anatomical features) and the emotional activities going on within it as inseparable concepts. According to Butler, Simone de Beauvoir in her book *The Second Sex* contends that the female physiognomy must be reviewed in terms of how female sexualised bodies are barred from ontology (1988:46), validating the radical views of Shulamith Firestone on the often cultural signification of sex (Firestone 1970:11).

In traditional knowledge, the construction of an ‘expected gender behaviour’ (performativity) for every gender provides a means for nonconformists to express social defiance. New knowledge and social awareness in this regard help to put in perspective the various misconceptions surrounding gender, sexuality and human biology. Despite the lively debates on the politics of gender and sexuality, an obvious gap lies in the blurred line between socially influenced gender identity and hormonally based gender identity. This disparity often leads to an upsetting generalisation that all gender variants are hormonally inclined.

Popular perceptions toward gender variants across human histories have sparked both intellectual and popular debates often to the disadvantage of variant subjects. Accordingly, one may engage Biological Theory to question the strict gender binaries constructed in religious climes, where no consideration is given to rationality.

Conservative/Stand-up Theory

The sources of the Conservative or Stand-up Feminist Theory (the latter term used mostly in Europe and a little in North America) are classical political thought; however, the terms were not used in a political context until the start of nineteenth century. Conservative Theory emerged from the political thought of Edmund Burke (1729–1797). In his 1790 work, *Reflection on the Revolution in France*, Burke, drawing from the teachings of Aristotle, regards society as an illusion, an organic whole characterised by an unclear multitude of interrelationships. He believes that every society is unique, having evolved over time in totally different circumstances, giving rise to distinctive traditions, beliefs, and relationships (Burke & Pocock 1987). Conservative Theory embraces the notion that reforms should be established in the matrix of a society's social history, with due regard for its tradition, rules and prejudices, whether they be philosophic or otherwise (Burke & Pocock 1987).

Conservative Theory calls for upholding and preserving of traditions, norms, and culture. The idea affirms the importance of protecting existing traditions (Huntington 1957; Claassen 2011). Huntington (1957) declares that the foremost aim of Conservative Theory is to preserve existing traditions. Nichols defines tradition as 'established practices of concepts or thought and action that do not seem to be merely habits; as a result, they are consciously valued and endorsed' (Nichols 1997:1). Conservative Theory then for Nichols is the body of concepts that maintains the worth of existing tradition by highlighting the protective mode of cultural practices (Nichols 1997). Political orientation is connected to authority which enforces traditions through dogma. Conservative Theory is seen as a political morality. It is political in the sense that it aspires to political structures that build a decent society and supports morality as it claims that a society should permit inhabitants to live lives that are personally satisfying and useful for others (Nichols 1997).

In the African context, Conservative Theory can be employed to examine the preservation of existing traditions, governance, or chieftaincies. Governance by chieftancy in African societies is still valid. The attainment of political leadership in the continent remains mostly characterised by a ruthless struggle for power that frequently involves armed conflict.

Conservative Theory is difficult to classify. For some scholars, it is simply a practical response to radical feminism, which proponents of Conservative Theory perceive to be undesirable, whereas for several others (principally the new generation of scholars) the theory is adopted on philosophic grounds. The latter see Conservative Theory as a fully fledged counter-thought to Liberal Theory (see later section in this chapter). Nonetheless, does Conservative Theory really signify something special, or is it simply an orthodox worldview? To the

extent that Conservative Theory could be a coherent approach for explaining the actuality of women's roles in society, is the value which supports its main tenets merely wrong? The answers to these questions, of course, will depend on a responder's ideology.

Political orientations like Liberal Theory have totally different perspectives, partially as a result of conservatives typically challenging one another regarding the actual political arrangements that get to be preserved. While conservative feminists argue for the maintenance of traditional gender roles, with the recommendation that they be respected and celebrated, liberal feminists argue that those roles be amended to allow women to gain access to what are regarded as traditional male roles. Radical feminists, as we will see later, call for a complete dismantling of the traditional gender roles and the establishment of new ones that would facilitate total equality among the genders.

There is no clear representation of the application of the Conservative Theory; it is unlikely to succeed in Africa owing to the dynamic and immediate nature of African problems that need practical solutions. The theory is incapable of providing any guidance for addressing long term problems. In its roughest version, it does not check up on the past to spot those social arrangements that are helpful to advocate for its protection. Conservative Theory overlooks the fact that the very set of traditions, values, and customs whose revival it demands is itself the result of explicit innovations within the past – innovations that, to an identical conservative, could be seen as an attack on an older tradition. A contradiction like this at the heart of a political orientation could paralyse it. The solution is not simple; conservatives seem to be defensive of an arbitrary freezing of time. Some conservative theorists are well conversant of the contradiction and have offered arguments to keep their theories alive. An organic process twist argues that the theory must aim at protecting solely those traditions that have been capable of evolving and adapting, since their survival purportedly evidences that they serve a valuable function in society (Nichols 1997).

Conservative Theory is limited in terms of content, since it lacks criteria to assess what is feasible and what is not. This obstacle cannot be overcome, although we have a tendency to settle for the claim of Oakeshott (1962) that Conservative Theory, even though it is not a scientific, political, or philosophical system, remains necessary to bringing about change. Conservative Theory has long been faced with an unresolvable enigma in terms of what makes a long-lasting tradition productive or valuable. What Conservative Theory is missing, then, is a superimposed principle that justifies its adherence to cautious perspectives. Lastly, and most significantly, Conservative Theory will ultimately carry intolerable consequences. Its rejection of forceful, hasty, and uncontrolled modification is really an ambiguous weapon, for only too typically it incorporates the adherence to otherwise unacceptable traditions (Oakeshott 1962).

(De)/(Re)/(Post)Constructivist Theories

The main argument of scholars who propound Constructivist Gender Theory, which birthed Deconstructivist, Reconstructivist and Post-constructivist Gender Theories, is that there is no ineradicable verity to gender; it is constructed by social expectations and gender performance. Deconstruction Theory, developed by French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), is a post-structuralist approach. The word ‘deconstruction’ is derived from the French verb *deconstruire*, meaning ‘to undo the development of, to take to fragments’. Derrida, who was born at El-Biar close to French Algiers, came to be renowned through his publication of three works on the subject in 1967:

1. *Voice and Phenomenon* (2010);
2. *Speech and Phenomena: And Other Essays on Husserl’s Theory of Signs and Grammatology* (1973); and
3. *Writing and Difference* (2021).

Derrida considers the text to be the theme and item of enquiry. A deconstructionist has the strong opinion there is no sole meaning to be derived from the content of a script. According to Derrida who took his motivation from Ferdinand de Saussure (1959), language as an arrangement of signs and words only has implications because of the dissimilarities between these signs (Brooks 1995).

Gnanasekaran (2015) describes the deconstructionist as a reader of the text, a decipherer, an investigator, and a critic. He or she can take several of these positions concurrently. The deconstructive reader is an observer who is essentially separated from the content; however, resolutely incorporated inside of a text, he identifies certain fissures or blanks or blind spots and ends them off by taking the different, unforgettable and social ideals that are relevant to the content before decrypting the text (Gnanasekaran 2015). He bonds the semantics of the text, the past, the notion of structure, and the occurrences of style. As a decipherer, he holds the deconstructive methodology of conveying the content instead of echoing what the author said in the book. He categorizes inferences in sequential order based on the delineation of the text. The investigator searches for reasons for discord in the written content at the oral and semantic levels. He finds both factual and theoretical methods that the author incorporated to express his/her opinions and adds to the scheme by using unaccustomed tools or devices. The critic understands that the consequence of the text is enormous. He finds the irregularities in the application of the words or the arrangements of sentences (Gnanasekaran 2015). It is not just the outward constituents of the words that the person who reads acts upon so as to highlight their worth in the content, but s/he also concentrates on the clashes and struggles, insufficiencies, exclusions, and semantic features while breaking down the idea of the writing by the author (Mantzavinos 2016).

Applying Deconstructivist Theory to an African situation might be challenging. This is because African culture (its varieties notwithstanding) itself gives different meanings and interpretations to words depending on the situation. For example, in Africa, the word 'revolution' has been in the minds and on the tongues of many people. The original context meant people disagreeing to continue in an uncomfortable or straining situation – i.e. the 'sign'. The mental picture depends on the background and belief of the people concerned (the 'signified'). To some, it meant peaceful protest, to others it means riot, blood-shedding or destruction of property.

Derrida's challenges flow from a contention that texts outlast their writers and become a portion of a set of cultural habits identical to, if not greater than, the significance of authorial intent (Brooks 1995). Deconstruction is a style that may be used in a viewpoint, in literary enquiry, and even in the analysis of scientific writings (Hobson 2012). Its approach is also employed by postmodernists to discover sense in a text rather than determine meaning, the latter being difficult because a text can generate many understandings.

Nonetheless, there have been problems defining deconstruction since it actively criticises the very language needed to explain it. It cannot thus be explained or described as a method, an analysis, or a critique.

Liberal Theory

Liberal Gender Theory, as briefly mentioned earlier, focuses on women being subordinated via traditional gender roles. Theorists promoting this school of thought argue that in order to change the status quo, women should enter the so-called 'public world' and strive for gender equality through legal and political reforms.

Liberal Theory was first conceived by people such as Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Hobson, Woodrow Wilson, and John Maynard Keynes writing well before the deep causes (independent variables) they stress (e.g., democratisation, industrialisation, nationalism, and welfare provision) were widespread (Scott 2009). Liberal Theory is one of the constitutive elements of modern society. The theory promotes the ideals of freedom, equality, and strict separation between the public and private realms in matters concerning sexuality/gender.

Liberal Theory is founded on a belief in the natural goodness of humans and the autonomy of the individual. It favours civil and political liberties, government by law with the consent of the governed, and protection from arbitrary authority (Gray 1995). Liberal theorists are committed to individualism, liberty, and equal rights on sexuality/gender and other matters. They also believe that these aspects require a free economy with minimal government interference (Manent & Seigel 1996).

In its application to power relations, Liberal Theory is founded on two basic assumptions:

1. disorder and
2. rationality.

Specifically, states (or alternative political actors) usually act in a generally rational manner in establishing choices. The disorder assumption would imply that political actors within a distinctive setting like Africa would fail to navigate power shifts under anarchy (Amin 2004). They need to interact in assisting one another. The rationality assumption implies that state leaders and their domestic supporters interact in policymaking for the instrumental purpose of securing advantages provided by actors outside of their borders. And, in developing such calculations, states deploy cost-efficient mechanisms in order to realise their goals. Liberal Theory shares the primary (anarchy) assumption with most negotiation theories, and it shares the second (rationality) assumption with realism and institutionalism but shares no assumption with non-rationalist method theories (Hobhouse 1911).

Liberal theories link state behaviour to varied conceptions of desirable forms of cultural, political and socioeconomic orders. These theories stress economic interdependence, including many variants of Endogenous Policy Theory. Liberal Theory stresses the role of domestic representative institutions, elites and leadership dynamics, and executive-legislative relations (Bell 2014). Liberal Theory also houses a family of theories that share common assumptions about international relations. Such theories explain not only cooperation among liberal states, but also liberal and non-liberal policies, conflictual and cooperative situations, security and political economy issues, as well as both individual foreign policy and aggregate behaviours (Freeden 1978).

Liberal theorists believe in democratic systems and international cooperation along with a 'harmony of interests assuming that international politics is not a zero-sum game, with automatic winners and losers. Democratic states could always find peaceful solutions to apparent clashes of interest. The first assumption shared by Liberal Theory is that African states represent some set of domestic societies, whose views represent state preferences' (Hobhouse 1994).

For liberals, the state may be representative establishments perpetually subject to capture and recapture, construction and reconstruction, by domestic social coalitions. This is a good description of African states. These social coalitions embody state preferences at any point in time: the tastes, ends, basic interests, or fundamental social purposes that underlie policy. Political establishments represent a vital transmission belt by which the interests of African people and teams in civil society get involved in the political realm (Freeden 1978). All people and teams do not wield equal influence over state policy. On the contrary,

their powers vary widely, depending on the context. Variations in the nature of representative establishments and practices help form a team's influence on the national interest. Some African states might represent, ideal-typically, the preferences of one tyrannical individual; others afford opportunities for broad democratic participation. The precise preferences of social teams, weighted by their domestic powers, form the underlying goals (state preferences) that states pursue. Sometimes, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and alternative actors might have international alliances to help social forces. State-society relations – the relationship between a state and its domestic (and transnational) society in which it is embedded – are at the heart of the Liberal Theory.

Postmodernist Theory

The focus of Postmodernist Theory is on the ideas that gave rise to and accelerated gender inequality in society. Its proponents investigate these ideas and seek to promote gender equality by evaluating logocentrism (i.e. the use of words and language as a fundamental expression of an external reality, especially applied as a negative term to traditional Western thought) in an analytical and detailed manner, buttressing competing discourses, deconstructing texts, and advancing subjectivity. Postmodernist Theory is a late twentieth century movement that generally questions the basic assumptions of Western philosophy in the modern period. Postmodernism literally means 'after the modernist movement' (Jencks 1986). While 'modern' itself refers to something related to the present, the movement of modernism and the subsequent Postmodernist Theory are defined by a set of perspectives. In Critical Theory, Postmodernist Theory refers to a point of departure for works of literature, drama, architecture, and design, as well as the interpretation of history, law and culture in the late twentieth century (Grenz 1996). Postmodernist Theory is therefore an aesthetic, literary, political or social philosophy which attempts to describe a condition, or a state of being, or something concerned with changes to institutions and conditions, as postmodern (Graff 1973).

In other words, as Eagleton puts it, Postmodernist Theory is the 'cultural and intellectual phenomenon, especially since the 1920s' new movements in the arts, while postmodernity focuses on social and political outworkings and innovations globally' (Eagleton 1986:1). Also, quoting the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, Docker says 'postmodern':

...is either of, relating to, or being an era after a modern one or of, relating to, or being any of various movements in reaction to modernism that are typically characterised by a return to traditional materials and forms or by ironic self-reference and absurdity (as in literature), or finally of, relating to, or being a theory that involves a radical reappraisal of modern assumptions about culture, identity, history, or language (Docker 1994:1).

Postmodernist Theory originated as a reaction to modernism and was largely influenced by the Western European 'disillusionment' induced by World War II. Despite the fact that postmodernism tends to refer to a cultural, intellectual, or artistic state, it lacks a clear central hierarchy or organising principle and embodies extreme complexity, contradiction, ambiguity, diversity, interconnectedness or inter-referentiality in a way that is often indistinguishable from a parody of itself (Docherty 1993). This has given rise to charges of fraudulence. Postmodernist Theory is characterised as a derivative, referring to non-art aspects of history that are influenced by the new movement, namely developments in society, economy and culture since the 1960s (Bielskis 2005). When the idea of a reaction or rejection of modernism is borrowed by other fields, it becomes synonymous in some contexts with postmodernity.

Notable initiators of Postmodernist Theory include Laurence Sterne via his novel *Tristram Shandy* (initially published in 1759 and republished in 2005), Alfred Jarry through his *Pataphysics* (2011), and Lewis Carroll via several works (Wheale 1995). Art and literature of the early part of the twentieth century played a significant role in shaping the character of postmodern culture. Other significant contributors to postmodern culture from literary circles include Jorge Luis Borges, William S. Burroughs, and Samuel Beckett (Pinkney 1989).

The term Postmodernist Theory when used pejoratively describes tendencies perceived as relativist, counter-enlightenment, or anti-modern, particularly in relation to critiques of rationalism and universalism (Palmeri 2001). It is also sometimes used to describe tendencies in a society, as in the case of sexuality /gender roles, that are held to be antithetical to traditional systems of morality. Elements of the Christian Right, in particular, have interpreted postmodern society to be synonymous with moral relativism and contributing to deviant behaviours.

Criticisms of Postmodernist Theory are often complicated by the still fluid nature of the term, and in many cases the criticisms are clearly directed at the philosophical and academic movements that it has spawned rather than the broader term Postmodernist Theory. As meaningless or disingenuous as it may appear, criticism of elements of Postmodernist Theory as 'sophism' or 'obscurantism' played out in the Sokal Affair/Hoax. An article about interpreting physics and mathematics in terms of the theory, which Alan Sokal had deliberately written to mock postmodern theorists' views on objectivity, determinism, and the social construction of scientific truth, was submitted for publication, and then published (Lipovetsky 2005).

The linguist Noam Chomsky has suggested that postmodernism is meaningless because it adds nothing to analytical or empirical knowledge. He asks why postmodernist intellectuals would not respond as 'people in physics, math, biology, linguistics, and other fields are happy to do when someone asks

them, seriously, what are the principles of their theories; on what evidence are they based; and what do they explain that was not already obvious? To him these are fair requests for anyone to make' (Docker 1994). If they cannot be met, then he has suggested recourse to Hume's advice in similar circumstances: to the flames.

French philosopher Michel Foucault rejects the label of Postmodernist Theory explicitly but is seen by many to advocate a form of critique that is 'postmodern' in that it breaks with the utopian and transcendental nature of 'modern' critique by calling universal norms of the Enlightenment into question (Bielskis 2005). Docherty (1993) rejects this characterisation of modern critique by pointing out that the critiques of Enlightenment universals are central to philosophers of the modern period. What counts as 'postmodern' is a stake in political struggles where the method of critique is at issue. The recurring debates are between essentialism and anti-foundationalism, universalism and relativism, where Enlightenment thinking is seen to represent the former while Postmodernist Theory represents the latter. This is why theorists as diverse as Nietzsche, Lacan, Foucault, Derrida, and Butler have been labelled postmodernists, not because they formed a historical intellectual grouping but because they are seen by their critics to reject the possibility of universal, normative and ethical judgments (Docherty 1993). With some exceptions, many thinkers who are considered postmodern see these characterisations merely as labels of convenience and reject them altogether.

Radical Feminist Theory

Radical Feminist Theory analyses the structures of power which oppress the female sex. Its central tenet is that women as a biological class are globally oppressed by men as a biological class. It is believed that male power is constructed and maintained through institutional and cultural practices that aim to bolster male superiority through the reinforcement of female inferiority. As radical feminist Ti-Grace Atkinson wrote in her foundational work *Radical Feminism* (2000, first published in 1969):

The first dichotomous division of this mass [humankind] is said to have been on the grounds of sex: male and female. It is because half the human race bears the burden of the reproductive process and because man, the 'rational' animal, has the wit to take advantage of that, the childbearers, or the 'beasts of burden', are corralled into a political class: equivocating the biologically contingent burden into a political (or necessary) penalty, thereby modifying these individuals' definition from the human to the functional, or animal (Atkinson 2000:1).

One manifestation of the patriarchy is gender, which is believed to be a socially constructed hierarchy which functions to repress female autonomy and has no basis in biology.

Radical feminists critique all religions and their institutions, and other practices that promote violence against women such as prostitution and pornography. The subjugation of women is a social process that has no basis in biology or in any other pretext and, thus, can and should be challenged and dismantled. Radical feminists see the oppression of women as closely linked to, and bound up in, their roles as the bearers of new life and male hatred of female reproductive power. Radical feminists take an unequivocal stance on the right to female reproductive justice. They believe in an autonomous women's movement as the path to women's liberation. They also believe in the importance of women-only spaces where theory and action are developed from the lived reality of females who have been socialised into womanhood (Atkinson 2000).

Giving women a voice is a key strength of Radical Feminist Theory; prior to the feminist movement, sociology was regarded as 'male-stream' (male-dominated). The theory raises awareness of gender issues. Through the growth of the Marxist, liberal and radical strands, the subjugation of women by their male counterparts has been highlighted, making an enormous contribution to the emancipation of women. Marxists look at how capitalism affects women's position in society and has greatly contributed to our understanding of women's work and made it more visible, clearly highlighting the exploitation of women in society. Liberals' enormous contribution to the emancipation of women is still considered radical in some countries that do not offer basic rights to women. Such efforts include, for instance, improved quality of life due to educational and legal reforms and useful insights on how capitalism affects women's position in society.

But Radical Feminist Theory fails to see the bigger picture of inequality, such as the class system and other social categories like disability, race, religion and nationality. For instance, the theory fails to recognise how working class or Black women experience barriers to advancement than White, middle-class women, and this is why some have dismissed it as a White bourgeoisie movement. Feminism has met this criticism by introducing the idea of intersectional feminism, which recognises that class, race and disability have systematic structural impacts on women's lives in different toxic combinations. The theory fails to explain why it is specifically women who occupy low status employment and women workers who are paid less (capitalism still benefits male workers disproportionately), and it does not analyse the way social class interacts with patriarchy (i.e. the big difference between the degree of sexism experienced by bourgeois women in comparison to proletariat women).

Sexual Difference Theory

The hermeneutic enterprise called Sexual Difference Theory takes its entry point from the psychoanalytic works of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), both of whom explore issues of gender and sexuality differentiation

vis-à-vis the salient sexual patterns that embody the individual sexes. Freud's idea of the man and woman gender/sexuality binary, many feminist critics would say, is laden with misogynistic sentiments, especially in his insistence that women suffer from 'a castration that has been carried out' (Freud, quoted in Kaplan 1994:1).

These epistemological efforts, regardless of the flaws attributed to them by their critics, offer a convenient standpoint for further theorising on sexuality. Luce Irigaray, in a more contemporary sense and from a feminist-lesbian perspective, posits that sexual hierarchy and not sexual difference (as one might have erroneously imagined) occupies the very nucleus of the Western symbolic order as undertaken by Freud and Lacan. Irigaray is upset by the positions of Freud and Lacan which project femaleness through the lenses of masculinity. She insists that the clitoris is not a 'little penis pleasant to masturbate' (Irigaray 1977:23). Some of Freud's assumptions on male-female sexuality (especially his thoughts on the 'Oedipus Complex') are influenced by his belief in gendered roles. To exemplify this, he established value around the phallus with his concept of 'penis envy' – an organ to be desired by the female and one to be treasured by the male, an instrument of control and a metaphor for masculine dominance. Freud's stance on sexuality poses certain challenges in that it not only denies the uniqueness of the female, but also attempts to enforce, albeit subliminally, the exercise of her agency through the male (Irigaray 1977).

In her *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977), there is a radical attempt by Irigaray to pull down all prior hierarchical constructions by highlighting femininity as a unique status, independent of masculine involvement. The idea of female agency is affirmed through Irigaray's description of the vagina as the lips in 'When Our Lips Speak Together'.

In the investigation of religion and culture, especially as they obtain in Africa, one may evoke Irigaray's notions on sexuality to question the various Biblical positions and sharp cultural practices that place the woman as an appendage of the man to whom she must look up for reproductive life, sexual fulfilment, among other emotional gratifications. Given the various breakthroughs in the field of gynaecology and the efflorescence of alternative lifestyles around the world, the idea of an indispensable phallus is dismantled, thereby validating Irigaray's point. On the other hand, one may insist, using the Freudian lenses, that the circumstances that give rise to female subjectivity are based on performance, rather than being biological.

The seminal explorations of Sexuality Theory by Freud and Lacan enrich the discourse of sexuality and gender differentiation in the field of psychoanalysis and provide unique ways of knowing. Nonetheless, Irigaray is guilty of the very crime which she accuses Freud and Lacan of, for while the works of these two establish a male subject on the one hand and a female object on the other, Irigaray's work literally obliterates the existence of the male by creating the image

of a self-sufficient female. Again, critical reactions to different approaches to sexuality hinge on the sociological experiences of the readers, as the positions of all theorists reflect their various gender and sexuality biases and worldviews. The global South, for instance, is more likely to have a broader embrace for the Freudian and Lacanian notions of sexuality than the West.

Sociological Theory

The locus of Sociological Theory on sexuality/gender is the social ascription of gender roles and the general narratives on gender stereotyping, perceptions, norms, body image, belief systems, cultural expectations and socially (and sometimes culturally) generated gender privileges. The Structural Functionalist school of thought believes that every gender has been naturally configured or wired to play specific domestic and public roles. These sociologically scripted performances of gender, based on the perceived gender status of maleness or femaleness, have a weighty impact on socioeconomic functionality and productivity, more than they enjoy an effortless generational spread. Gender roles, a term first used by the American psychologist John Money, are often predicated upon the idea of femininity and masculinity (Alters & Schiff 2009). In the wake of the global feminist revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, the ideas of supposedly providential gender roles are debated with serious intent to enforce a paradigmatic shift. According to DeFrancisco et al., gender roles are ‘performed according to social norms’ and ‘social norms determine the privileges and responsibilities a person possesses’ (2014:2).

The idea of the binary categorisation of humans into genders which naturally precedes the assignment of social roles is becoming even more complicated as there are new and alternative ways of (re)reading gender. The discourse of gender identity in the new millennium continues to flourish with wider possibilities being proposed. Androgyny, for instance, being a ‘newly’ constructed gender group, seeks to accommodate in a third gender individuals who combine both male and female features (Maccoby 1966). This invariably alters the primordial binary construction of gender. Again, while the term androgyny describes a third gender, new evidence abounds that gender categorisation encompasses as many as five genders in certain countries of the world (Graham 2001; Richard et al. 2016). This invariably calls into question the traditional binary constructions of gender as known to many societies.

According to Linda Lindsey (2015), the four basic sociological perspectives to gender and sexuality are

1. Structural Functionalist Theory,
2. Conflict Theory,
3. Feminist Theory, and
4. Symbolic Interactionist Theory.

Structural functionalists focus on family values and the social and communal equilibrium enhanced by strict alignment with normative gender roles. Conflict theorists read gender and sexuality from the perspective of the dominance of a gender group over the other. Borrowing from conflict theorists, feminist theorists address the menace of endemic patriarchy with its attendant gender inequality. In Symbolic Interactionism, the social codes that define human interactions are examined (Lindsey 2015).

One important merit of the Sociological Theory is that it opens new vistas to the understanding of the sociological underpinnings of gender and sexuality. Through these, one understands and appreciates the social transitions that have over time reordered gender priorities, stereotypical patterns, and eliminated gender-based inequalities. Nevertheless, it is important to note that conversations such as these often foist an unhealthy rivalry and agitation between (or among) (un)gendered people having a capacity to lead to war of sexes, even if subtle. Gender and sexuality conversations appear endless and more and more complicated from these various perspectives. The stances taken by the different critics are reflective of their personal biases and often the rhetoric is laden with underlying dominance and counter-dominance. Indeed, Sociological Theory on gender and sexuality can be deployed to investigate the complexities of gender transitioning and de-transitioning and identity crises and disillusionment.

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Social Movements and Change, Social Stratification, and War

Doctoral Scholars

In this chapter, we present succinct discussions on three theories concerning social movements and change, three on social stratification, and five on war. The first category deals with ideas about large, in some cases informal, groupings of people or organisations that focus on particular political or social matters. The second category refers to notions about a system by which a society ranks divisions of people regarded as having particular shared characteristics in a hierarchy. And the third category concerns thoughts on a state of armed conflict between different nations or states or different groups within a nation or state.

Social Movements and Change

Le Bon's Mob Psychology Theory

Le Bon's Mob Psychology Theory is an approach used for the broad study of the human mind and how individual behaviour is impacted when large crowds group together. The father of the theory, Charles-Marie Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931), was a French social scientist and philosopher. Le Bon was originally trained as a physician but his primary contribution was in the field of sociology where he developed major theories on crowd behaviour. He believed that crowds maintain a collective mind and that the group mind is not simply a summary of traits of the individual persons. Instead, a new distillation of traits emerges, primarily unconscious in nature, which reflects racially inherited, innate characteristics. The consequence is a regression in the direction of more primitive, instinctual determinants of behaviour, in contrast to more rational intellectual determinants. Le Bon expanded on these ideas in three main concepts. The first concept is *anonymity* – i.e. people behave irrationally when they are in the crowd, as they lose their fear of consequences, and they lose moral responsibility, self-control,

and conscious personality. This temporary feeling of invincibility causes them to be unable to restrain certain instincts that they otherwise would have restrained if they were alone (Merton 1968).

The second concept is *suggestibility*. This basic principle became the core foundation of this theory: i.e. individuals tend to lose their sense of self and responsibility (hypnotic state) simply by being a part of ‘the crowd’ (Merton 1968). Dictators like Hitler and Mussolini gained power, influence and strength by using the suggestibility technique. They transformed nations of individuals, most of whom had no intention for murdering a human being, into people who were prepared to act ruthlessly and inhumanely. The mob mentality that arose turned crowds into genocidal hordes.

The third and final concept is *contagion* – i.e. people bond in a crowd to the point that each individual will sacrifice his/her interest for the interest of the crowd; thus, ‘acts’ become contagious. Le Bon indicated that crowds are also capable of engaging in positive social actions (Merton 1968).

Le Bon’s theory rests on three concepts which explain why the psychology of a crowd can be different from and interact with the psychologies of the individuals within it:

Dissocialised concept of identity: there is no link between the self and the society. Only self is rational and controls human behaviour not society and self. *Denial of voice*: if we see the crowd as irrational we are making their actions meaningless. Their voices mean nothing because they are mad. *Denial of responsibility*: the crowd members cannot be held responsible for their actions because they are not under their own control due to their irrational behaviour but society is also not held responsible because if the crowd is not acting or reacting to anything tangible or concrete, their behaviours are meaningless; therefore, their protests can be denied. The denial legitimates the repression of discord and protest in society, so both the crowd and the society can be repressed (Merton 1968:3).

