Reconnecting African Sociology to the Mother: Towards a Woman-centred Endogenous Sociology in South Africa

Babalwa Magoqwana[1]
Nelson Mandela University
Email: Babalwa.Magoqwana@mandela.ac.za

and

Jimi Adesina[2]
University of South Africa,
Email: Email: AdesiJ@unisa.ac.za

Abstract

This paper seeks to respond to the call by Castells (2000) for more practical application of Sociology of the 21st Century, taking into consideration the societies it exists in and the contexts in which they are created. Its primary focus is the challenges that face African Sociology in the 21st Century. It builds on Adesina's (2006a) 'epistemic interventions' by centring Isintu (Indigenous languages in South Africa), languages and matriarchal knowledge histories in the African continent.

The paper makes use of one of the most enduring African knowledge institution – uMakhulu (the elder mother/grandmother), to argue for the potential reconnections of the African Sociology to its society and the context this institution is embedded in. In pivoting around the elder mother in African Sociology, the paper introduces a "matrifocal" sociological understanding of the discipline, shifting the centralising of 'fathers of the discipline'. The rationale is that in decentralising the hegemonic body of the discipline ('the father'), the 'bio-logic' of the sociological discipline in Africa will be destabilised, thus, developing a sociological narrative that ventures beyond the binaries. The paper explores and integrates the language and values carried by African grandmothers in dealing with socio-political and economic challenges of their societies.

Keywords: *African sociology, epistemic intervention, matrifocal, matriarchal knowledge, isintu*

---

1   Nelson Mandela University, Email: Babalwa.Magoqwana@mandela.ac.za
2   University of South Africa, Email: AdesinaJ@unisa.ac.za

Résumé

Cet article cherche à répondre à l'appel de Castells (2000) pour une application plus pratique de la sociologie du 21e siècle, en tenant compte des sociétés dans lesquelles elle existe et des contextes dans lesquels elles sont créées. Son objectif principal est les défis auxquels la sociologie africaine est confrontée au 21e siècle. Il s'appuie sur les «interventions épistémiques» d'Adesina (2006a) en centrant Isintu (langues autochtones en Afrique du Sud), les langues et l'histoire du savoir matriarcal sur le continent africain.

Le document utilise l'une des institutions africaines du savoir les plus durables – uMakhulu (la mère / grand-mère aînée), pour plaider en faveur des reconnexions potentielles de la sociologie africaine à sa société et au contexte dans lequel cette institution est intégrée. mère en sociologie africaine, l'article introduit une compréhension sociologique «matrifocale» de la discipline, déplaçant la centralisation des «pères de la discipline». Le raisonnement est qu'en décentralisant le corps hégémonique de la discipline («le père»), la «bio-logique» de la discipline sociologique en Afrique sera déstabilisée, développant ainsi un récit sociologique qui s'aventure au-delà des binaires. L'article explore et intègre le langage et les valeurs portés par les grands-mères africaines face aux défis socio-politiques et économiques de leurs sociétés.

Mots clés: sociologie africaine, intervention épistémique, matrifocal, savoir matriarcal, isintu

Introduction

South African higher education is recovering from a long history of racial, ethnic, gender, linguistic and geographical discrimination, with different races having separate institutions as early as 1900s until the early 1990s (Mabokela, 2000, Badat, 2009; Rabe and Rugunanan, 2012). Due to major social pressures from the state (legal environment and financial incentives) students movements (#Must Fall movement 2015-2017) and growing academic pressure, South African public universities have shifted from 40 per cent (in 1993) to host 64 per cent of African students in 2008. Today the 26 public universities have more than 1 million students'(both part time and full time) enrolment as opposed to 49 356 in 1994 (Department of Higher Education and Training Report, 2019). In 2018 report, DHET noted that just over 73 per cent of the students enrolled were African, 14, 3 per cent White; 6,2 per cent Coloured and 4,8 per cent Indian. These shifting demographics are followed by changes in gender composition with women students increasing from 43 per cent in 1993 to over 56 per cent in 2008. In 2018, the DHET report also indicated that 58,6 per cent of the students enrolled were female while 41, 5 per cent are male. These demographic shifts have influenced Humanities and Social Sciences disciplines like Sociology to attract mainly female and African students (Rabe and Rugunanan, 2012). On average, a first-year sociology class

will have 420 students with fewer resources for academic staff to support the growing student numbers. In 2018, the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) Sociology Head of Department published an article on the increasing number of students (1,000 first years) with no parallel incremental funding or human resource support.

Sociology, like other social science disciplines in South Africa, has its academic roots in colonial and apartheid legacies. In South Africa, many sociologists have been very critical of the discipline's history (Magubane, 1968; Jubber, 1983; Ally, 2015); its (lack of) theoretical contributions (Webster, 1985; Sitas, 1997; Dubbeld, 2009; Hendricks, 2006; Mapadimeng, 2012) and its need to transform in order to reflect the political changes in the broader society (Adesina, 2005; Adesina 2006b; Nyoka, 2013; Sitas, 2014). Despite these efforts to inform change in the discipline of Sociology, it continues to experience challenge in cutting its ties to colonial and apartheid legacies. In an effort to connect to the African context and to relate to the majority of its students who are African majority, Sociology is embarking on a relentless journey, through the transformation of its curriculum to consider the societies it exists in and the contexts in which they are created.

Adesina (2006 a) challenged the South African Sociology Association members to practice sociology "beyond despair [and] engage the recovery of nerve, endogeneity and epistemic engagement." As a response to Adesina's (2006a) call to action, this article seeks to encourage the advancement of teaching and learning sociology that relates to and resonates with the majority of the students in South African public university lecture rooms. Adesina's (2008) argument of African Sociology as centring the 'African ontological standpoints' as the point of departure forms the foundations of this paper through IsiXhosa language. We are argue that South African Sociology can reconnect itself from the majority of the growing African students in South Africa by tapping into the endogenous knowledge systems often stored in their maternal legacies of knowledge through *umakhulu (*elder mother/senior mother/grandmother in IsiXhosa language*)*. This insertion deals with the foundations of the student 'sociological imagination' that gets traces through *umakhulu* by many leaders in South Africa. As a Mabokela (2000, 111) noted that African students "expressed feelings of alienation" when it came to the South African Historically White Universities (HWUs). To reconnect the students back to their communities and their collective memory, we believe umakhulu tends to connect the students to their own sociological imagination. Magoqwana (2018, 82) argues that many African leaders give credit to *uMakhulu* as the major influence in their socialisation and understanding of oral history (Ellen Khuzwayo, Emma Mashinini, Walter and Albertina Sisulu among others).

