

Socially Constructed Meanings of Impucuko in a Comparative Historical Analysis



by

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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USHWANKATHELO

Uhlalutyo lwentlalo yoluntu lwaseAfrika luye lwanamathela kwizimvo nakwiingcamango kunye neenkcazo-bungcali zaseNtshona ngelixa lityeshela ingqiqo ulwazi kunye nenkcazo yemveli ngentlalo yoluntu. Ngenxa yesi simo, ngokukhokhelwa yi-social constructionism kunye ne-hermeneutics, le thisisi iphanda iintsingiselo zegama impucuko, kunye namanye amagama asondeleleneyo neli ngokwentsingiselo, akhiwe phantsi kwefuthe lesimo sentlalo nenkcubeko zizifundiswa ezingabathethi besiXhosa kwisithuba esiyiminyaka elikhulu. Uncwadi olusuka kwiLiterary Archive yesiXhosa, amaphepha-ndaba esiXhosa eli xesha akhethiweyo, kunye nodliwano-ndlebe olunzulu lusetyenzisiwe njengendlela esemgangathweni yophando lokuhlalutya ukwakhiwa kweentsingiselo. Iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezivezwa luphando ziquka:

- Impucuko njengolwazi olutyhilayo
- Impucuko njengenqubela-phambili
- Impucuko njengokusuka kwinkcubeko yesiNtu
- Impucuko njengenqubo ehlaziyekileyo esekwe phantsi kwefuthe namava abantu abantsundu equka uphuhliso

Olu phando lubonisa ukukwakhiwa kwentsingiselo yegama phantsi kwefuthe elityhila ulwazi oluqalathwe ngaphakathi kwimbali, kuluntu kwinkcubeko kunye nolwimi lwenkobe, ngokusebenzisa le ngcamango inye impucuko. Le nto ibonakaliswa ubudlelwane phakathi kwesimo sentlalo kunye nolwakhiwo lweentsingiselo. Eli phepha liphikisana nokongama kwengqiqo nezixhobo zolwazi zaseNtshona kunye nolwimi nesiNgesi. Ngaphezulu, eli phepha libonisa indlela entsha yokuphuhlisa izixhobo zolwazi ezibonisa iimbono zaseAfrika.

ABSTRACT

Sociological analysis of African societies has tended to rely on Western concepts and theories while neglecting indigenous conceptualisations and explanations of social phenomena. Guided by social constructionism and hermeneutics, this thesis seeks to respond to this by investigating the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* (dictionary translation: civilisation) and associated terms by isiXhosa-speaking professionals at the turn of the 20th century and then again at the turn of the 21st century, exploring the changes and continuities in the meanings over the 100-year period. Documentary sources from the isiXhosa literary archive, a sample of contemporary isiXhosa newspapers and in-depth interviews are utilised as part of the qualitative research approach to explore the social construction of meaning. The different meanings of *impucuko* that emerge from the inquiry include an understanding of the concept as:

- enlightening knowledge
- *inkqubela phambili* (progress)
- detachment from *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage)
- reimagined as a system of development that uplifts.

This thesis demonstrates the practice of endogeneity by taking a single isiXhosa term, *impucuko* (and associated words), and demonstrating how endogeneity works organically in the process of the social construction of meanings in the vernacular by African socio-linguistic groupings. It highlights the relationship between socio-cultural context and meaning construction. The study challenges the hegemony assumed by western conceptual tools and the English language in academic knowledge production. Furthermore, the thesis shows an innovative method of developing critical conceptual tools that centre African perspectives.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Ushwankhatelo (Summary in isiXhosa):

Le ngxelo yophando iphanda iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezakhiwe phantsi kwefuthe lesimo sentlalo sabantu basesikolweni okanye abafundileyo abayinxenye yesizwe samaXhosa, kwisithuba seminyaka eli-100. Eli phepha livavanya ubudlelwane phakathi kolwakhiwo lweentsingiselo ngesiXhosa kunye nesimo sentlalo nemeko yezenkcubeko yeli qela lichongiweyo.

Injongo yeli phepha kukuba negalelo kwiprojekthi eqhubekekayo yokuphuhlisa izifundo kwiNzululwazi yezoLuntu (Sociology) yaseAfrika ngokubeka amazwi kunye namava abo bebengakhathalelwanga ngaphambili ukuze kuphuhliswe izixhobo ezinokusetyenziswa ukwakha kulwazi ngohlobo lokufunda nokuphanda ngeli lizwekazi iAfrika nabantu balo.

Ithisisi ikhokelwa ngulo mbuzo uphambili ulandelayo:

Ingaba abantu basesikolweni nabafundileyo abangabathethi besiXhosa bazakhe njani iintsingiselo zegama ‘impucuko’ kwisithuba esingamakhulu eminyaka?

Iphepha liphanda kwaye lijongana nale mibuzwana ilandelayo:

- Zeziphi iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezakhiwa ngabantu basesikolweni nabafundileyo abathetha isiXhosa kwisithuba sokuqosheliswa kweminyaka yama1800 nokuqala kwama1900?
- Zeziphi iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezakhiwa ngabantu basesikolweni nabafundileyo abathetha isiXhosa kwisithuba sokuqosheliswa kweminyaka yama1900 nokuqala kwama2000?
- Lunjani utshintsho kunye nokuqhubekeka kwiintsingiselo zegama impucuko kwesi sithuba seminyaka elikhulu?
- Ingaba iintsingiselo zegama impucuko zisivezela ntoni ngesimo sentlalo, amava entlalontle kunye nenkcubeko yabantu basesikolweni nabafundileyo abangabathethi besiXhosa kwesi sithuba sexesha sikhankanyiweyo?

1.1 Context and motivation

The social sciences, sociology in particular, are important in understanding the complex, everchanging social reality. The genesis of sociology as a discipline stems from Western scholars in the middle of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Hendricks, 2006). Thus, the

discipline's origins are unmistakably Western and marked in definite ways by the particularity of its origin as a response to the social and economic circumstances experienced at that time (Hendricks, 2006). Just as sociology was conceived by Western social scientists as a response to the changes in the social world resulting from industrialisation and the spread of capitalism, capitalism's reach in Africa through colonialism influenced sociology's relevance as tool to study societal change (Hendricks, 2006).

Even though sociology in South Africa (and Africa) includes appropriate intellectual tools (such as the sociological imagination and associated methods) to facilitate sophisticated social inquiry, sociological analysis of African societies has tended to rely on Western concepts and theories while neglecting indigenous conceptualisations and explanations of social phenomena. This offers South African sociologists the opportunity to engage with African perspectives, including African sociological concepts and their meanings that have emerged from the lived experiences and observations of indigenous intellectuals. South African academics have attempted to develop conceptual tools to grapple with the issues facing the African continent by using the social worlds as experienced by Africans as a source in an attempt to contribute to the project of decolonisation.

African social science scholars have been rethinking, deconstructing and reconstructing knowledge practices to develop critical perspectives that reflect African experiences (Adesina, 2002; Alexander, 2013; Mafeje, 1991). Neville Alexander (2013), a South African scholar and activist, has responded to the call to decolonise academic work, arguing that decolonising academia in Africa requires academics to write and teach bilingually or multilingually in English and African languages in ways that disrupt the former's hegemony and evolve the latter's as academic disciplines become Africanised (De Wet, 2021). Therefore, the development of an African sociology cannot rely on English to achieve its objectives because the language, including concepts and their meanings, is historically tied to contexts and experiences that have historically excluded Africans. A common strand of sociology that makes it a significant field of social inquiry is its compulsion to uncover the hidden, to explore the underlying generative mechanisms for social behaviour, to remove the many layers of distortions and to discern the many different layers of meaning (Hendrick, 2006). With this as a point of departure and prompted by calls for a decolonised African sociology, this research explores the meanings of key sociological terms as they have been used and evolved in African languages and within African communities (see De Wet, 2021). This focus was inspired by Raymond Williams's (1983) book "Keywords: A Vocabulary of

Culture and Society” in which he discusses the evolution of the English meanings of key sociological terms. Williams (1983) argues that meanings, particularly for socially, economically and politically charged concepts, are contextual and influenced by the socio-cultural experiences of individuals who participate in meaning making.