Le Bon’s idea examines the use of the power of the crowd to harness the goals of the state, more specifically political goals. His belief with respect to political behaviour consistently revealed a basic mistrust of the masses. His theory therefore provides a decontextualised account of human and social actions. It ignores the social context and it ignores those participating in the actions. It gives no account of why there is a mass action in the first place or who else might be involved. He portrays the crowd as inherently mad and inherently meaningless (Merton 1968).

Neil Smelser’s Value-Added Model Theory

American sociologist Neil Smelser’s Value-Added Model Theory emphasises the social causes of collective behaviour. To Smelser, collective behaviour is driven by strain experienced by participants in a social setting. He explained that people

react and behave collectively based on their belief about a situation and the belief that stems from their interpretation of the situation and the meaning given to it (Locher 2002).

This theory, which was developed by Smelser in 1962, has its basis in the Functionalism Theory. The key social conditions (determinants) for collective behaviour to happen include structural conduciveness, structural strain, generalised belief, precipitating factors, mobilisation of participants, and societal control (Locher 2002). Smelser used the phrase 'value-added' to describe how collective actions occur in a process where determinants build on each other in a manner that increases the likelihood of a collective action (Heath, Johansen & Saffer 2018).

When people behave in ways in which they should behave in a situation, it is seen as normal and as a social behaviour; but when they behave in ways opposite to how they should behave, it is seen as abnormal and as a collective behaviour. Smelser believed that collective behaviour serves as valve or outlet for pent-up strain or tension in a society. When tension is being built up, strain is produced which over time, along with other determinants, increases the possibility of release. When this pent-up tension is generally felt by the majority of the people and its interpretation is accepted by many with no societal control for it, there is a collective behaviour to release the tension (Marx 2012).

Smelser's Value-Added Model Theory is applicable to many societal problems. For example, an increase in the fuel price in Nigeria resulted in a collective uproar. The situation put many people under financial strain. This, coupled with the general belief that the increase in fuel price was needed to provide money to pay politicians' salaries, resulted in a collective action: people rioting. This behaviour was also precipitated by police beating people who were queuing for fuel. The process was determined by the actions of the leaders of the event. During the fuel scarcity riot in Nigeria, the then union leaders were trusted. Their directives were widely accepted by the people, leading to the rioting which almost paralysed the economy of the country.

Smelser's theory is widely applicable as it speaks to social situations and factors, rather than taking its origin from psychological factors. It delineates a sequence of determinants that must be present for a collective behaviour to occur. It can be used to analyse situations or events that occur in a society, and to predict what might occur once certain predisposing factors are present. This can help to forestall problems if attention is duly paid and needed actions taken.

The theory is, however, limited. If some of the elements are not present, the behaviour might not occur. Also, it can only work where the strain is greater than people can bear and where people's wills, thoughts, and actions are not suppressed by force. It sees all strains as being disruptive, when some might not be.

Resource Mobilisation Theory

Resource Mobilisation Theory was developed in the early 1970s to challenge social breakdown and relative deprivation theories that identify individual grievances as the primary stimulus for collective action (Edwards & McCarthy 2004). Its theorists argued that the success of social movements depends on resources (time, money, skills, etc.) and the ability to use them (Jenkins 1982). They stressed that mobilisation requires a variety of resources and linkages of social movements to other groups, that there is a dependence of movements upon external support for success, and that the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements need to be factored in (McCarthy & Zald 1973 & 1977; Jenkins 1982).

John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald are the originators and major advocates of the classic entrepreneurial (economic) version of this theory, while Charles Tilly and Doug McAdam are proponents of the political version of resource mobilisation called Political Process Theory. McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that grievances are necessary but not enough to stimulate the rise of a movement because grievances and social conflicts are inherent and enduring in every society. The application the Resource Mobilisation Theory is popular in the examination of the formation of social movements. It argues that social movements are dependent on the ability of organisations to mobilise resources – both labour and money, which are the critical factors in movement mobilisation – from potential supporters (Walsh 1981).

Resource Mobilisation Theory is used to analyse protest mobilisation, when information from social media filters from the networks of political activists (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). Mobilised protests and industrial actions have been recent social phenomena across developing economies in both private and public organisations (Breuer, Landman & Farquhar 2015). As posited by Eltantawy, & Wiest (2011), social movement leaders use bargaining, persuasion, or violence to influence authorities to change. The focus on the interaction between movements and authorities is accepted, but it is also noted that social movement organisations have a number of strategic tasks. These include mobilising supporters, transforming mass and elite publics into sympathisers, and achieving change in targets (Breuer, Landman & Farquhar 2015). It is argued that the most serious challengers of autocrats come from their own ruling coalitions: i.e. the security forces and the ruling parties (Diaz-Cayeros et al. 2011).

The social scientific study of riots has amply demonstrated that even in the most anarchic protest there are ‘leaders’ who retain a consciousness of themselves apart from the action and who are, for that reason, capable of calculating and ‘directing’ action (Auyero & Moran 2007). These ‘leaders’ who may well be ‘leaders’ in only a single protest event, as well as the ‘opinion leaders’ who mould

opinion in all kinds of communities, operate on the basis of the understandings of the situation that depend upon knowledge which is itself shaped by theory (Breuer, Landman & Farquhar 2015).

Critics (e.g. Gursoy & Kendall 2006) point out that Resource Mobilisation Theory fails to explain social movement communities, which are large networks of individuals. The theory is also said to fail in explaining how groups with limited resources can succeed in bringing about social change, and that it does not assign sufficient weight to grievances, identity and culture as well as many macro-sociological issues. The theory is criticised for being overly concerned with processes internal to social movements themselves and for neglecting factors arguably more crucial to their successes (Gursoy & Kendall 2006).

Social Stratification

Class Theory

As it relates to social stratification, Class Theory seeks to describe and explain groups of people within a society who possess different socioeconomic statuses. This theory conceives the concept of class as a collection of individuals sharing similar economic circumstances, particularly in industrial society (Kreckel 1980). It is important to note here that social classes are based on economic perspectives rather than status groups which are constituted based on honour or the prestige of an occupation, cultural position, or family background.

Two of the pioneering theorists of Class Theory are Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Max Weber (1864–1920). Marx distinguished between owners of the modes of production and their employees. He focused on the conflicts between social classes as represented by industrial workers and the owners of factories and businesses. He said that society is fundamentally divided between classes which clash in pursuit of their own class interests. Despite the fact that Weber also employed the term class, he used a multidimensional approach in his perspective by distinguishing and analysing the following concepts:

1. Class as economic position,
2. Status as position and prestige independent of economic situation, and
3. Power as access to authority structures (Bell & Cleaver 1982; Muller 2015).

The preceding explanation suggests that, despite some limitations from Africa's political democratisation perspective, Class Theory has increasingly become highly applicable to some African issues. It enables theorists to describe and explain the characteristics of the principal contemporary social classes:

1. upper,
2. working or lower, and
3. middle.

The upper class in modern African capitalist societies is often distinguished by the possession of largely inherited wealth. The ownership of large amounts of property and the income derived from it confer many advantages upon the members of the upper class. They are able to develop a distinctive lifestyle based on extensive cultural pursuits and leisure activities, to exert considerable influence on economic policy and political decisions, and to obtain high quality education and economic opportunities for their children, thus perpetuating family wealth.

As its key strength, Class Theory is notable for providing useful insights as to how the class positions of individuals and groups in societies can be distinguished from a socioeconomic perspective. This may provide useful input for differential policy interventions tailored to address embedded inequalities among different segments of societies. Despite this, the key weakness of the Class Theory is that it views class differentiations as a source of antagonism and conflicts between classes and proposes revolution and socialist interventions as viable solutions.

Elite Theory

Elite Theory, which is also known as a theory of the state, emerged in order to describe and explain power relationships in society. The pioneering theorists are Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858–1941) and Robert Michels (1876–1936), who significantly influenced subsequent postulates on the theory. Pareto viewed power as a dichotomy between rulers (elite) and ruled. He identifies two types of elites:

1. the elite of 'lions' who are fundamentally conservative, preservative, and addicted to forceful action; and
2. the 'foxes' who possess the instinct for combination and are less rigid intellectually, more innovative and reflective, but much less decisive in action.

Pareto also asserted that there exists the succession of ruling groups (circulation of elites) as a law of history. A similar view of power was adopted by Mosca and Michels. Mosca stated that the elite comprise an organised minority while the masses are an unorganised majority. The elite are esteemed and influential owing to their intellectual, moral and material superiority. Michels, notable for his Iron Law of Oligarchy, asserted that social and political organisations are run by a few individuals, social organisations and labour divisions which are key to consolidating the bureaucratic structure of political organisation (Bottomore 1993).

The elite are privileged upper-class individuals. Broadly, the ruling class comprises three types of elites:

1. the economic elite represent the top strata of big business and corporation management,
2. the political elite represent key figures in the formal apparatus of government, and
3. the military elite represent those at the top strata of state military structures (Sorel & Schwartz 1989).

These elite pursue key strategies to maintain their power status. Most of them, if not all, seek to establish

1. a dynamic network of the leaders of the military, corporate, and political entities;
2. increasingly interchangeable leadership in the elite groups (individuals switch from one position of institutional power to another; for example, a prominent military officer becomes a political adviser or a powerful politician also becomes a corporate executive); and
3. a system of interlocking directorates of economic, political and military elite. All the three groups mix with one another in different ways via both informal and official contacts.

These ensure the cohesion and impermeability of the hierarchy of the elite in the forms of power (wealth, civil authority, influence, and opinion) which are autonomous, irreducible and independent of democratic elections. The elite use such power positions as instruments to exert significant power over corporate and government decisions, policy planning and political election processes (Dahrendorf 1990; Gilens & Page 2014).

Elite Theory is applicable to Africa in the sense that it explains the ground realities of social and political organisations in contemporary Africa. The theory informs us that in cases where certain groups are entirely excluded from a state's power networks on the basis of arbitrary criteria (nobility, race, gender, ethnicity, or religion), such groups emerge as the counter-elite. In essence, the old elite can be replaced by a new one as in the case of Zimbabwe and Ethiopia.

One of the strengths of the Elite Theory is that it provides a full-fledged theoretical framework to analyse and understand power relationships and the influence of the elite in a contemporary society. The theory warns the ruling elite about the danger of political exclusion leading to the emergence of a counter-elite. As to its weaknesses, the theory underestimates the value of pluralism, multi-partyism and a checks-and-balance system, which are the underpinnings of modern democracy. The potential outcomes may be ethnic conflict, dictatorship, corruption and coups d'état. Given the diverse ethnic and cultural contexts that are common in most African countries, the promotion of pluralism and multipartyism is imperative.

Stratification Theory

Stratification Theory asserts that social inequality is the basis of social stratification (Wani et al. 2014). The theory is concerned with socially embedded inequalities and emerged in the social science disciplines to describe and explain individuals' positions in hierarchies in a given social group, category, geographical region or other social unit. The process of hierarchical delineations (determining relative social position) of social strata for individuals and groups based on diverse

indicator variables about various characteristics of persons and peoples is called social stratification. Generally, this involves two types of variables: (1) economic variables like income and wealth at household level and per capita gross domestic product [GDP] (Parsons 1951) especially at the international level; and (2) social status indicator variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, occupation and skill levels, age, education level, education level of parents, kinship ties or caste relations and geographic area (Parsons 1951; Wani et al. 2014). These socially defined criteria serve to place individuals and groups within various strata of society. All societies exhibit some system of hierarchy whereby members are placed in positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, in relation to each other.

Karl Marx (1818–1883) is the originator of the Social Stratification Theory. He asserted that an individual's position within a class hierarchy is determined by his/her role in the production process (Kreckel 1980). Later critics felt that Marx overemphasised the economic factor. Max Weber (1864–1920) is another key theorist of Social Stratification Theory. He built upon Marx's view of social stratification (economic factors), adding a multi-dimensional view (class, status, and power) which allows for a comprehensive way of understanding the complex nature of social stratification (Parsons 1951; Wani et al. 2014).

Stratification Theory can be applied to African issues to explain structured inequalities so as to make informed development decisions to remedy those inequalities. The functions of stratification include:

A means of accomplishing essential jobs in society: Stratification in society is a way for a society to get some of its essential jobs done by distributing different amounts of prestige and privilege to various strata. A typical example may be a health institution, in which doctors, nurses, laboratory technologists, security personnel and gardeners differ hierarchically from top to bottom while meeting societies' health needs. The rewards (economic, aesthetic or symbolic, and material or psychological satisfaction) which society gives serve as incentives to get the various essential jobs accomplished.

Regulation and control of individual and group relationships and participation: Through prescribed roles and role expectations, norms and standards of behaviour are expected in relationships at intra-stratum and inter-stratum levels. This also regulates participation of groups and individuals in the total life of society and may even give them access to certain areas and restrict them from others: for example, limiting the number of students going to universities.

Simplification: Categorising people into different strata simplifies a human being's world in respect to his/her relations with other people. For example, the criterion of age as an identification of adulthood, while not always valid in specific instances, serves a purpose when dealing with the entire population. There is a practical justification in the practice of categorising people and responding to each category differently, but responding identically to all persons within a category.

This theory's weaknesses may be that stratification can lead to intergenerational stigma and stereotypes within broader social structures: Black vs white, poor vs rich, and so on.

War

Idealist/Lockean Theory

In a sociological sense, Idealism emphasises how human ideas, especially beliefs and values, shape society. As an ontological doctrine, idealism asserts that all entities are composed of mind or spirit. An idealist is someone who envisions an ideal world rather than the real one. Some people consider idealists to be naive, impractical, and out of touch with reality, while idealists think that striving for perfection makes the world a better place. The main root of the term idealist is 'ideal,' which is derived from the Latin word *idea* and theoretically conceptualised by John Locke (1632–1704), who was an English philosopher in the early Age of Enlightenment. His ideas had enormous influence on the development of mainly European Epistemology and Political Philosophy, and he is widely regarded as one of the most influential early Enlightenment thinkers. He postulates that at birth, the mind is a blank slate or *tabula rasa*: i.e. we are born without innate ideas, and that knowledge is instead determined only by experience derived from sense perception. This is now known as empiricism (Thompson 2003).

For Locke, in the state of nature all humans are free 'to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature. The state of Nature has a law of Nature to govern it' (Thompson 2003:83), and that law is reason. Locke declared that under natural law, all people have the right to life, liberty, and estate; under the social contract, the people could instigate a revolution against the government when it acts against the interests of citizens, and replace the government with one that serves the interests of citizens (Thompson 2003).

Locke's Idealist Theory is applicable in Africa in that it could help check leaders whose main interest is what they gain for themselves, rather than the welfare of the citizens. The democratic form of government proposed by Locke allows the expression of the voices of the people. If, as Locke proposed, most people are inherently peace-loving, then governments that express the desire of the people will be less warlike. This could play out on the international stage, where global institutions can establish fora in which nation states can discuss their disagreements in ways that will reinforce cooperation. The Idealist concept of the social contract is the key to overthrowing any government that acts against the interests of the citizens. This can be seen in a modern democracy like Ghana where the power of the thumb (voting in elections) is key to maintaining or changing a government.

The theory has inspired thought in the mental and spiritual domains, in literature and arts, and in studies of culture and the past. Liberal Idealism views history as the progressive advancement of human society. The idea promotes cooperation among states for the common goal of the advancement of humanity, assuming that this is a rational choice which would always be made. It has also led to fulfilment in the area of education by highlighting the important role of the teacher and highlighting values such as truth, goodness, and beauty (Thompson 2003).

Just War Theory

Just War Theory is a largely Christian philosophy that attempts to reconcile three things:

1. taking human life is wrong,
2. states have a duty to defend their citizens, and
3. defending justice, protecting innocent human lives and defending important moral values sometimes require willingness to use force.

The Just War theory was first developed by St Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who suggested that the following conditions must be satisfied for a war to be considered just (Neu 2011):

First is that the war must be for a just cause. Any other intention – e.g., material gain – undermines the justice of the war. Secondly, the decision to go to war must be made with the proper authority (usually laid down in the state's constitution) and by a public declaration. Thirdly, the declaration of war must be a last resort, following the exhaustion of all plausible alternatives means to resolving the conflict. Fourthly, a declaration of war can only be just if the state can foresee a probability of success in resolving the conflict through war. Violence without likely gain cannot be justified. And, finally, the response of declaring war must be proportionate: i.e. the good that can be secured through war must outweigh the evil that will most likely occur. The end must justify the means. And in this calculation, the state must take into account not just the costs and benefits to itself, but those that will affect everyone involved in the war: e.g., including enemy casualties (Neu 2011:413–434, *passim*).

Just War Theory breaks down in three types of justice:

1. *jus ad bellum* – the justice of resorting to war;
2. *jus in bello* – just conduct in war; and
3. *jus post bellum* – justice at the end of war (Neu 2011).

Africa is confronted by indigenous, religious, neocolonial and liberation wars which emanate from greed for power, profit and property. The *jus post bellum* – justice at the end of war can be achieved when we distinguish between justice and fairness, effective laws and lasting peace (forgiveness and repentance from greed), and development of affected societies and reconciliation.

Like any other theory, the Just War Theory has strengths and limitations. The following are some of the strengths of the theory: (a) it maintains the central importance of the dignity of each human being, (b) it encourages combatants to think about the moral implications of their actions, and (c) it rejects the view that there are no rules of conduct in war situations (Neu 2011).

The main problem with the theory is that any war can be justified as a just war and it is open to great abuse. Any side can provide a list of reasons why its involvement in a war is just, as was clear from the onset of the Iraq War. The idea behind that lie was to provide the justification needed to invade Iraq; and, by the time the world acknowledged that there were no weapons of mass destruction as claimed by the United States, it was already too late. Also, the theory's tenets of discrimination and proportionality have come under criticism in the last century, particularly after the absolute carnage of World Wars I and II. Far too many innocent civilians die in modern warfare to justify any war; and, yet, many justifications for war are proffered.

Pacifist Theory

The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (IEP) (2019) describes Pacifism as a broader theory incorporating doctrines of non-violence, passive resistance, and moral purity. The IEP defines Pacifism as the theory of peaceful rather than violent or aggressive relations. It is believed that Pacifism should govern human intercourse, and that arbitration, surrender, or migration should be used to resolve disputes (IEP 2019). All forms of violence, war, and/or killing are unconditionally wrong. The proposed ideal is that social intercourse should be completely nonviolent and peaceful, and conflicts which may arise should be dealt with through arbitration and compromise rather than with recourse to violent means.

According to Keith Robbins (1976), the term Pacifism was coined by the French peace campaigner Émile Arnaud (1864–1921) and adopted by other peace activists at the tenth Universal Peace Congress in Glasgow in 1901. Other outstanding pacifists include Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), Helen Keller (1880–1968), Albert Einstein (1879–1955) and John Lennon (1940–1980) (Bevel et al. 2016). The related term to Pacifism is 'ahimsa' which implies 'do no harm', and is a core philosophy in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism (Bevel et al. 2016).

In terms of how Pacifism is used in contemporary times, Holmes (2013) posits that 'pacifism' is used interchangeably with 'nonviolence'. It is associated with different methods and techniques of nonviolent actions (Atack 2012; Holmes 2013; Dudouet 2015). Examples of nonviolent techniques include:

- protest and persuasion through petitions, slogans, cartoons, banners, posters, radio and television shows, delegations and pressure groups, picketing, acts of undressing in public, and protest art;

- non-cooperation;
- industrial actions and strikes, civil disobedience, the search for asylum, collective emigration, consumer boycotts, non-payment of rent, refusal to pay fees and taxes;
- nonviolent intervention;
- fasting, hunger strikes, occupation of public places, nonviolent obstruction, oral intervention at events, guerrilla theatre, and the creation of alternative social institutions (Dudouet 2015).

The strength of Pacifist Theory lies in its rejection of all forms of war and violence, though some pacifists make distinctions between types of violence (Holmes 2013). The nature and success of nonviolent movements has become a major focus of research within the field of Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies (see Chapter 6). There are activist sectors of society where nonviolence is studied and practiced as a form of politics, including the anti-war movement, the environmental movement, large parts of the anti-capitalist and anarchist movements, and others. Pacifists' beliefs emphasise the sanctity of human life, according it a special moral status that necessitates strong justifications for the injuring, harming, restraining, or killing of another (Holmes 2013).

The shortcomings of the Pacifist Theory are evident in different sociopolitical events. The most intricate difficulty facing the general pacifist is the link between personal pacifism and international pacifism, which is not very clear-cut in most writings. Some pacifists may admit the use of internal aggression to sustain law and order but be set against the use of aggression for resolving international disputes (Neu 2011).

Realist/Hobbesian Theory

Realist/Hobbesian Theory (or Realism, for short) is an approach that regards external objects as the most fundamentally real things, with perceptions or ideas as secondary. Realism is opposed to idealism. A realist is someone who sees the world the way it is and is not afraid to speak the truth as seen. Realists think that humankind is not permanently kind but rather self-centred and competitive. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1683) viewed human nature as egocentric and conflictual. He propounded the notion that an individual's innate nature is anarchic, self-interested and power-seeking. In his view, because people are reasonable, they can see their way out of such a state (a place where everyone behaves any way and any how) by recognising the laws of nature, which show them the way to establish a civil society (Hobbes 1994; Yurdusev 2006).

According to Hobbes (1994), the most important law of nature commands that each person be willing to pursue peace when others are willing to do the same, all the while retaining the right to continue to pursue war when others do not pursue peace. Being reasonable and recognising the rationality of this basic

precept of reason, people can be expected to construct a social contract that will afford them a life other than that available to them in the state of nature. In Hobbes' view, this contract is constituted by two distinguishable contracts. First, they must agree to establish society by collectively and reciprocally renouncing the rights they had against one another in the state of nature. Second, they must imbue some one person or assembly of persons with the authority and power to enforce the initial contract. In other words, to ensure their escape from the state of nature, they must agree to live together under common laws and establish an enforcement mechanism for the social contract and the laws that constitute it (Hobbes 1994; Yurdusev 2006).

Since the sovereign is invested with the authority and power to mete out punishments (which need to be worse than not being able to act as one pleases) for breaches of the social contract, people have good, albeit self-interested, reason to adjust themselves to the artifice of morality in general and justice in particular. Society becomes possible. Whereas in the state of nature there was no power able to 'overawe them all', there is now an artificially superior and more powerful person who can force people to cooperate. While living under the authority of a sovereign can be harsh (Hobbes argued that because people's passions can be expected to overwhelm their reason, the sovereign must have absolute authority in order for the contract to be successful), it is at least better than living in the state of nature. And, no matter how much we may object to how poorly a sovereign manages the affairs of the state and regulates our own lives, we are never justified in resisting his or her power because it is the only thing which stands between us and what we most want to avoid, the state of nature (Hobbes 1994; Yurdusev 2006).

In the African context, the Realist/Hobbesian Theory helps in the study of countries like Uganda and Rwanda, where there are strict authoritarian leaders (compared to countries like Ghana and Nigeria with democratic leadership). These leaders ensure laws are strictly enforced, on the basis that this social contract ostensibly aids the development of the country.

One of the principal strengths of the Realist/Hobbesian Theory is related to the law of social contract which helps theorists to understand international relations due to its simplicity, practicality and rationality. But realists are unable to explain aspects of contemporary international relations, especially the rise of state conflicts, the rise of dependency between states, and the increased power and influence of non-state actors in international relations. Others contend that the theory is a loose framework (Rosenthal 1991:7) rather than a structured theory. It does not offer solutions to problems but rather explains them. Hobbes' recommendation of deposing authorities without the suggestion of a peaceful means of doing so is also a shortcoming in his work in that authoritarians are not easily removed from office without the loss of lives.

Social Contract/Rousseauian Theory

Apropos the issue of war, the central tenet of Social Contract/Rousseauian Theory is that when a country decides to engage in a war, the series of actions or steps it takes in order to achieve a particular end and to gain the consent of the populace must be stated more explicitly than under ordinary peacetime conditions. As such, the perspective aligns with the philosophy's conjectured 'compact', or 'agreement', between the ruled and their rulers, thereby defining the rights and duties of each entity. Social Contract/Rousseauian Theory is derived from the belief that in the beginning, human beings lived in nature without a government and laws to govern them. The emergence of hardships and oppression in sections of society caused humans to enter into agreements with each other. The agreements took two forms:

1. *Pactum Subjectionis* and
2. *Pactum Unionis*.

Pactum Subjectionis was one in which people were to respect one another and live in peace and harmony. In *Pactum Unionis*, people were to unite and pledge to obey authority. The authority was to guarantee every one's protection of life, property and, to a certain extent, liberty (Elahi 2005). The theory is based on the idea that each person implicitly agrees to the rules, morals, and general impulses of a particular society and the government under which s/he lives. All civilised behaviour flows from this (Hobbes 1994; Thompson 2003; Castiglione 2015).

Joshua Foa Dienstag (1996) lists the founding theorists of Social Contract Theory to include Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and John Rawls (1921–2002). Locke is said to have believed that when people transfer their rights to a government, a social contract is entered into. In subjecting themselves to a sovereign ruler or other form of government, people gain security. Locke is also noted to have expressed the belief that people had certain basic rights that must be supplied by the government as a result of its contract with the people. Rousseau asserted that individuals cede their powers to the community, and live under the direction of the general will (Cheng 2018). Rousseau said that in a state of nature people were separated enough not to come into serious conflict (Rousseau 1984). Hobbes believed that in the 'State of Nature', the establishment of moral rules to govern relations among citizens is imperative for ensuring the government's capability of enforcing these rules. Hobbes suggested that a person in his/her natural state would have unlimited freedoms and a right to all things. And, Kant is considered to have believed that humans are selfish by nature, but that they can control themselves through rational, universalised thinking (Yurdusev 2006; Donelson 2017).

Social Contract Theory is important specifically for describing ways in which a sense of civic duty can be created among individuals in relation to society as a whole. A sense of community and basic, unchallengeable rules are established.

The application of the theory is evident in the functions and responsibilities of three main organs of government:

1. the Executive,
2. the Legislative, and
3. the Judiciary.

Adherence to the theory, for example, compels the executive arm of the government to ensure the laws are implemented and to maintain law and order with the help of police. The legislature makes the laws and carries out investigations on issues of public interest. The judiciary interprets the constitution (where it exists) and arbitrates and settles conflicts in the society, protecting the rights of individuals.

The theory has been criticised on several grounds. First, the concept of absolutism advanced by Hobbes is considered vague and inapplicable in a dynamic society. Second, the idea of a sovereign having absolute authority is against the rule of law.

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II

APPLICATIONS OF A SAMPLE OF THEORIES

Mandelaism and Leadership in Africa

Abdul Karim Bangura

This chapter is about how *Mandelaism* – generally defined as the philosophy of the leadership style of Madiba Tatamkhulu Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela – can be employed to investigate leadership in Africa. As Tokyo Sexwale puts it, ‘Mandelaism [is] the spirit of selflessness, sacrifice, people’s soldier, prisoner, president, freedom fighter, philanthropist, dedicated democrat, scholar, lawyer, revolutionary, visionary, reconciler, unifier, nationalist and internationalist’ (News24 2012). The subject is important because while the leadership styles of a small number of African leaders have been characterised as good, the majority have been portrayed as employing modes of mismanagement and gross inhumanity, of irresponsibility and official pillaging, alongside experimentation, disappointment, vacillation, and ongoing confrontation. In addition, instances of inefficient management and lack of responsiveness are the making of widely accepted notions of political behaviour. In each of these styles, political processes have taken definite shapes and possessed recognisable dynamics.

An important question that should be addressed here then is this: What is leadership? As Ercüment Yildirim recounts, over the course of history, thousands of denotations have been proffered for the concept and numerous studies have been done on the subject of ‘leadership.’ In the past century alone, more than 400 definitions have been suggested for the concept and about 5,000 studies have been conducted. From a Western historical perspective, Yildirim notes that prominent early Greek philosophers talked about the concept of ‘leadership’ in terms of how government was passed down to others via election or by despotism. He adds that in his effort to systematise the governing logic, Socrates asserted that the most important attribute a leader should have is ‘the ability to distinguish the good from the bad and to know what to do or not to do’ (Socrates quoted by Yildirim 2016:712). Yildirim also mentions that Plato, a student of Socrates who in turn

taught Aristotle, stated that the fundamental requirement for becoming a leader is to be a philosopher. As Plato put it, 'Either philosophers should be kings or kings should be philosophers' (Plato quoted by Yildirim 2016:712). In addition, Yildirim tells us that Plato described the high moral standards a philosopher possesses which would make him suitable to be a king and why it is imperative for a king to possess the same high moral standards as a philosopher (Yildirim 2016). As will be seen later, these notions and more are evident in the Ancient Kemetian/Egyptian conceptualisation of 'leadership.' It is now well known that these early Greek philosophers learned from Ancient Kemetian philosophers; their ideas on the subject must have been influenced by the Kemetians.

In my chapter on the fractal complexity in Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (1994), I discuss the discovery that the framing of his experience is reminiscent of African ways: i.e. despite the challenges and hardship he encountered, his thought processes did not at any time become chaotic as one would have anticipated. This is quite remarkable because most of the book was written secretly while Mandela was imprisoned for 27 years on Robben Island by South Africa's apartheid government. The book also discloses the story of a generous spirit that never capitulated under extremely trying circumstances. The most revealing aspect of the book is Mandela's ambivalence toward his lifetime of devotion to public service (Bangura 2012).