As a discipline, Sociology emerged, mostly inspired by the problems of a particular context in a specific time (Bhambra, 2011). The body of the discipline has been influenced by the 'bio-logic' of the patriarchal Western narrative, which tends to de-centre the woman and thus universalise colonial patriarchy through this body-centred reasoning

(Oyewumi, 2005). This is why Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Waquant (1999, *On the
Cunning of Imperialist Reason*) argue that "the cultural imperialism rests on the power to
universalise particularisms linked to singular historical tradition". It is the "neutralisation
of the particular-historical context" that seems to produce global knowledge in Sociology
and many other social science disciplines. This criticism of the discipline of Sociology
is centered on its 'classics', which tend to be used as a canon in universalising European
modernity. Adesina (2006a: 242) however asserts, "endogeneity is fundamental to the
canonical works of the Western sociology". It is the embeddedness of the scholarship
to its local context that produces local and international relevance. "It is impossible
to understand Weber's writings without situating them within his German context
of the late 19th and early 20th Century (Adesina, 2006a: 256). Inspired by Burkinabe
Historian- Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Adesina (2006b, 134) linked the need for idiographic
rooting of South African Sociology while "opening up the diversity of African libraries
-textual, oral, archaeological, etc" to endogeneity that could in turn transform the
curriculum to be reflective of the greater black majority of the students in it. In opening
up Sociological knowledge to be rooted in the local knowledge systems, South Africa
joins the long-standing debates within the broader continent on 'indigenising' sociology.
The "insistence on historical specificity is not a refusal to be analytically universal"
(Mafeje 1991: 7). This insistence on idiographic context is not the absence of the global
relevance as many interlocutors need rootedness and local grounding. Endogeneity is
not about substituting 'one erasure for another' (Adesina, 2006b) instead it is about
rooting and "affirmation of one's locale" (Nyoka 2013,10). The paper uses IsiXhosa
ontological narratives of family based on language as the method to find relevance and
argue for a plural sociological knowledge, with the motive of producing students with
firm ontological security from their undergraduate studies of sociology. The sociology
of family is a pivotal example to which we can start expanding the sociological canon to
include the previously ignored figures like *uMakhulu* (Grandmother/Elder Mother in
IsiXhosa) in sociological family dynamics. In using local references and terminologies
to develop conceptual frameworks, we would be moving "beyond making aliens of our
students-who sit through courses and with teachers whose epistemic gaze are firmly
planted on the global North, and do little to acknowledge the collective memories and
sense of being of our wards" (Adesina, 2006a: 243).

The purpose of this article is to promote, encourage and enlighten sociological relevance
to African students; a plurality of knowledge systems and cultural significance in what we
teach, how we teach and theorise. This paper goes beyond 'protest scholarship' but includes
the 'diverse ontological narratives' (Adesina 2006b) in the present sociology curriculum in
South Africa. It seeks to contribute towards what Nyoka (2013, 5) terms as 'epistemological
decolonisation' by using local languages in conceptualising sociological concepts relevant
to the growing African students of sociology. It seeks to move beyond 'borrowing'
(Hendricks, 2006) of concepts but starting to theorise from the local experiences.

Through a historical and cultural contextual analysis using IsiXhosa as an indigenous South African language the paper endeavours to catalyse the development of "Africa-Centred Sociology" (Carroll, 2014) Furthermore, building conceptual frameworks that promote the understanding of African Sociology through the matriarchal heritage of the continent.

Carroll (2014) argues that 'African-centred Sociology' failed to develop in African studies because Black Sociology in the 1970s was invested in white liberal ideologies without centring the African worldview, meaning that, African ontologies, epistemologies, axiology and methodologies were never distinct from that of the European Sociology that the Black Sociology attempted to criticise. This article intends to move away from the temptation of re-inserting European concepts, ideologies and histories that define endogenous sociology. Through the interrogation and integration of African understated matriarchal traditions and thought systems and using indigenous languages, we can begin to further detail, conceptualise and interpret the meaning of African Sociological knowledge.

Re-historisation of the African Sociology to centralise the woman-centric histories within the native context, using the local languages to access indigenous accounts and thus to redefine African Sociology is what this article aspires to achieve while addressing and remedying the disconnections that tend to "disconnect students from their "collective memory" (Adesina, 2005: 31) within the sociology curriculum. This article is not about the history and place of Sociology in South Africa today, but rather, its attempts to contextualise African Sociology on the matriarchal heritage of the continent using the body of *uMakhulu* (IsiXhosa for Grandmother). The place of the elder mother in Africa is one that ties the continent to the concept of "Motherland or mother Africa (which simply means common motherhood) which is a construction of consciousness based on matriarchy" (Amadiume, 1997: 23). Amadiume (1987) argues that the "recognition of motherhood paradigm means that we do not take patriarchy as given". Seniority and headship in African social structures are not always gendered or chronological.

African Sociology must destabilise and disconnect itself from the sociological approach that centres wholly on the 'fatherly'[3] roots, and connect itself to the 'mother' in order to produce sociology graduates with deeper ontological security that are globally competitive. *UMakhulu* forms the pillar of many African communities and households. In positioning *uMakhulu* as the pivotal source to African Sociology, sociological curriculums across the continent will build from the opulent matriarchal histories of pre-colonial Africa, imparting knowledge on how the African woman influenced armies, religious institutions, national economies and political leadership (Steady, 2011*)*. Colonial and religious ideologies and philosophies eroded Africa's matriarchal structure and were increasingly promoted by 'neo-traditionalism', obscured as African culture

---

3   Invented by Anthony Giddens (see Adesina, 2005: 33)

(Aidoo, 1992: 325). Despite the elderly woman's body deemed as unproductive and 'domesticated', this is the central figure in young people's lives that gives authority and share resources with the children. This is the figure in the rural South Africa today that provides food and share her social security income with growing unemployed young people including the recent graduates. This is why, we cannot assume that umakhulu is 'unproductive' as the capitalist system requires able and younger bodies to ensure capitalist production system continues. This is not a new phenomenon in South Africa as the colonial and apartheid labour migration in system, *umakhulu* stayed in the 'reserves' performing reproductive labour to supplement the cheap labour system paid to black man in the mines (Cock, 1989; Ntantala 1960). Through her presence, stories (*amabali*) folktales (*iintsomi*) and stories of origin *(amabali emvelo)* she provides what Tisani (2008) call 'foundations of historical knowledge' and thus expanding the children's imagination. In her interview on Motswako[4] one of the guests Bondi Ndaba[5] shared similar beliefs about her abilities to write and produce films and drama on television. She credited her abilities to tell and write stories to her grandmother in the rural, Eastern Cape. She states that through Makhulu's ability to tell stories and letting the children tell their own stories, she became the 'conscious storyteller' that she is today. Ndaba has written and produced stories for Generations (see Ndayi and du Plooy, 2019), *Uzalo, Muvhanga, Isidingo* and many short films that attract millions of viewers in public broadcasting in South Africa. She captures the essence of uMakhulu as the source of sociological imagination when she says:

You can't have history and heritage without storytelling, because all our history and heritage is passed on through storytelling, this is how we grew up with our grandparents telling us stories…When I was growing up with my grandmother in the Eastern Cape, before I moved to KZN [KwaZulu Nata]..my grandmother used to tell us stories. Sometimes my grandmother was lazy so she made us tell each other stories, because we were cousins and you know grandmothers' houses were filled with cousins…she wouldn't have the time and she'd tell us to tell each other stories. We would tell each other stories and that is where I think my storytelling (Ndaba, B. Interview 17 September 2020).

UMakhulu, the Grandmother, is a model that we can apply in our curriculum in sociology to deal with inherent questions of relevance and coloniality that seems to linger in our discipline. In this paper, the body of *uMakhulu* could help us model a fresh, African relevant sociology that reflects the roots and future of knowledge-making respective in African societies. In attempting to re-historicise and centralise local context, Adesina (2005) suggests that urgent 'epistemic interventions' are colossal in producing the less

---

4   SABC 2- (South African Broadcast Corporation) talk show with 20 seasons mainly focusing on women issues show using the indigenous language to speak on current issues facing and celebrating women   http://www.sabc2.co.za/sabc/home/sabc2/shows/details?id=77aee05b-bbb5-4362-8792-6da8b33fca41&title=Motswako

5   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ea3NsfYqEw&t=20s Interview from 09:01 minutes. Accessed on the 17 September 2020

"alien students or schizophrenia" to the majority of our students (Adesina, 2005: 31). As Archie Mafeje argued, "knowledge is local before it can become global" (Adesina, 2006a: 242). Hence the notion of "Africanity as combative ontology". *UMakhulu* forms the foundation and pillars of sociological imagination in developing a curriculum that produces future African leaders with *isazela* (conscience—ethical accountability of being) (Khondlo, 2015). Not just political consciousness. Many African leaders have detailed the influence of their maternal heritage in their leadership tactics and histories including but not limited to -Walter and Albertina Sisulu (Sisulu, 2015); Tiyo Soga (Tisani, 2020); Hassim (2019) details the grandmother's influence on the character and leadership values of one of the mostl influential women leaders in the South African liberation struggle, Winnie Madikizela Mandela.

> While the lineage that mattered in Winnie's heroic narrative was that of her father, Columbus, the authoritative figure was Winnie's grandmother, called *Makhulu* by her grandchildren ('an extraordinary woman who exercised a great influence on us all') She was a role model ('tough, robust [...] with the physique of a fighter [...] she taught me the power and strength of a woman'). *Makhulu* rejected the modern, Christian and westernised aspirations of the amakholwa, a group that included Gertrude's family. Instead she emphasised stories of anti-colonial resistance. From her grandmother, Winnie derived a sensibility of race. In part this was by way of a rumour about Gertrude's white ancestry (Hassim 2019, 1155).

Central to the work of Ifi Amadiume (1997) is the 'matriarchal foundations of social organising' in the African societies where a mother becomes a central figure in the economic and political organisation of society. These maternal histories and how they connect to the contemporary women's struggles for recognition are still yet to be systematically connected to the curriculum that most of the students can relate to as many students can relate to this history that shape their ontological and epistemological foundations.

Motherhood and Bodies that Matter

In developing a chronologically relevant African history, Cheikh Anta Diop (1991) argued for the historical depth of the African political systems. He observed that African systems were at the core, matriarchal "using inheritance and succession through the female line" (see also Amadiume, 1997:7). The existence of matriarchal structures in most African societies is documented in the works of various African scholars. Ifi Amadiume (1997), Oyeronke Oyewumi (1997), Filomena Steady (2011), Patricia

Romero (2015) have all detailed the contribution of women in politics, institutions of knowledge, kinship, armies and markets in African empires and kingdoms. Articles, journals and books published by female authors concerned with matriarchal structures; Ifi Amadiume (1997), Nomboniso Gasa (2007), Filomena Steady (2011) Nkiru Nzegwu (2005), Oyeronke Oyewumi (2015), and Zine Magubane (2010), show a direct link between the concept of motherhood and political resistance in Africa. Despite the disparagement of the contribution of motherhood in pre-colonial African political histories; Jeff Guy (1987), Cheryl Walker (1982, 1991), and Bakare Yusuf (2004), this paper maintains that motherhood principles still provide a unique framework through which African feminists can start building an inclusive social order. Motherhood is not "individualistic. It is community-oriented, all-inclusive, life-giving, life-sustaining and life-preserving" (Oyewumi, 2015:220).

This African matriarchal heritage might come across as a folk tale in the face of the Western patriarchal social order, where women are marginalised and relegated to private spaces, with a restricted capacity to resist this encompassing patriarchal order. This battle is not unique to the African woman alone. Western feminists, activists, in particular, have been fighting gender for equality for decades, seeking the same positions in the corporate and public sphere, denouncing their role as "housewives of the capitalist system" (Mies, 1998) which bred the man as the only head, thinker, provider and protector. The productive role played by African women in their private and public spheres was, and is not limited to their 'body type'. Oyewumi (1997) argues for seniority as a system used to allocate and negotiate power in pre-colonial African Yoruba societies.

The notion of motherhood has been used by eco-feminists to understand and reimagine the relationship between science and nature. The exploitation of Mother Nature by patriarchal science has exacerbated the environmental degradation linked to abuse and violence against women. Shiva (1988, XV) contends that "The new relationship of man's domination and mastery over nature was thus also associated with new patterns of domination and mastery over women and their exclusion from participation as *partners* in both science and development". This marginalisation of women from science is used as an argument by Shiva to reconnect us to the 'feminine principle' of nature, which was destroyed by the patriarchal, fathers of modern science. Vandana Shiva (1988), Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (2014) have argued against science that sees women and nature as raw materials to be dominated, violated and exploited for capitalist interests. Shiva (1988: XIV) explains that "the violence to nature, which seems intrinsic to the dominant development model, is also associated with violence to women who depend on nature for drawing sustenance for themselves, their families and their societies". The binary manner of relating to nature as a source of raw materials without taking into consideration its sacredness, being a producer of life, was used in Western Science to degrade the environment while killing biodiversity and indigenous societies. Shiva argues that the violence to nature by the patriarchal science needs to be reversed in how

we treat nature and preserve the biodiversity for the future to feed society. The principle of life preservation (nature as a mother) and nurturing of nature is used by eco-feminists to reverse the environmental crisis informed by patriarchal modern development models. Means (2011) agrees with this approach by affirming that "matriarchy is the solution in dealing with colonial and patriarchal violence that continues to define our relationship to "earth" (our grandmother).