1.2 Research aim

This research report investigates the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* by isiXhosa-speaking professionals at the turn of the 20th century and then again at the turn of the 21st century, exploring the similarities and differences over the 100-year period. It examines the relationship between the meanings given to this isiXhosa sociological concept and the socio-cultural contexts of the identified isiXhosa socio-linguistic group. The meanings of *impucuko* and associated words are distilled from early isiXhosa newspapers and texts published by professionals (teachers, journalists, clergy and politicians) between 1880 and 1920 in the Eastern Cape and then compared to contemporary meanings constructed by isiXhosa-speaking professionals who reside in the Eastern Cape. The first part of this project, which included sources from 100 years ago, began in a very limited way with an Honours dissertation. This Master’s thesis entails working with additional early isiXhosa texts and contemporary meanings of *impucuko* gleaned from interviews and newspaper sources. This thesis focuses on the social construction of meanings, informed by social constructionism and hermeneutics.

1.3 Significance of the study

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the ongoing project of developing an African scholarship, more specifically, an African sociology by centring the voices and experiences of the previously neglected to develop conceptual tools that can be used to grapple with the issues facing the African continent by drawing on the notion of endogeneity. The thesis seeks to show an innovative method of developing critical conceptual tools that centre African meanings of concepts in the vernacular, in this case the concept of *impucuko*, to challenge the hegemony assumed by western scholarship and the English language.

1.4 Research questions

The thesis is guided by the following central research question:

How have isiXhosa-speaking professionals socially constructed the meanings of the concept 'impucuko' over the past 100 years?

The thesis addresses the following sub-questions:

- What meanings of impucuko were constructed by isiXhosa-speaking professionals at the turn of the 20th century?
- What current meanings of impucuko have been constructed by the same linguistic group at the beginning of the 21st century?
- What are the changes and continuities in the meanings of impucuko over the past 100 years?
- How do the meanings of impucuko reflect the socio-cultural experiences of isiXhosa-speaking professionals at these two junctures in history?

1.5 Overview

This thesis proceeds in eight chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 lays out the conceptual framework which outlines the research approach that informs the research design and analysis as well as the important concepts required to achieve the purpose of this research project. Social constructionism is discussed in relation to the research objectives. In addition, it explores the connections among concepts, meanings, socio-cultural contexts, experiences and social identities of a socio-linguistic grouping. The chapter aims to demonstrate that the construction of meaning is affected by the interaction among social actors, the social conditions/contexts and language.

Chapter 3 locates my thesis in a broader discussion of endogeneity, decoloniality and the social sciences in Africa. This chapter includes a literature review providing the historical intellectual traditions in the social sciences and an exploration of how these traditions have impacted the state of sociology in South Africa. This chapter demonstrates how the theories and concepts that have historically been in use and have defined the social sciences primarily emerged from a western context that has different knowledge systems and traditions to those of indigenous groups of people in South Africa. This reality has contributed to the negations perpetuated by using preconceived concepts, theories and epistemologies to understand African society. Overall, the chapter draws attention to centrality of endogeneity and

endogenously articulated indigenous concepts in decolonising the social sciences (Mafeje, 1991).

Chapter 4 concerns methodology, describing the qualitative methodology adopted in the data collection and textual data analysis. The data collection was conducted using digital documentary sources from the South African Literary Archive which is undergoing a process of digitisation by the IsiXhosa Intellectual Traditions Digital Archive located in De Wet's research group in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town. Contemporary isiXhosa newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews were also used. The data analysis utilised the Miles and Huberman (2014) approach and hermeneutics.

Chapter 5 covers the socio-cultural contexts that locate the two groups of isiXhosa professionals a century apart. This chapter seeks to frame the social context and the importance of context in the social construction of meaning. The development of meaning involves a complicated and interactive process of development that speaks to socio-cultural experiences embedded in the historical and contemporary context.

Chapter 6 reports on the findings of the research project that shed light on the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. The chapter shows that the meanings emerge in relation to and are informed by the socio-cultural experiences of professionals who are part of the socio-linguistic group at the turn of these two centuries.

Chapter 7 discusses the key findings, comparatively discussing the continuities and discontinuities in meanings in the different historical periods. It also demonstrates the social construction of the meanings of *impucuko*. Consequently, the chapter also highlights that the tracking of the meanings of *impucuko* over time is an endogenous process of meaning construction that can contribute to a re-imagined Development Studies.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion and reiterated the importance of endogeneous epistemology and how important it has been in guiding the inquiry. The chapter includes areas of interest for further research and a brief discussion of the value of the South African Literary Archive.

CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTUALISING THE KEY CONCEPTS

Esi sahluko sigxile ekucaciseni iingcamango ezibalulekilyo ezitsalwe kumbuzo ophambili nemibuzwana exhasa inkqubo yophando. Iingcamango ezicaciswayo kwesi sahluko ziquka iingcamango (concept), iintsingiselo ezakhiwe phantsi kwefuthe lesimo sentlalo nenkcubeko yabantu (socially constructed meanings), impucuko, amava ngobomi achaphazelwa sisimo sentlalo (sociocultural context/experiences), abathethi bolwimi lesiXhosa (isiXhosa people as a socio-linguistic group) kunye ubuwena, ukuziphatha kwakho okanye ingcinga zakho ezisukela kwigalelo lezithethe zentlalo nendima yakho eluntwini (social identities). Uhlobo la magama achazwa ngayo lukhokhelwa sisixhobo sophando esiyi-social constructionism. La magama acaciswa ngohlobo olulula okanye olubanzi.

This chapter focuses on conceptualising the key concepts drawn from the central and sub-questions. The central research question of this study is: *How have isiXhosa-speaking professionals socially constructed the meanings of the concept 'impucuko' over the past 100 years?*

Based on the primary research focus articulated by the central question, the concepts clarified in this chapter are concept, socially constructed meanings, impucuko, sociocultural context/experiences, the isiXhosa people as a socio-linguistic group and social identities. The conceptualisation of the important concepts is guided by the framework of the social constructionism research approach. The concepts are discussed through a simple definition or an elaborate explanation.

A concept is a set of attributes that captures the common features of the class of empirical phenomena to which they refer (Perri & Bellamy, 2012). A concept is labelled or named with a word or term and consequently they are used synonymously. However, a term is the actual word used to refer to a concept that is the meaning attached to a phenomenon (De Wet, 2018). Concepts are the fundamental building block of thoughts, beliefs and theories that are used to draw appropriate inferences about the types of entities we encounter in our daily lives.

The concept central to this research is impucuko. In both the Kafir-English Dictionary (Kropf, 1915) and the Oxford IsiXhosa – IsiNgesi Dictionary (Reynolds & Zotwana, 2014), which was published a century later, the English equivalent of impucuko is recorded as “civilisation”

Apart from this, there is no comprehensive record of meanings for the term. Even though this dictionary meaning has been included, it does not capture the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* that are explored in this thesis.