More specifically, a total of 7,178 topic entries were teased out of Mandela's text. Of these, I categorise 3,017, or 42 per cent, as presuppositions of *order* (i.e. presuppositions that suggest a condition or place of logical or comprehensible arrangement among the separate elements of a group), and 4,161, or 58 per cent, as presuppositions of *disorder* (i.e. presuppositions that suggest a condition or place of confusion, mess, disturbance, disarray, or muddle). The first two parts of the book dealing with Mandela's life as a youth in Qunu and Mqhekezweni and his excitement and fear about going to Johannesburg entail more presuppositions of *order* than those of *disorder*, while the other nine parts of the book have more presuppositions of *disorder* than those of *order*. Even the part of the book dealing with his freedom has more presuppositions of *disorder* than those of *order*. As Mandela himself realised immediately after his release from prison, he had an 'inkling that things might not go as calmly as [he] had imagined' (Mandela 1994:562; Bangura 2012).

The mean for the *order* category is about 274 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 94 presuppositions; the mean for the *disorder* category is about 378 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 130 propositions. The range for the *order* category is 283 presuppositions and that for the *disorder* category is 437 presuppositions. This means that there are more, albeit not statistically significant, topic entries for presuppositions of *disorder* than there are of those for *order*. Nonetheless, there are significant variations within and between the presupposition categories in terms of topic entries (Bangura 2012).

In addition, I illustrate the fractal dimension of the two-dimensionality of the variable. Mandela's text begins with complete *order*, moves downward, and then vacillates between *disorder* and *order*. The binary logistic statistics reveal that the relationship between the two dimensions is not statistically significant at the 0.05 level. In sum, Mandela's text is typically a periodic fractal (possessing an ordered structure that is infinitely periodic in the three spatial dimensions or 3D – i.e. breadth, height, and width), rather than stretching all the way to pure disorder (Bangura 2012).

Based on the preceding results, I argue that it is not farfetched to designate Mandela as a *kheperu* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Kubadilisha* in Kiswahili or Reformist in English. For Ancient Egyptians, the word *kheperu* described those who sought change in form, manifestation, shape, similitude, or image. These types of leaders are unlike the *âtenu* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Mapinduzi* in Kiswahili or Revolutionary in English, and the *âtenu m'ÿen* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Mapinduzi ya Malazi* in Kiswahili or Revolutionary-Accommodationist in English. The term *âtenu* was employed by Ancient Egyptians to describe revolutionaries, rebels, or fiends who wanted radical change. Such people were perceived as *Mesti*, the divine parents of the God of Sun or Day Râ; *Mesu*, the gods who begat their own fathers or divine beings; and *Mesut*, children of God Osiris or divine beings. The concept of *âtenu m'ÿen* was employed by Ancient Egyptians to refer to those who wanted change but would accept things, listen, obey or be content with things as long as their burdens were assuaged (for the Ancient Egyptian translations of these concepts, see Budge 1978; Bangura 2012).

In his speech titled, 'We Are Committed to Building a Single Nation in Our Country', prepared for and delivered at a rally in Durban, South Africa, on February 25, 1990, Mandela stated that the past is a rich resource upon which we can draw in order to make decisions for the future, but it does not dictate our choices. He urged that we look back at the past and select what is good, and leave behind what is bad. The issue of chiefship, he noted, was one such question. According to him, not only in (the then) Natal province but throughout South Africa there were chiefs who had been good and honest leaders, who had piloted their people through the dark days of the oppression of Blacks with great skill; these were the chiefs who had looked after the interests of their people and who enjoyed the support of their people and, thus, should be saluted. Nonetheless, as he pointed out, there were many bad chiefs who had profited from apartheid and who had increased the burden of their people. These chiefs, he said, must be denounced (Hord & Lee 1995:110; Bangura 2012).

I note that on the issue of apartheid, Mandela said it was the real enemy of the people, as a great deal of energy had been wasted by people in violent actions across the towns and villages to fight the evil system. He added that Blacks had already waited for their freedom for far too long and, therefore, could no longer

wait. He called upon Indians, coloureds, Africans, and freedom-loving whites to join forces in order to give apartheid its final blow. He then urged that in the process, people must develop an active democracy with democratic structures which would serve people in every school, township, village, factory, and farm (Hord & Lee 1995:114–115; Bangura 2012).

Mandela iterated his long-held position that the African National Congress (ANC) would offer a home to all who ascribed to the principles of a free, democratic, nonracial, and united South Africa. He declared that the ANC was committed to building a single nation, one that would include Blacks and whites, Zulus and Afrikaners, and speakers of every other language. He then quoted ANC president-general Chief Albert Luthuli who said that ‘I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all of our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy ... I think that there is a challenge to us in South Africa, to set a new example for the world’ (Hord & Lee 1995:111; Bangura 2012).

What is evident from the text is that Mandela seemed to have a strong belief in the concept of ubuntu. As I discuss it in my essay titled ‘Ubuntu-gogy: An African Educational Paradigm That Transcends Pedagogy, Andragogy, Ergonogy, and ‘Heutagogy’ (Bangura 2005) and my book titled *African Peace Paradigms* (Bangura 2008), ubuntu is a word from the southern African Nguni language family (IsiNdebele, IsiSwati/Swazi, IsiXhosa, and IsiZulu), meaning humanity or fellow feeling; kindness. By drawing from many works that have dealt with the concept of *ubuntu* and similar African thoughts on communalism, I deduced that ubuntu serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or worldview enshrined in the maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: i.e., ‘a person is a person through other persons.’ This traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes the human being as ‘beingwithothers’ and prescribes what that should be (Bangura 2012).

A profitable question that emerges here then is the following: What are the attributes and principles of Mandela’s leadership style? A careful examination of the literature on these aspects makes it possible to delineate five attributes and six principles of Mandelalism which can serve as a theoretical framework to analyse the leadership styles of other African leaders and to determine the presence or absence of each aspect. These aspects are discussed sequentially in the next two sections for the sake of lucidity. But before doing this, makes sense to end this section with a discussion of the theoretical framework.

As can be seen in Figure 9.1, Mandelalism is postulated to have five attributes:

- Attribute 1, render services in the name of democracy and human rights,
- Attribute 2, to dissent against institutionalised racism (in other African countries, it would be ethnicism) and bigoted governance,

- Attribute 3, to lead by example,
- Attribute 4, to engage in erudition as a lifelong journey; and
- Attribute 5, to employ forgiveness and reconciliation as a conflict resolution doctrine.

These attributes led him to these principles:

- *anticipate* – regard as probable; expect or predict;
- *challenge* – dispute the truth or validity of certain claims and policies;
- *interpret* – explain the meaning of information, words, or actions;
- *decide* – come to a resolution in the mind as a result of consideration;
- *align* – bring together in agreement or alliance; and
- *learn* – gain or acquire knowledge of something by study and experience.

The continuous block process of Figure 9.1 indicates a progression or sequential steps in the process. This theoretical framework is conceptual in nature in that, as Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias point out, in a conceptual framework, which constitutes ‘the third level of theory, descriptive categories are systematically placed in a broad structure of explicit propositions, statements of relationships between two or more empirical properties, to be accepted or rejected’ (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1996:38).

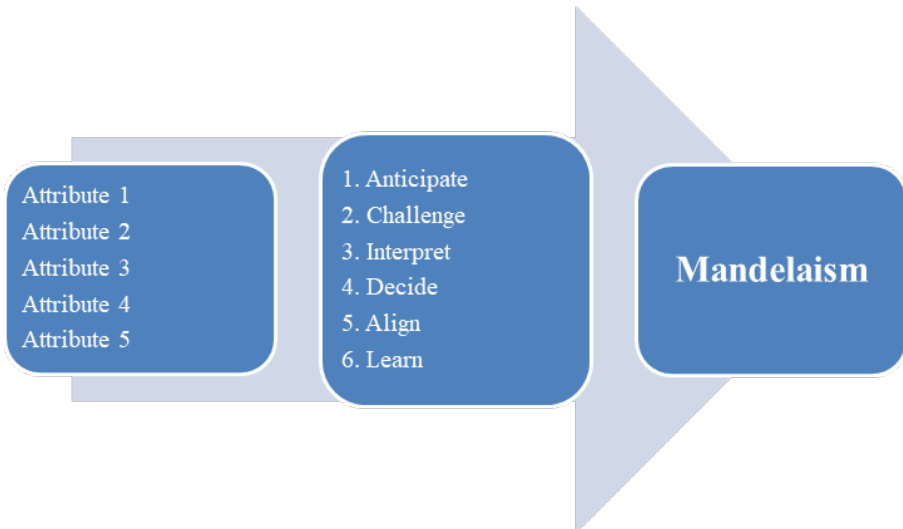


Figure 9.1: Theoretical Framework of Mandelalism

Source: Self-generated by author

Attributes of Mandelalism

As stated earlier, Mandela’s leadership philosophy encompasses five attributes. These attributes have been discerned and discussed by several authors. The first attribute involves evincing services in honour of democracy and human rights.

This feature reflects the physical properties and phenomenon of Mandela's wisdom which homogenised in his leadership and reverberated well in his style of governance which put the needs of the masses first (Nagra 2018).

The second attribute concerns opposition against racism (in other African countries, it would be ethnicism) and against a discriminatory manner of governing established in practice or custom. This is evident in Mandela's persistent struggle against the apartheid system's denial of South African Blacks political and social equality with whites. The struggle lasted for more than 40 years, with 27 years of incarceration of which 18 were spent at the notorious prison on Robben Island (Nagra 2018).

The third attribute is about leading by example. This element is manifest in the way Mandela balanced his approach to leadership towards life itself. He understood that he had to lead by example in order for the masses to adhere to his exhortations. This is the reason he shifted his stance from the earlier strategy of an armed struggle to a non-violent one based on the belief that the chances of a peaceful resolution to the South African conflict would be jeopardised by opportunists and by rage. He was so determined to rid the country of the apartheid system that when he was offered personal freedom by the then South African president Pieter Willem Botha in exchange for his repudiation of resistance to apartheid rule, Mandela rebuked Botha by stating 'What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of people remains banned?' (Nagra 2018:2). Thus, instead of sacrificing his commitment to birthing a racially equal South Africa for his personal freedom, Mandela chose to serve his full imprisonment, thereby sending a clear message to the masses that it was their freedom that meant the most to him (Nagra 2018).

The fourth attribute deals with learning as a lifelong peregrination. Mandela displayed this feature many times during his leadership. An example of this is when he decided to endorse privatisation after meeting with the leaders of China and Vietnam in order to revive South Africa's oscillating economy. The decision was a shift from his strong endorsement of the policy of nationalisation which, as Mandela had put it, was 'inconceivable' to alter. Throughout his life and as a leader of ANC during the 1990s, he had advocated anti-privatisation economic policies. Thus, to champion a pro-privatisation policy meant that he was to face a blowback from the Black masses. But after careful study of the economic shortcomings of South Africa and coming to grips with the reality that it required a conscious economic revamp, he opted for privatisation rather than nationalisation (Nagra 2018).

The fifth and final attribute relates to employing forgiveness and reconciliation as a conflict resolution doctrine. Mandela believed that in order to avoid undermining the social advancement of South Africa, the ghastly deeds of the past must be forgiven. His magnanimity was demonstrated during a 1998 visit

to South Africa by then President Bill Clinton of the United States. Showing Clinton the cramped space at the prison on Robben Island where he had endured years of hard labour and physical tyranny, Mandela told Clinton that he felt no rage or a need for vengeance. To feel that way, he asserted, would have placed him 'in a prison of his own making' (Nagra 2018). He did add, however, that while the horrendous deeds of the past 'must be forgiven', they must 'not be forgotten' and 'need to be discussed and analysed'. This is also the position of George Bizos, who was Mandela's personal lawyer, who stated that the atrocities of the apartheid regime are 'still eating away at me' (Sampson 1994:1).

Mandela's conflict resolution doctrine was anchored by the belief that inclusivity is imperative for the development and sustainability of a progressive South African society. Having been treated as insignificant and peripheral, and designated as a racially inferior Black person by the apartheid system, Mandela learned that compartmentalising humanity so that people are given and refused sets of circumstances that make it possible for them to do something, as well as gain dignity based on the colour and texture of their skin, is equivalent to an insult to human self-worth. Accordingly, his vision of inclusiveness made it possible for him to discover propitiating ways to straddle the political and social divisions that existed between white and Black South Africans, despite the hideous violence that had been meted out to Blacks by whites (Nagra 2018) officially for almost five decades (from 1948 to 1991).

Having observed that 'sports has the power to unite people in a way little else does', Mandela supported the South African Olympics team for the 1992 games, even though the team was composed of 95 white and only eight Black athletes. His support was based on the conviction that for the country to move forward, it must 'start somewhere.' Likewise, in 1994, when he was delivering his inaugural address as the first all-inclusive democratically elected president of South Africa, he was quite aware that the more than one billion people across the globe watching and listening to him were interested not only in what he had to say but also how to gauge his leadership. True to his conflict resolution doctrine, Mandela made a clarion call for a 'rainbow coalition' and for national and social unity that would foster a common vision for South Africa, emphasising the fact that no one group 'can achieve anything alone' and that in order to 'birth a new world,' all of the groups 'must act together' (Nagra 2018).

Furthermore, Mandela's conflict resolution doctrine allowed him to be persistent and magnanimous when he engaged in peaceful negotiations, in spite of past hostilities toward him and other Black South Africans. It made it possible for him to gain freedom for and forge unity among Blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites underpinned by equal rights guaranteed by the constitution (Babjee 2013).

Even in the latter years of Mandela's life, after stepping down from the South African presidency, it was his conflict resolution doctrine that established him as a paragon of human rights, peacemaking and reconciliation, and social justice across the globe. It is this recognition that propelled the United Nations General Assembly in 2009 to proclaim July 18 as Nelson Mandela International Day and echo the call by the Nelson Mandela Foundation to devote 67 minutes to assisting others on that day every year (Munusamy 2014). Ranjeni Munusamy describes the United Nations' pledge comprehensively as follows:

The UN resolution, adopted in 2009, recognises Mandela's values and dedication to the service of humanity in the fields of conflict resolution, race relations, the promotion and protection of human rights, reconciliation, gender equality and the rights of children and other vulnerable groups, as well as the upliftment of poor and underdeveloped communities. It acknowledges his contribution to the struggle for democracy internationally and the promotion of a culture of peace throughout the world (Munusamy 2014:1).

Paul Schoemaker (2013) alludes to three decisions in which the foregoing attributes were manifested. The first decision pertains to Mandela turning down Botha's offer of conditional amnesty in 1985. That year, in a nationally broadcasted speech, Botha proposed to Mandela personal freedom in exchange of repudiating violent and other unlawful actions. While Mandela must have very much wanted his freedom after many years of hard labour and being confined in an eight-by-eight feet cell, he did not succumb to Botha's ruse. Putting his principles, his leadership, and the ANC's prolonged struggle first, Mandela responded to Botha's duplicitous proposition as follows: 'What freedom am I being offered while the organization of the people remains banned?...What freedom am I being offered if I must ask permission to live in an urban area?...Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts' (Schoemaker 2013:2).

Prepared to serve the rest of his life sentence in a gloomy and chilly prison cell instead of selling out his principles and the cause of the Black masses, Mandela spurned Botha's deal. This judicious decision was so cogent that it boosted Mandela's position within the ANC and beyond and highlighted his fidelity to self-sacrifice (Schoemaker 2013).

The second decision relates to Mandela finding the means to make peace in the aftermath of the murder of the popular Black leader Chris Hani by a right-wing white extremist in 1993. Hani's murderer pointed out in a line-up by a white Afrikaner woman. The cold-blooded murder sparked sweeping rage and precipitated enormous protest marches. With many Blacks calling for vengeance, the climate was suitable for plunder, ferocity and pandemonium. But, Mandela, fresh out of prison, performed very well in response to the tense situation by calling for tranquillity (Schoemaker 2013). Part of his statement reads as follows:

Tonight, I am reaching out to every single South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being. A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster. A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know and bring to justice, this assassin. The cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout the country and the world... Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for – the freedom of all of us (Schoemaker 2013:3).

The third decision concerns Mandela making it very clear very early in his presidency in 1994 that he would not run for the presidency of South Africa for a second term as allowed by the constitution. This decision was exceptional in a world where leaders seek longevity in office. Cognisant of the fact that approximately a billion people would be watching and listening to his speech across the globe, he vowed that his desire was the promotion of democracy and to represent everyone in South Africa, no matter the colour of his/her skin. What follows is a portion of his speech inscribed in stone on Robben Island: ‘We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discriminations. Never, never and never again shall this beautiful land experience the oppression of one by another...’ (Schoemaker 2013:3).

Indeed, as Schoemaker points out, Mandela’s outstanding accomplishment was how he inspired concord among the races, absolution without oblivion, sharing of power, and greater concentration on the future than the past. Undergirding his leadership approach was his munificence toward former foes. The following are just a few of the deeds that underscored Mandela’s magnanimous and peaceful disposition:

1. Mandela visited Betsie Verwoerd, the widow of former South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the designer of the apartheid machinery that put Mandela in prison;
2. Mandela rejoiced when the South African rugby team, a symbol of Afrikaner racism and power for many decades, won the world championship in 1995.

During the championship match, he gratifyingly donned the team’s shirt and gestured in support of the team – a clear signal that his vision and mission for South Africa were for the emergence of a lasting rainbow nation. Thus, Schoemaker’s concluding statement is quite fitting when he says that Mandela’s type of ‘leadership is as precious as it is rare’ (Schoemaker 2013).

The preceding attributes are important for at least a couple of reasons, following Marria Qibtia Sikandar Nagra (2018). To begin with, the attributes reflect a longing to arouse the masses to the egregiousness of an existing situation

that emerges from the consequence of political and social elements. Thus, good leadership will evoke the reawakening of the cognitive contexts and redirection of the psychological attitudes, beliefs or feelings of the masses. With a desire to stimulate lasting change, good leadership will transcend the game of gaining the support of the masses by deriding the opposition. Instead, good leadership would establish its trustworthiness by attesting and working to meet the necessities of the masses as early as possible (Nagra 2018).

Next, considering the current calamities in our world, which range from the refugee cataclysm to undisguised exhibitions of violence, Mandela's good leadership attributes are much needed. He provided a framework for leaders across the globe to emulate by exhibiting resoluteness during very difficult times, by exercising absolution, and by invigorating the politics of rapprochement (Nagra 2018).

Principles of Mandelaism

As mentioned, six principles undergird Mandela's leadership philosophy. These principles are very well explicated by Paul J.H. Schoemaker and Steven Krupp (2014). Principle one is that Mandela *anticipated* what was to come. With the conviction that the apartheid system would not last into the future, Mandela focused on what was to follow. That is the reason he rebuffed Botha's conditional offer of freedom. Mandela's intuition proved to be correct; as the outside world's continued rejection of the apartheid system allied with pressure from local business leaders and progressive young whites led to changes in South Africa (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014).

Principle two is that Mandela *challenged* the status quo. His willingness to give up his life for his principles made him prominent among his fellow prisoners and the guards. He challenged his incarcerators, rejecting the ways things were. His presence on Robben Island exposed the faces of the architects of apartheid to the world. He challenged the system that denied him his freedom through his words, actions, and symbolism (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014).

These developments propelled Frederik Willem de Klerk, Botha's successor as president of South Africa, to call for democratic elections. Mandela and De Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize 'for their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa' (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014: 2). In 1994, Mandela won the presidential election and a peaceful transfer of power from white-minority to Black-majority rule occurred.

Principle three is that Mandela *interpreted* events and their consequences. Western sanctions against Zimbabwe following President Robert Gabriel Mugabe's land reform policy, which returned lands stolen by whites back to their Black owners, crippled that country's economy. Mandela decided not to follow Mugabe's

footsteps on the issue. Instead, as Schoemaker and Krupp point out, Mandela decided to pursue his forgiveness-without-forgetting approach. They quote Mandela as saying the following: ‘We have to surprise [the white minority] with restraints and generosity’ (Mandela quoted by Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:3). The authors add that in the spirit of forgiveness-without-forgetting, Mandela even invited his former prison guards to his presidential swearing-in ceremony (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014). (It behooves me to add here that the land issue in South Africa remains a powder keg that is bound to explode at any time.)

Principle four is that Mandela *decided* to take on matters from which many other leaders would have shied away. A case in point is that of the assassination of Chris Hani by a white racist that precipitated widespread riots against the De Klerk administration. Fresh out of prison, Mandela decided to take on the issue and called for peace when many Blacks were insisting on vengeance (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014).

As referred to earlier, Mandela boldly decided to use sport as a healing tool. When the ban on South Africa’s participation in the Olympics Games was lifted in 1992, Mandela decided to let go his opposition to the decision, even though the overwhelming majority of the country’s team comprised white athletes – only eight Blacks were members of the 95 person delegation. As he said:

‘There is no doubt in my mind this is the correct decision. I would have liked [the team] to be a reflection of our population, but there has to be a starting point’ (Mandela quoted by Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:3).

Principle five is that Mandela *aligned* his views to those of all racial groups in South Africa. For him, Black supremacy would have been just as perverted as white supremacy. To allow him the freedom to bridge the interests of the various races and rally them toward peaceful coexistence, Mandela decided early in his presidency that he had no intention of running for a second term as permitted by the constitution. Buttressing his inaugural address with the African-centred inclusive pronouns of *our*, *us*, and *we* to align a greatly segregated country around a shared goal, Mandela said the following:

‘We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom...none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world’ (Mandela quoted by Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:4).

Principle six is that Mandela *learned* from the history of other nations. As noted earlier, when Mandela was released from prison, he was confronted with the very challenging issue of what to be done about the floundering South African economy. Having been a socialist for most of his life and observing how monopoly and free markets had exploited the masses, Mandela averred: ‘The nationalization of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a

change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable' (Mandela quoted by Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:4). But learning from what the Soviet Union had endured through many decades of socialism, Mandela, after his visits to China and Vietnam, stated the following to his biographer: 'They changed my view altogether' (Mandela quoted by Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:4).

Based on the foregoing six principles, Schoemaker and Krupp conclude that Mandela typified how a judicious leader calibrates policy and implementation in the middle of complicated economic, legal, political and social forces without imperilling strongly held principles. What all this says about Mandela's leadership, they add, is that leadership is more than just 'motivating people and creating political support for a strategy'; it is 'also about maintaining broad support through successive adjustments to the plan' (Schoemaker & Krupp 2014:4).

A fruitful question that can be engendered here is this: What lessons and qualities can discerned in Mandela's leadership principles? Starting with the lessons, Richard Stengel (2008) and Kevin Freiberg and Jackie Freiberg (2018) together proffer 13. These are presented in the order they are discussed by these authors.

First, *'Courage is not the absence of fear – it's inspiring others to move beyond it'* (Stengel 2008:2). While on the campaign trail for the 1994 presidential election, one of the engines of the small propeller plane in which Mandela was flying to go address his Zulu supporters in the killing fields of the then Natal province gave out 20 minutes away from landing. As some of the people in the plane became alarmed, they noticed that Mandela was sitting quietly reading his newspaper. The airport was made ready for an emergency landing and the pilot was able to land the plane safely. Upon disembarkation, Mandela confessed that he was afraid while the plane was in the sky but that as a leader, he could not let the others to know about it, as that would have led to pandemonium. He also acknowledged that he was afraid during his years underground and while on Robben Island but that he put a brave front so that people didn't know about his fear. Knowing that his mien emboldened other people gave him the fortitude to conquer his fright (Stengel 2008).

Second, *'Lead from the front – but don't leave your base behind'* (Stengel 2008:2). Mandela's cautiousness of Mandela was evident when he was operated on for an enlarged prostate in 1985. For the first time in 21 years, he was separated from his fellow inmates when he was sent away from the Robben Island prison. When his friends raised objections, Mandela told them that some good might emerge from the separation. The good was that he began negotiations with the apartheid regime on his own. Mandela's initiative did not sit well with the other leaders and the rank and file of the ANC who had called for an armed struggle as the means to end the apartheid regime. With his reputation at stake, he began the effort to convince the ANC members that it was the right thing to do. With great deal of patience, he was able to convince them that it was a prudent strategy. According

to Stengel, 'For Mandela refusing to negotiate was about tactics, not principles. Throughout his life, he...always made that distinction. His unwavering principle – the overthrow of apartheid and the achievement of one man, one vote – was immutable, but almost anything that helped him get to that goal he regarded as a tactic. He [was] the most pragmatic of idealists' (Stengel 2008:3).

Third, *'Lead from the back – and let others believe they are in front'* (Stengel 2008:3). One thing Mandela cherished doing was to recall memories of his childhood taking care of cattle. He recollected that during his childhood, the Jongintaba – i.e. the king of his ethnic group, who raised Mandela – had a great impact on him. When the Jongintaba conducted meetings at his court, the men would sit in a circle; the king would say something only after everyone else had had his say. The Jongintaba did not tell the men in the court what to do but helped them reach a consensus. When Mandela held meetings in his home with his 'kitchen cabinet', he used the same approach as the Jongintaba. Believing that the stratagem of leadership is for one to allow himself/herself to be led as well, Mandela was quoted as saying: 'It is wise to persuade people to do things and make them think that it was their own idea' (Stengel 2008:3–4).

Fourth, *'Know your enemy – and learn about his favourite sport'* (Stengel 2008:4). Early in the 1960s, Mandela started learning Afrikaans, the mother tongue of the architects of the apartheid machinery so as to get a sense of their philosophy. While his fellow ANC members poked fun at him for learning the language, Mandela had no doubt that he would eventually have to fight the Afrikaners, or bargain with them, since his fate and theirs were conjoined. There were two advantages: (1) speaking the language of his oppressors allowed Mandela to get a sense of their resilience and deficiencies, thereby developing the appropriate strategies to deal with them; (2) it allowed him to intermix with the enemy, as Botha and even the common prison guards admired Mandela's disposition to speak Afrikaans and knowledge of the history of the Afrikaners. In order to contrast notes on players and teams, Mandela also sharpened his grasp of rugby, a sport that is greatly adored by Afrikaners. Since he was trained in the law, Mandela was able to assist the Afrikaner prison guards, who were 'far less educated than him and the most ruthless and brutal of the apartheid regime's characters', with their legal problems. The guards were quite impressed that a Black man was capable and inclined to assist them (Stengel 2008:4).

Fifth, *'Keep your friends close – and your rivals even closer'* (Stengel 2008). Even though Mandela did not trust many of the people he invited to dinner at his house in Qunu, he still served them dinner, sought their opinions, complimented them, and gave them presents. He employed his hidden charm on his competitors as effectively as he did on his comrades. He would always keep within his circle on Robben Island men he neither liked nor on whom he relied. One person to whom Mandela became very close was Chris Hani, the chief of staff of the

ANC military wing who was believed to have been plotting against Mandela. He extended his friendship and courtesy to rich industrialists, mining families, prison guards, opponents, and others, even calling them on their birthdays. In his first cabinet, Mandela even included leaders who had put him in prison (Stengel 2008).

There were times when Mandela allowed himself to be charmed by other people, but he also knew when to give up on some people. For instance, Mandela at first developed an expeditious affinity with De Klerk; but after De Klerk castigated him in public, Mandela distanced himself from him. As Stengel notes, for Mandela, 'embracing his rivals was a way of controlling them: they were more dangerous on their own than within his circle of influence. He cherished loyalty, but he was never obsessed by it. After all, he used to say, 'people act in their own interest.' It was simply a fact of human nature, not a flaw or defect (Stengel 2008:5).

Sixth, *'Appearances matter – and remember to smile'* (Stengel 2008:5). During his days as a poor law student in Johannesburg, with only one 'threadbare suit', Mandela was taken to meet Walter Sisulu, who was at the time a youth leader of the ANC and a real estate agent. While Mandela saw a Black role model in Sisulu to emulate, Sisulu saw in Mandela the future of the ANC. As Stengel recalls, Sisulu once told him that his aspiration was to make the ANC a mass movement and then one day a 'mass leader' in the person of Mandela walked into his office. Mandela's aura came from him being 'tall and handsome, an amateur boxer who carried himself with the regal air of a chief's son...and a smile that was like the sun coming out on a cloudy day' (Stengel 2008:5). Stengel goes on to cite many other examples when Mandela dressed appropriately for his position and carried a big smile even when dealing with issues about which he was bitter, knowing that a positive disposition is the only way to convert the enemies of the masses to the cause of equality and harmony.

Seventh, *'Nothing is black or white'* (Stengel 2008:6). For Mandela, life could not be easily adjudged as 'either/or'. Resolutions to any issue can be intricate and there always exist contesting elements. Consequently, he was not uneasy with conflict. Life as a Black man under the apartheid regime has presented agonising ethical options every day. Mandela became a practical politician who perceived the world as immensely modulated (Stengel 2008). By way of example, Stengel states the following:

As a statesman, Mandela was uncommonly loyal to Muammar Gaddafi and Fidel Castro. They had helped the ANC when the U.S. still branded Mandela as a terrorist. When I asked him about Gaddafi and Castro, he suggested that Americans tend to see things in black and white, and he would upbraid me for my lack of nuance. Every problem has many causes. While he was indisputably and clearly against apartheid, the causes of apartheid were complex. They

were historical, sociological and psychological. Mandela's calculus was always, 'What is the end that I seek, and what is the most practical way to get there?' (Stengel 2008:6).

Eighth, *'Quitting is leading too'* (Stengel 2008:7). In 1993, Mandela went on South African national television and suggested that the country's minimum voting age be lowered from 18 to 14, as is the case in Cuba, Indonesia, Iran, Nicaragua, and North Korea. But, watching how the opposition to his idea continued to grow, instead of brood, Mandela accepted the reality and dropped the idea with great modesty. As mentioned earlier, Mandela chose not to run for the South African presidency a second term as permitted by the country's constitution (Stengel 2008).