Using the concept of motherhood as the paradigm shift towards building Africa centred Sociology, we need to destabilise the 'fathers' body' in the discipline and redefine the 'body of the discipline' through this 'matrifocal' approach'. The matriarchal principles of community orientation, life preservation, life-giving and life-preserving sociology in Africa is needed to advance an inclusive and less binary discipline informed by motherhood. Amadiume (1997:23) refers "to the moral compulsion of love and unity based on the spirit of common motherhood when we say our motherland or mother, Africa. We are constructing a collective identity or consciousness based on matriarchy despite our differences and contradictions". This paradigm shift towards the spirit of the mother comes alive when we centre *uMakhulu* in the African home. Many of us can relate very as siblings of the 'same mother' despite being born by different fathers (Adesina 2010: 12), u*Makhulu* provides a frame to which we can begin to understand these relations beyond the binary thinking that centres the father in a continent where motherhood has been used a a political tool. She helps develop our own sociological imagination by teaching us what we know and how we know it. We need to start designing tools that can make us interpret, theorise and make meaning of the community in which we are situated in Africa.

On Indigenous Languages, Family and uMakhulu

Magoqwana (2018) vindicated the use of the term- *uMakhulu* to argue for this long-established institution of knowledge in the Xhosa/Nguni households. *UMama-Omkhulu* is a primary source of knowledge in isiXhosa. This is to avoid the inherent epistemological challenges provided by 'grandmother' in re-inserting the notion of 'extended family' as the norm. The idea of *uMakhulu* can also refer to *UMo'Mkhulu* (Senior Mother) who is not a direct Mother's or Father's Mother but Elder Mother's or Grandmother's Sister. According to Ntuli (2002: 54) "language represents a specific worldview and ontology" which is why *uMakhulu* rather than 'grandmother' is maintained throughout this paper. Amadiume (1997: 1) supports this understanding by saying

> One of the dangers of having our feet stuck in Western-produced literature is the tendency to use European terms and expressions uncritically when addressing non-European cultures and experiences. The

history of European imperialism and racism means that the language, which aided that project, is loaded with generalised terms, which do not necessarily have a general meaning but serve a particularistic interest.

The use of the term *uMakhulu* attempts to contribute to local concepts rather than adopting 'imposed categories, theories and paradigms' that are often unfit for local conditions (Adesina, 2006a). In redirecting the deep disconnections of the Sociological curriculum from its current context in Africa, we adopted a native South African language- isiXhosa to help understand the disciplinary concepts. For example, the term society could be translated to '*uluntu*' (directly translated, meaning people). This concept is significant in appreciating the nature and approach of understanding the African (Nguni terms) society as *kwantu* (descendants of 'ntu) which ought to be the centre of the approach and subject matter of African social organisation. The basic first-year questions of Sociology asks the question of society to include the conflict between the individual/ group; structure/agency; and nature/nurture. These concepts which tend to be put in opposite could be theorised differently if we take the idea of the African "personhood" *umntu* beyond individualism (imposed by the colonial capitalist system). The idea of *umntu/motho* (a non-gendered term for a human being) and its links to *uluntu*–society, *abantu* (people) and *ubuntu/botho* (humanity) could help us make sense of the limitation of growing individualism within the capitalist society. Similarly, concerning Nnobi social structure, Amadiume (1997:19) notes the "non-gendered universalistic term for common humanity, *nmadu*, human being, person as opposed to the European collective, monolithic, male-gendered concept of man". This gendering of language has produced a 'native' as a male in liberation theorists like Frantz Fanon (Oyewumi, 1997:121). The idea of communitarian understanding of the society in indigenous African communities did not just refer to be 'human only'.

For example, when Xhosa people say "someone is human" (*ngumntu*) and similarly, someone could say that "someone is not human" (*akangomntu*). This understanding is based on "commitment to the surrounding community" (Mfecane, 2018:18). *Ungumntu* (you are human) - when you enhance the wellbeing of others in society. Ramose (2015:71) reinforces the point that the complementarity of relations between the 'self and other' makes it impossible to put the self at the centre. This means both the individual and collective cannot exist independently of each other, hence the saying "*motho ke motho ka batho*" (Sesotho Proverb meaning, "to be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognising the humanity of others"). This concept of studying society as *uluntu* helps us explain the absence of the "other" (marginalised being) in indigenous African languages. "Othering" is a Western constructed weapon used to "understand" how society is structured globally. Centring indigenous languages in how we understand the social organisation of different African societies may mean using different ways in which the societies were structured and people were allocated status rather than using

categories that tend to 'other' ourselves. In the absence of the 'other' in this understanding of society, we may begin to see social stratification differently in sociology. Naming and defining ourselves in our societies could help our students reimagine the idea of structure/agency; self/other; individual/society; urban/rural/; modern/primitive and many other binaries that tend to define sociological thoughts in undergraduate studies.

By implanting indigenous African languages as a source of knowledge to build African Sociology curriculum, we could deal with the particularistic and gendered notions of family, where the nuclear family dominates the conception of family. Centring language and *uMakhulu* in our sociological knowledge will invariably translate our meaning and understanding of family to include the extended family, rather than a qualifier on the idea of "nuclear family." African family relations and structures tend to be webbed and complex. They stress "mutual obligations" to different members of the family, for example, *umalume* (mother's brother), *udabawo* (elder brother's sister), *umfazi* (wife), *umakazi* (aunt), have different roles and obligations towards children (Mqotsi, 2006:38). The role of *umalume* (maternal uncle) is one of the most significant roles to be occupied in Nguni communities for his obligation of chief negotiator for *lobola* and plays a pivotal part in rituals (Ngubane, 1977:54). This role of *umalume* is fundamental, particularly if the mother is deceased. Umalume essentially becomes the "mother" hence *'uma'* prefix for a woman (*ma* = mother). This vital role for many African men is critical for the social reproduction in the African family as the obligations and duties of the maternal uncle towards *abatshana* (nephews/nieces) can overtake his role as the father to his own children (Tlali, 1989:14-15). *uMalume* tends to be very indulgent towards the sister's children. "He is not supposed to refuse *umtshana* (nephews or niece) any reasonable demand. When we start centring the values and obligation of members of the "extended family" we can pause and ask sociological questions about the socio-economic conditions that have fostered changes in the responsibilities attached to 'extended' family members in the reproduction of family.