Meaning is what is connoted and denoted by a word. It is influenced by social identity markers such as race, class, ethnicity and location (De Wet, 2018). From a sociological standpoint, meaning is understood as socially constructed; it is the result of a process of establishing a consistent pattern in the language used by a sociolinguistic group (De Wet, 2018). The social construction of meaning is necessitated by the need for a group or groups of people to be able to communicate and understand each other, but also identify with a concept. Language and culture influence this construction of meaning. The socially constructed meanings become incorporated into the ongoing social arrangement, and they evolve over time, undergoing negotiation and renegotiation in relation to changes in the social context communicated through language by social actors. Meanings given to concepts are derived from and informed by the experiences of social actors who participate collectively in the construction of meaning (Maines, 2000).

Therefore, a major part of this study entails making sense of a concept that represents a social phenomenon experienced by a socio-linguistic grouping over time and in relation to context. This is premised on the understanding that “we cannot apprehend human experience without understanding the social, linguistics and historical features which give it shape” (Kelly, 1999: 398). This calls for an approach to research that is orientated by empathy, context and the social construction of knowledge. To this end, the research design and analysis is informed by social constructionism which is the epistemological grounding for the social construction of meaning. Social constructionism is an approach to research that incorporates ontology and epistemology to examine the development of jointly constructed understandings of the world. The main tenet of social constructionism is to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the construction of their perceived social reality (i.e., ontology) and knowledge production about reality (i.e., epistemology).

Social constructionism assumes that the “terms by which the world is understood are social artifacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people” (Gergen, 1985: 267). Language is at the heart of social constructionism. Beyond simply describing the world, language constructs the world as it is perceived by people (Burr, 2015). Language functions as a medium for communication and it mediates cooperation and coordination for the

publicity of meaning (Burr, 2015). It also reflects the process of change that takes place in the social environment. Knowledge of language allows us to have access to community or group specific accounts of situated meanings and/or knowledge. Therefore, social constructionism is suitable for uncovering meanings and gaining an emic perspective about impucuko from isiXhosa-speaking professionals' point of view over a period of 100 years.

Social constructionism's respect for socially constructed meanings questions the exclusive application of western knowledge traditions that includes using tools for social inquiry universally, like theories and concepts to study societies with different historical and cultural contexts. The approach provides a lens to undertake critical analysis to make sense of the lived realities and knowledge traditions of colonised societies (Gergen, 1985). While the conception of social constructionism was not intended to serve a particularly decolonial purpose, it provides a relevant approach that encourages mindfulness of the historical devaluation of the knowledge systems and the processes of sense-making of indigenous people on the African continent (Gergen, 1985). Maines (2000) argues that social constructionism recognises that knowledge and meaning is constituted socially and culturally. It is this quality that enables social constructionism to serve decolonial endeavours. The approach to the research problem in this work is informed by social constructionism.

Sociocultural experiences are embedded in social conditions or context. Sociocultural experience is embedded in one's political, socioeconomic and cultural system. Culture is an important component and can be understood as a set of practices executed in an observable way by a social group (Sharapova & Ratcliff, 2018). It is the internal patterns and belief systems. Culture is not a static concept; it changes over time. In a globalising world, individuals are inevitably exposed to more than one cultural system, which over time influences their socio-cultural experiences (Sharapova & Ratcliff, 2018). Factors such as, but not limited to, family structure and relations, cultural identity, ethnic identity, religious beliefs and experiences of discrimination and/or privilege shape a person or group's sociocultural experiences, which in turn affects their worldview and consequently meaning construction. With these as influences, meaning is socially constructed collectively and incorporated into the ongoing cultural and social context of groups (Maines, 2000).

The relationship between the sociocultural experiences of isiXhosa speaking professionals (a specific social class with a socio-linguistic grouping) and their meaning construction of the central concept, impucuko, is of particular interest.

IsiXhosa speaking people are not a homogenous group. They form a part of a larger grouping of Nguni people who historically settled in the south-eastern parts of South Africa known today as the Eastern Cape. They comprise smaller cultural groupings such as the abaThembu, amaMpondomise, amaMpondo, amaMfengu, amaHlubi, amaGcaleka, amaBhaca and so on, who make up the amaXhosa and speak isiXhosa. Within this isiXhosa-speaking sociolinguistic group, the focus is specifically on professionals as a distinct social grouping or class who tend to share a social identity, cultural history and experiences. They emerge in the late 1800s as a distinguishable social group. Odendaal describes them as “literate Africans” who became “a settled stratum of society” in the Cape Colony at the end of the 1800s (Odendaal 2012: 35). Their experiences indicate the intersectionality of race, class and culture in their identity.

Social identity refers “to an individual’s behaviour or thoughts converging with social norms or social role recognition” (Feng, 2017: 99). It is used to express group members’ sense of belonging as they try to answer the question: To which group or groups do I belong? (Feng, 2017: 99). The identification with one another is important because it allows for the integration of the individual into society. Multiple belongings or social identities that may start with one family, clan or local church at a micro level become increasingly more inclusive going beyond nationhood to identifying with macro or larger identities such as African or liberal or leftist and ultimately the most inclusive, humanity. Feng (2017) argues that changes in social structure and socioeconomic circumstances can complicate social identity, giving rise to changes and confusions. When these changes occur, individuals often draw on their cultural history for identity preservation or renegotiation to navigate the complicated changes in their social identity that affect their link to and sense of belonging in society (Feng, 2017). The instability of the social environment makes identity a constant site of renegotiation (Feng, 2017).

For isiXhosa speaking professionals, their sociocultural experiences affect the state of their identity because of the interaction among their emerging modernised selves, the institutions and organisations that are constitutive of this identity and their traditional or cultural background (Odendaal, 2012). This requires a continuous renegotiation of sense of self and the cultural legacy emerges as a common resource to use in their attempt to renegotiate their social identity or identity within the particular social group and the larger society. The social history that has shaped the experiences of isiXhosa speaking professionals is discussed at length in a separate chapter.

In the next chapter I locate my thesis in a broader discussion of endogeneity, decoloniality and the social sciences in Africa.

CHAPTER 3 ENDOGENEITY AND DECOLONIALITY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Ngokwembali, izifundo zeNzululwazi yezoLuntu eMzantsi Afrika bezigxile kwisimo selizwe kwezepolitiki nakuqoqosho. Ngokulinganayo kubalulekile okokuba kuxoxwe ngobume bezifundo zeNzululwazi yezoLuntu. Unobangela woku kukuba iingcamango kunye neenkcazo-bungcali (theories) zesifundo zichaphazela izinga lokuphucuka, ukuntsokotha kunye nokunyaniseka kweziphumo zuphando olubhekisele, umzekelo, ekuphandeni imeko yezentlalo noqoqosho.

Olu phononongo loncwadi lugxile kulo mba kwaye lujonga Imixholo emithathu. Umxholo wokuqala uphonononga iingxoxo ezikhoyo ngokubaluleka kwezithethe, izixhobo kunye noluhlu lolwazi lwemveli lwabemi beli ekubeni lube yinxenye kwizifundo ngezifundo. Umxholo wesibini ugqala kukubaluleka kolwazi oluneengcambu lwasekwa kumava abantu besizwe nendima endlalwa koko ekuthatheleni ingqalelo izithethe, izixhobo kunye noluhlu lolwazi lwemveli. Umxholo wokugqibela ujonge umzekelo obonisa ukungahoywa nokutolikwa ngendlela engeyiyo ulwazi ngamaAfrika ngokuthi kusetyenziswe iingcamango neenkcazo-bungcali zangaphandle ukuqonda iinkcukacha ngoluntu.