Ninth, *'Passion produces perseverance'* (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:2). Mandela found the policies of South Africa's white minority regime to be racist and inhumane. This belief moved him to become passionate about and determined to change the status quo in that country. His decision to challenge the apartheid government and its policies prompted the regime to imprison him for 27 years. He was only able to vote for the first time in South Africa when he came out of prison to run for the presidency of the country, which he won, making him the country's first Black president. He encountered monumental challenges in his path toward change. Because of these challenges, Mandela taught us that when a person takes on a cause in which s/he strongly believes, his/her energy increases and s/he will attract like-minded people who share the same belief (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018).

Tenth, *'Expect change to be messy'* (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:2). Mandela could have lived a quite comfortable life as a partner with Oliver Tambo in the only law firm run by Blacks in South Africa. Complaints from antagonised clients who wanted recompense from the actions of the apartheid government that discriminated against Black people economically, legally and politically deluged the law firm. The lesson here, according to Freiberg and Freiberg, is that 'Solving a problem that really matters, change that is truly worthwhile is hard to come by. It requires nerve to push through the trials and ultimately make your vision a reality. This is why many change efforts that fail can be traced back to a "failure of nerve"' (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:3).

Eleventh, *'Forgiveness is key to focusing forward'* (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:3). When they were both presidents of their respective countries, Mandela and Bill Clinton had a conversation during which Clinton asked about what he and his family has observed on television when Mandela came out of his prison cell: i.e. Mandela's facial expression which first exhibited 'anger and hatred' and then suddenly the anger disappeared (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018). Mandela responded as follows:

I'm surprised that you saw that, and I regret that the cameras caught my anger. Yes, you are right. When I was in prison the son of a guard started a Bible study and I attended. That day when I stepped out of prison and looked at the people observing, a flush of anger hit me with the thought that they had robbed me of 27 years. Then the Spirit of Jesus said to me, 'Nelson, while you were in prison you were free, now that you are free don't become a prisoner' (Mandela quoted by Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:4).

The lesson from Mandela, as Freiberg and Freiberg point out, is that in life, each of us is a victim of something, but it is up to us to allow someone to victimise us (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018).

Twelfth, *'End right vs. being right'* (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:4). Mandela never crouched down in fear because of his firmness of purpose and resolve. While he fought vigorously for his beliefs, he was also, nonetheless, good-natured and unassuming. He understood that in order to make peace with an enemy, one must be willing to work with that enemy and treat him/her with dignity. It is this belief that undergirded Mandela's working relationship with De Klerk which led to both being jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. In essence, Mandela instructs us that only when we work together can we make our world a better place (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018).

Thirteenth and finally, *'Change begins from the inside-out'* (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018:6). Mandela teaches us that if there was anything good about being in prison is that it allowed him to develop within himself what he desired the most for every South African: i.e. equality, freedom, harmony, and reconciliation. The lesson here is that great leadership hinges upon self-awareness (Freiberg & Freiberg 2018).

Next, apropos the qualities of Mandela's leadership principles, Skip Prichard (2014) delineates 11 of them. They are as follows:

1. 'a man of peace';
2. 'a powerful presence and disarmed enemies with his smile';
3. 'showed the world what forgiveness looks like';
4. 'positive, thinking about what could be';
5. 'a visionary and could see the big picture';
6. 'focused on goals and a mission beyond himself';
7. 'remarkable endurance';
8. 'showed grit and determination';
9. 'humble';
10. 'full of hope, not hate'; and
11. 'patient' (Prichard 2014:3-4).

But even more significant, according to Prichard, is what Mandela did not do:

1. 'held no bitterness,'
2. sought no 'revenge',
3. sought no 'self-glory', and
4. 'did not hide his faults or feelings' (Prichard 2014:4–5).

Thus, Prichard says, Mandela made him feel a changed person as he was 'motivated and inspired by an imperfect man, who suffered for his dreams and yet never lost hope' (Prichard 2014:5).

A Caveat

Like any theory, Mandelalism is not without limitations. Prince Mashele makes this point very well when he posits that 'the triumphalism of Mandelalism has lulled most South Africans into a slumber induced by a deceptive sense of exceptionalism' (Mashele 2017:3). He adds that Archbishop Desmond Tutu may not have known the gestation of his rainbow nation metaphor. Akin to how a rainbow conveys a compatible *mélange* of colours, Tutu appears to have been ensnared by the idea of a South Africa united in distinctiveness. In reality, however, Mashele points out, a rainbow is transient. Thus, according to him, 'The bright sky promised by the rainbow is a seductive temporariness' (Mashele 2017:3).

According to Mashele, South Africa is undergoing political turmoil, with citizens wondering when and how it will end. What is certain, based on historical experience, Mashele says, is that neither stability nor disorder is perpetual. It is in such turbulent times, he adds, that societies display their capability to reinvent themselves by showing their concealed wealth of leadership (Mashele 2017).

Conclusion

In the acknowledgments section of the book titled *Mandela: Tributes to a Global Icon* (2014), Mwalimu Toyin Falola, who edited the text, says the following about the leadership traits of Mandela:

'Mandela's life reinforces the adage that character makes a person. A courageous fighter, an honest and tireless worker, an original thinker, the Madiba, as he was popularly called, put people at the center of his activities. It was clear that the progress of his country and its people was the motivation for his behaviour, actions, and decisions' (Falola 2014: ix).

Among the 111 eulogies that follow the acknowledgments and the introduction chapter of the book, five speak directly to Mandela as a leader. The following is a listing of the adjectives employed to describe him as a leader, with their definitions provided by me:

1. Tony Blair, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and Bessie House-Sorenkun, Professor of Political Science and Africana Studies and Director of

- Africana Studies at Indiana University Purdue University in the United States: *great* – a leader with the ability, quality, or eminence considerably above the normal or average leader.
2. William Hague, First Secretary of State of the United Kingdom, and Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister of Israel: *moral* – a leader concerned with the principles of right and wrong behaviour and the goodness or badness of human character.
 3. Thomas McClendon Professor Emeritus of History at Southwestern University in the United States: *transformational* – a leader who makes a thorough or dramatic change in the form, appearance, or character of a phenomenon.
 4. Victor Oguejiofor Professor of Africology and African American Studies at Eastern Michigan University in the United States: *world* – a leader who reflects all the people, societies, and institutions on the earth.
 5. Justice Malala, Political Journalist and Analyst in South Africa: *courageous* – a leader who is not deterred by danger or pain.

Indeed, the preceding adjectives do mirror the attributes and principles of Mandelaism broached in the preceding two sections. Also interesting is that they are akin to the notions of a leader in Ancient Kemetian thought. Ancient Kemetians had many terms for leader(s) that also denote many important entities. They are as follows:

1. *âui* – leader, comer;
2. *âmi-ha-t* – leader, he who is in front, peasant;
3. *up* – leader, chief;
4. *umt* – leaders, chiefs, men, a dense mass of people;
5. *utu* – leader, commander;
6. *m'tenu* – leaders, guide;
7. *nuu* – leader, guide, director;
8. *hau-ti* – leader, Åmen (also referred to as Amun, Amon, or Ammo, he was the Ancient Kemetian god of the sun and air; he was one of the most important gods who rose to prominence at Thebes at the beginning of the period of the New Kingdom, c. 1570-1069 BCE), the first one, the foremost one, the finest or best thing in a class, the chief captain, leaders, chiefs, captains;
9. *khenti* – leader, the first, one who is at the head, chief, in the first rank, foremost;
10. *kherpu* – leaders, director, governor, overseer, chief, master, president, divine chief, landlord, overseer of the landlords, chiefs, foremen, bailiffs, wardens, superiors;
11. *senni* – leader, officer, chief, fighter in the van of an army;
12. *shemu* – leaders, guides;
13. *sesha* – leader, guide;
14. *shemi* – leader, guide, director, leader of peace (i.e. peacemaker), divide guides;
15. *sta (sthi)* – leader, guide, dealer in vegetables;
16. *qeru* – leader; and

17. *tepi* – leader; he who is on, over, or above someone or something; he who is or that which is preeminent, foremost, first, best; chief, captain, officer, governor, first or elder son (for these translations, see Budge 1978).

As Yildirim informs us, Ancient Kemet established its social and political structure under Pharaohs serving as sole leaders who inspired the construction of magnificent cities and works of architecture. In addition, the emergence of Pharaohs to motivate people through the institution of centralised authority for many centuries was pivotal for the advancement of Kemetian civilisation. The Pharaohs as leaders perceived their existence as a source of dominance. They also proclaimed themselves as gods so that their authority could not be questioned by the masses (Yildirim 2016).

Yildirim adds that by not limiting their exaltation to being priests of gods but declaring themselves as gods, the Pharaohs were privileged in several ways. One way is that it thwarted the establishment of a religious class with which the Pharaohs would have had to struggle for power and prevent from fighting against them. Another way has to do with the capacity of the Pharaohs to spread fear among the masses in order to succumb to their dictates. This is one reason the Pharaohs were able to construct magnificent monuments for themselves, as the masses working on these edifices were convinced that they were building them for gods. The other way concerns the understanding of god-king ushered in by the Pharaohs, the first in world history, which allowed them to monopolise both political and religious power. This aspect rendered obsolete the possibility of objecting to the demands or a religious class questioning the authority of the Pharaohs (Yildirim 2016).

In essence, Mandela was a Pharaoh, with one attribute that was different vis-à-vis those of the Kemetian Pharaohs: i.e. he sought neither to dominate others nor perceived himself as a god. Instead, Mandela promoted equality and harmony among people and between himself and everyone.

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Dialectics: Its Theorisation and Application to Africa's Development

Joseph Mensah

It was Kwame Nkrumah who made the following instructive observation in one of his seminal works, entitled *Consciencism*:

There is a fundamental law of the evolution of matter to higher forms. This evolution is dialectical. And it is also the fundamental law of society. It is out of tension that being is born. Becoming is a tension, and being is the child of that tension of opposed forces and tendencies (1964:103).

Indeed, for centuries now, 'dialectics' has been deployed as a mode of reasoning in virtually all aspects of the social sciences and humanities, with disciplines such as philosophy, political science, cultural studies, sociology, semiotics, and literary studies taking the lead in this intellectual endeavour. Perhaps the most striking feature of the growing literature on dialectics is neither the diversity of issues to which it is applied nor the characteristic opacity of some of the writings on it, but rather the dearth of its application to the discourse on Africa in general and African development in particular. Noteworthy exceptions here come in the works of Frantz Fanon (1967), Samir Amin (1990), and Kwame Nkrumah, especially in *Consciencism* (1964), from which much more insight is later drawn to enrich the discussion in this chapter.

Perhaps the lack dialectical reasoning on African development in particular is not that surprising, since many are those who dogmatically see Africa as the indisputable epitome of underdevelopment, or *the* unambiguous polar opposite of the developed world, if not 'development' in its entirety. For instance, *The Economist* once had a cover story that depicted Africa as 'the Hopeless Continent' and argued that African societies are 'especially susceptible to...brutality, despotism and corruption...for reasons buried deep in their cultures' (*The*

Economist 2000:15). In a similar vein, Oswaldo de Rivero writes that Africa is made up of nothing more than dysfunctional, 'non-viable economies' (2001:1), imbued with insurmountable corruption and tribal conflicts. Such derogatory views about Africa(ns) are nothing new; indeed, they go back to the writings of the pre-eminent nineteenth century German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1831) who, in his *The Philosophy of History* (1821), excluded Africa from world history. In his view Africans, then, did not have the ability to think critically, objectively, or abstractly (Kuykendall 1993).

With such pessimistic outlooks on Africa, for that long a period, it is unsurprising that scholars have generally steered clear of nuanced, dialectical reasoning when it comes to discussions on Africa's development.¹ Not only that, due to the racism-laced power imbalance in knowledge production, the contributions of Africans to theorisations of dialectics are routinely overlooked in some circles of the academy. For instance, Paul Kisak (2021), in his recent book, *Dialectics*, draws on writings from across the world, except Africa, to discuss the methods and history of dialectics. An excerpt from the back cover of Kisak's book hints of this omission: 'Different forms of dialectical reasoning have emerged throughout history from the Indosphere (Greater India) and the West (Europe). These forms include the Socratic method, Hindu, Buddhist, medieval, Hegelian dialectics, Marxist, Talmudic, and neo-orthodoxy.' Achille Mbembe, for one, observed in his *On the Postcolony* that '[s]peaking rationally about Africa is not something that has ever come naturally (at least to some people)' (2001:1; note in parenthesis is mine).

The present chapter sheds light on dialectics and demonstrates how it could help us understand the complex dynamics of African development. The intent here is to evince the power of dialectical reasoning, especially as it pertains to explanations of *African development*. The chapter conceptualises *development* as a dialectical process; accordingly, the tendency to set one region of the world, notably Africa, against other parts in strict binary opposition is deemed theoretically unsustainable. As the works of Nkrumah (1964) and other development theorists suggest, development is an internally heterogeneous and contradictory process, which emanates from many different sources and exhibits a variety of forms that are not amenable to simplistic explanations and characterisations.

Dialectics: Nature and Characteristics

It is widely believed that Plato coined the term 'dialectics,' which originally referred to the method of argumentation used by Socrates in Plato's dialogues, including *Phaedo*, *Meno*, *Euthyphro*, *Theaetetus*, and *Protagoras* (Schiappa 1991:44; Nikulin 2010:2). Socrates in these dialogues would expose the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the answers provided by his followers without providing an adequate answer of his own. With this approach, he was able to

steer his followers clear of arguments that appear valid on the surface, but lead to illogical conclusions upon scrutiny. In *Theaetetus*, Socrates likens his approach, which later became known as the Socratic method, to that of a midwife who is past childbearing herself, but helps others to deliver babies.² Thus, according to this analogy, Socrates was delivering not babies, but knowledge and thought. Socrates in his epistemology of *Anamnesis* posited that we acquire knowledge primarily through recollection (Cornford 1957:24). For him, we humans possess innate knowledge, and that which we call learning is merely an effort to recollect what we knew from an earlier life and lost through the trauma of rebirth. His efforts, by way of the Socratic method, were only to help us remember or give birth to the knowledge that was already in us – more specifically in our immortal soul. Socrates used his theory of *Anamnesis* to resolve the *sophistic paradox* in the dialogue *Meno*, wherein Socrates was asked how one can search for the nature of virtue if one does not know at all what virtue is in the first place (Cooper & Hutchinson 1997). The conundrum here is how one would know if he or she comes across *virtue* (or anything for that matter) if one does not already know what virtue is. And, if one knows what virtue is, then why look for it – therein lie the *sophistic paradox* or the *paradox of knowledge*.

While dialectics has taken on many different forms over the years, its most common characterisation comes in a triad formulation, which begins with a *thesis* against which is set an *antithesis* before reaching a final *synthesis* (Mensah 2006:60). Of course, dialectics is far more rigorous than this common depiction would have us believe. In fact, Jameson (2010), for one, calls for the jettison of this idea of dialectics with his (arguably) dramatic observation that ‘our only rule... will be a strict avoidance of the old pseudo-Hegelian caricature of the thesis/antithesis/synthesis; while our only presupposition will be the assumption that any opposition can be the starting point for a dialectic in its own right’ (2010:19).

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, dialectics was popularised by many German scholars, including Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, with the latter producing its most comprehensive and characteristically idealist account to date. While Hegel's dialectics also comes in three stages, it is more subtle, complex and historical.

The first, or ‘universal,’ stage of Hegelian dialectics is one of ‘naïve self-certainty’: a stage in which only a single, complacent, secure entity exists in a world of ‘pure subjectivity or universality’ (Edgar 1999:113–14). According to Edgar, what occurs at this first stage is akin to the mindset of a newborn baby who knows nothing of the world other than its own existence, or to the naivety of the creatures of the Garden of Eden ‘who were well-fed and cared for, but ignorant of themselves and their potential’ (1999:114). In this first stage, people are ignorant because of the lack of differentiation. Hegel, in his *The Philosophy of History* (1821), placed Africans mostly in this early stage of his dialectical schema.

The second, the 'particular' stage, is where humanity (or the child) encounters the external world, which invariably yields friction, resistance, and contestation, leading to the creation of the 'Other'. Thus, the universal breaks up, or particularises, into *subject* and *object*, and the pure subjectivity or universality of the subject (or the child) comes into contact with the 'Other', or the object. The encounter between the subject and the object, though conflictual and contradictory, is still a fruitful source of progress and discovery, not only of the self but also of human and natural history as a whole.

In the third and final stage – dubbed the 'individual' stage – the subject comes to see itself in the object, leading to a return to the universality of the first stage, but this time with a better understanding of the self – a better insight of the complex unity of the subject and the object. The fact that tension, conflict and contradictions are deemed a source of growth and prescience is canonical in dialectics, as we shall see throughout the rest of this chapter.

Marx used essentially the same dialectical model in his account of the development of human history through a series of epochs. According to Marx, history began when humans broke out of the 'naïve universality' of tribal society or primitive communism, characterised by a unity that excluded differences, into a second stage of a class society (Edgar 1999:113–14). This class society involves both unity and differences; it is here that humans make history, but not under conditions of their own choosing because of class conflicts and exploitation at this stage of human development (Edgar 1999:113–14; Mensah 2006:61). The final stage in Marx's dialectics entails *communism*, where class tensions are lessened, with the rule of the proletariat. It bears stressing that, whereas Hegelian dialectics is idealist, giving primacy to the subject position couched in reason or ideas, Marx's dialectics is patently materialistic, and turns the Hegelian formulation on its head by placing its emphasis on material circumstances. To Marx, reason (or 'the idea' in Hegel's idealism) is a mere epiphenomenon, a reflection of the material world; life is not determined by consciousness or reason or idea, but rather consciousness by life.

Like Marx, Nkrumah in his *Consciencism* espoused a materialistic view of dialectics and applied it to the liberation and subsequent social development of Africa. While Nkrumah drew the bulk of his materialism from Marx's work, there is little doubt that he also found the anti-idealist writings of yet another Ghanaian philosopher, Anthony William Amo, very inspirational. Born in Ghana and sent to Europe in his early formative years, Amo – whose German name was Anton Wilhelm Amo³ – became an influential philosopher in Europe, going as far as teaching in the reputable German Universities of Halle, Jena, and Wittenberg in the eighteenth century (Abraham 1996). Amo was a staunch materialist and did not hesitate to take on such idealist giants as Rene Descartes in his famous anti-idealist thesis *De Humanae Mentis Apatheia*, [On the Absence of Sensation in the Human Mind, 1734], to which Nkrumah (1964) duly pays homage.

In Nkrumah's dialectics, we see how the tension between positive (or progressive) action and negative (or reactionary) action towards social development plays out in post-independent Africa. Nkrumah draws our attention to a similar dialectical tension and contradiction between what he calls 'inside' (i.e., the earthly and secular) and 'outside' (or the heavenly and religious) forces and cautions us not to use religion to fix our gaze only on that which is spiritual or heavenly, to the neglect of that which is material or earthly. As he puts it,

In present-day Africa, however, a recognition of the dialectical contradiction between 'inside' and 'outside' has a great deal to contribute to the process of decolonisation and development, for it helps us to anticipate colonialist and imperialist devices for furthering exploitation by diverting our energies from secular concerns. The recognition of the dialectical opposition is universally necessary... People who are most aggressively religious are the poorer people; for, in accordance with the Marxist analysis, religion is social, and contemporary religious forms and practices have their main root in the social depression of workers. Quick confirmation can be found in Africa, Asia, Latin America and among people of African descent in America and Caribbean (Nkrumah 1964:12– 14).

Nkrumah uses dialectics to solidify his concept of *Philosophical Consciencism*, which he sees as a philosophical standpoint which takes its starting position from the present content of the African conscience, imbued with the traditional African principles of humanism and egalitarianism and couched in a strong belief in the absolute and independent existence of matter – i.e., materialism.

Similarly, dwelling on Marx's exposition, the renowned human geographer David Harvey has formulated what he calls the *principles of dialectics*, which include the following six key propositions (Harvey 1996:49–54):

1. That change and instability are characteristic, if not inherent, features of all things or systems and all aspects of systems;
2. Dialectical thinking gives priority to the understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, and relations, rather than to things, elements, and structures;
3. Parts and wholes are mutually constitutive of each other in dialectics; thus, parts are in wholes and *vice versa*;
4. Things or elements are always assumed to be internally heterogeneous in dialectical thinking;
5. Things many researchers treat as irreducible, and, therefore, unproblematic, are seen in dialectics to be internally contradictory by virtue of the processes which constitute them; and
6. 'Subjects' are interchangeable with 'objects' and 'causes' with 'effects' in dialectics.

The ideas of Nkrumah (1964) and Harvey (1996) on dialectics are not that different from that which obtains in the long-standing *laws of dialectics* (Woods & Grant 2002:42–46), which include the following three propositions:

1. *The law of the transformation of quantity into quality*: This law posits that under certain conditions, a small quantitative change can lead to a big transformation or a qualitative change. This particular law undergirds the famous *sorites paradox* by which small, continuous additions of grains of sand become a heap of sand without us noticing exactly when the switch to a heap occurred. It is also the basis for the now common phenomenon of a *tipping point*,⁴ popularised by Malcolm Gladwell (2011) in his book of a similar title.
2. *The law of the interpenetration of opposites (or the law of the unity of opposites)*: This is the belief that power, motion, life or any effect at all is possible only when there is unity of opposites as in the unity between light and darkness, capital and labour, master and slave. This law could be used to illustrate the literal interpenetration of male and female organisms to yield life or to show how both positive and negative charges work to project electric charges or magnetic forces.
3. *The law of the negation of the negation*: This is what dialecticians call the second negation or sublation. It contends that life, progress, or development occurs through a complex transcendence, by which what is already negated is subject to another negation, but at a higher level. Negation, in dialectics, implies knowing something through what it is not. The negation of negation (or the second negation) implies a situation where something is nullified, or contradicted, and preserved, simultaneously. Thus, sublation occurs when the contradiction between two opposing positions is mediated and embraced to facilitate a dialectical self-discovery (Woods & Grant 2002; Nikulin 2010).

From the preceding, we can draw some preliminary conclusions about the nature of dialectics. First, dialectics is highly sceptical of binary opposites, as things are seen to be mutually constitutive of each other. Accordingly, for our present purpose, any strict dichotomy between ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ worlds or ‘First’ and ‘Third’ worlds goes against dialectics. Second, dialectics espouses the primacy of process, change, and relations, as opposed to structures and their elements. Indeed, in dialectics, entities are constantly in a state of flux; thus, one cannot step in the same river twice, as Heraclitus, the ancient Greek process philosopher, once observed (Ollman 2003:64). Third, there is nothing like an unproblematic phenomenon in dialectics, because things are conceptualised as being internally heterogeneous and internally contradictory. Fourth, to the extent that entities are in a constant state of flux, and to the extent that causes are in effects and *vice versa*, dialectics is inherently recursive and spiral, rather than linear. Thus, the course of human progress, life, development, and, indeed, reality, in general, is never linear from the standpoint of dialectics. Also, since dialectics entails sublation, or the negation of the negation, phenomena are best understood from the standpoint of creative destruction or destructive creation. Put differently, progress, creative efforts, or social development entail some destructive forces, tension and contradictions, all of which are a source of growth, motion, prescience, and discovery in dialectics.

In the next section, I examine the phenomenon of development in general and African development in particular. The purpose is to show how we could better understand them through dialectical reasoning.

The Nature of Development and African Development

As with most trendy concepts in the social sciences and humanities, the meaning of *development* is difficult to pin down in the available literature. Depending on one's perspective or disciplinary tilt, development can be seen as a matter of *economic growth, modernisation, sociocultural progress, distributive justice, human freedom, empowerment*, etc. Historically, neoclassical economists such as Arthur Lewis (1955) saw development as primarily an issue of economic growth, with almost nothing to do with distributive justice. By the time of the first United Nations Development Decade (1960s), it was clear that growth alone was not enough to capture the essence of development, and issues of distribution and distributive justice needed to be brought into any reasonable constitution and theorisation of development. The British development economist Dudley Seers (1920–1983) was among the first to be critical of the development orthodoxy during the 1960s. Seers argued that development is more than economic growth, and that growth without a clear reduction in unemployment, poverty, or inequality is hardly development. As he puts it in his seminal paper titled 'The Meaning of Development',

What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have become less severe, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development of the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capita income has soared (Seers 1963: 3–4).

With the preceding queries, Seers declared his disillusionment about the prevailing conception of development as economic growth, which was routinely measured by gross national product (GNP) or gross national income (GNI) per capita. Seers lamented the situation where many governments in developing countries used their 'growth rates', reported by international development agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, to hide the extent of poverty and inequality among their citizens (Seers 1983:6). Still, Seers was keenly aware of the lack of data on poverty, inequality, and unemployment in most developing countries then, especially since many of these economies were (and still are) dominated by either subsistence agriculture or the informal sector with no reportable income or reliable income tax regimes. At the same time, as Seers noted, the lack of data even then was not necessarily a matter of incompetence, rather it was a matter of inadequate political will to collect such data.

Incidentally, it was around the start of the first Development Decade (1960s) that the *Modernisation Theory* of development gained currency, especially through the writing of Walt Whitman Rostow in his *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960).⁵ According to this theory, conditions in underdeveloped countries are not that different from those of the earlier stages of the now-developed countries. If presently underdeveloped countries follow the *development path* of the developed countries, then it is just a matter of time for the former countries to develop. The purported development path was articulated in the following five stages by Rostow (who was, arguably, the strongest advocate of the Modernisation Theory):

1. traditional society,
2. pre-conditions to take off,
3. take-off,
4. drive to maturity; and
5. age of high mass consumption.

Rostow drew many of his ideas from the works of the pre-eminent German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) and, later, the Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), both of whom saw modernisation as a transition from a traditional or pre-modern society to a modern society. Modernisation theorists sought to use development assistance, in conjunction with various right-wing economic ideologies, to integrate African, Asian and Latin American economies into the advanced capitalist system. Rostow, who was an economics staffer in the President John F. Kennedy government in the 1960s, promoted such initiatives as the Food for Peace, the Peace Corps, and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America to advance the ‘modernisation’ of Africa, Asian and Latin American economies.

In counterpoint to Modernisation Theory came the decidedly left-wing *Dependency Theory* which was spearheaded by scholars such as Andre Gunder Frank (1929–2005) and Immanuel Wallerstein (1930–2019). According to this theory, the world system is made up of peripheral, hinterland, or underdeveloped countries, on the one hand, and core, heartland, or developed countries, on the other, with the latter exploiting the former. According to the dependency theorists, countries of the periphery are impoverished to the extent that the core countries enrich themselves at their expense in a zero-sum framework through instruments such as international trade and development aid, all of which exacerbate the dependence of the peripheral countries on the core ones (Frank 1967 & 1979; Wallerstein 1980). To dependency theorists, underdeveloped countries are not mere incipient or traditional versions of developed countries and, therefore, cannot simply follow the same development path. In their view, underdeveloped countries have unique features and structures of their own and

any attempt to integrate them into the global capitalist system is to make them subservient, weaker, and dependent partners in the system. With this integration, the peripheral countries are expected to produce and export raw materials for the industries of the core countries and, in return, import manufactured goods from the core countries. The ensuing, rigged core-periphery relationship compels the peripheral countries to remain dependent on the core countries (Amin 1976; Frank 1979). It is against this background that dependency theorists advocate for import substitution industrialisation and centrally planned economies in the periphery to ward off the unfair influences and exploitative tendencies of the core. At the same time, dependency theorists have been criticised for their fondness for government programmes, the protection of infant industries, and the subsidisation of basic goods and services. Critics argue that such programmes undermine human agency, personal initiatives, creativity, and entrepreneurship in developing countries.

By the mid-1980s, blatant disillusionment over both modernisation and dependency theories plunged development theorisation into a discernible impasse (Schuurman 2008), which culminated in the proliferation of new theories, such as *neoliberal development*, *post-development*, *sustainable development*, and *development as freedom*, with the latter two being, perhaps, the best received (Desai & Potter 2008).

Espoused mainly by advocates of the Washington Consensus, *neoliberal development* insists on the primacy of the free market, with the belief that with time economic growth under 'perfect competition' will trickle down to the poor and, ultimately, spur national development without the concerted intervention of the national government (Harvey 2005).

On their part, *sustainable development* theorists call for the satisfaction of basic human needs through people-centred activities that are couched in the principles of environmental sustainability in pursuance of clean water, food self-reliance, and shelter for all (Sachs 2015).

Propounded by the Nobel Prize laureate Amartya Sen, in his ground-breaking book titled *Development as Freedom*, this theory sees 'freedom' as the most important ethos in the pursuit of human welfare. According to Sen, we are not free when we live a life of deprivation. In his view, 'unfreedom' means life of hunger, ignorance, unemployment, premature death, poor sanitation, lack of water, etc. For Sen, to be developed is to have effective freedom to achieve states of *being* and *doing* at our own violation.

Unlike most of the aforementioned development theorists, *post-development theorists* are of the view that 'development' is a Western ideology, deployed to control people in the global South under the guise of altruism (Rahnema & Bawtree 1997; Matthews 2004). Thus, for the proponents of post-development, the theories and practices of development have promoted Eurocentric, western

hegemony. In a nutshell, there is nothing good in development, as theorised and practiced now, for the people of the global South, and it is high time we abandon it.