The family unit and social organisation of the African household is supposed to form the basic first-year sociology understanding of the 'sociology of family'. The normative understanding of the 'nuclear' family in explaining and designing public policies is symptomatic of the absence of the basic foundational knowledge about the African social structures. The centring of *uMakhulu* in our curriculum building would make it hard for an African Sociology graduate to not understand and relate to this social structure and thus, the understanding of the "extended" family.

The different understandings of *umzi* (homestead) and *indlu* (house) form a significant part of how resources are shared and belong through age and seniority. The latter is complex and not just by age. Oyewumi (2015) argues that age as the form of social organisation in Yoruba culture is not 'chronological', an understanding shared by most African cultures, including the Nguni cultures. For instance, a new bride (*umakoti*) is treated like a perpetual 'outsider' despite her age until she is accustomed to the taboos,

norms and customs of *umzi*. When she finally has *umzi wakhe* (her own homestead) she is then treated differently by *amadodakazi* (husband's sisters). The intricacies and complexities of the African family and its social organisations if prioritised could provide a deep sense of belonging and understanding of the greater society within African Sociology. A more enlightened interpretation of African family social structures can lead to a more illuminated understanding of African socio-economic challenges faced by their households. Using indigenous African languages and context-sensitivity means that social formations of each society cannot be studied outside its ways of knowing and being.

Matriarchs, Methodologies and African Sociology

UMakhulu, as the institution of knowledge, could help us connect the oral chronologies with contemporary sociological techniques of excavating data. African Sociology ought to connect its communities through oral traditions inherited by *uMakhulus* through song, rhymes, dance, *iziduko* (clan names), *amabali emvelo* (stories of origin), and *iintsomi* (folktales). African Sociology has not sufficiently explored and accessed indigenous history and African epistemologies. Mafeje (1967) and many other African Linguistics academics and authorities, including Maseko (2018) and Mkhize (2018) have begun to mine African historiography insights using African oral sources in South Africa today. Mafeje (1967) advocates for *imbongi* (praise bard) as a critical interlocutor in keeping history and oral citations of the community. Mafeje (1967) was critical in emphasising the translation of *imbongi* to 'praise singer' as opposed to the role of a social critic. Our sociology curriculum could be enhanced by inserting 'orality' as the norm in investigating African communities' social organisations. The connection between history and biography is enkindled when one recites their clan names (*ukuzithutha*). These recitations proclaim to locate (amongst other proclamations) *imvelaphi* (origins and geography) of a particular clan. Through using *iziduko* and African indigenous languages, Mkhize (2018) is re-reading the history of *ibali laMamfengu (the Mfengu history)*, which dominated history debates in the 19th Century. Accessing African national, communal and clan history through oral recollections will not only help the collective binding of African Sociology scholars to their societies and contexts; it will evolve the study of the development, structure, and functioning of African societies.

Sociologists concerned with the development of the discipline in Africa are vital and necessary in guiding respective societies by interpreting the meanings of songs, dance, folktales and poems so that African people understand how societies name, value and organise themselves. The grossly inadequate utilisation of collecting oral records as principal research methods in sociological methodologies reflects the profoundly disconnected ways in which sociological knowledge is acquired in Africa. The insertion of

uMakhulu as a source of knowledge could also challenge gendered oral traditions. Tisani (2000) notes that in the Eastern Cape (isiXhosa/Nguni) history, the woman's voice has been negated. The "patriachalisation of oral histories" according to Oyewumi (2005:171) is the result of the misinterpretation of indigenous languages by the missionaries who used the English language to translate data in its gendered ontologies. *UMakhulu*, for many of us, connects history and biography though her use of *amabali* (stories) and *intsomi* (folktales) during socialisation of many African children, and her contribution to history must be restored through sociology.

Herbert Vilakazi, (2002) urges sociologists to 'visit' their 'uncertified knowers' and listen to them "as (they are) Anthropologists in their own land". Tisani (2018:18) solicits for the epistemological 'cleansing' (*ukuhlambulula*) of the European methodologies and orientation that has defined African scholarship in higher education. The cleansing process must involve African scholars, thought leaders, academics and educators going back to learning and studying the meanings of the idioms, proverbs, stories, folktales, songs, clans, totems, educational (nursery) rhymes, *etcetera,* of the indigenous communities they seek to understand. "In the African world, change and healing is sought through *ukuhlambulula* - cleansing - inside and outside, touching the seen and unseen, screening the conscious and unconscious. In African thinking "there is an interconnectedness of all things" (Tisani 2018:18). A connected African Sociological knowledge will have to dedicate considerable time and cognitive application to resurrect these traditions of detailed ethnography to produce empirical work and start theorising our local knowledge systems. Africa must decease the exportation of knowledge data to the North for "processing" and theorising and begin to develop sound academic infrastructure locally (Adesina, 2006a; Nyamnjoh, 2012; Hountondji, 1990). It is this deep, rigorous and rich sociological knowledge which is possessed by indigenous 'uncertified' knowers of our communities that will help us rethink and remodel the sociological knowledge that will build ontological security in majority of the students in the South African sociology classroom.

UMakhulu – The Foundation of Sociological Knowledge

UMakhulu provides foundations of sociological imagination (Mills, 1959), where she narrates stories and folktales that expand children's sociological knowledge about their society. This imagination is reinforced by *iziduko* (clan names) which link nature to humanity. Through *iintsomi* (folktales*)* and *amabali* (storytelling), *uMakhulu* becomes the transferor of oral history through storytelling and teaching around *iziduko* (clan names). Literacy among many African children starts with 'reading the Bible' as the primary tool of reading skills from *uMakhulu*. Chinyama (2017:111) mentions that

I now call South Africa home, as the place I came into my womanhood. Through, tales told by grandmothers, I have also come to learn that, on my maternal side, my people came from South Africa and migrated to Zambia less than one hundred years ago.

Oral history storytelling seems to be the speciality of the *uMakhulu* who often nurtures the children of her community and illuminates life to all without necessarily having children of her own. Magona Sindiwe's (1990) *To my children's Children* – Preface from the Xhosa Grandmother, concludes by saying "How will you know who you are if I do not or cannot tell you the story of your past?" Connecting biography to history (Sociological Imagination) is *uMakhulu's* speciality as she keeps the records and documentation of the family in a safe box. Nkosinathi Biko credits his *Makhulu* for the biographical works we have come to learn about Steve Biko, his father as the *Makhulu* documented all the records for Biko.