Part of sociologists' work is to engage with social phenomena and work reflectively to write about the state of the discipline as it is practised. Historically, the dominant narrative around the state of sociology in South Africa has been concerned with the need for sociology to tackle the country's socio-political and economic issues (Burawoy, 2004; Hendricks, 2006; Jubber, 1983; Mapadimeng, 2012; Uys, 2004; Nyoka, 2013). Equally important are discussions that focus on what and how the discipline is constituted because the concepts and theories affect the level of sophistication and authenticity that a sociological inquiry can establish regarding, for example, the socioeconomic state of society. This literature review explores this aspect. The first part contextualises the discussions around the decolonisation of academic disciplines. The second part explores the literature focusing on endogeneity and its role in decolonisation. Finally, the third part explores examples in which negations and extraversions have been perpetuated within sociology; from using preconceived concepts, theories and epistemologies to understand society.

3.1 Decolonisation of academic disciplines

African scholars, and generally scholars of the global South, have since the 1960s engaged in debates about the decolonisation of academia and academic work and its practicalities (Alatas, 1969; Alatas, 2000; Altbach, 1977; Fanon, 1961; Freire, 1970; Illich, 1973). Part of their mission has included interrogating the historical academic dependency of scholarship from the South on the Northern academy. In addition, the project of decolonising the academy challenges the exclusion of voices from the South in constructing disciplinary canons. An important part of this project has been engaging with how colonialism and imperialism have contributed to the current economic, social, political and educational condition in Africa (Magubane, 1971). History shows that in the face of colonial conquest and oppression, African people advanced through resistance while colonialists systematically attempted to establish control (Magubane, 1971). Resistance has taken different forms: resistance through force, the development of national consciousness, and of concern for this study, “epistemic resistance” or resistance in the form of speaking out against epistemic injustice (Magubane, 1971; Medina, 2013).

Epistemic injustice has a strong relationship with the colonial system and imperialism. Alatas (2003) asserts that control over the colonised was facilitated by cultivating and applying disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. The development of concepts such as academic imperialism, decolonisation of knowledge, critical pedagogy and de-schooling, are ways of questioning the unequal relationship between the academic communities of the North and the global South and further argue against the historical injustices that have been perpetuated through academic disciplines (Alatas, 1969; Alatas, 2000; Altbach, 1977; Fanon, 1961; Freire, 1970; Illich, 1973). According to Alatas (2003), an indicator of the unequal relationship is the global division of labour where countries in the global South have dominantly been regarded as better suited for, particularly, empirical intellectual labour, while, western countries have been responsible for theoretical intellectual labour (Alatas, 2003). This relationship has functioned to maintain and perpetuate neo-colonialism and dependency (Alatas, 2003), contributing to the marginalisation of scholars and intellectual content from the global south. Marginalisation has led to the tendency to apply universal categories and theories originating in the North to the rest of the world (Alatas, 2012; Zeleza, 1997). These challenges are part of the broader context of relations between former western colonial powers and colonised societies.

South African universities and their curricula have historically reflected a structure modelled on a Eurocentric framework (Banda, 2000; Sitas, 2014; Morreira, 2015; Ndlovu, 2015; Mbembe, 2016; Fataar, 2018; Zembylas, 2018). Morreira (2015) argues that a Eurocentric epistemic canon lies at the core of the different academic disciplines. A Eurocentric canon “recognises western ways of knowing as the dominant perspective to attribute truth to” (Mbembe, 2016). Adherence to the Eurocentric canon has left other epistemic canons invisible, unrecognised and disregarded. Mbembe (2016) argues that this tradition has become the dominant expression of knowledge, generating practices and interpretative frames that do not accommodate other knowledge traditions. The existing cultural and intellectual distance between the university and the society that consumes the knowledge is an indication of the centring of the Eurocentric canon in discourse, and the neglect of knowledge traditions in local or indigenous societies (Mbembe, 2016). Institutions have reproduced an epistemological hierarchy that privileges a western knowledge system at the expense of indigenous bodies and knowledge traditions (Sitas, 2014; Garuba, 2015). The continuing decolonisation project is a response to consequences in the academy of the historical trajectory that has been traced here and engagement happens because the issue cannot be neglected.

3.2 Endogeneity in the decolonisation South African sociology

As a social sciences discipline, sociology came about as a response to social change during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As a result, the discipline’s history has been equated with western modernity (McLennan, 2011). Sanjay Seth (2016) advances that modernity is known and represented through western knowledge and modern knowledge in the form of modern social sciences, for example, sociology sought to form an understanding of modernity as it was occurring in Europe from the 17th century. In Peter Wagner’s words, even though this was a reflexive exercise on the part of the intellectuals at that time, modern knowledge through modern social sciences represented the phenomena of modernity as unveiling “universal truths by ‘generating’ forms of thinking that corresponded to its structure” (Wagner, 2001:1). Western intellectuals thought of it as applicable in different contexts, whether past, present or future (Seth, 2016).

Consequently, social thinkers such as Durkheim, Weber and Marx are referred to as the “founding fathers” of modern social sciences and their respective works are considered canonical works for the establishment of sociology engaged with the social change at that

point in history. Seth (2016) proposes that modernity is such an important part of scholarship because among western scholars, modernity is understood as having provided the conditions for the discovery of truths because, until that point, it was perceived that certain truths could not be discerned or they were tied to religion as absolute truths. Modernity was not understood solely as a part of a sequence of historical constructions, rather it was “the unveiling of what has been at the root of these (historical) constructions” (Seth, 2016: 393). This understanding of modernity is fundamental to the privileging of experiences. There was a recognition of the existences of world views in different ages or societies; however, these were regarded as lacking a clear-eyed view of the world (Seth, 2016). Subsequently, Europe became privileged because “the truths” modernity revealed were first unveiled in Europe. Thus, modernity was understood as characterised changes seen or experienced primarily in the western context. Alatas (2003) discusses the global division of labour constructed within a historical framework which purports that we cannot think about (modern) knowledge without linking it to modernity and we cannot think about modernity without linking it to Europe. Insofar as works by Durkheim, Weber and Marx have been influential, the elevation of their work as canonical automatically places scholars and work outside of the west on the margins, which explains why Durkheim, Weber and Marx are central in the sociology done in Southern Africa.

As with many academic disciplines, there have been calls for knowledge-making within social sciences in South Africa, including my sub-discipline of development sociology, to take as its reference point the South African or African locale. Adesina (2006: 243) posits that knowledge-making should be rooted in the “ontological narratives” of indigenous communities and individuals. By ontological narratives, he means the personal stories we tell about ourselves that are central to identity formation. For Adesina (2010), focus on ontological narratives addresses a two-fold problem that South African sociology faces: negations and extraversions. Negations are the representation of Africa and the rest of the global South through negative and demeaning constructions (Adesina, 2010). Extraversion can be understood as the trend among social scientists to take the west as their main point of reference (Adesina, 2010). Adesina attributes these problems to “status anxiety”, which is the fear of losing relevance in western countries on the part of local sociologists (Adesina, 2006). Western sociology has been systematically positioned for a long time as superior, and this awareness has contributed to status anxiety among African scholars (Bhambra, 2016).

Adesina (2006: 247) challenges us to think of the universalism of sociology and to note that “endogeneity is fundamental to the canonical works of what we call western sociology”.