With these many different perspectives on development, it is only apposite that we provide some operational definition of it here before we proceed any further. For the purposes of the present discussion, *development* is conceptualised as a complex, multi-faceted, and *dialectical* process that seeks to reorient the socioeconomic and cultural systems of societies to improve the quality of human life in sustainable ways. Is development really a dialectical process? If so, on what grounds? How does the dialectics of development play out in the context of Africa? Put another way, how best can we understand Africa's development through dialectics? The next section addresses these pointed questions to show the utility of dialectics as an analytical construct for explaining the complexities of Africa's development.

Understanding Development and African Development through Dialectics

It is clear from the foregoing section that *development* is concerned with *improving* the lives of people. It is an effort to re-organise and re-orient societies for a positive change, moving them from their extant situation to something better. Conceived as such, every region or country of the world has some room for development. It so happens that over the years many analysts and media reports have discussed development in bi-polar terms in which countries of Africa, in particular, and the global South, in general, are seen as 'underdeveloped' or 'the Third World' and those of the global North are seen as 'developed' or 'First World'. Even when the countries of the world are discussed in terms of a spectrum, one invariably finds African countries in general occupying the worst end of this continuum, with the so-called advanced capitalist nations positioned at the best end, and the rest sandwiched somewhere between these polarities. Invariably, Africa is depicted as the epitome of underdevelopment in much of the prevailing discourse on international development. Attend any conference having to do with international development or the social sciences, in general, and the chances are that almost all the negative examples, illustrations, and hypothetical scenarios, regardless of the issue under focus, will be tied somehow to Africa. This negative branding of Africa is often done without any regard to the specificities of the individual African countries, which are almost always painted with one big, unflattering, and deleterious brush. Of course, some, if not most, of these attributions are soaked in myths and stereotypes, with questionable empirical base. We thus find former United States President Donald Trump – the professed leader of the free world – for example, alleged to have referred to African countries as *shit-hole countries*, a statement he denied making.

As with many stereotypes, some of these negative portrayals of Africa have a kernel of truth. Indeed, the development story of Africa has not been pretty – to put it colloquially – and for obvious reasons. In terms of land resources, the continent is second to none, and Africa's physical and population sizes are second only to those of Asia. Furthermore, of all the continents of the world, Africa has the youngest population. However, when it comes to development metrics, including the extent of poverty, infant mortality, violence, hunger, famine, drought, insecurity, corruption, poor governance, unemployment, and many more, African countries are often either at the very bottom or racing to the bottom together with some countries of Asia and Latin America.

Since the mid-2000s, Africa has been making considerable strides in its development and growth indicators, but the stereotypes of dysfunctionality, extreme poverty, and unimaginable violence are still etched in the minds of many analysts. In a 2009 piece, reprinted in the *Harvard Business Review* in 2013, Jonathan Berman offered some reasons why Africa is on the path to development. According to him, not only does Africa have most of the world's uncultivated land, a large market, and one of the largest workforces, Africa is also becoming increasingly stable, politically. Additionally, Africa's mobile technology is exploding, just as African governments are increasingly spending more on education.

In what follows, I deploy dialectical reasoning to help us understand Africa's development from a different and a more complex angle. The objective for doing this is twofold: (1) to show the dialectical character of development and (2) to demonstrate how African development could be analysed by way of dialectics. To the extent that development is conceived as a dialectical process, it follows that not only can African development be analysed dialectically, but, indeed, so can the development of all parts of the world. Consequently, the emphasis on African development is a matter of interest and meets the need to have an analytical focus to help us see how variables play out in a specific context, and not in general terms.

African Development: An Exercise in Creative Destruction and the Negation of the Negation

One of the cruxes of dialectics is *negation*, which extends to the notion of 'second negation' or 'the negation of the negation,' also termed 'sublation' in the Hegelian paradigm. In dialectics, negation connotes getting to know a phenomenon through what it is not. In yet another sense, to negate something is to nullify it. By sublation or the second negation, the dialectician implies a situation where an entity is nullified and at the same time transcended in a way that moves it to a higher plane to be negated yet again. To say that development is a dialectical process is to imply that it entails sublation. Clearly, then, development in general (and African development, in particular) is imbued with the second negation,

which is invariably an exercise in creative destruction. Thus, what is created comes about only after some form of destruction and *vice versa*. This is how Hegel analogises negation and sublation in the preface to his *Phenomenology of Mind*:

The bud disappears when the blossom breaks through, and we might say that the former is refuted [i.e., negated] by the latter; in the same way when the fruit comes, the blossom may be explained to be a false form of the plant's existence, for the fruit appears as its true nature in place of the blossom. These stages are not merely differentiated; they supplant one another as being incompatible with one another. But the ceaseless activity of their own inherent nature makes them at the same time moments of an organic unity [i.e. sublation] (Hegel 1967:68).

What have *negation* and *sublation* got to do with our understanding of development in general or African development in particular? At the very least they point to the fact that development is not a linear, straightforward process; that development often assumes a spiral trajectory; that development is never all-positive, and its progressions are inherently inter-mixed with retrogressions, just as its creations are inter-mingled with destructions and *vice versa*. A simple illustration would be useful: Prior to Africans' encounter with Europeans, we Africans had our traditional culture(s), many attributes of which left much to be desired by today's cultural and development standards. The practices of female genital mutilation/female circumcision/genital cutting and human or animal sacrifices come to mind in this regard. During our encounter with Europeans, some of these cultural practices were discouraged or forced out of the repertoire of African culture, along with the embrace of some European cultural attributes which are deemed by many to be progressive, innovative, or positive – e.g., new ways of industrial production and economic organisation (Nkrumah 1964:106). Our encounters with Europeans amount to sublation, since some of our traditional cultural practices were nullified, and out of their ashes emerged many of the hybridised cultural practices we have today.

It bears stressing, for the avoidance of any doubt, that such nullifications, creative destructions, sublation and cultural hybridisations between Europeans and Africans have never been one-way; they have always been a two-way affair, with both Africans and Europeans copying from each other and gaining and losing, simultaneously, in the process. Some African scholars, enthralled by European ideals and intellectualism, have a hard time recognising the contribution of Africans to European culture in particular and to world history in general. This is how Nkrumah, for instance, laments this unfortunate and acquiescent sentiment:

The colonized African student, whose roots in his own society are systematically starved of sustenance, is introduced to Greek and Roman history, the cradle history of modern Europe, and he is encouraged to treat this portion of the story of man [sic] together with the subsequent history of Europe as the only worthwhile

portion. This history is anointed with a universalist flavouring which titillates the palate of certain African intellectuals so agreeably that they become alienated from their own immediate society (1964:5).

Following the earlier encounter with Europeans came the independence movement, which then negated the enterprises of colonialism and slavery, and moved Africa forward into yet another dialectical plane of self-determination towards meaningful social development. Nkrumah (1964) writes about the need to forge a harmony that allows for the combined presence of traditional African, Euro-Christian, and Islamic African ideals in our social development efforts. According to him, this harmony can only emanate from the triumph of positive action over negative action, borne of the African conscience, but still drawing useful lessons from other societies, just as others draw from Africans – this, indeed, is the crux of Nkrumah's *Consciencism*. In a true dialectic fashion, our encounters with outsiders involve creative destruction and purposeful hybridisation of one form or another. Accordingly, for Nkrumah, *Philosophical Consciencism* gives 'the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious growth and development of society' (1964:70).

Given that development entails some tension, some hybridisation, and some creative destruction, it is never linear; it proceeds in a spiral, rather than linear, pattern. But this basic fact has been missing in much of the discourse on development in general and African development in particular. In the case of African development, analysts have often paid attention to the destructive or negative forces, relegating the creative or positive ones to the background. This accounts for the widespread stereotype of Africa as a continent of violence, crime, poverty, and dysfunctionality. Analysts tend to talk of African development with expectations of a linear progression, moving from stage one, through two, three, and four, to five a la Rostow. Any backward movement is considered aberrant and not an inherent part of development. However, that is not the case, since development is inherently spiral. It is high time we see African development in new ways and become receptive of its occasional backward movement and growing pains. This is not to say that we should be complacent and bury our heads in the proverbial sand like an ostrich. If the independence movement in Africa started in earnest in the 1950s and 1960s for most African countries, then these countries have been independent for only 60 to 70 years. Arguably, in the grand scheme of national development, this is not that long a timeframe. Still, Africa could have done better, considering how Asian countries such as Malaysia, South Korea, and Singapore have moved along the spectrum of development. Then, again, does it do us any good to compare what Asian countries have gone through with what Africans have been through by way of colonialisation, slavery,

international racism, capitalist exploitation, etc.? Frantz Fanon, for example, cautioned us that '[i]t is utopian to try to ascertain in what ways one kind of inhuman behaviour differs from another kind of inhuman behaviour' (1967:86). Undoubtedly, there are worrying levels of famine, poverty, unemployment, etc. in Africa, making Africa unique – ironically, just like anywhere else. However, we must note that all is not negative in Africa. For instance, out of the genocidal ruins and ashes of Rwanda emerged an impressive new society with remarkable impetuses towards the rule of law, the mobilisation of civil society, and the empowerment of women in a span of one generation, or so. Meanwhile, there are indications that significant human rights abuses are occurring in Rwanda (US Department of State 2020), which speaks to the spiral character of development.

Development and the Interchangeability of Causes and Effects

Among the principles of dialectics itemised by David Harvey (1996), and noted earlier, is the idea that in dialectics subjects are interchangeable with objects, just as causes are interchangeable with effects. This dialectical principle is often overlooked in the African development discourse, with the recursivity implicated in this causality ignored accordingly. For instance, while analysts are quick to point out that Africa's development is hampered by the lack of education among many Africans, only few are able to draw the recursive connection to see how the lack of development also hampers education in Africa. Similarly, while many observers attribute the growing emigration of African youth out of the continent (mostly via the dangerous Sahara through the Mediterranean to Europe) to the lack of development in general and job opportunities in particular, few are able to see the recursive link by which the exodus also becomes the cause of Africa's development challenges. The same form of recursive causality applies to the nexus between poor health care and development in Africa. Just as African underdevelopment can be seen as the *cause* of poor health care on the continent, it (Africa's underdevelopment) can also be the *effect* of poor health care. This basic realisation points to the need to eschew simplistic, unidirectional causal attributions in the discourse of African development. The need to be more thorough and sophisticated in our analysis cannot be overemphasised. When we know, for instance, that some causes can be the effects and *vice versa*, our insight becomes deeper and, thus, closer to the realities on the ground, rather than merely feeding into simplistic mythologies and stereotypes that are so common in disputations and discourses on African development. Relatedly, with causes and effects being interchangeable, it is not difficult to see how opposites would interpenetrate in dialectics. This insight can be illustrated by the fact that when it comes to international development nowadays the developed world is in the underdeveloped world and *vice versa*. Put differently, Africa is in Europe, just as Europe is in Africa. Not only are African people living in Europe and

Europeans living in Africa, but the conditions of underdevelopment that are often associated with Africa are also common in some European and American cities, just as the conditions of development that are commonly associated with European and American cities are becoming increasingly common in pockets of African cities such as Accra, Lagos, Abuja, Addis Ababa, Nairobi and Dakar. With the interpenetrations of opposites, it comes as no surprise that phenomena are deemed internally contradictory in dialectics.

African Development and the Transformation of Quantity into Quality

Another important tenet of dialectics with palpable utility for our understanding of African development is the *law of the transformation of quantity into quality*. According to this law, some entities or phenomena can undergo substantive qualitative change, following small and progressive quantitative increments. Consider the process of boiling water progressively to a temperature of 99 degrees Celsius (at one atmospheric pressure); after this, a mere addition of one degree of temperature can transform the water that has been boiling all along into steam (at 100 degrees Celsius), which then vaporises. As I noted earlier, this law undergirds the famous *sorites paradox* and the idea of a *tipping point* popularised by Malcolm Gladwell. Applied to development, this law hints of how development, like the boiling water, can sneak up on us, with a country moving, imperceptibly, from, say, being categorised as less developed to being seen as part of the lower-middle income group. We thus find the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO 2018) listing several African countries among its lower-middle income countries (with GDI of between US\$1,006 and US\$3955 [for 2018]) and middle-income countries (with GDI of between \$3,958 and \$12,235). This list includes such countries as Angola, Botswana, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa within the former category; and Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Mauritania and Zambia within the latter (UNIDO 2018).

The transformation from water to steam is often so imperceptible that only the trained eye can spot it. Analogously, many African countries are not 'developed'; yet, according to many international yardsticks, many of these same countries are gradually getting to the tipping point, with some even tipping over, quite imperceptibly, and moving into the middle-income status in recent years. But many in the West – especially the Western media and the powers that be – still see African countries only in a negative light, given the power dynamics and mythologies in the prevailing system of global branding and knowledge production.

Indeed, people who have lived in specific African countries for a long time might not readily discern the development under way – the maxim *familiarity breeds contempt* is applicable here. Meanwhile, to the circular or transnational

migrants in these countries, such development/changes are likely to be perceptible during their visits. The same dynamics make it hard to see the extent to which children are growing when they live with us, but their growth becomes discernible when they do not live with us and we see them only occasionally. If there is a tipping point in development, then we implicitly need to improve beyond some threshold to be developed. Put another way, and quite metaphorically, we cannot continue to boil our water of 'underdevelopment' to 99 degrees Celsius all the time and expect a transformation into steam, or to a developed country, without ever adding the requisite one degree Celsius of effort to tip us over.

Therefore, to be developed, we have move beyond the tipping point; without putting in the extra work, however small that might be, it becomes difficult to move into the realm of the developed world.

Conclusion: The Way Forward

It is clear from the preceding sections that to better grasp how African countries in general or in their specificities are faring in terms of development, we first have to see development as a dialectical process that entails creative destruction and harbours internal contradictions. Thus, African development, like that of any other region, is best conceived as a spiral process that involves negation and sublation. Moreover, African development, like the development of other regions of the world, exhibits aspects of the *sorites paradox* by which small quantitative increments can lead to qualitative transformations. Additionally, African development, like that of any other region, is best understood from a multidisciplinary perspective, since it involves complex, cross-cutting processes, with causes and effects being interchangeable. In the context of such complexities, heterogeneities, tensions, and contradictions, what is the way forward? What markers can we use as guideposts to promote socioeconomic and cultural development in Africa? An appropriate starting point, drawing on the work of Nkrumah (1964), would be to examine our conscience, and see where the prospects and gaps in initiatives, ethics, and progressive ethos are, and nurture a principled knowledge base or an overarching ideology of a sort to guide our forward movement. As Nkrumah puts it so succinctly, 'practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty' (1964:79).

For Nkrumah, there was no better ideology than socialism; and who can blame him, given the struggles he had to spearhead to help extricate Ghana in particular and Africa in general from the grip of imperial, capitalist domination and exploitation by way of (neo)-colonialism? One does not necessarily have to agree with Nkrumah's zealous advocacy for socialism. What is important is to have a knowledge base or an ideology capable of addressing the long-term needs and welfare of Africans – a knowledge base or an ideology that is duly informed by appropriate technologies, ethical principles, and progressive

African traditions such as humanism, egalitarianism, communalism, respect for the elderly, etc. Conceived as such, the ideology becomes self-referential and, consequently, authentic. On these principled African traditions, we cannot entertain compromises, for any compromise on principles is tantamount to their abandonment, as Nkrumah (1964) points out. Also, with dialectics in mind, the need to eschew simplistic solutions for African development problems cannot be overemphasised. Ultimately, a concerted effort is required if our creative forces or positive actions are to surpass their destructive or negative counterparts in the development process. The chapter opened with a prologue from Nkrumah (1964), and what better way to end it than with an epilogue from him that speaks quite dialectically to the tension between creative and destructive forces in development, to wit:

Just as in the physical universe, since the moving object is always impressed upon by external forces, any motion is in fact a resultant, so in society every development, every progressive motion, is a resultant of unharmonious forces, a resultant, a triumph of positive action over negative action (Nkrumah 1964:103).

Taking our inspiration from no less a person than Kwame Nkrumah, we need to do everything it takes to ensure the lasting triumph of progressive forces over reactionary ones in our quest for germane socio-economic and cultural development in Africa.

Notes

1. Ironically, Hegel is one of the leading theorists of dialectics, as we shall see in this chapter.
2. Interestingly, Socrates' own mother, Phaenarete, was a midwife (Cornford 1957:24).
3. The French call him Antoine Guillaume Amo.
4. This is the point at which a series of small, imperceptible changes becomes significant enough to cause a larger and readily discernible change.
5. The sub-title of this book, *A Non-Communist Manifesto*, was set as the counterpoint to the famous *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels.

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Theorising Norms: Constructivism and its Application to the Study of Africa's International Relations

Anthony Bizos

As a scholar of International Relations (IR) I have always been interested in the question of why and how norms matter, both in the theory and practice of international politics. Having been inducted into the discipline via the established canon of classical realism, I was taught that states are the only relevant actors in international relations and that the international system is characterised by anarchy. As a result, in the absence of a centralised authority capable of enforcing the rule of law, it is assumed by realists that states in the system are conditioned by self-help and that it is 'every country for itself' in the pursuit of power and security. This type of determinism, however, suddenly became incommensurate with my ability to explain trends in international politics, especially after the end of the Cold War. Since the early 1990s, it has appeared that states and new international actors are more prone to observing implicit and explicit rules, and are regulating their behaviour toward cooperation; even in the absence of a centralised authority which is capable of enforcing injunctions with these rules. In this chapter, I show how norms go a long way in accounting for this phenomenon, how norms can now justifiably be considered to be part of IR's established toolkit for analysing and theorising the behaviour of international actors, and why the study of norms is concomitantly the study of Africa's international relations.

In Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's classic definition, norms are 'shared ideas, expectations and beliefs about appropriate behaviour' which give the world 'structure, order and stability' (1998:894). Charlotte Epstein observes that 'in the history of the discipline, norms – along with their conceptual counterpart, identity – have played a crucial role in moving IR beyond its narrow focus upon

material understandings of power and interest-maximising behaviours' (2017:2). She proceeds to say that, 'whether practically (they sustain co-operation) or for their theoretical contribution (bringing ideational and social dynamics into sight), norms, then, *would appear* to be good things for international politics' (Epstein 2017:2). In the practice of international relations, norms regulate and constrain the behaviour of utility-maximising actors by socialising them into an international society which promotes compliance with standards of acceptable behaviour. In respect of theory, the presence of norms suggests that the structures of international politics are not just material, but are also social and ideational. Through their interactions in international society, actors come to learn about their identity and interests, so that norms can be said to have a constitutive effect on actors too.

To be clear, norms are understood differently by scholars of international law and IR. Whereas legal norms impose binding legal obligations, political norms establish moral obligations. According to Ramesh Thakur, in regulating the conduct of actors, both laws and norms provide enabling (license) and restraining (leash) functions. However, political norms are compelling because they do not necessarily need to be codified into law – the moral authority of these norms by themselves exerts a powerful 'compliance pull' (Thakur 2019:220). As standards of appropriate behaviour, political norms either prescribe or proscribe action to conform to the norm. In this sense, norms matter because actors care about what others think of them. Therefore, approbation and its corollary, shaming, are effective in regulating social behaviour. According to Thakur, 'to be a member in good standing of a community is to subscribe to its moral framework and core values, and the behavioural prescription is not Do X in order to get Y, a la rules, but You should do X because good people do X, a la norms' (Thakur 2019:221).

This chapter proceeds in three major sections. The first section shows how the 'constructivist turn' in IR theorising during the 1990s brought the study of norms squarely into the discipline's empirical research programme. This section highlights some of constructivism's central theoretical assumptions so as to demonstrate how constructivism's focus on the role of norms, interests and identity provides important and distinctive theoretical and empirical insights for understanding global politics. The second section defines norms so as to operationalise them, and it makes a case for why norms matter and how they potentially provide the world with order, structure and stability. It concludes by showing how conventional constructivists are now endeavouring to theorise about how norms emerge, how they are diffused in international society, and how they are internalised by actors. The third section offers some tentative reflections on how the global power asymmetry continues to marginalise Africa as an object of subjectivity in international affairs, and how the universalising nature of norms

theorising potentially erases how norm dynamics are also frequently authored and structured in important ways by non-Western actors. Thus, the final section of this chapter is a clarion call for scholars of Africa's international relations to critically engage with constructivism and the study of norms and agency, so as to draw attention to the way in which alternative constitutive norms might form the basis whereby a future international system might develop.

The 'Constructivist-Turn' in International Relations Theorising

It is now generally recognised that constructivism is one of the youngest of the mainstream theories in IR. It entered into the discipline as a result of the Third (great inter-paradigm) Debate between rationalists and emerging critical international theorists during the late 1980s. (In IR theory, the Great Debates refer to a series of disagreements between scholars, beginning in the 1930s). The 'reflectivist' orientation of Critical International Theory served as a progenitor for the 'constructivist turn in IR,' which came to be reinforced by three inter-related factors. The first factor was that neoliberals and neorealists, who had traditionally dominated the theoretical 'turf' of the discipline, came to accept that 'reflectivist' theories could offer alternative insights into the intersubjective foundations of IR. The second factor was that the relatively peaceful conclusion of the Cold War demonstrated the inability of dominant rationalist theories to account for such dramatic international change, and the third factor was a generational change of scholars in the discipline who had come to be influenced by the assumptions of Third Debate critical theories (Price & Reus-Smit 1998).

It was however an influential article by Emanuel Adler titled 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics' published in the *European Journal of International Relations* in 1997 which positioned constructivism squarely into the theoretical mainstream of the discipline. Adler defined constructivism as the view that 'the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world' (1997:322). Significantly, Adler's article also positioned constructivism as occupying the 'middle ground' in IR Theory between materialist theories which see political behaviour as determined by the physical world alone and individualist theories which treat collective understandings as simply epiphenomena of individual action and deny that they have causal power or ontological status (Finnemore & Sikkink 2001).

To be sure, constructivism is not a single unified theory. To be frank, since it does not present a set of coherent hypotheses a priori, one might wonder about the extent to which it constitutes a theory at all. Ruggie appropriately suggests that constructivism is a '*theoretically informed* approach to the study of IR' (1998:880). Therefore, it is probably best to use the term theory a lot more 'loosely' when discussing constructivism. I would suggest that constructivism is a compendium

of different approaches which operate within a series of core assumptions upon which more specific hypotheses and arguments can be formulated. Social constructivists, for example, describe their task as ‘understanding’, and they endeavour to comprehend the subjective motives and worldviews of actors and how these help to ‘construct’ the social world. Conventional or modernist constructivists alternately have a cognitive interest in understanding and explaining social reality, and they are concerned with uncovering the causal social mechanisms and constitutive social relations which affect the practice of international relations. Modernist linguistic constructivists attempt to better understand social reality by uncovering the processes by which social facts are constituted by rules and language. Critical constructivists associate themselves with pragmatic realism, as well as an emancipatory agenda, to interrogate the mechanisms on which social and political orders are based in order to show how the knowledge/power nexus serves to produce and reproduce the hegemonic world order.

In the most general sense, constructivism can be said to be an approach to social analysis which is based on the following basic assumptions:

1. human interaction is not shaped by material factors, but primarily by ideational ones;
2. the most significant ideational factors in this context are ‘inter-subjective beliefs as shared collective understanding’; and
3. these beliefs construct the actors’ identities and interests (Finnemore & Sikkink 2001:393).

Despite its various approaches, one might therefore conclude that constructivism’s ‘value-addition’ to the study of IR is its emphasis on the ontological reality of intersubjective knowledge and the epistemological and methodological implications of this reality (Adler 1997).

Ontologically, constructivism sees the social world as being constituted intersubjectively. Since constructivists do not accept any social features of life as given, they recognise that actors are always situated in particular contexts which influence their actions, and that actors reproduce and construct their ‘world’ through their actions. In this sense, material resources and interests only acquire meaning for human action through the structures of shared knowledge in which they are embedded. Simply put, social facts are dependent on the ability of actors to attach collective knowledge to material reality. Social facts are then reinforced through practice. Over time social facts become reified through social relations, rules, and routine practices, and appear as an objective reality which exists independently from those actors who constructed the social facts in the first place (Flockhart 2012).

Epistemologically, constructivists are generally skeptical about claims to 'all-encompassing truth'. Rather they highlight that 'understanding' and interpretation are central to ascribing valid knowledge to the social sciences. This is not to suggest that all constructivist approaches reject the methodological and epistemological tenets of positivism or scientific realism in their enquiry. It is just that constructivists argue that generalisations about knowledge can at best be contingent. Conventional constructivists in particular are now interested in how intersubjective knowledge and ideational phenomena have constitutive effects on social reality and how this social reality changes. They also attempt to explain how actors converge around norms, identities and cause-effect understandings; how actors derive their interests from them; and how, once institutionalised, these factors become the source of international practice.

Since constructivists endogenise norms, interests and identity into their research agenda, these aspects become promising explanatory variables in the study of global politics. Identity, for example, is recognised as a variable which can account for international behaviour and institutional change. Constructivists show how actors in international relations are influenced by their identity, as well as by the historical, political, cultural and social contexts in which they exist. Identities are therefore said to reflect a particular set of interests and preferences in respect of an actor's choice of action. Therefore, because identities are susceptible to change, so are interests. Constructivists also study norms because they consider them to be constitutive of social identities and because they provide the content and meaning of national interests. In other words, the way in which actors apply norms to classify their world is central to how world politics occurs since actors do not only act in the context of their capabilities and interests, but also in response to their normative environment and the normative understandings which they attach to those interests.

Methodologically, constructivism begins from the premise that explaining causal processes requires an interpretive activity of uncovering intersubjective meanings. Constructivists predominantly draw causal or constitutive inferences using historical narratives. Since social reality is indeterminate and contingent, these narratives need to be reconstructed because the way in which social facts become established in the social world is linked to the way in which they exert their influence. Constructivists therefore endeavour to describe the relationship between partly indeterminate processes and partly determinate outcomes in order to isolate specific social structures, social mechanisms, and empirical regularities. Constructivists are also concerned with explaining change. Nonetheless, rather than understanding change as a shift in the positioning of material resources, they focus on the emergence of new constitutive rules, the evolution and transformation of new social structures, and the role of agents in the origins of these social processes (Adler 2013).

Thus, according to Steans and colleagues, the main assumptions of constructivism can best be summarised as follows (Steans et al. 2010:200):

1. The gap between structure and agency-centred theories can be bridged. Constructivists emphasise that structure and agency are mutually dependent. Despite the fact that most social relations are relatively stable, the ongoing reproduction of structures can bring with it the potential for change.
2. Structures are both material and ideational. Since ideational structures are not immediately observable, constructivists adopt the epistemological view that we can deduce the existence of these structures from their effects, which they influence but do not necessarily determine.
3. The societal aspect of international relations is just as important as the mechanistic qualities of the international system espoused by more structural and rationalist theories.
4. Norms are important determinants of actor behaviour. In international relations, interactions among actors are not only a matter of interests, but also of acceptable behaviour in international society.
5. Interest is a category that needs to be explained, as opposed to being treated as an explanatory factor.

On Norms, Identity and Behaviour

As perhaps the most influential figure within social constructivism, Alexander Wendt provides some illuminating insights into how structure and agency are mutually constitutive of each other; and how collective identities are formed in international relations in spite of the presence of anarchy. In his article titled 'The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory' published in *International Organization* in 1987, Wendt demonstrates how Neorealist Theory and World-Systems Theory came to influence academic discourse about international relations because of their respective claims that they offered 'structural' explanations for how states behave in the international system. Wendt shows, however, that despite their common commitment to structural analysis, the two theories differ in respect of their understanding of structure and, thus, in their structural explanations for behaviour in the international system. He explicates how neorealists define the structures of the international system in terms of the observable attributes of member states and the subsequent distribution of capabilities. In this sense, neorealists understand the explanatory role of these structures in individualist terms as constraining the choices of preexisting state actors. Alternately, World-Systems theorists explain the structures in the international system as a consequence of the fundamental organising principles of the capitalist world economy which underlie and constitute states, so that they understand the explanatory role of structures in 'structuralist' terms as predetermining and generating state actors themselves (Wendt 1987).

Subsequently, Wendt borrows from scholars in the field of sociology, and especially from Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory proffered in 1984 to propose a symbolic 'sociological type' systemic theory to explore how the process of interaction and learning might actually explain how power politics is socially constructed under anarchy, and how agency might be reintroduced into the study of international relations (Wendt 1987). Central to Giddens' Structuration Theory is that while action is influenced and constrained by social structures, these structures are in turn reproduced by agency. Similarly, Wendt suggests that one needs to conceptualise agents and structures as mutually constitutive, yet ontologically distinct, entities. He argues that, 'although each is in some sense an effect of the other, they are codetermined because social structures are the result of the intended and unintended consequences of human action, just as the latter presuppose or are mediated by an irreducible structural context' (Wendt 1987:360).

Wendt develops many of these ideas in perhaps his most famous article, published in *International Organization* in 1992 and titled 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics'. In this article, Wendt interrogates the extent to which state action is influenced by structure (anarchy and the distribution of power) versus process (understood as interaction and learning). As a result, he poses the following two important questions:

1. 'Does the absence of centralised political authority force states to play competitive power politics?'
2. 'What in anarchy is given and immutable, and what is amenable to change?'