Despite the duties of the *uMakhulu* as history narrator for children, her knowledge is not linked to the formal institutions of learning. *Iziduko* (clan names) for instance does not form part of South African history curriculum or Sociology of family for that matter. To acknowledge *uMakhulu* as an institution of knowledge is to start looking at the 'history curriculum' differently along with its methodologies. This means that we must begin to use the educational institution as the foundation to children's curriculum and ways of teaching (through *intsom*i) while developing a more accessible and complimentary history and introduction to sociology curriculum that sees the African household as part of learning spaces rather than divorced from knowledge. Talking about the School of Ibadan History curriculum, Adesina (2006a:253) notes,

...the stories I read were my stories, told by my people! I did not encounter history as something alienating and disconnecting from my pre-school self and self-worth. University was an inspiring continuation of what I had learnt on the knees of my grandmother.

UMakhulu provides an inclusive and well-rounded approach to learning and knowledge acquisition, without segmenting and disconnecting it to everyday life. Her teaching on environmental awareness through recycling and the use of organic material in African households is indicative of this institution in seeing the environment, society, and spirituality as a connected unit. Recycling and the use of organic material have been part of this institution long before we were aware of its environmental benefits. For example, the use of *Ubulongwe* (cow's dung) in reinforcing and cleaning rural homes, recycling of clothes (hand me downs), tins for utensils and saving water are some of the methods that make *uMakhulu* an institution for survival and sustainable

knowledge. *UMakhulu* is in herself, an essential institution to the sustenance of our environment, spiritual and economic makeup. She provides a critical untapped formal model of organising knowledge in an accessible and restorative manner. As a form of pedagogy, *uMakhulu* helps us to deal with enduring challenges that have shaped our 'body of knowledge' as she contributes towards imagining innovative ways of acquiring knowledge.

Ukubuyisa: Reconnecting with Maternal Ancestors of Knowledge

Using elders to access knowledge in Sociology is not new. *Abadala* (elders) are referred to as living ancestors in Nguni cultures. In Xhosa and Zulu languages, ancestors are also known as *abaphantsi* (those who are down below), *amathongo* or *ithongo* (departed spirits), and *amadlozi* (the departed) (Ngubane, 1977:51). Ancestors are typically concerned with the health and wellbeing of their people. After the process of *ukubuyiswa* (integration back to the family as the spirit through a ritual ceremony- direct translation meaning to return), they dwell as invisible bodies in our societies (Ngubane, 1977:56). The most stubborn ancestors for the process of *ukuthwasa* (preparatory tutelage and mentoring of traditional healing) are the maternal ancestors. Also, the "old woman is usually persistent in the context of an overdue *buyisa* ceremony. As a parent, she can afford to be harsher to her children and even to her husband" (Ngubane, 1977:55). The spirit of our maternal grandmothers longs for integration (*ukubuyiswa*) in how we know what we know.

Tapping into the work of the maternal ancestors troubles the motherless sociology by *ukubuyisa* (integrating) the mothers back to sociological knowledge foundations. The absence of the maternal ancestors as archives of knowledge means that we are unable to connect African students to their 'collective memory' and therefore disabling African students. Reading the work of Fatima Meer (*Race and Suicide*) as classic means that we expand beyond Emile Durkheim's study of suicide as the canon. Centralising the works of Ellen Khuzwayo (*Call Me a Woman)* as part of the critical gender introductory courses along with its historical account of violence instead of just Frantz Fanon we are then able to balance our intellectual ancestors to include the power of maternal ancestors. One of the prominent Black feminist writers- Gloria Watkins[6], was influenced by her great grandmother to write the most acknowledged Black feminist texts under her great grandmother's name – bell hooks. hooks herself and her works of over 30 Black feminist books on race, class, gender, culture, arts including children's books have become the canon and influenced many Black women thinkers. Her maternal great grandmother and her positionality as a Black woman in America inspired most of these canonical

6   h t t p s : / / w w w . t h o u g h t c o . c o m / b e l l - h o o k s - b i o g r a p h y - 3 5 3 0 3 7 1
    http://www.theheroinecollective.com/bell-hooks/

texts by hooks. The late Toni Morrison, one of the great literature writers of this Century, has also shared the impact and influence of her grandmother in her writings (Morrison and McKay, 1983). Morrison's work, which theme on Black experience and mother-daughter relations have all become distinguished in literature, allowing many Black writers to have a space in centring Black experiences in their novels. Both these African women writers have joined a lineage of the African women writers who wrote through the ontology of *uMakhulu*. The importance of the maternal ancestry in our sociological knowledge could help us return (*ukubuyisa*); heal and cleans our sociological canon out of its colonial, exclusionary and elitists clutches of knowledge production in Africa. When Tisanai (2018) calls for *ukuhlambulula* – cleansing, it means we need to resuscitate the spirit and memory of our *Makhulus* to form the foundation for sociological imagination.

In positioning elderly African women as a source of sociological knowledge, we tackle the 'bio-logic' (Oyewumi, 1997) that has created a hierarchy in knowledge production. The centralising of oo*Makhulu (grandmothers)*, makazi (aunts), *ooDabawo* (father's sister), etc. will assist our sociological enterprise in reshaping its body of knowledge and provide an inclusive understanding of society beyond binary thinking that has defined this motherless sociology of our time.

If our ancestors are interceding on behalf of the majority of African society (*uluntu)* in correcting and improving sickness, purpose seeking and employment, socio-economic status, etc. then how is it possible that we have negated such a powerful vessel of sociological explanations about the African society? If the ancestor is our archive (Tisani, 2017) to which we must pay attention to factors "troubling" (*inkathazo*) our communities, then why has their knowledge been neglected and categorised as irrational, primitive, even 'barbaric' and not science? This kind of knowledge has been used to heal and locate misfortune and suffering in different African societies. It is through *ukubuyisa* of oo*Makhulu* that we de-centre the secular nature of the father's discipline in how it seeks to negate the 'African elders' as the source of knowledge.

Conclusion

Instead of maintaining hierarchies and evolutionary approach to sociology (Bhambra, 2011), this article has sought to create reconnections to African maternal histories, using Nguni languages in South Africa. This is an attempt to reconnect African Sociology to reclaim, restore and start theorising while conversing with the world in African terms and categories.