Scholars have engaged in calls “for additional accounts of events, processes, and thinkers that can be used to supplement the already existing narratives, both historical and canonical” (Bhabra, 2016). Similarly, African scholars have been calling for “endogeneity or an endogenous approach to knowledge-making” (Nyoka, 2013). In the social science, endogeneity was first coined by Archie Mafeje and at the core of endogeneity is the acknowledgement that knowledge should be relevant locally before it becomes universally applicable. It regards as its initial reference point the ontological traditions of the local context and the knowledge develops inductively to reflect the local context (Nyoka, 2013). Endogeneity does not mean excluding other accounts of knowledge or implicitly seeking to draw distinctions between people and societies (Nyoka, 2013); rather it is a recognition that the social sciences are idiographic (Nyoka, 2013). According to Mafeje (1991), endogeneity is “to be taken on our terms”. Adesina (2006) adds to the case for endogeneity by noting that it does not seek to be a substitute for or to erase existing knowledge, it merely affirms the importance of one’s context and its ability to be a site for authentic and relevant knowledge (Mafeje, 1991). Mbembe (2015: 3) writes from a similar position: “Decolonising knowledge is not simply about de-westernization”. Mbembe (2015) goes further and quotes writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o who reminds us that, “it mostly means developing a perspective which can allow us to see ourselves clearly, but always in relationship to ourselves and to other selves in the universe, non-humans included.” (3).

Proposing a method to work towards decolonisation engaging with endogeneity, Garuba (2015) suggests that “Transforming the curriculum involves contrapuntal thinking at every level; it needs a contrapuntal pedagogy that brings the knowledge of the marginalised to bear on our teaching. A transformed curriculum is one that encourages, contrapuntal thinking and pedagogy”. Edward Said first introduced the concept of contrapuntal reading or thinking (Mortimer, 2005). It is a “form of reading back from the point of view of the colonized that brings to light the hidden colonial history” (Mortimer, 2005: 57). This approach facilitates the development of an awareness of simultaneous dimensions or plurality in experiences (Mortimer, 2005: 57). Applying contrapuntal thinking allows for the existence of two or more independent but related and co-existing perspectives, interacting and dialoguing with one another without a hierarchy (Mathebane and Sekudu, 2018). The goal is not to harmonise existing and independent perspectives but to position the African worldview at the centre of

the ecology of knowledge because of its relevance to the context (Mathebane and Sekudu, 2018).

Adopting contrapuntal thinking offers the opportunity to revitalise knowledge and create the necessary conditions for a horizontal dialogue between local and worldwide sites of knowledge. Contrapuntal thinking or analysis has been used in different disciplines to achieve an inclusive and holistic face to position the marginalised as central in a world dominated by Euro-American perspectives, like in social work, to develop an Afrocentric perspective of social work (Mathebane and Sekudu, 2018). For an academy that challenges Eurocentrism and extraversion, writing within and about Africa needs to be sensitive to the experiences of African people and communities, and the content being produced about them within Sociology. This knowledge orientates us to negotiate the traditions better and to differently conceptualise sociological thought in a way that speaks and advantages the African social context.

3.3 The perpetuation of negations in scholarship: an example

Scholars have argued that sociology in South Africa has not given rise to significant theoretical insights because already established paradigms characterise it – a reality that has contributed to the achievement of an “epistemic rapture” (Adesina, 2010; Burawoy, 2004; Hendricks, 2006; Webster, 1991). The dependence on concepts and theories from outside often has led to difficulty in conducting empirical studies.

The first challenge is that imposing preconceived frameworks on local data has in the past prevented sociologists from studying communities, people and situations on their terms (Nyoka, 2013). To illustrate this point, Nyoka explores the challenges encountered when the preconceived schemata to understand phenomena in a one context are used in another one without critically evaluating the pitfalls of using references without or with little theoretical grounding in the current context. One of the concepts Nyoka (2013) explores is *usapho*, which means family in English. He argues that the construction of the family according to the western conception of nuclear families led to the development of the concept of extended family to describe family structures in South Africa because they go against the “normal” family structure (Nyoka, 2013). *Usapho* (family) from an African or South African perspective is not, however, limited to immediate biological relations (parents and siblings), people who live in the same household or those with blood ties (Nyoka, 2013). *Usapho*

includes grandparents, aunts and uncles as well as people who share *isiduko* (clan name). In South African cultures, the concept of a cousin or an uncle on the paternal side of the family does not exist. Your father's brothers are not your uncles but your fathers. Your father's younger brother, *utat'omncinci*, translates to younger father, and your father's older brother, *utat'omdala*, translates to older father (Nyoka, 2013). Similarly, his children are not your cousins but *abant'akwenu*, your siblings. Therefore, “‘uncles’ and ‘cousins’ – to use familiar terminology – do not belong to an ‘extended family’ or ‘household’ but are members of the family *tout court*” (Nyoka, 2013: 12). To an outsider looking in, this may not be grasped easily. However, reconceptualising family to fit the model of Western understanding from simply having *usapho* (a family) to having “extended families” has implications for relations among family members, especially with society becoming more westernised.

What has arisen are omissions and failures to analyse and represent the lives of black people adequately. Adesina (2010) labels this as the problem of “ontological disconnect”; a failure on the part of sociologists to root themselves in the local context, not just intellectually but culturally and existentially. To guard against the perpetuation of negation, scholars need to pay attention to the local context both culturally and existentially (Nyoka, 2013). There also needs to be greater engagement with work done by other African scholars on how they theorise on such issues. Simultaneously, there needs to be an effort to analyse the existing schemata or theories to engage with their ability to be used to understand the lives of South Africans in ways that do not negate or are not reductive. Garuba (2015) purports that we need to adopt a way of thinking through how the object of study is constituted, what tools are used to study it and what concepts are used to frame it. He urges us to adopt a process of bringing the knowledge of the marginalised to bear on the knowledge (the theories, paradigms and concepts) that has prevailed historically.

Even though more work needs to be done, African scholars and those part of global South scholarship work have done diverse and extensive work. As a way of contributing to the project, this study focuses on interrogating what Garuba (2015) refers to as concepts that are used to frame the tools used for scholarly enquiry. The thesis embarks on an exploration of the importance of conceptualisation in local African languages, particularly isiXhosa. This work makes a humble contribution to an attempt to think through the concepts that frame theory as opposed to the imposition or borrowing of English concepts and their meanings to understand and articulate the experiences of African people and so a cluster of terms that collectively assist in conceptualising *impucuko* are examined. This thesis is also part of a

more ambitious project located in the Department of Sociology at the university of Cape Town that studies the social construction of the meanings of numerous concepts such as imfundo (education) and umsebenzi (work) among isiXhosa-speaking professionals (De Wet, 2018).

I now turn to a discussion of my research methodology.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

Olu phando lusebenzise uyilo lophando i-qualitative research design ngokukhokhelwa yi-social constructionism. Isizathu sokusebenzisa le ndlela kukuba olu phando luxhomekeke kwiimbono namava abantu kwaye uphando lujonge ekuzuzeni uluvo oluxhomekeke kwisimo sentlalo esithile. Ukuqokelelwa kwedatha kuquke uphononongo lweencwadi namaphepha-ndaba kunye nodliwano-ndlebe nezifundiswa ezikhethiweyo zakwindawo yaseNgcobo. Isizathu soku ibikukufumanisa uhlobo igama impucuko, kunye namanye amagama anobudlelwane nelo, asetyenziswa ngayo ukufumanisa iintsingiselo yeligama phantsi kwempembelelo zesimo sentlalo namava ngobomi.

Idatha ihlalutywe ngokusebenzisa iHermeneutics kunye neMiles and Huberman Approach. Ihermeneutics inika indlela yohlalutywe evumela umntu owenza uphando enze uhlalutywe ngendlela ezo gqithisa umyalezo okanye eyona ntsingiselo eyayiyinjongo kwasekuqaleni okanye ekubhalweni kwincwadi. Ngokusebenzisa iMiles and Huberman Approach kuye kwasekwa imixholo ngohlobo lokukhupha ikhowudi kwidatha ezizokuba negalelo ekwakhiweni kwemixholo eyahluka-hlukeneyo enika ulwazi ngokwakhiwa kwentsingiselo yempucuko.