It is important to recognise here that Wendt is responding primarily to neorealist theorising about international relations. According to the 'father' of neorealism, Kenneth Waltz, who published a seminal book in 1979 titled *Theory of International Politics*, the international system is decentralised and anarchic. For Waltz, the international structure emerged from the coexistence of states; and while states are not the only international actors, they are the major ones because they define the structure of international politics and tend not to participate in the formation of a structure which will constrain them (Waltz 1979).

What follows for Waltz is that anarchy, as a constant, is reproduced as states seek to protect themselves from the military threats presented by other states. For Waltz, since the most important characteristic of the structure of the international system is the distribution of power, states are differentiated based on their material capabilities in relation to other states. In the absence of an international central authority, it is therefore only the balancing of power between competing state alliances, as opposed to the behavioural constraints provided by norms, which can account for a semblance of international peace and stability.

Wendt (1992) disagrees with Waltz and argues that multiple logics can exist in anarchic structures, thereby implying that anarchy is amenable to change. Wendt also pointedly argues that anarchy as understood by neorealists is an empty vessel with no intrinsic logic. In his analysis, Wendt claims that there are three different cultures of anarchy:

1. Hobbesian,
2. Lockean, and
3. Kantian.

In each culture, a dissimilar structure of roles determines the international system – enemy, rival, and friend, respectively. In other words, there actually exist different ‘anarchies’ which vary substantially, depending on the roles and cultures that dominate the system (Jung 2019).

Wendt additionally demonstrates how interaction and learning can mitigate against states playing competitive power politics in the absence of a centralised political authority. According to him, this has everything to do with socialisation and collective identity formation. Also, for him, intersubjective understandings and expectations, coupled with the distribution of knowledge, are the means by which actors constitute conceptions of self and other. Identities therefore are relational because actors impute role-specific understandings of the self by participating in collective meanings with others. The structure of the social world is therefore not logically constituted by anarchy, but rather by the theories which actors hold collectively about themselves and one another. In this way, ‘identities form the basis of interests because actors do not ordinarily have a portfolio of interests that they carry around independent of social context; instead, they define their interests in the process of defining situations’ (Wendt 1992:398). In addition, for Wendt, as actors continue to interact, they contribute to one another’s pool of knowledge through reinforcement and reciprocal ‘typifications’. Therefore, according to him, this aspect establishes relatively stable concepts of self and other in relation to a situation or issues at stake in the interaction. Hence, contrary to neorealist thinking, structures are not fixed. As a result of reciprocal interaction, actors can transform or even sustain relatively enduring social structures through which identities and interests can be defined (Wendt 1992).

Unlike the approaches employed by rationalists and structuralists, social constructivists perceive actors as social objects, and social identities are essentially understood as sets of meanings which actors attribute to themselves while taking the perspective of others into account. By endogenising norms, identities and interests into the system, social constructivists make provision for an empirical research agenda to determine how deeply these identities need to be instantiated in social structures to influence conceptions of self and interests. In a subsequent

article published in the *American Political Science Review* in 1994 and titled 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State', Wendt suggests that it stands to reason that the degree to which social identities positively identify with the fate of the other determines the difference between the propensity for actor egoism in the pursuit of interests and the possibility of a collective definition of interests inspired by a high level of social aggregation, diffuse reciprocity, and the desire to bear costs without selective incentives (Wendt 1994).

Wendt therefore demonstrates that through repeated acts of interaction and cooperation in the international arena, actors can learn about their interests and form collective identities by seeing themselves in relation to what others 'do'. Wendt's more sociological approach to international relations subsequently highlights the importance of intersubjective knowledge; since by demonstrating through cooperative acts that one expects others to be cooperators too, international actors change the terms by which identities and interests are defined. In other words, 'by teaching others and themselves to cooperate, actors are simultaneously learning to identify with each other and therefore to see themselves as a "we" bound by certain norms' (Wendt 1994:390).

It can be said that constructivism makes a significant ontological progression from rationalist and neorealist understandings of international behaviour. Rationalists for example adopt a behavioural analytical approach based strictly on utility maximisation. They assume that given a series of options, actors pick the option which best serves their objectives and interests. This typically takes the form of material gains. In this sense, actor knowledge of interests is assumed *a priori*, and norms and social structures are perceived to, at most, merely constrain the choices and behaviour of self-interested actors. For neorealists, however, all phenomena, with the exception of the state, are exogenised from the system. They regard the principle of pursuing competitive losses and gains as immutable to the nature of states, and they also do not account for the way in which the larger international structure might socialise and adjust the character of these states. Additionally, Neorealism's identification with a Hobbesian state of nature does not allow for further learning, whereby states might learn about the system of anarchy and potentially change it.

Nonetheless, constructivists do accept the contribution made by neoliberal regimes analysis to the study of norms and behaviour in IR. The regimes project came to be associated with Stephen Krasner's 1982 exploration of the characteristics of international regimes, which he defined as, 'social institutions which are distinguishable by agreed-upon principles, norms, rules and procedures that regulate the interaction of actors in specific issue areas' (Krasner 1982:185). Neoliberal regimes analysts were mainly interested in examining what prompted states to establish institutions, even if the latter (i.e. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) were ostensibly contrary to the formers' (i.e.

industrialised countries acquiescing to a generalised system of trade preferences) short-term interests. They concluded that regimes persist because even though intergovernmental cooperation involves negotiation around universally acceptable norms, norm realisation is left to the discretion of individual sovereign states.

While recognising this contribution, constructivists considered this *promotional* approach to norm realisation to be inadequate, since it implied that states could choose to be part of a regime and increase their international legitimacy without incurring substantial costs, and they also could remain part of a regime, even if they did not intend implementing the norms associated with it (Zwingel 2012). Constructivists also insist that similarly to rationalist accounts, Regimes Theory views norms as a constraint on states (through institutional arrangements) as opposed to perceiving norms as being constitutive of state interests. Therefore, according to constructivists, whereas regimes do combine regulative and procedural norms to change the environment in which actors pursue their interests, the latter are still regarded as fixed and, therefore, similarly to realism, regimes analysis considers norms as separate rather than constitutive of interests (Klotz 1995).

For constructivists, the social context is rule-governed. Therefore, it is said that actors *may* behave according to the logic of appropriateness, whereby reasoning is metaphorical and not necessarily influenced strictly by utility maximisation. For constructivists, by interrogating the type of situation and their desired course of action, actors are constituted by norms and rules, since the latter help to provide answers and also to develop the agents' understanding of their interests. Whereas constructivists might agree with realists and liberalists that actors are also driven by a *logic of consequences*, and that they calculate the consequences of a particular course of action on the basis that it offers them the most utility, they concurrently allow for the possibility that actors might act from a *logic of appropriateness* too. The reasoning here is that as rule followers, actors will attempt to follow rules that connect particular identities to particular situations. This subsequently allows actors to consider which action constitutes the most appropriate behaviour for them.

Hence, constructivists demonstrate that the logic of appropriateness is just as plausible a predictor of actor and state behaviour as the rationalists' logic of consequences. According to James G. March and Johan P. Olsen (1995), the logic of appropriateness is a sociological perspective that sees human action as driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behaviour organised into institutions. Actors follow rules because they are seen as 'natural, rightful, expected and legitimate, and actors seek to fulfill the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions' (March & Olsen 1995:3).

On Norms and Why They Matter

According to constructivists, norms specify the appropriate behaviour for an agent with a given identity. Whereas constructivists often use the terms 'ideas' and 'norms' interchangeably, the key distinction is that ideas can be held individually, whereas norms are collectively shared. For constructivists, norms are cognitive 'maps' which allow actors to discern what appropriate or inappropriate behaviour is. In addition, norms perform a structural function since they have a causal and constitutive effect on actor identities and interests. In the final analysis, because norms both constrain behaviour and constitute identities and interests, they are considered by constructivists to be 'structures of relevance' (Flockhart 2012:84). The constructivist definition of the term 'norm' revolves around two related meanings. On the one hand, norms reflect actual patterns of behaviour, and they create expectations about what will be done in practice in a particular situation. On the other hand, norms are more specific, since they reflect patterned behaviour of a particular kind. This latter type of behaviour is prescribed and gives rise to normative expectations about what 'ought' to be done. As a result, the regularity of behaviour is connected to an internal attitude which involves self-criticism or the criticism of others on the basis that a particular norm is being violated. Norms therefore are prescriptive statements which contain both procedural and substantive elements. They prescribe action in situations of choice, and they also carry a sense of obligation and a sense that they ought to be followed (Hurrell 2013). For constructivists, norms can be said to be regulative when they proscribe and prescribe behaviour that regulates how actors in international society act since they formally establish or enable certain kinds of activities. Norms, however, can be said to be constitutive when they define the distinguishing characteristics of an actor. Constitutive norms are therefore powerful because they establish a sense of group identification which then allows for the coordination of social power.

Irrespective of whether norms are regulative or constitutive, for constructivists, both types represent an expression of belief that concurrently provides impetus for behaviour consistent with that belief. For constructivists, norms are considered to have intersubjective qualities because they are collective expectations, and 'proper behaviour presupposes the existence of a community which is able to pass judgement on appropriateness' (Risse et al. 1999:7). According to constructivists, norm-breaking behaviour can be recognised as a result of the stigma and disapproval it generates within a community or society, whereas norm-compliant behaviour can be identified because of the praise it elicits, or because a norm has an established 'taken for granted' quality that it requires no reaction whatsoever (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998). Constructivists do, however, caution that whereas norms often encourage a certain type of action, they do not always determine behaviour. Norms assist with shaping the identities and preferences of actors because they set standards of conduct and define the range of appropriate options

by correlating deviant actions with negative and moral connotations. According to Paul Williams, 'proof of a norm's existence is not necessarily that members of the community never violate it... rather the strength of a norm can be measured by the level of opprobrium members of the community face from their peers for engaging in behaviour that violates the norm' (2007:258).

Proceeding from Williams's point, it follows that constructivists prefer to speak of an international society as opposed to an international system. Conceptually, the idea of an international society is derived from the English School which arose during the 1970s in response to the United States dominance in IR theorising. Unlike more positivistic approaches which sought to establish 'mechanistic' laws and a universally applicable theory of international politics, the English School sought to interpret international relations as being social and historical. According to Hedley Bull (1977), who is considered to be the School's most famous proponent, an international society can be defined as, 'a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established dialogue and consent to common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognise their common interest in maintaining these arrangements' (Bull 1977:13). Therefore, for the English School, despite the presence of anarchy, and in spite of the absence of a formal hierarchy governing international relations, there is a societal aspect to international politics in which international law and norms can act as guarantors of order.

Borrowing from the English School, constructivists argue that norms are a central feature in the construction of international society because they help to constitute the actors in the society by identifying who the actors are and by conferring rights and responsibilities upon them. Additionally, constructivists say that norms provide a framework for meaningful communication among actors in an international society, since norms language frames the way in which states justify their behaviour, and it provides a means for international society to evaluate those claims (Bellamy 2004). For constructivists, membership in an international society also allows for social learning since, through interaction, states have to learn about the norms and rules of the international society. Constructivists also suggest that the success of learning processes is contingent on the quality and quantity of such learning, so that when actors interact within an institutional and bureaucratic setting, learning tends to be more substantive because it becomes embedded in a common institutional memory (Bellamy 2004).

Nonetheless, constructivists do continue to debate as to whether norms should be conflated with institutions. One might argue that this is a consequence of the way in which the different constructivist approaches operationalise institutions in concrete studies. Institutions are alternately regarded by constructivists as either

formal or informal. In a formal sense, institutions are understood as written or explicitly acknowledged principles, rules and norms; whereas in the informal sense, institutions are regarded merely as stable patterns of practice which are the consequence of the same pattern of behaviour over a longer period of time.

Whereas some constructivists argue that norms do not always need to be institutionalised in one organisational setting or discrete issue area, and that international norms provide a level of order and predictability to world politics, there are those constructivists such as Peter Katzenstein who contend that 'norms do not float freely in political space' (1996:21). According to Katzenstein, norms only acquire domestic and international importance when they are crystallised through institutionalisation. He also argues that once they are institutionalised, norms go beyond simply expressing individually-held preferences, values or ideas because they now become collectively held, and they exist external to actors. Correspondingly, Katzenstein suggests that institutionalised norms become part of an objective reality that 'often, though not always, commands some formal sanctioning mechanisms' (Katzenstein 1996:21).

This section of the chapter has thus far shown how constructivism's theoretical focus on the relationship between norms, identity, interests and institutions provides us with distinct ways for understanding social and international reality. In particular, constructivists demonstrate that ideational phenomena such as norms not only serve to regulate the behaviour of actors, but also that norms themselves can in fact become constitutive of power and interests. Constructivism is therefore a significant theoretical progression from the neorealist and rationalist explanations of international relations which have traditionally dominated the discipline. For neorealists, norms only matter to the extent that they reflect, or are sustained, by the material strength of powerful actors. For rationalists, norms and institutions are only relevant to the extent that they affect actor strategies, but not necessarily their underlying preferences. As a result, unlike constructivism, these approaches merely 'instrumentalise' as opposed to 'endogenise' norms into their explanations of international politics.

Constructivist Scholarship and Theorising Norm Diffusion

Here, I want to briefly allude to how conventional (empirical) constructivist scholars are now attempting to explain how norms emerge, how they are diffused in international society, and how they are internalised by actors. One can categorise this scholarship into three discernable chronological waves, whereby each wave can be distinguished by specific ontological and epistemological assumptions in respect of the agent-structure debate, what are considered to be causal versus constitutive explanations for how norms are diffused and internalised, as well as the nature of agency in international relations.

The need to now speak of conventional or empirical constructivism arose out of a major debate among constructivist scholars during the late 1990s which suggested that constructivism's study of norms was potentially limiting, since its theoretical framework overemphasised the role of structures and norms at the expense of agents who established and changed them in the first place. Jeffrey Checkel (1999), for example, argued that constructivism failed to explore in a systematic manner the mechanisms through which international norms reached the domestic arena and therefore had constitutive effects, and that constructivism could not account for how the same norm would have a significant constitutive impact in one state but would fail to achieve this in another. Earlier, Checkel (1998) had also argued that even though constructivism had shown that social construction was relevant, it did not clearly address when, how, or why this occurred. Thus, he suggested that constructivists had developed a reputation for displaying empirical 'ad hocism' when describing the actors and mechanisms that brought about change, the scope conditions under which they behaved, and how they varied across countries (Checkel 1998).

In response to this criticism, constructivist scholars such as Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) began to caution that research which developed arguments about norms, culture, and ideas had to be specific about ideational causal claims and mechanisms; be transparent about the micro-foundations on which theoretical claims about norms were based; and should be capable of evaluating those claims using carefully considered historical and empirical research. Similarly, Audie Klotz (1995) insisted that research designs which considered constitutive norms to be independent variables, and which were capable of determining actor identities and interests, needed to specifically isolate the mechanisms whereby these norms defined and redefined those identities and interests.

In an effort to develop a middle-order theory about norms, many constructivist scholars began to

1. generate more concrete propositions about them,
2. provide greater conceptual precision in the operationalisation of norms,
3. explain the relationship between domestic and international norms, and
4. interrogate whether norms were agents of stability or change.

This is most clearly articulated in the conventional constructivist scholarship on norm diffusion. For the purposes of this chapter, norm diffusion can be simply defined as the process whereby norms travel from one political actor to another and between different places and contexts. Theorising about norm diffusion therefore requires asking questions about how norms originate, how they travel between states and other actors, how they are adopted, how they influence behaviour, and how they change during this process.

The conventional constructivist scholarship on norm diffusion is rich and abundant. Space constraints, however, do not allow me to explicate all of the scholarship in detail here. It suffices to say that the first wave of diffusion scholarship (throughout the 1990s) focused on how presumably 'good' international norms such as human rights and democracy were diffused internationally to the national level, as well as the role played by non-governmental, trans-national and international organisations in this process. The prominent models which arose to account for norm diffusion during this wave were the *norm life-cycle model* (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998), the *spiral model* (Risse, Ropp & Sikkink 1999), and the *boomerang model* (Keck & Sikkink 1999). The *norm life-cycle model* focuses on the purposive efforts of individual norm entrepreneurs and groups that endeavour to change existing norms and rules in the area of global politics or, alternately, that attempt to introduce new norms by persuading a critical mass of norm leaders to internalise these norms. *The spiral model* explains how international human rights norms are diffused to recalcitrant states. This model sets out five stages to account for this process. These are:

1. repression and the activation of network,
2. denial,
3. tactical concessions,
4. prescriptive status, and
5. rule-consistent behaviour.

The *boomerang model* focuses on the role played by transnational advocacy networks in the process of norm diffusion. Since individuals and domestic groups are often unable to work within a country to stop governments from violating a certain norm, they seek out international actors to put pressure on the norm-violating government from the outside.

The second wave of scholarship (early 2000s) focused predominantly on explaining how and why international norms were changed by norm-adopting states in their domestic contexts so as to suit their own prior normative backgrounds. The most significant models which arose to account for this phenomenon during the second wave were *cultural match* (Checkel 1999), *norm localisation* (Acharya 2004), and *norm vernacularisation* (Levitt & Merry 2009). *Cultural match* proposes that the internalisation of an international norm is more probable if it is 'convergent' with domestic norms and culture. In cultural match this convergence operates along a continuum. It can be positive, in which case the international and domestic norm are compatible; it can be in the middle, in which case there are few barriers to diffusion; or it could be negative, in which case there is no congruence between the international and the domestic norm. *Norm localisation* examines how domestic actors change foreign norms to 'fit' with local beliefs and practices. As a result, domestic actors actively seek out foreign norms and ideas that can enhance the legitimacy of existing practices

without altering local identities. The concept of *vernacularisation* refers to actors such as non-governmental organisations that intervene between transnational norms and local populations in the process of diffusion. Vernacularisers take the ideas of one group and reframe them in a way which the other group will accept. As a result, transnational norms are presented in a way that resonates with local beliefs, yet they stay sufficiently different to challenge those beliefs.

The third wave (late-2000s to the present) concentrates on explaining how materially weaker states can contest and even change international norms, how they promote their own norms internationally, and how they can reinforce or outright reject international norms. The most compelling models which have been developed during this wave of scholarship are *norm subsidiarity* (Acharya 2011a), *norm circulation* (Acharya 2013), and *norm contestation* (Zimmerman, Deitelhoff & Lesch 2017). *Norm subsidiarity* focuses on the under-studied phenomenon of how materially weaker actors are able to resist the norms of stronger ones, and how weaker actors can reference existing international norms to expose the hypocrisy of stronger ones. Norm subsidiarity sees weaker actors as either rejecting foreign norms in favour of their own, or amplifying international norms so as to constrain the behaviour of powerful actors from violating them. *Norm circulation* builds on the concepts of localisation and subsidiarity. This model contends that there is a need to focus on agency and feedback in norm dynamics. According to this model, new international norms are more likely to spread if the responsibility for their development and diffusion is seen to have been more broadly shared, rather than their origins being accredited to any one particular group. Since norms are applied in different contexts and locations, feedback constitutes an important form of agency because it serves to broaden the legitimacy and appeal of the new norm. *Norm contestation* highlights how dissent can lead to a change in the international norm. According to this model, there are two types of contestation:

1. validity contestation and
2. application contestation.

Validity contestation occurs when the norm itself becomes contested internationally. If those who dissent against the norm succeed in their endeavour, then the norm is completely abolished. Application contestation leads to debates about whether the application of a norm is appropriate in a given situation. These debates change the norm's application incrementally, and potentially even strengthen it, since contestation also serves to clarify what type of behaviour conforms to the norm.

I will in the rest of this section talk a bit more about the *norm life-cycle model*, the *norm localisation model*, and the *norm subsidiarity model*. The purpose is to demonstrate the progression of thought between these three waves as well as to set the foundation for the final section of this chapter.

The Norm-life Cycle Model

As part of the first wave of conventional constructivist scholarship on norm emergence and diffusion, the *norm life-cycle model* developed by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) suggests that international norms evolve in patterned life cycles and that norm influence and diffusion can be explained as a three-stage process. The first stage is characterised by *norm emergence*, whereby norm entrepreneurs have to 'frame' new issue areas so that they resonate with broader public perceptions and understandings (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998).

During the emergence stage, norm entrepreneurs require an organisational platform to promote their norms. In this respect, norm entrepreneurs have to *persuade*, as opposed to *coerce*, state actors in these organisations to endorse their norms and to make them part of the organisation's norm socialisation agenda. Finnemore and Sikkink suggest that an emerging norm reaches its threshold when it has been institutionalised in specific sets of international rules and organisations. They further argue that institutionalisation implies that there is clarity as to what exactly the norm is, what constitutes violation (even though this often remains a contentious issue area), and what specific procedures are offered whereby norm leaders may express disapproval and sanction for norm violation (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998).

The second stage of the *norm life-cycle model* is characterised by *norm acceptance* or *norm cascade*. This stage usually involves the 'dynamic of imitation' whereby norm leaders endeavour to socialise an even larger set of states to become norm followers. As a consequence of contagion, a greater number of countries begin to adopt the new norm, irrespective of whether there is domestic pressure to do so or not. Also, during this stage, an active process of international socialisation occurs whereby norm breakers are induced to become norm followers.

The final stage is characterised by *norm internalisation*. During this stage, it is said that norms have acquired a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998). Therefore, according to the *norm life-cycle model*, socialisation and norm compliance are ultimately successful when states are influenced to perceive their identity as being linked to an international society. This is based on the social constructivist assumption that belonging to and identifying with an international society influences state behaviour because of reputational enhancement and actual or perceived peer pressure.

Norm Localisation

As part of the second wave of conventional constructivist scholarship, Amitav Acharya (2004) proposes a dynamic explanation of *norm diffusion* that describes how local agents reconstruct foreign norms to ensure that these norms fit with

the agents' cognitive priors and identities (Acharya 2004). Acharya subsequently presents an investigatory framework which prioritises the agency role of norm-takers. He suggests that this agency role is facilitated through a dynamic congruence-building process which he calls *localisation*. He defines this process as follows:

A complex process and outcome by which norm-takers build congruence between transnational norms (including norms previously institutionalised in a region) and local beliefs and practices. In this process, foreign norms, which may not initially cohere with the latter, are incorporated into local norms. Therefore, the success of norm diffusion strategies depends on the extent to which they provide opportunities for localisation (Acharya 2004:241).

Acharya also suggests that the success of *norm localisation* is more likely if norm-takers are convinced that foreign norms will elevate the status of preexisting local norms without significantly altering local identities. For Acharya, in localisation, local agents undertake an active process of pruning or adjustment to find a better fit between foreign ideas and local practices. In other words, local agents actively seek out foreign ideas that can instrumentally enhance their legitimacy and moral authority. Local agents additionally interrogate the shape and content of foreign ideas so as to ensure that their potential localisation enhances rather than replaces existing institutions. Acharya further argues that the prospects for localisation depend on the authority and perceived legitimacy of key norm-takers, the strength of prior local norms, the credibility and prestige of local agents, indigenous cultural traits and traditions, and the scope for grafting and pruning presented by foreign norms (Acharya 2004).

Moreover, Acharya concludes that strong extant norms facilitate the localisation of foreign norms, since successful norm localisation depends on the prior existence of a local norm in a similar issue area as that of a new external norm which makes similar behavioural claims. In localisation, it is said that the external norm must also be amenable to pruning and adjustments without necessarily compromising its core attributes, and that it is this very scope for grafting and pruning presented by a new foreign norm that influences the norm-taker's interest to localise it (Acharya 2004).

Norm Subsidiarity

As part of the third wave of norm diffusion scholarship, Acharya has developed an additional theoretical framework to explain the phenomenon of norm resistance and displacement in the process of norm diffusion. He introduces the concept of *norm subsidiarity* to investigate the process whereby 'local actors create rules with a view to preserve their autonomy from dominance, neglect, violation, or abuse by more powerful central actors' (Acharya 2011a:97).

Acharya contends that peripheral actors have developed subsidiarity norms for two reasons. First, they have historically sought to challenge their marginalisation from global norm-making processes. Second, they employ *norm subsidiarity* as a result of what they perceive to be great power hypocrisy. According to Acharya, this is a result of stronger states seemingly violating universally accepted norms such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention, self-determination, and the equality of states, and the unwillingness of higher level institutions to punish deviance (Acharya 2011a).

Therefore, for Acharya, there are two major effects of *norm subsidiarity*. The first is a challenging/resisting effect whereby local actors reject central actors, great powers and international institutions by developing subsidiarity norms. In this way, local actors choose to deny international rules, and they claim a right to resolve their own issues without higher power authority. The second effect of *norm subsidiarity* is a supportive/strengthening one whereby local actors support and invoke global norms because they consider them to be universal, even though they continue to question and resist great power-controlled ideas and institutions (Acharya 2011a).

Reflections on Constructivist Norm Theorising: Prospects and Limitations

In this section, I want to offer some tentative reflections on how the universalising nature of constructivist norms theorising potentially erases how norm dynamics are also frequently authored and structured in important ways by non-Western actors. I also want to make the case for why theorising about norms is concomitantly the study of Africa's international relations. At the beginning of this chapter I intentionally highlighted how Charlotte Epstein emphasised that constructivism's study of norms '*would appear*' to be a good thing for international politics. This is because she goes on to qualify that 'constructivism's shortcoming is to have neglected the power relations running through these normative matrices, and the specific exclusions they enact and enable power that is still understood in its immaterial, relational dimensions' (Epstein 2017:3). Whereas I have shown in this chapter that constructivism's merit is to have opened up the ideational and social dimension to the study of international relations, what I have made less clear is that norms constitute powerful ordering mechanisms of international politics. Indeed, the way we theorise about them also enables and sustains particular forms of knowledge and praxis.

Since this book is primarily concerned with how to employ African-centred and Western theories to ground research on Africa or an African phenomenon, I need to do the following two things at this juncture:

1. briefly state an African perspective on theorising norms in international relations and the characteristics of norms, and
2. contextualise what is to follow.

To begin with, as it pertains to the first aspect, I will, for the sake of brevity, limit my discussion to the ideas of Mwalimu Ali Al'Amin Mazrui, the doyen of Africa's International Relations.

Indeed, one can write an entire essay, if not a book, on Mwalimu Mazrui's disquisitions on

1. theorising about norms and
2. the characteristics of norm regimes from an African perspective.

For conciseness, I will briefly discuss two of his observations (one on each of the aforementioned aspects) on the subject here. The first of these observations concerns theorising about the *norm of nuclear proliferation*. Mwalimu Mazrui begins by asserting that the gist of Western research eschews the desire for and the inevitable spread of nuclear weapons by African and other developing nations and proffers the view that there has been an exceptional level of nuclear stability and, thus, the focus should be on how to maintain the existing modest success of regime maintenance. To counter this perspective, Mwalimu Mazrui then argues that in order to cure the world of the nuclear malaise, a horizontal nuclear proliferation might be needed. In essence, the cure may be necessitated by a dose of the disease itself (Mazrui 1977).

The second observation is about *norms of solidarity* among Africans which emerged from the *African personality* (i.e. the outgrowth of the cultural uniqueness among Africans as exemplified in their attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, customs, religious zeal, social norms, values, explanations of the cosmos and the supernatural, social and political systems historically or in contemporary times) and, thus, could not be destroyed by the colonial and racial oppression meted by Europeans. Thus, according to Mwalimu Mazrui,

The image of an ancient, isolated and introverted Africa no longer belongs to this age: isolation – naturally associated with so-called 'primitive' character – only corresponded to an ideological necessity born out of colonial racism. But these exchanges with other cultures did not break the unity of the African personality. On the contrary, they helped to assert and enrich it. The colonial conquest of almost the whole of the continent strengthened this feeling of unity of Black Africa (Mazrui 1995:35).

Next, in terms of the second aspect (i.e. contextualising what is to follow), we recall that in his article titled 'Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West' published in the *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* in 2011, Acharya highlights the following two major areas of contestation in respect of current IR theorising:

1. whether existing IR theories are already adequate to account for non-Western experiences and voices, and whether those which have not been are expanding their analytic scope and reach to issues and concerns of the world as a whole; and

2. whether attempts to develop indigenous concepts and theories end up simply mimicking Western theories (Acharya 2011b).

The fact that IR Theory should be inclusive of non-Western voices and realities, is not to say that Western-derived theories are irrelevant. Additionally, to dismiss Western theories simply because they are Western can be a slippery slope to the relativist trap. Undoubtedly, simply testing, extending and revising existing IR theories will not be helpful in bridging the North-South gap, nor will this satisfy demands for epistemic change and justice. Alternative theories which have their origins in the global South and which can account for the practice of international relations are required too (Acharya 2011b). This section of the chapter is therefore a clarion call to scholars of Africa's International Relations to foreground Africa as the place from which to envision the international system when employing constructivism to theorise about norms and African agency. It is also to caution that in some respects, African scholars need to 'de-naturalise' and 'de-centre' some of the ontological and epistemological assumptions of constructivism before employing the theory to explain African phenomena.