This article re-emphasises the calls for historical depth in empirical work using indigenous language as a source of knowledge to understand the indigenous communities to contribute meaningfully to the global sociological conversations. Archie Mafeje's major contribution in social science stems from understanding the ontological

foundations of language. His classic paper on *Ideology of Tribalism* was based on his deep connection to indigenous languages. He argues that there is no indigenous language with 'tribe' as a term of reference to others across the African continent. In re-inserting the matriarchal foundations of the continent through endogeneity the sociological imagination of the students in South African sociology curriculum begin to feel the relevance and relatable nature of the discipline to their households. This emphasis on endogeneity accessible through indigenous language terms and concepts we will also deal with the disconnections that separate the graduates from the socio-economic conditions they tend to join later after graduating from a sociology degree. Using the terms like *uluntu* (society), ubuntu (humanitiy), *umakhulu* (elder mother/grandmother), *umalume* (maternal uncle) we have attempted to formulate a pluralistic understanding of the Sociological concepts and their ontological meanings in how sociology can expand its language to include the growing African and female students in the classroom today.

If the urgency of the changing demographics in South African higher education are not taking into account the languages of the majority of the sociology students and their histories, this will eventually pose a challenge to the relevance of the sociological degree in South African Sociology. We have a wealth of knowledge systems that go beyond the secular epistemologies that have defined the sociological knowledge. The kind of sociology we need today is the one that can restore hope, detail and rigour in its commitment to heal African communities from centuries of colonial knowledge systems and start towards building a healthy society.

The paper concludes by arguing that, if we are to define life away from raging patriarchal and discriminatory societies we will need to pay attention to how women are represented in the curriculum and broader production of knowledge. By *ukubuyisa* our maternal heritage through the ordinary knowledge from *oomakhulu* we will be re-inserting dignity and firm ontological existence that gives a sense of belonging to most of the students in South African classrooms.

References:

Adesina, J.O. 2002. 'Sociology and the Yoruba Studies: Epistemic Intervention or Doing Sociology in the Vernacular? *African Sociological Review.* 6 (1) Pp. 91-114

Adesina, J.O. 2005. 'Realising the Vision: The Discursive and Institutional Challenges of Becoming an African University'. *Africa Sociological Review.* 9 (1) PP. 23-39

Adesina, J.O. 2006 (a). 'Sociology Beyond Despair: Recovery of Nerve, Endogeneity, and Epistemic Intervention'. *South African Review of Sociology.* 37 (2) Pp. 241-249

Adesina, J.O. 2006 (b). 'Sociology, Endogeneity and the Challenge of Transformation'. African Sociological Review. 10 (2) Pp. 133-150

Adesina, J.O. 2010. 'Re-appropriating Matrifocality: Endogeneity and African Gender

Scholarship'. *African Sociological Review*. 14 (1) Pp. 2-19

Aidoo, A. 1992. 'The African Women Today'. *Dissent*. Pp. 319- 325

Alatas, S.H. 2000. 'Intellectual Imperialism: Definition, Traits, and Problems.' *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 28 (1) Pp.23–45.

Amadiume, I.1987. *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*. London: Zed Books.

Amadiume, I.1997. *Re-inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*. Zed Books.

Badat, S 2009. 'Theorising Institutional Change: post-1994 South African Higher Education'. *Studies in Higher Education*. 34 (4) Pp. 455-467.

Bakare-Yusuf, B. 2004. 'Yorubas don't do gender': A Critical Review of Oyeronke Oyewumi's. The Invention of Woman' *African Gender Scholarship*. 61, 81.

Bhambra, G.K. 2011. 'Talking among Themselves? Weberian and Marxist Historical Sociologies as Dialogues without 'Others'. Millennium: *Journal of International Studies* 39 (3) Pp. 667–681

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1999. 'On Cunnings of Imperialist Reason'. *Theory, Culture and Society*. 16 (1) Pp 41-58

Carrol, K.K. 2014. 'An Introduction to Africa-Centred Sociology: Worldview, Epistemology, and Social Theory'. *Critical Sociology*. 40 (2) Pp 257-270

Castells, M. 2000. 'Toward a Sociology of the Network Society'. *Contemporary Sociology*. 29 (5) Pp. 693-699

Chinyama, N. 2017. "Finding Spirit in the Work- *Ukuthwasa*". *Feminist Africa*, Issue 22 Pp. 111-118 *Decadence of Sociology*. United Kingdom, Lexington Books Epistemic Intervention'. *South African Review of Sociology*. 37 (2): Pp. 241-259

Department of Higher Education and Training. 2018. Annual Report 2018/19. Pretoria, South Africa https://www.dhet.gov.za/Commissions%20Reports/DHET%20Annual%20Report%20%202017_18%20.pdf

Diop, C.A. 1991. *Civilisation or Barbarism: An Authentic anthropology*. Brooklyn. New York, Lawrence hill.

Dubbeld B. 2009. 'Marx, labour and emancipation in South African Sociology: A Preliminary Rethinking'. *Social Dynamics*. 35 (2) Pp. 215–230

Gasa, N. 2007. *Women in South African History*. Cape Town, HSRC Press

Guy, J. 1990. 'Gender Oppression in Pre-colonial Southern Africa'. In Walker, C. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: James Currey

Hassim, S. 2019. 'The Impossible Contract: The Political and Private Marriage of Nelson and Winnie Mandela'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 45 (6) Pp. 1151-1171

Hendricks F (2006) 'The rise and fall of South African Sociology'. African Sociological Review 10 (1) Pp. 86–97Hountondji, P. 1990. 'Scientific Dependence in Africa Today'. *Research in African Literature*. 21 (3) Pp. 5-15

Jubber K (1983) 'Sociology and its Sociological Context: The case of the rise of Marxist Sociology in South Africa'. *Social Dynamics*. 9 (2) Pp. 50–63

Khondlo, K. 2015. 'Meaning and Significance of Conscience and Consciousness in Public Leadership in the Post-1994 South Africa'. *Journal of Public Administration*. Vol. 50 (3) Pp. 485-495

Mabokela, R.O. 2000. 'We cannot Find Qualified Blacks': Faculty Diversification Programmes at South African Universities. *Comparative Education*. 36 (1) Pp. 95-112

Mafeje, A. 1967. 'The Role of the Bard in a Contemporary African Community.' *Journal of African Languages,* 6(3) Pp. 193-223.

Mafeje, A. 1991. *The Theory and Ethnography of African Social Formations: the Cases of the Interlacustrine Kingdoms*. Dakar/London, CODESRIA Books Series

Magona, S. 1990. *To my children's Children.* Cape Town, David Phillip Publishers

Magoqwana, B. 2018. 'Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge: Beyond 'Biologism' towards uMakhulu as the Body of Indigenous Knowledge'. in Bam, J, Ntsebeza, L, Zinn, A (eds*). Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography*. African Sun Media.