4.1 Research design

This study employed a qualitative research design using a social constructionist approach. Qualitative methodology emphasises context, meanings, understandings and interpretations, and based on subjective insights, it facilitates the generation of rich data. The methodology emphasises the perspective of the respondent for an emic view. It seeks to obtain in-depth descriptions and understanding. It aims to understand social phenomena in terms of their idiographic motive rather than a nomothetic approach (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The rationale for employing this approach is that the phenomenon under study is highly contextual as it draws on perceptions and experiences (Punch, 2014). It is therefore essential to employ this approach to achieve a thorough and rich understanding of the socially constructed meanings. Furthermore, the approach is vital as it offers an appropriate apparatus to explore understandings and meanings of impucuko among the selected isiXhosa speakers, and to understand the meanings in terms of the respondents' specific contexts.

The study design involved qualitative sampling of key informants and documentary sources used to collect data. Central to the data collection process was selected texts that form part of an archive of isiXhosa newspapers and books published between 1880 and 1940. In addition, for the contemporary component of the thesis, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews and contemporary isiXhosa newspaper sources were drawn on. The qualitative analysis was informed by the Miles and Huberman approach and hermeneutics. These qualitative methods were chosen because of their capacity to obtain in-depth information on the topic that could not be achieved using quantitative methods. The intention of the findings is not to be representational; rather, they offer a contextual understanding of the area of inquiry. The data strengthens the plausibility of the argument: knowledge and meaning are contextual, situational and interactional. As such, a qualitative research design was the preferred approach to investigate the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* based on a socio-linguist group's understandings of the concept. A more detailed discussion of the data collection and analysis components is provided below. Included is a section on ethical considerations and the limitations and delimitations of the study.

4.2 Data collection

To achieve the research aim, documentary sources and semi-structured interviews were employed.

4.2.1 Documentary sources

Documentary sources in the form of newspaper articles and books were used in conjunction with data obtained from the interviews. The sources are drawn from two different periods: at the turn of the 20th century and contemporary newspapers from the current century.

The texts from the beginning of the 20th century include the books *Zemk'inkomo Magwalandini* edited by Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana, with sections written by William Wellington Gqoba; *Ityala Lamawele* and *Abantu Besizwe* by Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi; and *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* by Archibald Campbell Mzolisa Jordan. Although *Abantu Besizwe* was published in 2009, the collection of work in the text was written between 1902 and 1944 by Mqhayi. The hard copy texts were obtained from the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town. The texts were prepared from hardcopies to e-text to facilitate an efficient analysis process. The texts used in this study were digitised as part of a University of Cape Town project titled *IsiXhosa Intellectual Traditions Under Colonialism*. This

research's supervisor, with whom the researcher has worked closely, heads this research and digital archiving project. Data was also generated from isiXhosa newspapers, *Isigidimi samaXhosa* and *Imvo Zabantsundu*, published around the same period leading up to the launch of the South African Native National Congress in 1912.

The digital images of the newspapers were obtained from the National Library of South Africa and the Cory Library in Makhanda through the *IsiXhosa Intellectual Traditions under Colonialism* project which also aims to obtain and digitise newspapers *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (1870–1888) and *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884–1912). The purpose of this project is to prepare these newspapers so that they are research ready for analysis for various academic disciplines as they show the existence of strong intellectual traditions among isiXhosa speakers during the period. The period when the texts used were written and published is important because during this period, a growing number of isiXhosa speaking intellectuals, a class of educated South Africans, were critical about British colonialism and the hegemony of the English language (Sigenu, 2018). These intellectuals wrote about various social, economic and political issues, including modernity and civilisation from an African perspective. It would have been ideal to have travelled back in time and had face-to-face interviews with the authors, but using their texts is the next best way to access their ideas, understandings and critical reflections to contribute to the thesis topic.

Contemporary articles were sampled from two newspapers, *Isolezwe lesiXhosa* and *Independent Online (IOL) News*. *Isolezwe LesiXhosa* comes in both print and electronic formats and *IOL News* is an online news source that occasionally publishes isiXhosa articles. These two newspapers complemented the interviews of isiXhosa-speaking professionals, which are discussed later in this chapter. Together, the newspapers and interviews provide insight into the contemporary meanings of *impucuko* for comparative purposes.

4.2.2 *In-depth interviews*

Five key informants from Engcobo in the Eastern Cape Province were included in the study. Although their insights are not representative, they provided (on a small scale) a sense of the contemporary meanings of *impucuko* as understood by isiXhosa-speaking professionals, which was critical for comparative purposes.

Non-probability purposive sampling was used to select the respondents. Purposive sampling was the suitable type of qualitative sampling because it entails the researcher choosing

informants or participants according to qualities, knowledge and experience they possess that match the research purpose. These were based on language, place of origin and occupation. The participants were chosen because they are home language isiXhosa speakers, they are professionals and they grew up in the Eastern Cape north of the Kei River. Their social status is similar to that of the early writers at the turn of the 20th century. These participants and the early isiXhosa writers share similar education, cultural heritage, religious beliefs and social status. The participants were selected from an area near where the 20th-century writers were located, which was also convenient because it is my hometown. For comparative purposes, I tried to find a sample of professionals that was sufficiently similar in its demographics to those that characterize the early isiXhosa writers.

The interviews were guided by a set of key open-ended questions focused on socio-cultural context, meaning and word usage. Only one was a face-to-face interview; the rest were telephone interviews because of the travel restrictions implemented following the outbreak of Covid-19. An interview guide was used containing topics and themes identified beforehand as relevant to the research question. The structure was flexible while at the same time ensuring that the information gathered in the interviews was connected to the research aims. A single interview schedule was used for all the interviews. A recording device was utilised and field notes were taken during each of the interviews. These notes later aided in the analysis and informed subsequent interviews.

4.3 Data analysis

Data analysis was guided by the Miles and Huberman approach as well as hermeneutics. Hermeneutic principles and the cycle guided the analysis process. Hermeneutics is concerned with the interpretation and understanding of texts, both written and non-written. At the centre of hermeneutics is the principle that for meaning to be known, one needs to locate it within the context of the discourse or worldview of origin. Furthermore, from a hermeneutical perspective, understanding is an inter-subjective process involving the coming to terms with other “forms” of life or their horizons of understanding (Gadamer, 1975; Mkhize & Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2014). According to Gadamer (1975), interpretation should engage with the great thinking traditions that are embodied in historical texts. For this engagement to take place, the interpreter needs to enter a hermeneutic cycle.

The research enlisted the hermeneutic cycle which was viewed through a social constructionism lens. What this means is that from listening and observing the interviews and the reading of textual sources, the researcher engaged in a reflective process of being cognisant of the development of the whole, which was an exploration of the sociocultural experiences of the respondents and how the developing themes and codes integrated therein. This was informed by the precept that in interpretation, the meanings of the constituent parts should be considered in relation to the contextual detail, which itself can be understood in relation to the specific parts (Kelly, 1999).

According to Miles and Huberman (2014), there are three interlinked processes or concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data displays and conclusion drawing or verification. Data reduction is indicative of the initial process involving selection and condensing of data that is recorded in field notes and interview transcripts based on an emerging conceptual framework (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Data display is the visual representation of the data in a manner that allows one to be able to understand the analytical interpretation of the data (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Conclusion drawing and verification is the process whereby the interpretations from the data are substantiated to integrate what the researcher has done thus far in a meaningful and coherent way (Miles & Huberman, 2014). This process is necessary because it validates that the emerging interpretations have been tested for their “plausibility, their sturdiness, their ‘confirmability’ – that is their validity” (Miles & Huberman, 2014: 11).