It becomes immediately apparent that the first wave of conventional constructivist scholarship on norm diffusion is overtly grounded in universalism, moral cosmopolitanism, and 'ethical proselytism'. The ontological assumption in this wave is that the norms that are being promoted (predominantly) by Western organisations, transnational agents and individual norm entrepreneurs are 'good' norms which are cosmopolitan and universal in nature. As a result, the world polity-based models which are subsequently employed by this wave of scholarship simply assume that actors are uniform cultural constructs who are embedded in an international society that promotes modernisation, learning, imitation, and organisational isomorphism. It is also assumed that these 'good' norms move uni-directionally and seamlessly from 'up there' to 'down here'. The world-polity based models also un-problematically suggest that states and other actors simply comply with norms for reputational enhancement and to align themselves with international standards. In this respect, Legro (1997) is correct when he says that the universalistic approaches to norm diffusion generally mis-specify the impact of international norms because of these conceptual and methodological biases. Central among these is that not only do these analyses overemphasise international prescriptions while neglecting norms that are rooted in other types of social entities, they are also biased towards norms that worked, thereby allowing for little variation to account for why certain norms have failed or become obsolete (Legro 1997).

In providing a critical conceptual meditation of IR and its theory, Siphamandla Zondi (2018) reminds us that IR theorising is a 'monologue' among White men from a privileged position in a small part of the world. As a result, the history and memory of the world that African scholars are expected to 'remember' is that of a region of the world that acquired its status through processes that included

imperialism, slavery, and colonialism. Subsequently, the Eurocentric designs employed by IR Theory establish an illusion that 'the discipline and its claims are universal in the sense that they represent everyone; it is to constantly claim that IR is really international relations of everyone when in fact it is IR of European tradition, a European gaze on the world and a Eurocentric construction of the international' (Zondi 2018:22–23).

There is little doubt that the universal and 'good' norms which constructivists take for granted have been complicit in perpetuating the global hierarchies of political and economic power that were established under imperialism and colonialism. Similarly to other mainstream theoretical approaches in IR, constructivism assumes the 'Westphalian' world as the historical birthplace of the idea of statehood, and it simply naturalises the peremptory norms of sovereignty and non-interference which accompany it. The practice of colonialism itself, coupled with the imperative of its 'civilising mission', intentionally used violence to achieve a normative ordering function so as to bring the languages, mores and norms of civilisation to 'barbarian' civilisations. Today, in the Euro-American world, modernity, which is underpinned by a liberal world order, is characterised as a historical category that promotes norms of individualism, freedom, technological progress, and formal equality. In many parts of the world, however, this very modernity with the norms which define it has been experienced as the slave trade, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, neoliberalism, and globalisation.

Constructivism's emphasis on 'socialisation' and 'learning' in international society brings to the fore the relationship between identity formation and norms and explains how the latter can account for structural changes in international politics. The first wave of constructivist diffusion theorising attempts to show how actors adopt a new norm based on the ways in which it comes to influence their identities. It does not attempt to address the promise of the material incentives which the norm offers. The problem here then is that constructivism potentially de-politicises the concept of 'identity' itself, since the theory does not focus on the political costs which are associated with socialisation and identity change. In other words, the first wave does not account for the reality that actors in the 'subaltern' world are already socialised, collective actors with preexisting fully-fledged identities. The world-polity models of norm diffusion therefore deny agency and merely place the socialised at the receiving end of the socialisation process. As a result, for these models, the socialised is merely expected to 'react' to the new norm and is, thus, cast in the position of a 'child' in need of 'learning' the norms of 'good' behaviour. Epstein refers to this as the 'infantilisation of the socializee' and explains it by asking the question: 'by assuming that the socializee, like the child, holds no prior legitimate identity, or whose identity is in need of being molded, can both the analyst and policy-maker come to ignore the fundamental violence that inheres in the loss of one identity in order to acquire another?' (Epstein 2017:82).

The second wave of conventional constructivist scholarship on norm emergence and diffusion moves beyond the international prescriptions of moral cosmopolitanism which are inherent in the first wave. This wave emphasises the role of domestic, political, organisational and cultural variables in the process of how new international norms are received. Additionally it demonstrates that international norms are dynamic and subject to change, reinterpretation and contestation. Significantly, the second wave also prioritises local agency since it focuses on the concept of ‘congruence’ to describe the fit between international and domestic norms. Acharya’s (2004) idea of *norm localisation* is therefore distinctive because it argues that the fit between domestic and external identity norms and institutions cannot be explained neatly by dichotomous outcomes of acceptance or rejection. Since the process of localisation is not synonymous with adaptation, diffusion does not require the cognitive priors of norm-takers to be extinguished. Rather, these cognitive priors are mutually inflected with foreign norms so that external ideas are actively adopted to meet local practices. However, most important in norm localisation, agency is reestablished since subsequent changes in behaviour are better explained in relation to the primacy of the local normative order as opposed to international prescriptions.

In terms of the third wave of norm diffusion theorising, and by his own reasoning, Acharya’s conceptual framework of *norm subsidiarity* develops significantly on existing constructivist explanations on how norms travel since it emphasises the need to assess norm creation and diffusion as a ‘bottom-up’ process. Subsequently, this encourages constructivists to now interrogate how weak local actors might in fact challenge and influence global normative processes. Acharya suggests that his concept of subsidiarity also serves to bridge the gap in constructivist scholarship which has traditionally neglected the normative behaviour of Third World countries and the role of regional institutions in norm diffusion. This feature of *norm subsidiarity* ultimately highlights the normative agency of Third World countries in international relations, thereby enhancing the theoretical study of global normative order-building beyond an exclusively Western enterprise (Acharya 2011b).

Charmaine Chua (2017) however is somewhat critical of both localisation and subsidiarity. She argues that Acharya’s focus on the local sources of international norms makes the conception of peripheral autonomy thinkable in one form, but unthinkable in another. On the one hand, localisation and subsidiarity make it possible that weak and less powerful actors play a central role in effecting normative change. On the other, by confining his analysis to elite negotiations within regional and global institutions, Acharya does not consider forms of local agency and difference that exist outside of these institutions. Additionally, Chua suggests that the ‘difference’ which Acharya recognises in Third World agencies is still only made legible through the

ontological 'universal' framework of normative change since he still assumes that these norms have been 'scripted' elsewhere so that despite his best intentions, Acharya's advocacy of Southern agency 'restrictively squashes multi-layered differences and ideological positions into the narrowly common interests and values of international society' (Chua 2017:88).

Scholars of Africa's International Relations should therefore not view agency as the sole purview of state elites, nor should they conceptualise universality as a teleological end-point in which norms need to be enfolded. African agency is multidimensional and multi-actor in nature. Thus, African scholars should consider the particular, the local, the historical, and the subjective when theorising norms. By focusing on African 'experiences' which have been epistemologically dismissed as peculiar and unfamiliar in the past, one might find new ways to account for contemporary dynamics in international relations, while also offering an important counterpoint to the universalising 'pull' which is inherent in the norms constructivist scholarship in IR. As Charlotte Epstein says,

'the challenge, then, is how to mobilise the particular and the local, in their infinite richness, as sites for deploying a form of theorising that, by way of this grounding, seeks to avert the pitfalls of a universalisation that was a key historical driver of colonisation in the first place' (2017:9).

In his introduction to the *Handbook of Africa's International Relations*, Tim Murithi highlights the fact that Africa's engagement with the rest of the world has not always been on the continent's terms, and that Africa's international relations have regularly been defined and influenced by the dominant international and geopolitical agendas of the day. Therefore, Murithi posits that Africa has more often than not been the subject of international relations dictated by external actors and, thus, the chronicles of Africa's International Relations are also dominated by the perspectives of those who have invaded, enslaved, colonised and exploited the continent (Murithi 2014).

Katharina P. Coleman and Thomas K. Tieku (2018), however, remind us that African individuals, continental organisations, governments and non-state actors have significantly shaped many prevailing international norms, but that these contributions have been largely undocumented and unnoticed. It stands to reason therefore that much of the theorising about norms assumes that norms originate in advanced industrialised states and societies and, as a result, the contributions of states and actors from materially less endowed parts of the world remain under-studied and poorly understood (Coleman & Tieku 2018). Nonetheless, consistent with the central premise of this chapter, Coleman and Tieku suggest that by building on existing constructivist scholarship on norms we can identify four key processes by which international norms are produced,

thereby allowing us to study how African actors can participate in and affect the process of international norm development. Concomitantly, Coleman and Tiekou examine how each process represents a potential pathway for African actors to influence international norms. For the purposes of brevity I will merely highlight and bullet-point some of the most salient characteristics of each pathway, as articulated by the authors, in order to indicate how a ‘theoretical grounding’ in constructivism can assist scholars in analysing and theorising the ways in which African actors can shape international norms.

Pathway 1: Shaping Global Norm Creation Processes

When international norms emerge as a result of the work conducted by norm entrepreneurs through persuasion and negotiation at the global level, Coleman and Tiekou (2018) identify the following four mechanisms whereby African actors can impact the resulting norm:

1. African multi-level actors can act as norm entrepreneurs either independently or as parts of an international or transnational mobilisation effort.
2. African states can be important early adopters of an emerging norm whose presence influences subsequent persuasion dynamics.
3. African actors can play the role of ‘norm sceptics’ and can argue against the formal adoption of a proposed norm.
4. African states can play important roles in international negotiations and treaty declarations that seek to establish a new norm.

Pathway 2: African Norms that May or May not Diffuse beyond the Continent

This pathway, also with four mechanisms, would apply to African-centred and indigenous norms which originate specifically from the continent and which have domestic salience, but which might or might not necessarily have international applicability:

1. African norms can be generated through formal or informal continental or regional inter-state negotiations to manage specific issues or crises.
2. African norms can be developed through a deliberate continental or regional norm subsidiarity effort so as to counter global norms which are perceived to be damaging to African actors’ autonomy and sovereignty.
3. African norms can emerge through a ‘coalition of the willing’ where like-minded African governments develop a norm to address shared needs.
4. Continental or regional norms may emerge through the agency of local non-state actors who work together to develop specific norms with a view to persuading African states to adopt them.

Pathway 3: Shaping International Norms through Creative Implementation

This pathway challenges the conventional assumption that the content of norms is static. Thus, it emphasises how norms are dynamic, and it is also concerned with explaining how norms are constantly being reinterpreted and redefined even as they continue to exert influence on patterns of social behaviour. African actors can therefore exert themselves in the following two ways:

1. Through localisation, whereby strategic actors, within a state or region, can adapt international norms to render them more compatible with local norms and priorities.
2. Through *meaning-in-practice*, whereby one can study the material and discursive practices through which states and other actors shape understandings of how a norm can (or cannot) be implemented.

Pathway 4: Direct Contestation of Global Norms

In this pathway, African actors can influence global norms by directly contesting them and, therefore, either force their abandonment or their renegotiation. Challenging norms can manifest in the following five ways:

1. African actors may argue that a global norm is ‘incongruent’ with African conditions, and they may develop mechanisms to encourage African states not to comply with the norm.
2. African contestation and resistance to global norms may occur during negotiations with non-African states. Here, African public officials may challenge the appropriateness of a particular global norm in their interactions with extra-regional actors.
3. African states and African organisations may ‘localise’ the international norm in such a way that the latter loses its original meaning.
4. African actors can use domestic tools and mechanisms to contest an international norm.
5. African public intellectuals may challenge a particular international norm by pointing out the shortcomings in its application through their writings, speeches, and other public engagements.

Indeed, Coleman and Tiekü’s four pathways to account for the emergence, diffusion and contestation of international norms provide an encouraging analytical schema for African scholars to use when studying the understated agency of African actors in international politics. Their analytical schema not only borrows, but also builds, on existing constructivist theorising on the dynamic nature on norms, so as to make this theorising more applicable in the African context. By way of concluding this section, I will briefly demonstrate the connection between norms theorising and practice by offering four examples to reflect aspects of the four pathways in action.

Shaping Global Norm Creation Processes

In my own research, (Bizos 2014, 2015) on the evolving human protection norm of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), much of the literature associates this norm's emergence with the Canadian-sponsored International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) Report which was published in 2001. In its current format, the evolving norm of R2P emphasises a state's responsibility not to commit mass atrocity crimes against its people or to allow them to occur, and it also places a residual responsibility on the international community to respond timeously and decisively when a state is manifestly failing to meet its protection responsibilities. In many ways this international norm, which was ratified by almost all United Nations member states at the General Assembly Summit in New York in 2005 is ground-breaking, since it challenges the idea that state sovereignty is 'absolute'. By doing so, it prioritises human beings, as opposed to states, as the main referent objects of international peace and security; and under specific circumstances, it allows for the intervention of the international community into the domestic affairs of a sovereign state.

What is however often ignored in respect of how this narrative is presented is that the idea of 'sovereignty as responsibility' was initially coined in 1998 by Francis Deng, a Sudanese Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, and it was an African Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, who became the norm's chief entrepreneur by presenting the challenge to world leaders in 1999 to find a way of reconciling the peremptory norm of sovereignty with the imperative of saving populations from mass atrocities committed by their own governments under the guise of this sovereignty.

African Norms that May or May not Diffuse beyond the Continent

In respect of this pathway, one might make reference to the Pan-African solidarity norm which emerged during intergovernmental negotiations among newly independent African states at the level of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) from 1960 onwards. This norm can be attached to Acharya's framework of subsidiarity, since it is an example of how African governments have developed norms to protect themselves from the predatory behaviour of more powerful actors in the international system. Thomas Tiekou (2014) explains that the Pan-African solidarity norm is characterised by a feeling of 'we-ness' among African elites since it encourages them to act in harmony.

Additionally, the Pan-African solidarity norm establishes a collective expectation that elites should not disagree with one another (at least not in public), and that rulers of African states should not step out of line over issues where a broad continental consensus has been established (Tiekou 2014). In many ways, the norm of Pan-African solidarity promotes agency, since it places

an ethical pressure on African governments to seek compromise positions, to develop common positions on critical international issues, and to engage in bloc voting in international and multilateral fora. Recently also, the propensity for African governments to mobilise this norm so as to protect political elites was witnessed by collective efforts to shield Sudanese and Kenyan leaders from trial and prosecution by the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Shaping International Norms through Creative Implementation

A brief example which captures this pathway may be the norms underpinning the African Union's (AU's) Constitutive Act (2000). At first glance, the Act seems consistent with many of the existing norms which govern international relations among states. The Act stresses:

1. sovereign equality and interdependence among member states;
2. prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force;
3. non-interference by any state in the internal affairs of another;
4. peaceful coexistence of states and their right to live in peace and security;
5. respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance, as well as respect for the sanctity of human life; and
6. condemnation and rejection of impunity.
7. Nonetheless, in respect to the use of force or threat to use it, and non-interference by any state in the internal affairs of another, Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act also specifically stipulates 'the right of the AU to intervene in a member state pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity' (AU 2002:1).

In this sense, whereas the AU has adopted the international peremptory norm of non-intervention it has also creatively suggested that non-intervention does not equate with the African-centred norm of non-indifference. To this day, the AU is the only international organisation, other than the United Nations, which grants its member states the prerogative to intervene in a member state on prescribed grounds, thereby prompting the overarching norm of 'African solutions for Africa's problems'.

Direct Contestation of Global Norms

Here again, I turn to the 'now contested' norm of the Responsibility to Protect after the Libya fiasco of 2011, when the international community invoked R2P and Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to employ 'all necessary means' against the Muammar Gaddafi regime. What subsequently became clear is that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-led intervention (with predominantly

United States military muscle) extended its mandate and effectively forced 'regime change' in Libya. To this end, many African states, as well as other actors from the global South, who were initially supportive of R2P, now contest the norm at the level of the United Nations.

Thus, dissenting actors now claim that R2P is susceptible to politicisation by Great Powers and that the norm suffers from selectivity, misuse and abuse when it is politically useful for powerful states to do so. Dissenters also accuse the norm's supporters of 'great hypocrisy' because of double standards in the norms application and its propensity for unfair discrimination against weaker actors in the name of mass atrocity prevention.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured to demonstrate why and how norms matter both in the way that we theorise and 'do' international relations. In particular, I have made the case that the 'constructivist turn' in IR has brought the study of norms squarely into the theoretical and empirical concerns of the discipline. Norms matter because practically they are able to sustain cooperation in international affairs despite the absence of a higher authority capable of enforcing compliance with their injunctions. Theoretically, norms matter too because they demonstrate how social and ideational dynamics are just as important as material ones in regulating the behaviour of international actors and in constituting their identities. I have also highlighted that norms are powerful ordering mechanisms in international affairs that enable and sustain particular forms of knowledge and praxis. No doubt, much of the conventional constructivist theorising about norms can be faulted for being too grounded in unfounded universalism, liberal internationalism and moral cosmopolitanism.

Nonetheless, I have attempted to show how constructivist norm diffusion scholarship and theorising have progressed and how they now offer promise in respect to how African scholars might employ the theory to better understand norm dynamics and agency in an African context. Whereas African scholars should be encouraged to shift constructivism's 'site of enunciation' to the particular and local, they should not dismiss constructivism outright in their endeavours to theorise about norms and African phenomena in general.

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Public Choice Theory and Economic Development in Africa

Abdul Karim Bangura

This chapter examines how Public Choice Theory can be used to study and promote economic development in Africa. An example of the challenges which need to be addressed is found in a recent article on Africa's economic development by Sam Unom. Unom probes the question of whether the continent is stymied by irregular legacy institutions inherited from colonialism. He begins by challenging the dominant perspective that corruption and populism are the sole impediments to Africa's economic development. After a lengthy discussion of the merits and demerits of this prevalent view and evidence on the vagaries of legacy institutions, he then proffers the notion that while corruption and populism do have negative impacts on economic development in Africa, so to do the irregular institutions (Unom 2019).

First, the chapter looks at the various approaches that have been employed to investigate and promote economic development in Africa since the continent's independence explosion in the 1960s and the reasons for their failures. These approaches include the Simple Growth Model, the Redistribution with Growth Model, the Import-substitution Model, the Socialist Model, the National Self-reliance Model and the Regional Integration or Collective Self-reliance Model. Thereafter, Public Choice Theory is suggested as an alternative for studying and promoting sustainable economic development in Africa. The underlying presuppositions of this chapter are:

1. if self-interest is a powerful motivator in the marketplace, there is every reason to believe that it will also be a motivating factor when choices are made collectively to promote economic development;

2. if market choices are influenced by changes in projected personal costs relative to benefits, there is every reason to expect that such changes will also influence political choices for economic development.

Perhaps the following simple anecdote will serve to illustrate the need for an alternative approach to study and spur economic development in Africa. During a recent professional meeting, a notable African scholar presented a paper on 'Theory of De-development'. At the conclusion of his presentation, a member of the audience who had travelled all the way from Kenya to attend the conference in the United States remarked:

'Enough of the theorising! We need practical answers to make sure that anyone who drives a straight course on most African roads is not driving drunk. For a sober person would have to drive zigzag to escape the massive manholes (that is, potholes) on those roads.'

Almost axiomatic is the notion that each African country presents such a different mix of economic problems that standard solutions cannot be applied as panacea. Economics literature offers a variety of models showing the path toward economic development. Yet, when a developing country pleads for specific answers, these economists can refer to only partial solutions or states of development so theoretical and abstract that few have ever really been tested.

By analysing the behaviour of people in the marketplace within an economic development perspective, one can develop a logically consistent theory of behaviour that can be tested against reality. Through theory and empirical testing, the analyst can seek to explain various economic development actions of decision-makers and, in general, how the market operates. The rest of this chapter is divided into two major sections that entail discussions of the issues mentioned earlier:

1. previous development models used in Africa and the reasons for their failures and
2. Public Choice as an alternative model. These aspects can guide the rational decision-maker toward avoiding the short-sightedness effect which has hampered many African economies over the years.

This effect refers to the misallocation of resources that results because public sector action is biased:

1. in favour of proposals yielding clearly defined current benefits in exchange for difficult-to-identify future costs and
2. against proposals with clearly identifiable current costs yielding less concrete and less obvious future benefits.

Previous Development Models Used in Africa and Reasons for their Failures

The arrival of independence for most African countries in the 1960s found them closely tied up in economic relations with their former colonial masters. The ties were much stronger between Francophone African countries and France. For instance, France accounted for three-quarters of the external trade of Benin, Chad, Niger, and Senegal when these countries received their independence. Most African countries also gave preferential tariff treatment to imports from the imperialist states. As the imperialists had mostly monopolised foreign investments and aid donation in the colonies, decolonisation provided the new African governments with the opportunity to diversify their economic links and pursue development strategies that could allow them to reduce their economic dependence on the former imperialists.

In this section of the chapter, the development strategies that African governments have pursued since independence and the reasons for their shortcomings are explored. The focus is on the theoretical presuppositions of these development models and the results yielded after their implementation.

The Simple Growth Model

The *Simple Growth Model* can be traced to the 'Western' model of development. In the words of Robert A. Nisbet, 'developmentalism is one of the oldest and most powerful of all Western ideas'. The central idea engendered in this development thinking is the metaphor of *growth*. Thus, development, according to Nisbet is conceived as being 'organic, immanent, directional, cumulative, irreversible, and purposive. Furthermore, it implies structural differentiation and increasing complexity' (Nisbet 1969:7).

The early discussion on modern economic development for poorer countries (that is, in the late 1950s and the early 1960s) had an optimistic tone which may be difficult to explain today. This optimism was mainly a manifestation of the dynamic growth experienced by industrialised countries themselves under the Marshall Plan,¹ which was seen as a successful demonstration case of development, but also arose from the philosophic tradition in the West which looked upon growth as more or less inevitable. The Keynesian 'revolution' in economics had taught Western economists and Africans trained in Western economics that the state sometimes had to give a helping hand, but few doubted that the future of African and other developing countries was generally reflected in the experience of the industrialised countries. The simple formula was: just find out the Incremental Capital-Output ratio and the desired rate of growth. Then one can (after due consideration of the rate of population growth) arrive at the appropriate level of investment needed for economic growth (Hettne 1978).

Foreign capital inflows were seen as a 'pump-priming' mechanism intended to help a developing country's savings and tax receipts as well as to help investment rise steadily (Bangura 1994a).

Sociologically minded theorists emphasised the significance of a leading sector (private or public) and the emergence of the entrepreneurial elite as stimuli for economic development. The idea of growth, as proffered by theorists such as Walt Whitman Rostow (1960), was therefore perceived mainly as a function of investment, and not too many analysts doubted that a process of economic growth through a series of 'stages' would in the end benefit an entire country. This is the reason the 1960s were dubbed the *First Development Decade* in anticipation of the successes that were expected to follow.

Nonetheless, by the early 1970s, many African countries began to face difficulties in fulfilling the growth development strategy. Some Western economists trained in formal theory began to sense new realities. Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris, for example, capture this idea well when they state:

'We had shared the prevailing view among economists that economic growth was economically beneficial to most nations. We had also greatly questioned the relevance today of the historical association of successful economic growth with the spread of parliamentary democracy. Our results proved to be at variance with our preconceptions' (Adelman & Morris 1973:vii).

From the preceding quote, one can see that Adelman and Morris display a renewed interest in the nexus between economic growth and income distribution. A key factor for this focus was the visible aspects of the extent of poverty: recurrent starvation, mass unemployment, political unrest, etc. What was taking place in African countries during the so-called 'development decade' was growth with poverty instead of development.

Employing data from across Africa, Colin Legum and his partners found that by the mid-1970s, post-colonial African countries had perpetuated or generated staggering income inequalities and had maintained much of their populations in conditions of absolute poverty. These economies, moreover, remained geared toward raw material production and export to their previous metropolitan markets (namely France, Britain, and Belgium) with some diversification of markets to include other European Economic Community (EEC) member states, especially Germany and the Netherlands. In only eight of the 35 independent African states had a non-EEC country become the major trading partner by the mid-1970s. Also, only in Mauritius were manufactured goods among the principal products exported (Legum et al. 1979).

The Redistribution with Growth Model

A new strategy proposed by theorists of the *Redistribution with Growth Model* exemplified a modification of, rather than a clear break with, the *Simple Growth Model*. First, the analysis retained much of the optimism of the earlier 'trickle-down' assumptions in asserting that the benefits of growth, empirically, had a tendency to be concentrated in the early stages but that further increases in concentration were by no means inevitable. Secondly, the social engineering approach to development, as Chenery and his partners (1962, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1970, 1974) purported, was still adhered to, in that they believed that to deal with the problems of poverty-stricken groups, governments needed to design overall programmes or policy packages rather than a set of isolated projects. This is simply a continuation of the old strategy of 'balanced growth' extended to include social development as well (Bangura 1994a).

The core of the shortcoming of the redistribution with growth strategy in Africa was the fact that most of the continent's governments could not significantly raise mass living standards by maintaining their reliance on traditional primary production exports; yet this reliance was maintained. In extreme cases such as Ghana, the government's attempt to increase its reliance on cocoa exports led to a sharp decline in total revenues received because of the price elasticity associated with demand conditions for the commodity. Prices for most primary products exported from Africa were unstable and remain so to the present day. Such price changes usher in dramatic ups and downs in economic conditions in Africa, leaving the planning of structural change extremely difficult and the avoidance of periodic foreign-exchanges practically impossible (Legum et al. 1979).

Another feature of this dilemma was the fact that the purchasing power of most African commodity exports in the global market declined over much of the post-independence period. Between 1960 and 1972, overall barter terms of trade for developing countries in general declined by an annual average of 0.3 per cent. The purchasing power of those countries' exports (excluding petroleum) declined by an annual average of 1.4 per cent during the same period. The remarkable upsurge in commodity prices during 1973–1974 was quickly reversed in 1975. African countries were left worse off because of the decline in prices for their commodities and these economies' requirements for high-priced oil imports (Legum et al. 1979). The emergence of new resource exports in the post-independence period provided a few African countries an escape from these strains. Petroleum discoveries and development in Gabon and Nigeria, iron ore in Mauritania, and copper in Botswana provided these countries such escapes.

For a small number of other African countries, possibilities for diversification hinged upon new agricultural products (for example, cashews in Tanzania) and expanded peasant cash cropping (for example, tea and pyrethrum in Kenya). But production of these primary products did not provide the rapid income advances

intermediary bourgeoisies needed to finance their own *embourgeoisement* (i.e. the proliferation in a society of values perceived as characteristic of the middle class, especially of materialism) and increase standards of living. The outcome, as to be expected, was political instability (Legum et al. 1979). These developments led many African countries to promote industrialisation policies based on import-substitution.

The Import-substitution Model

The underlying tenet of the *Import-substitution Model* is that in order to industrialise, developing countries must also decide whether to produce manufactured goods for export or to replace imports because

1. their manufactured imports indicate the existence of a domestic market for particular products,
2. barriers against foreign competition could easily be erected, and
3. the strategy is believed to relieve even greater balance of payments problems later. Import tariffs, which tend to become progressively higher with higher stages of processing, could provide the needed protection.

For example, Naomi Chazan and her colleagues (1999) in their study of import-substitution industrialisation in Africa state that the continent's experience with the strategy has not, on the whole, been a particularly happy one. These observers provide a number of reasons for their assertion. To begin with, instead of conserving scarce foreign exchange, import-substitution industrialisation proved to be import-sensitive because many of the capital goods and components used in manufacturing had to be imported. The foreign exchange problem was often exacerbated where import-substitution industrialisation was conducted by a subsidiary of a transnational corporation, since its profits, interest, and dividends were repatriated to its parent company overseas. Instead of reducing dependence, the strategy simply led to a change in the nature of that dependence – on foreign technology, for instance.

Chazan et al. add that import-substitution industrialisation led to a misallocation of resources. As infant industries failed to grow, they continued to be dependent on high levels of protection from potential competitors. With this high level of protection came little incentive for industry to become more efficient. The inevitable consequence was that local consumers were subjected to unnecessarily high prices. A corollary was that the strategy discriminated directly against other sectors like agriculture, because they were dependent on inputs from import-substitution industries. The inefficiency of these industries also meant that they could not sell their goods on the world market in order to reap economies of scale (Chazan et al. 1999).

Chazan and her colleagues also point out that other policies associated with import-substitution industrialisation caused certain distortions. In order to reduce the relative cost of inputs needed by industry, governments had to maintain overvalued exchange rates. Export sectors such as agriculture and mining suffered because of this policy, as their products became relatively more expensive for foreigners to buy. State corporations became even more inefficient because governments demanded that they employ secondary-school graduates and provide below-cost services to other sectors of the economies (Chazan et al. 1999).

Chazan et al. mention that a number of serious policy errors were also made, particularly in opting for the latest high-technology processes as opposed to those appropriate for local conditions. An example was the establishment of six vehicle assembly plants in Nigeria that were largely dependent on imported materials. The range of models produced was so wide that production runs were quite short. The multiplication of plants also led to very low levels of production capacity. As a consequence, some of the plants recorded a negative value added in manufacturing. The costs of assembly in Nigeria were actually in excess of the cost of importing a fully built vehicle from abroad. Another example is a large automated bakery in Tanzania which was more capital-intensive than the country's oil refinery. The bakery became so highly dependent on imported wheat that it displaced a number of local, more efficient manufacturers (Chazan et al. 1999).

In essence, according to Chazan and company, the import-substitution strategy failed to bring about a much-anticipated dramatic increase in local manufacturing. The 7 per cent growth in manufacturing value added in the period 1963–1973 was reduced to 5.7 percent in the period 1973–1981. During this latter period, 14 African countries actually recorded a decrease in the manufacturing value added. This same period also saw the contribution of manufacturing to total GDP (Gross Domestic Product) fall in 20 countries in Africa south of the Sahara. The continent's share of world manufactured exports fell by almost half over the years 1970 to 1976 to a low of 0.6 percent (Chazan et al. 1999).