Magubane, B. [1968] 2000. 'Crisis in African Sociology'. In Magubane, B.M. *African Sociology- Towards A Critical Perspective: The Collected Essays of Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane.* Trenton, NJ. Africa World Press

Magubane, Z. 2010 'Attitudes about Feminism Among Women in the ANC 1950-1990: A Theoretical Re-interpretation' in SADET (South African Democracy Trust) (ed) *Road To Democracy Volume 4 (1980-1990).* UNISA Press, South Africa

Mapadimeng, M.S. 2012. 'Sociology and Inequalities in Post-Apartheid South Africa. A Critical Review'. *Current Sociology*. 61 (1) Pp. 40-56

Maseko, P. 2018. 'Language as a Source of Revitalisation and Reclamation of Indigenous Epistemologies: Contesting Assumptions and Re-Imagining Women Identities in (African) Xhosa Society'. In Bam, J, Ntsebeza, L, Zinn, A (eds). *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography*. African Sun Media.

Means, R. 2011. 'Patriarchy: The Ultimate Conspiracy, Matriarchy: The Ultimate Solution' *Griffith Law Review*, 20 (3) 515-525

Mfecane, 2018. *(Un)Knowing Men: Africanising Gender Justice Programmes for Men in South Africa.* Centre for Sexualities, AIDS and Gender Publishers. University of Pretoria, South Africa

Mies, M. 1986. *Patriarchy & Accumulation on World Scale: women in the international division of labour*. New York and London, Zed Books

Mies, M. and Shiva, V.[1993] 2014. *Eco-Feminism- Foreword by Ariel Salleh*. Zed Book

Mills, C.W. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination.* New York, Oxford Press

Mkhize, N. 2018. 'The Missing Idiom of African Historiography: African Historical Writing in Walter Rubusana's Zemnk'inkomo Maagwalandini'. in Bam, J, Ntsebeza, L, Zinn, A (eds). *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-*

colonial Historiography. African Sun Media.

Mqotsi, L. 2006. *A Study of Ukuthwasa: (Being a Syndrome recognised by the Xhosa as a qualification to being initiated as a doctor)*. Iqula Publishing.

Ndayi, V. and Du Plooy, B. 2019. 'Gendered differences in the representation of men's and women's relationship to marriage and childbearing in business and economic contexts: A reading of the South African television soap opera Generations: The Legacy'. *Agenda*. (33) 4. Pp. 111-121

Ngubane, H. 1977. *Body and Mind: An Ethnography of health and Disease in Nyuswa–Zulu thought and Practice*. London and New York, Academic Press

Ntantala, P. 1958 [1960]. *'Widows of the Reserve'. An African Treasury: Articles, Essays, Stories, Poems.* New York: Crown Publishers

Ntuli, P. 2002. 'African Knowledge Systems and African Renaissance'. In Hoppers, C.A. (ed) *Indigenous Knowledge and Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation.* Claremont, South Africa. New Africa Education

Nyamnjoh, F. 2012. 'Potted Plants in Greenhouses: A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa'. *Journal of Asian and African Studies.* 0 (0) Pp 1-26

Nyoka, B. 2013. 'Negation and Affirmation: A Critique of Sociology in South Africa'. *African Sociological Review*. 17 (1) Pp. 2-24

Nzegwu, N. 2005. 'Questions of Identity and Inheritance: A Critical Review of Kwame Anthony Appiah's In My Father's House' In Oyewumi. O. (ed) *African Gender Studies: A Reader.* New York. Palgrave MacMillan

Oyewumi. O. 1997. *The Invention of Women: Making African Senses of Western Gender Discourses.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Oyewumi. O. 2005. 'Visualizing Visualising the Body: Western Theories and African Subjects'. In Oyewumi. O. (ed) *African Gender Studies: A Reader. New York.* Palgrave MacMillan

Oyewumi. O. 2015. *What Gender is Motherhood? Changing Yoruba Ideals of Power, Procreation and Identity in the Age of Modernity*. Palgrave MacMillan

Rabe, M. and Rugunanan, P. 2012. 'Exploring Gender and Race among Female Sociologists Exiting Academia in South Africa'. *Gender and Education*. 24 (5) Pp. 553-566

Ramose, M. 2015. 'Ecology through Ubuntu' in Meinhold, R. (Ed) *Environmental Values Emerging from Cultures and Religions of the ASEAN Region.* Guna Chakra Research Center, Graduate School of Philosophy & Religion, Assumption University

Romero, P. 2015. *African Women: A Historical Panorama.* Marcus Wiener Publishers, Princeton

Shiva, V. 1988. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India.* New Delhi/London, Zed Books

Sisulu, E. 2002. *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime. Cape Town,* David Philip Publishers

Sitas A. 1997. The waning of sociology in South Africa. Society in Transition 28 (1–4) Pp. 12–19

Sitas, A. 2014. 'Rethinking Africa's Sociological Project'. *Current Sociology.* 62 (4) Pp 457-471

Steady, F. C. 2011. *Women and Leadership in West Africa: Mothering the Nation and Humanizing Humanising the State.* Palgrave, MacMillan

Tisani, N. 2000. *Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography During the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration through Textual Analysis.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Grahamstown, Rhodes University

Tisani, N. 2017. 'Re-visiting and Celebrating our Literary Elders to build a Multiversal Tomorrow'. Paper Presented at Rhodes University Colloquium- *Rethinking South African Canonical Writing: Centring the isiXhosa Writings of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries. 21–22 June*

Tisani, N. 2018. "Of Definitions and Naming: 'I am the earth itself. God made me a chief on the very first day of creation' "in Bam, J, Ntsebeza, L, Zinn, A (eds). *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography.* African Sun Media.

Tisani, N. 2020. *A Fortuitous Appearance in History of the Enigmatic Nosuthu MaMtshawe Jotelo, a Nineteenth Century siXhosa Speaking Woman.* Paper Presented in Nelson Mandela University Colloquium, 28-29 August 2020

Tlali, M. 1989. *Footprints in the Quag: Stories and Dialogues from Soweto. With an Introduction by Lauretta Ngcobo. Cape Town*, David Philip Publishers

Vilakazi, H. 2002. 'The Problem of African Universities'. In Makgoba, M.W. (ed) *African Renaissance: The New Struggle.* Tafelberg, Mafube Publishers.

Walker, C. (ed) 1990. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945.* Cape Town: James Currey

Webster E. 1985. 'Competing paradigms: Towards a critical sociology in Southern Africa'. *Social Dynamics* 11(1) Pp. 44–48