The initial data analysis was done concurrently with data collection to allow efficient follow-up checks with the informants to fill in possible gaps or emerging questions and to prevent the analysis from being an overwhelming task that could have led to demotivation and possible reduction of the quality of work produced at the end. For that reason, adopting this method enabled analysis to be a lively enterprise; it was also an excellent way to generate new strategies that were corrective of previous collection strategies to ensure better data and more sophisticated insights (Miles & Huberman, 2014). The field notes (written and audio recorded) were typed out into expanded write-ups that were reviewed, coded and analysed and used in conjunction with the interview transcripts. This made up the process of data processing and preparation (Miles & Huberman, 2014).

The next analysis stage was data reduction and display; within this stage, the coding process is a fundamental part of the analysis. Hermeneutics was employed in this analysis stage. Hermeneutics proposes that an important part of critical engagement requires the researcher to

execute immersion, unpacking and associating (Kelly, 1999). The first stage in the research inquiry involved becoming familiar with the text to the extent of developing an empathetic, experience-near attitude of understanding. A second stage entailed generating an overall picture of the loaded meanings from the verbal and non-verbal text, the research engaged in the process of unpacking (Kelly, 1999). Condensing the meanings is what is involved in the coding process or development of themes and the Miles and Huberman approach provided the main guideline for this. This stage enabled the data to be viewed from an outside position even though it remained within the confines of the findings discovered from respondents (Miles & Huberman, 2014). A third stage involved considering the context in which the meanings of *impucuko* were constructed to understand the fullness of the meanings and their implications on a more abstract level beyond just personal and cultural experiences.

Using the Miles and Huberman (2014) approach, coding for this study involved first and second level coding. First level coding initially summarises the data using codes that are primarily descriptive but also interpretative (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Second level coding refers to grouping the summaries obtained from first-level coding into a smaller number of categories, themes or constructs under codes that are explanatory or inferential (Miles & Huberman, 2014). During the data collection and analysis process, memoing was utilised for reflections regarding the respondents, code choices and their operational definitions, emergent patterns and the possible networks between codes and patterns. The memoing helped make sense of the data and convey analytic ideas and commentary about the data.

Following a close reading of the data collected, segments of texts from interview transcripts and newspaper articles were coded in their entirety, executing the first level of coding. The initial codes were broad, which helped establish how people understand *impucuko* and captured the extensive detail of their social context that has influenced and shaped their understanding of the concept. The concurrent action of data collection and analysis helped check, correct and confirm the classifying of a particular segment using specific codes (Miles & Huberman, 2014). It also helped refine the code definitions to ensure that sections of text coded with the same code were congruent with the code definition (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). The codes and definitions were refined to accommodate segments of text.

During the second level of coding, identified clusters and hierarchies of information were identified, after which the large amounts of data were condensed into a smaller number of analytic units (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). Using the first level codes, a process of clustering

segments of coded texts into thematic clusters was undertaken to discern patterns and relationships in the data (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). From there, it was possible to produce a descriptive or interpretative summary of the finding that included evidence in the form of quotations from the data (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). This was a way of implementing data reduction. The second level codes were created using the descriptive account and revisiting the research questions. These codes focused on clustering level one descriptive codes that exhibited patterns and relationships in the data to produce a structure of concepts from which findings could be generated. The second level codes are sociocultural experiences and meanings of *impucuko*.

Second level coding indicates a dialogue in the data, and this is evidenced by the patterns that can be identified in the data. To highlight the link between the codes created during the first level of coding, one code was used to show the relationships within the data. The research questions guided selection of the most pertinent theme to the research aim, that is meanings of *impucuko* (an example is shown in Appendix C: An illustration of the development of codes). The primary themes that emerged from the data include *impucuko* as knowledge, *impucuko* as progress, *impucuko* as detachment from African cultural heritage and *impucuko* as a re-imagined state. The themes that emerged in first-level coding were used to create and make-up the content of the meanings of *impucuko*. A secondary theme, which subsequently became a separate chapter included the generated information from my first-level coding.

As a final verification test, the descriptive account was submitted to the research supervisor and second-level codes were generated. Another colleague assisted with comparing the final findings with the first and second level code structure to ensure that the conclusions had indeed remained true to the data. The process of data analysis was carried out manually without the aid of a qualitative data analysis software package such as Nvivo.

4.4 Ethical considerations

A discussion of ethics is critical because part of the study involved conducting interviews, meaning direct engagement with people. The research project did not pose any risk to participants because it did not involve particularly vulnerable groups, it did not require the disclosure of sensitive information and it did not touch on sensitive or intensely emotional subjects. Nevertheless, steps were still taken to ascertain that the participants were protected as much as possible. This meant that interviews needed to take place telephonically due to the

Covid-19 pandemic to protect both the participants and the researcher from any possible health threat. Participants were approached before the interview to give verbal consent. During interviews, the consent form was read out to participants to allow questions. All the interview participants are referred to using a pseudonym. For caution, all possible steps have been taken in writing the research report to ensure that none of the information disclosed can be traced back to them by a third party.

Working with the interpretations of authors' texts also raises at least one ethical issue – the issue of bias/subjectivity, which affects how the researcher understands and interprets the findings. The reason bias is an ethical issue is because it can obscure the results of the research findings, which can include the validity and the reliability of any findings and conclusions reached. This issue applies to interpreting the interviews as much as the texts as they are in isiXhosa and interpretation between languages is not free of subjective insight. To effectively carry out the research, I had to be aware of my subjective position of being an isiXhosa-speaker in relation to interpretative process and had to continually follow rigorous practices that involved repeated calls to the participants to check that my interpretations had captured their intended meanings.

4.5 Delimitations and limitations

isiXhosa speaking professionals from the Eastern Cape were intentionally selected for there to be a commonality in education, cultural heritage, religious belief and social status between them and the early isiXhosa intellectuals whose texts were utilised. The results do not claim to be representative, but they may be used to reflect on the impact that social context has on shaping understandings and meanings of contexts, showing the need to reflect on the universalisation of meanings adopted from one context to others. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and having carried out the interviews during the lockdown, it was not possible to travel for face-to-face interviews. This inhibited drawing on the expression of gestures, facial expressions and body language to gain the full richness of the insights they offered. Also, because of the home environments, frequent disturbances prevented elaboration on some responses due to the limited time available free from interference.

There is a dominance of male voices; despite planning, the attempt to include female voices in the data collected to generate the contemporary meanings was unfortunately unsuccessful. The texts used from the literary archive are from male writers' perspectives only – in part

because these were the easily accessible texts at the time. An attempt to involve a female voice in the interviews failed because it was not possible to find an appropriate time for interviews for the women approached due to their professional and domestic roles, especially during the COVID-19 national lockdown. The data collected from the contemporary newspapers offers perspectives from female writers; however, the small amount of data collected does not indicate gender dynamics relating to the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko*. Although the literature does not indicate a gendered orientation to socially constructing meanings for the term *impucuko*, focusing on works of intellectual history written by women may enrich the diversity of opinion and perspective.