The Socialist Model

As Björn Hettne states, 'African Socialism is a vague concept, to say the least, and encompasses many diverse viewpoints' (1978:52). He goes on to suggest the following five major groups:

1. '*Afro Marxists* emphasised Marxist-Leninist ideas of economic development and political structure and included Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Modibo Keita of Mali, Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Agostinho Neto of Angola, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia, the military leaders of Benin and Madagascar, Luiz De Almeida Cabral and Joao Bernago Vieira of Guinea Bissau' (Hettne 1978:52).

2. '*Radical Socialists* took a more critical approach and moved toward Marxism. They included leaders in the Congo Brazzaville – at least before the 1977 coup' (Hettne 1978:52).
3. '*Moderate Socialists* included Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who favoured a state-controlled socialist economy but were at the same time anxious to attract foreign investment capital' (Hettne 1978:52).
4. '*Social Democrats* were closely connected to European socialism and were frequently pro-Western in outlook. These included Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor and briefly Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko and Chad's Ngarta Tombalbaye' (Hettne 1978:52).
5. '*Agrarian Socialist or Populist* was Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and his Ujamaa philosophy' (Hettne 1978:52).

When combined, *African Socialism* included a wide ideological spectrum ranging from Marxist-Leninist to populist ideas very similar to the Russian Narodniks or Gandhi in India. African founding fathers espoused notions of socialism and shared an aversion to colonialism. They saw independence as the way to build a new and prosperous Africa.

The early proponents of African Socialism indicated a clear commitment to the establishment of egalitarian societies, and a just and self-sufficient polity. The state was envisioned as the mechanism through which these objectives could be met. These pioneers extolled political centralisation and mobilisation as the tools for real economic and social transformation on the African continent (Chazan et al. 1999).

Nonetheless, when it came to implementing the philosophy in governance, African Socialism barely endured the first decade of independence. By the early 1970s Nkrumah, Ben Bella, and Keita had been deposed, Nasser had died, and Nyerere and Touré had taken different political paths. Nonetheless, the impact of these first ideological experiments has outlasted their advocates. African Socialism as a means of instilling a sense of national pride and African dignity still has widespread appeal on the continent. The commitment to Pan-Africanism is often traced back to these leaders because they were the first to attempt the exposition of a coherent, albeit inconsistent, system of political and economic ideas. Their concepts emerged as measuring rods for subsequent strategies.

The National Self-reliance Model

Theorists who promoted the *National Self-reliance Model* suggested a conscious policy by developing countries to 'de-link' from the global economy. As a concept, self-reliance was inaugurated by the Non-Aligned Countries at their 1970 meeting in Lusaka, Zambia and was further elaborated at their 1972 foreign ministers conference in Georgetown, Guyana. It was seen as an antithesis to 'dependency'. The concept emerged just before the concept New International

Economic Order (NIEO), which sought international co-operation as opposed to withdrawal from the global economic system. In essence, national self-reliance did not mean autarky – a complete severance of all economic relations with the outside world – but the partial disengagement of a country from the dominant relationship prevailing in the global economic system.

Johan Galtung provided the theoretical logic for national self-reliance as a somewhat more inclusive development strategy in the following 13 hypotheses (see Hettne 1978:32):

1. 'Through SR (self-reliance) priorities will change towards production for basic needs for those most in need'.
2. 'Through SR mass participation is ensured'.
3. 'Through SR local factors are utilised much better'.
4. 'Through SR creativity is stimulated'.
5. 'Through SR there will be more compatibility with local conditions'.
6. 'Through SR there will be much more diversity of development'.
7. 'Through SR there will be less alienation'.
8. 'Through SR ecological balance will be more easily attained'.
9. 'Through SR important externalities are internalised or given to neighbors at the same level'.
10. 'Through SR solidarity with others at the same level gets a solid base'.
11. 'Through SR ability to withstand manipulation due to trade dependency increases'.
12. 'Through SR the military defense capability of the country increases'.
13. 'Through SR as a basic approach today's Center and Periphery are brought on a more equal footing'.

As Hettne (1978) so correctly points out, this list of advantages of self-reliance appears utopian. Galtung is at pains to explain that the 13 propositions should be conceived as hypotheses about possible effects. The question here, then, is as follows: How has national self-reliance fared in Africa?

For Mobutu's government in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), national self-reliance became a central notion in the early 1970s. It was accompanied by the notion of 'authenticity' – the Africanisation of names. National self-reliance was also emphasised by the Acheampong government in Ghana in 1972–1975. After 1975, it lost its aura on the African continent. It was later revived by the populist regimes in Burkina Faso and Ghana in the mid-1980s. The two countries that have pursued a more consistent national self-reliance policy in Africa are Algeria and Tanzania (Chazan et al. 1999). It is hoped that a brief examination of how these two countries have employed national self-reliance will give the reader a sampling of how the strategy fared in Africa.

In the case of Tanzania, its commitment to national self-reliance, which is intertwined with a socialist philosophy, can be traced back to the Arusha Declaration authored by Nyerere in February of 1967. The declaration began with

a frank assessment of Tanzania's economic woes and prospects. Nyerere's major concern was with the extensive demands his citizens were making for government services which were becoming difficult to fulfil, even with substantial foreign economic assistance. Tanzania also learned very quickly just how unreliable foreign aid could be. Relations between Tanzania and its three largest aid donors deteriorated: with West Germany because Tanzania had established diplomatic relations with East Germany; with the United States over accusations that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was attempting to overthrow Nyerere's government; and with Britain because of an inadequate response from the British over the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). West Germany and Britain froze their aid to Tanzania, making it impossible for Tanzania to meet the development targets outlined in the First Five-Year Plan it had adopted in 1964 (Chazan et al. 1999).

When Tanzania encountered difficulty attracting significant amounts of aid from the former Eastern bloc countries, it had no other option but to pursue a policy of national self-reliance if it wanted to continue its independent foreign policy stance. The Arusha Declaration pointed out that if individuals were self-reliant, then, districts, regions, and the whole country would be self-reliant. Because the vast majority of the Tanzanian population lived in the rural areas, Nyerere placed greater emphasis on rural development by providing those areas with education, health care, and potable water. He reasoned, therefore, that priority in industrialisation should be given to industries that could service the needs of the rural population. Greater self-reliance was seen as the way to:

1. necessitate acceptance by the population of (sometimes lower quality) locally produced goods instead of imported luxuries,
2. reduce imports, and
3. diversify Tanzania's trade links in order to lessen its dependence on existing markets and suppliers (Chazan et al. 1999).

While on paper many Ujamaa villages now existed, the reality was that a very small number of them operated on the collective basis as intended. By 1975, the government had backed down from the idea of communal production. The villagisation programme disrupted agricultural production; the situation was further compounded by the 1974 drought. Thus, Tanzania had to import food rather than being self-sufficient in agriculture. This, in turn, meant that Tanzania had to face the major burden of using its scarce resources for foreign exchange. Most discouraging was that very few villagers even had a clear understanding of what self-reliance meant in practice (Chazan et al. 1999).

It is quite evident in the case of Tanzania that weak, dependent economies are powerless when they seek to implement significant changes in the global economy. While, on the one hand, Tanzania has been successful in pursuing its foreign policy in the political arena, its economic policy on the other hand has

been affected by factors beyond its control and by the structural constraints of the global economy.

Similarly, Algeria's national self-reliance approach is undergirded by its socialist development philosophy. Nevertheless, Algeria has plenty of energy resources. This endowment has allowed Algeria to articulate a self-reliance policy that stresses national control over natural resources as the major factor of being 'master in one's own house' (Chazan et al. 1999).

Among the key characteristics of Algeria's self-reliance policy are the nationalisation of foreign-owned companies, the establishment of many state-owned enterprises, the insistence upon Algerian instead of expatriate managers, the reinvestment of energy revenues in order to lessen recourse to foreign capital, and a policy of leadership in the affairs of developing countries. For Algerians, self-reliance means national control (Chazan et al. 1999).

Algeria's 1976 National Charter, which is similar to the Arusha Declaration of Tanzania, emphasises national accumulation of capital for investment as opposed to becoming dependent on foreign investment and urges other developing countries to do the same. The rationale is that a country first must count on itself in order to influence the prices of its raw materials. Nevertheless, during the period of concentrated investment in industrialisation, Algeria saw its agricultural production decline. With its population rapidly growing, Algeria became dependent upon food imports (Chazan et al. 1999).

The self-reliance programme of Algeria, just as that of Tanzania, was struck a serious blow because of its inability to increase its agricultural production. The decline of oil prices in the mid-1980s also forced Algeria to tighten its belt and revise its investment projections. But unlike Tanzania, Algeria, as already stated, possesses abundant amounts of energy resources which allow it to pursue its goal of becoming 'the master in its own house'.

The Regional Integration or Collective Self-reliance Model

Theorists who proposed the *Regional Integration Model* (or *Collective Self-reliance*, as other writers refer to it) posit that in order to realise greater self-reliance, a country must inevitably depend on cooperation from other countries that share similar characteristics and goals. African countries learned very quickly after independence that in order for them to overcome the problems of limited economic resources, economic cooperation with their neighbours was a sensible strategy. What, then, has been the result of regional integration in Africa?

The history of the notion of regional integration in Africa is lengthy. Even before independence, colonial powers instituted regional integration systems for their own needs instead of those of Africans. Transportation networks linking peripheral areas and coastal centres were established by colonial administrators to minimise their financial commitments, coordinate markets, and establish

common currency areas under their rule. Britain and France even promoted the formation of federations, common service organisations, and common banking systems among their colonies (Legum et al. 1979).

Regional integration in Africa after colonialism is different. While international capital favoured the establishment of free trade areas from which it stood to benefit, it also sought to undermine those regional integrative systems that might hamper its freedom of action. Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are particularly reluctant to encourage regional integration if they have medium- or large-size markets and some limited local industrial capacity (Legum et al. 1979).

Since significant economic inequalities exist among countries in African integrative systems, a number of fiscal and planning mechanisms were built into the systems to compensate less industrialised African partners for the unequal distribution of gains that generally result from the liberalisation of trade. But the failure to implement such schemes heightened conflicts over cost-benefit issues within these integrative systems. In some of the systems (for example, the Organisation pour la mise en valeur de la Vallée du Fleuve Sénégal, or OMVS), these conflicts led to the transformation of the associations and their abandonment of planning objectives. In other systems such the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), cost-benefit conflicts led to many postponements in the signing of the treaties and subsequent delays in implementing key harmonising elements in them. In still others such as the East African Community (EAC), similar conflicts led to the dissolution of the systems (Legum et al. 1979).

The South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was an outgrowth from the Frontline States (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), launched to promote the transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe, emerged as the most innovative attempt on the African continent to translate aspirations of regional integration into reality. The system enjoyed moderate success in its first years of existence. It was able to attract finance for a number of projects in the transportation and communications fields. There was an increase in the amount of trade between some of the member states. The trade was often conducted on the basis of barter or paid for in local currencies (Chazan et al. 1999).

The SADCC organisation encountered two major problems, despite its initial moderate success. The first major problem was that the organisation was heavily dependent on foreign donors for its projects. Its annual donors' conferences were able to attract support for some projects, but the total assistance provided fell far short of the system's expectations. In several cases, the aid actually represented the redirection of existing pledges instead of additional finance. Aid donors demonstrated a marked reluctance to finance SADCC's agricultural and industrial projects. Reliance on foreign assistance is somewhat paradoxical since the organisation's stated goal is to reduce dependence of foreign aid (Chazan et al. 1999).

The organisation's second major problem concerned the Frontline States nemesis: i.e. apartheid South Africa. Since the apartheid regime believed that the SADCC was an impediment to its hegemony in the region, it sought to undermine the organisation. South Africa frequently invaded those states that share a border with it. It also sponsored guerrilla movements hostile to the established Frontline governments (such as the Mozambique National Resistance Movement or RENAMO and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola or UNITA) to carry out acts of sabotage in these countries – destruction of transportation and communication links, blowing up power lines, etc. Other forms of South Africa's intransigence were quite subtle:

refusing to provide railroad locomotives to head trains originating in Zimbabwe; redirecting South Africa's trade away from the port of Maputo; and offering reduced tariffs on rail transport through South Africa for Zimbabwe's main exports of tobacco and cotton to encourage traders not to use other SADCC routes (Chazan et al. 1999).

The foregoing review of the economic models African countries have employed since independence clearly indicates that successful policy reforms and economic development in Africa call for substantial political will on the part of African governments. Because the international community has failed to provide the requisite external support to promote substantive economic development on the continent, African leaders must shoulder this responsibility by being willing to make painful policy decisions.

Public Choice as an Alternative Approach

In order to analyse the behaviour of people in the marketplace, economists develop a logically consistent theory of behaviour that can be tested against reality. Through theory and empirical testing, they attempt to explain various economic actions of decision-makers and, in general, how the market works. This approach is also plausible in analysing the behaviour of people in the public sphere. To explain how the collective decision-making process actually works, a logically consistent theory linking individual behaviour to collective action, an analysis of the implications of the theory, and the testing of these implications against reality are called for.

Public Choice theorists have made great contributions to our understanding of resource allocation by the public sector. These social scientists have also provided a number of basic characteristics that influence outcomes in both the market (private) and public sectors.² Gwartney and Stroup (1983) summarise the differences between these two sectors based on these theorists' work. These are examined here in terms of the African context. The first question to be dealt with here is this: Why is Public Choice Theory relevant for economic development?

To say that Public Choice Theory is relevant to economic development is to say that economic development will require some collective decisions, that those decisions will be made at the national level, and that those participating in the decisions (Africans, with whose welfare we are concerned) can be viewed as rational and self-interested actors. It is, of course, impossible to prove that all Africans, or any other people in any other continent for that matter, are rational and self-interested actors in the business of life. The issue, however, is not whether all Africans always behave rationally and self-interestedly. It is, rather, what kind of behaviour predominates and therefore around which behaviour it makes sense to design institutions.

Competitive Behaviour in the Market and Public Sectors

Competitive behaviour exists in both the market and public sectors. Just as in the market sector where businesses compete for consumers' money, so must politicians compete for voters' ballots. Ministers and directors of agencies, like their counterparts in the private sector, compete for additional funds, promotions, and additional power. Ethnic groups compete for power and favourable policies. The nature of the competition and the criteria for success do differ between the sectors. Nonetheless, both sectors must deal with the reality of scarcity. The need to ration scarce resources inevitably leads to competitive behaviour.

In the African context, this means that all countries, particularly those under personal rule disguised as a democratic dispensation, must adopt true democratic rule within what has come to be known as the Schumpeterian framework: that is, the 'institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote' (Schumpeter 1950:269).

Of course, the democratic idea is not foreign to the African continent. Morna, for example, cites a book by a group of academics from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda titled *Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa* (1989) in which it is clearly documented that democracy was deeply rooted in African traditions and struggles against colonialism (Morna 1990). Among the Kikuyus, for instance, government was by 'committee'. There were no formal chiefs. Every man could hope to be elected at least once to direct ethnic group policy. The ethnic group was divided into halves, rather like the American two-party system. Each half had its full complement of elders, judges, and parliamentarians throughout the chain of command. While the officials of one half acted, officials of the other side listened and consulted (Vlahos 1967).

Public Sector Organisation and the Individual Consumption-payment Link

A consumer who wants to obtain a commodity must be willing to give up money for that commodity. There is a one-to-one correspondence between consuming the commodity and paying the price charged in the market. This is not the case, however, in collective action. Governments do not usually establish a one-to-one relationship between the citizen's tax bill and the amount of political services s/he receives. A citizen's tax bill will be the same whether he or she likes or dislikes the government's spending policies. In some cases, the citizen could be made worse off by a government programme and still end up paying for it.

Since many African economies are not fully monetised and records of financial transactions are rarely kept, direct personal income taxes are difficult to collect. That means that indirect taxes are the norm. These taxes include residency taxes, sales taxes, excise taxes and import and export taxes. Indirect taxes like these are generally regressive because they take away a larger proportion of lower income as compared to higher income. The absence of progressive personal tax systems, then, means that taxes are not collected based on a citizen's ability to pay.

African farmers are relatively highly taxed. Export crops are levied between 40 and 50 per cent. This is in addition to taxation resulting from overvalued exchange rates or inefficient market systems. Overall, however, very little revenue is derived from taxation in many African countries due to their failure to exploit their tax bases fully (The World Bank 1981). The high level of taxation of export crops through export taxes and marketing board levies has kept export production in many African countries below what it could be. This, in turn, has contributed to the steep decline in Africa's share in the world market.

It is important that African countries impose lighter tax burdens on the 'motor' (i.e. manufacturing) sector of their economies. This is necessary because many state-owned manufacturing entities must now compete with multinational companies that tend to relocate to countries where they have a lower tax burden. By shifting heavier taxation toward tradeables, African tax systems will be able to increase revenues as outputs increase. In the light of present African circumstances, a single-stage ad valorem sales tax collected at the point of local manufacture would be more suitable than other tax regimes. Taxation may raise prices, but from the economic point of view it is superior to inflation as a source of finance for capital formation because

1. the effect of taxation on prices is likely to be much smaller,
2. the discipline of controlling the money supply is easier to maintain, and
3. the incidence of taxation can be controlled more fairly and efficiently.

Scarcity and Aggregate Consumption-payment Link in the Market and Public Sectors

Even if a government is able to break the link between payment for a good and the right of the individual to consume that good, the reality of the aggregate consumption-aggregate payment link will not disappear. To be able to provide scarce goods, certain alternatives have to be given up. No matter which sector (private or public) produces (or distributes) scarce goods, someone must pay the cost of providing such goods. As the amount of goods provided by a government increases, so will the total costs of that government. More public goods mean more taxes. Scarcity means that the link between aggregate consumption and aggregate costs of production cannot be broken by public sector action.

There has been a notable trend among African governments to increase overspending over many decades. These governments take more and more responsibility for the immediate well-being of their citizens. Public expenditure on education, health, and welfare is rising throughout Africa as citizens come to expect more social services from their governments. As a result, the planning and finance ministries in Africa, the key agencies involved in project development and policy-making, need reinforcement if they are to play the important role demanded by economic development.

Despite all this, however, in almost every country in Africa the financial and budgetary instruments of public sectors are overburdened. Add to this the high turnover that has taken place among statisticians in the planning and finance ministries (The World Bank 1981) and it becomes challenging to execute government programmes effectively, or to formulate coherent policies.

Given all this, it is imperative that African planning and finance ministries develop a greater capacity in policy analysis, particularly in the areas of tax planning, assessment of budgetary requests, and determination of overall fiscal and monetary policies. African governments must provide these ministries with more resources that will allow them to make credible technical contributions to policy decisions at both the sectoral and macroeconomic levels. Also, incentives should be provided to help stem the rise in turnover among qualified statisticians who are desperately needed to provide essential data.

The Element of Compulsion in the Public Sector

The dominant characteristic of market organisation is voluntary exchange. A minority need not yield to the desires of the majority in the private sector. The views of the majority do not prevent minority consumers from buying desired goods and services. Governments have a monopoly on the use of coercion, whereas large corporations cannot force consumers to buy their products.

When a majority (either directly elected or through the legislative process) decides on a particular policy, the minority (even against its will) must accept the policy and help pay for its costs.

In order to achieve social cooperation, the right to compel is necessary in certain cases. For instance, legislation compelling drivers not to operate their vehicles while under the influence of alcohol enhances the safety of others. In essence, some limitations are sometimes needed in order to increase social cooperativeness and increase available options in society.

In Africa, however, the issue has been one of excessive compulsion. Chazan et al. note that authoritarian politics have dominated the domestic scene in Africa. As they emphasise,

‘competition over access to and control of state resources has nurtured an instrumental view of politics in which the public domain is seen as a channel for individual or partisan enrichment. Zero-sum patterns of interaction (one side’s gain is another side’s loss) have led to the muzzling of loyal oppositions and to an intolerance of dissenting opinions’ (Chazan et al. 1999:7).

Over the course of many years, these conditions have made the military an important mechanism of bringing about political change. The overwhelming majority of African countries have witnessed some form of an attempted coup. And, as I found after a meta-analysis of 92 studies on Africa’s military intervention and military rule,

1. economic conditions, the domestic environment for political participation, social mobilisation, and foreign influence have negative, albeit small, effects on coup d’état outcomes; and
2. institutional structure, and pluralism have positive, but small, effects on coup d’état outcomes (Bangura 1994b).

These developments, as to be expected, have not improved governments’ capacities. The top-heavy administrations run by civilian or military leaders wield very little authority, and the power of their governmental institutions remains weak. Instability indeed has become the *modus operandi* throughout post-colonial Africa. Thus, as argued earlier, real democratic governments are needed in Africa to help ensure checks and balances on the public sectors’ element of compulsion. An encouraging sign is that more countries have adopted the democratic agenda. Whether or not the effort will transcend the conduction of elections remains to be seen.

Collective Legislative Decision-making

Voters must choose among candidates who represent bundles of positions on issues when collective decisions are made through the legislative process. A voter cannot choose the views of Candidate A on certain issues and simultaneously

choose the views of Candidate B who is opposed to the former's positions. Unable to separate a candidate's views on one issue from his views on another, the voter's power to register preferences on specific issues is reduced.

Choosing a representative is a bit like choosing an agent who will both control a substantial portion of one's income and at the same time regulate one's activities. The voter's preferred candidate may or may not be elected. The elected candidate has the responsibility, however, to represent thousands of other persons on each legislative issue.

Education, then, becomes a key factor for enhancing one's ability to analyse each candidate's positions. In short order, an educated voter is a good political consumer. Most countries where education is minimal and literacy is severely limited tend to be undemocratic; they tend to be traditional, adhering to authoritarian and hierarchical values. The illiterate person increasingly finds himself/herself disenfranchised from effective political participation. S/he also becomes barred from social and economic paths toward a better and more secure life.

In the case of Africa, massive investments in education have paid dividends. By the 1980s, literacy rates had more than doubled in many countries. In Tanzania, rural adult literacy rose from 10 per cent to 65 per cent between 1961 and 1981. By 1982, primary school enrolments throughout Africa south of the Sahara averaged 77 per cent of the total primary-school age population. Only a small number of countries – Chad, Mali, Burkina Faso, Somalia, Niger, Burundi and Mauritania – had enrolments of less than 50 per cent of the age group. In a few countries, such as Congo and Gabon, the figures for enrolments were more than 130 percent, reflecting the fact that large numbers of citizens beyond the primary-school age groups were going to school. There was also widespread evidence that traditional prejudice against the education of girls was waning as indicated by a weighted mean of 60 per cent of the female primary-school age population in 1982 (Chazan et al. 1999).

Despite these gains in primary education enrolments, the same cannot be said about secondary and post-secondary education and in other areas like curriculum reform. A number of constraints have hampered African governments in these areas. These include

1. financial problems,
2. popular expectations of improved access to all levels of schooling, and
3. lack of employment opportunities for secondary-school graduates and for some university graduates (especially those with liberal arts degrees).

Some African governments have been reluctant to increase the output of secondary-school and university-educated students beyond the short-term personnel needs of their economies for fear of the discontent that would be bred by frustrated expectations (Chazan et al. 1999).

Given the common educational imbalances in African countries, governments may need to shift from existing approaches and recast their educational systems to meet their specific needs. To be given up are traditional educational approaches that seek to prepare people for relatively fixed roles and those that are associated with status. To be pursued are different approaches that are geared toward the meeting of modes of skill acquisition and self-determination. The integration of education within their overall development strategies means that governments need to place greater emphasis on wider participation in the educational process. This will include both formal and informal processes if education is to be incorporated more directly into the overall development process itself.

Distribution of Income and Power in Both the Market and Public Sectors

In the marketplace, people who supply more highly valued resources get larger incomes. The amount of money a person receives in the marketplace hinges upon his/her abilities, drive, skills, perceptiveness, good fortune, and inheritance, among other factors. The result is an unequal distribution of consumer power.

Ballots speak when decisions are made democratically in the public arena. The name of the game is 'One person, one vote'. This is not to imply that political goods and services are allocated equally to all citizens by the collective decision-making process. Indeed, personal advantages are obtained by citizens who are more astute than others in using the political process.

Social groups in Africa have become more astute about their own particular circumstances. According to Chazan and her colleagues (1999), ethnic groupings, incipient classes and a number of local communities, professional associations, trade unions, women's organisations, and religious movements have formed to pursue their own interests. In some circumstances, patron-client relationships have emerged to raise demands and to distribute benefits. In other cases, politicisation has increased while access to the political centre has been severely curtailed. The opportunity for citizen involvement has thus varied greatly from country to country and from time to time.

In view of the verity that any attempt to alter the distribution of income and political power will also affect supply conditions and the political climate, and in the light of Africa's multi-ethnic states, the issue is highly complex. Market or political solutions will lead to unequal distribution of income and power so long as the preferences and abilities of individuals differ. Incentives must therefore be provided in order to inspire every citizen to undertake productive activities.

This truism demands effective channels of communication in order to coordinate the actions of citizens and decision-makers, and to provide the incentive structure that motivates decision-makers to act. The information provided will instruct policymakers as to

1. how to use scarce resources and
2. which policies are intensely desired by citizens.

A reward-penalty system, which induces individuals to cooperate with one another and motivates them to work efficiently, will help to strengthen the political system. The efficiency of the system will depend on

1. competitive and fair market and political conditions; and
2. securely defined private and public property rights.

Conclusion

The suggestions in the foregoing analysis may be objectionable to those who have insisted that the search for new paths to development in Africa demands that the whole traditional conceptual and theoretical framework of development as derived from the West be replaced by more indigenous development notions. These observers may also argue that Public Choice, being a Western theory, should not be tested in Africa. But herein lies the first problem: How do African governments implement indigenous development policies when most of them are dependent on tourism, Western aid, and when even in the villages foreign products are preferred to locally manufactured ones? These are serious concerns for social science in Africa.

A second problem involves the relationship between resource endowments and the sizes of the domestic markets. How, for example, should the great mineral, oil and other natural resource wealth of African countries be used? An obvious answer will be export, but this raises the whole issue of dependency.

A third problem is the fact that African political leaders lack the capacity to propose new forms for society or any kind of strategy for coping with the challenge of MNCs. In a global economy controlled by a very new form of oligopoly capital via globalisation (a more or less all-embracing phenomenon), how can African leaders formulate new strategies to face this serious challenge? Very often proposals by government officials are criticised by local bourgeoisies who prefer to be directly associated with the multinational corporations.

The suggestion of Public Choice Theory as a plausible approach for sustained economic development in Africa hinges on the fact that it begins with two fundamental assumptions that are relevant to any society:

1. that all individuals act rationally in their own self-interest, and
2. that all interests are individual economic interests.

The two assumptions undoubtedly are objectionable from many points of view. Moreover, given their individualistic, rationalistic and competitive connotations, they appear unlikely to allow for a government based on unanimous consent. But in fact, in conjunction with one another (a much more plausible assumption), they are sufficient to deduce that such a government can exist.

Of course, if other human motives and values are mixed into the initial assumption (the value of political community per se; man is by nature a political animal, etc.) this conclusion can be reached more directly – indeed too directly to be particularly interesting. The point is that this conclusion can be reached even on the basis of these apparently unfruitful assumptions. Essentially, it is necessary to show that common interests exist and, at the same time, that common interests are not always realised in the absence of some form of coercive authority.

What, then, does Public Choice Theory teach us about development planning? Such an endeavour would take a number of forms. Public Choice's concern for the motives of decision-makers suggests that policies designed to promote development can be expected to be adopted for other reasons such as soliciting support for the government or increasing political control. How will this emerge? Price and tax policies, for example, designed to encourage investment can be implemented to enhance the inherent stability of a government. Social overhead capital projects such as roads, irrigation projects, educational programmes, etc. can be distributed with a maximum concern for the returns to supporters of a government and to increase a regime's ability to deliver coercion among dissidents. In order to avoid distortions that often lead to wastefulness, sacrifices of some goals are in order. Indeed, a common saying among some Public Choice Theory enthusiasts is quite fitting: We cannot have our cake and eat it too!

Notes

1. On June 5, 1947, at the commencement exercise at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced what came to be known as the Marshall Plan: i.e. America's intent to make significant financial contributions to rebuild a war-torn Europe. The major goal of the plan was to promote economic integration and cooperation among European countries. Between 1948 and 1952 (when the plan ended), \$13.3 billion had been spent, with over half of this amount going to England, France, and Italy (refer to Nash 1958:42–44 for details).
2. I am referring here to the contributions of Kenneth Arrow, Duncan Black, James Buchanan, Charles Bullock, Anthony Downs, David Mayhew, Norman Nicholson, William Niskanen, Mancur Olson, Clifford Russell, Robert Tollison, and Gordon Tullock. See full citations in the Reference section.

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of CODESRIA Staff and Facilitators

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CODESRIA COLLEGE OF MENTORS HANDBOOK II

Since any serious systematic work must be both methodologically and theoretically grounded, we decided to do a follow-up to the first volume of our CODESRIA College of Mentors handbook which addresses the former aspect. The present volume which deals with the latter aspect entails about 150 African centered and Western theories that can be employed to ground research on Africa or an African phenomenon. This is a handbook dealing with theories from across the disciplines for easy reference, not a book on theories in one discipline whereby each theory is augmented by a case study or several case studies. The reader who is interested in application will be well-served by looking at our four chapters in which the studied theories are applied to relevant case studies. In addition, a virtual relationship of all the theories covered has not been established by making references across disciplines and chapters in the book because theories are used for different purposes in different disciplines, for the obvious reason that their foci of analyses are different. Furthermore, our handbook is not about challenging or refuting theories, no matter their origin. It is about their existence. It is up to the user to do so if and when necessary, just as we did in our four applications chapters.

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