CHAPTER 5 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Esi sahluko sicacisa ngesimo sentlalo kunye nenkcubeko yezifundiswa ezingabathethi besiXhosa kwizithuba ezimbini zeminyaka ekugxilwa kuzo kolu phando. Isimo sentlalo sibalulekile kakhulu ekuhlalutyeni iintsingiselo zamagama ezakhiweyo ngamaqela ohlukeneyo kuba intsingiselo yegama yakhiwa phantsi kwefuthe lesimo sentlalo. Ngoko ke esi sahluko sijonga okokuqala isimo sentlalo namava abantu basesikolweni kwisithuba sokuqosheliswa kweminyaka yama1800 nokuqala kwama1900 kunye nabantu abafundileyo kwisithuba sokuqosheliswa kweminyaka yama1900 nokuqala kwama2000. Undoqo kukuhlalutya ngokufutshane isimo sentlalo namava ngobomi ngokugxila kwimfundo, imisebenzi, izimvo ngezepolitiki kunye nendima yabo koluntu.

This chapter describes two socio-cultural contexts experienced by isiXhosa-speaking professionals about a century apart; the first at the turn of the 20th century and the second at the turn of the 21st century. Socio-cultural context is central to analysing the social construction of meanings by any socio-linguistic group. De Wet (2018) explains that meanings of concepts are heavily influenced by the collective socio-cultural experiences of the group doing the meaning construction. The hermeneutical process of accessing and revealing the meanings of words such as *impucuko* requires a nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural context of the group in question – hence, the value of this chapter. The chapter focuses on the following socio-cultural aspects: education, work, party political allegiances or power dynamics in the social contexts of these two groups of isiXhosa-speaking professionals. While a more extensive discussion of the socio-cultural contexts experienced by these groups would be preferable, the thesis word count only permits an overview to provide a summative picture.

5.1 IsiXhosa-speaking professionals at the turn of the 20th century

The emergence of a professional class among the isiXhosa socio-linguistic group can be traced to the latter half of the 19th century. Odendaal (2012:35) refers to these professionals as “literate Africans” that became “a settled stratum of society” and Jordan (1984: 6) mentions “a growing African Christian elite” in the Eastern Cape, which emerged during the last quarter of the 19th century (cited in De Wet, 2018).

The expansion of western encroachment came about through the extension of the colonial Cape Frontiers across the Kei River into the region south of the Natal. British colonialists increasingly invaded distinct chiefdoms organised in villages that had lived for a long time as pastoralists and crop farmers with little to no contact with Europeans for centuries (De Wet, 2018). The increasing encroachment by settlers and their western-orientated colonial society led to different responses from isiXhosa-speaking people. De Wet (2018) discusses a complex social process of political, economic and cultural resistance, but space limitations prevent further discussion here. One of the consequences of this social process was the emergence of two social groupings within the African population east of the Cape Colony, namely abantu ababomvu (red people) and abantu basesikolweni (school people). These groupings reflected different responses by isiXhosa-speaking people of the eastern Cape to western Christianity and the “civilising mission” initially pioneered by British missionaries (De Wet, 2018). The divide between abantu ababomvu and abantu basesikolweni is not always clear and the differences are better represented along a continuum. Furthermore, Magubane (1973) and Mafeje (1997) argue that some anthropologists (e.g., Mayers and Pauw) have exaggerated the “Red-School” divide (see De Wet, 2021). Nevertheless, tendencies characterise these social groupings: abantu ababomvu tended to resist Christianity and western socio-cultural influences that undermined their social, economic and political independence and traditional worldview (Davis, 1979; De Wet, 2018). They were referred to as abantu ababomvu because they smeared red ochre on themselves and their clothing was a symbol of their traditional culture (De Wet, 2018). Abantu basesikolweni acquired formal mission school education, embraced Christianity, participated in the colonial cash economy and were generally more receptive to western socio-cultural influences than the abantu ababomvu (Davis, 1979). This does not mean they completely abandoned their African cultural heritage, but rather they renegotiated their identities as modern Africans in a changing social world (De Wet, forthcoming).

In the early 19th century, European missionaries increasingly engaged in efforts to “civilize” indigenous people, this included culture and social systems (Southall, 2016). Consequently, among abantu basesikolweni, there was a gradual growth of an African elite that exhibited western characteristics, including western inspired styles of dress, a family structure based on the notion of a nuclear family, modes of employment suited to the early industrial age and westernised and capitalist aspirations (Southall, 2016). Initially, their education and lifestyle provided upward mobility in colonial society that included conducting business and acquiring

land. In addition, because qualification for political participation in the Cape Colony was determined by one's class or the value of property, men among the African elite were not barred from voting rights (Nelson Mandela Foundation, n.d.). Even though the numbers of black male voters were significantly lower than those of white voters, a small portion of relatively wealthy, educated, urban black Africans were permitted to vote (Nelson Mandela Foundation, n.d.). By the late 19th century, this soon changed. The African elite had been subjected to legalised racial barriers that substantially restricted their upward social mobility and quest for equality with the white settlers in the Cape Colony (Nelson Mandela Foundation, n.d.). For example, with the introduction of Prime Minister Rhodes's Franchise and Ballot Act of 1892, the franchise qualification was raised from property ownership worth 25 pounds to 75 pounds, and literacy was added as an additional qualification (Nelson Mandela Foundation, n.d.). This disenfranchised the poorer members of society and African voters were disproportionately affected. Such realities exposed the African elite to discriminatory treatment. The missionaries' promise that their English education at mission schools would allow them to thrive in colonial society was shattered by the colonial administration's establishment of race-based "glass ceilings".

By the end of the 19th century, an increasingly hostile and oppressive political, social and economic environment led the abantu basesikolweni to become politically conscientized. Instead of receiving the recognition and liberties they had a right to, they were subjected to the colonial administration's endeavours to legitimise the imposition of white hegemony motivated by racism and early forms of global capitalism which required the continuous supply of cheap labour. In time, the expansion of the colonial political economy disrupted indigenous, traditional social systems and cultural practices. The imperialistic incursions by the British "frontier wars" in the eastern Cape paved the way for the imposition of a capitalist economy built on the backs of the very people the colonialists had waged war against and dispossessed (Ngcukaitobi, 2018). For the development of the British empire, colonialism was the primary means to economic prosperity. From the black professionals' perspective, this certainly was not how they imagined development and modernity. These increasingly oppressive social, political and economic realities prompted the evolution of African nationalism among abantu basesikolweni and the development of a critical consciousness and political mobilisation in response to the British colonial establishment.

The formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912 was the culmination of years of resistance by the black educated elite to the "entrenchment of white

privilege, power and political domination” (Southall, 2016: 23). The black educated elite played a central role in organising protest action and political mobilisation against the racist colonial system and government (De Wet, 2018). These actions of resistance involved using church networks and associations and newspapers such as *Isigidimi samaXhosa* and *Imvo Zabantsundu*. The early isiXhosa newspapers played an important role in nurturing and stimulating debate about being African and modern in the process of political and cultural conscientisation and identity renegotiation. After years of vocal objections and political mobilisation against the colonial system, the official formation of the Union of South Africa created undisguised hostility among the black educated elite. One of the responses of the black educated elite was the Schreiner mission, a South African delegation that included John Tengo Jabavu, which opposed the passing of the South African Act (Walshe, 1969). Another important space where isiXhosa-speaking professionals played a significant role was in the South African Native Convention (SANC), which was known for its anti-union campaign, where Dr Walter Benson Mpilo Rubusana had twice assumed the position of president (Walshe, 1969). Organisations such as the SANC and the SANNC were formed against the backdrop of white political domination, diminishing landownership by Africans and the culmination of increasing organised resistance. The formation of the SANNC provided a platform for black educated professionals to articulate how they viewed political, economic and cultural advancement for African people.

On a personal, social and cultural level, abantu basesikolweni regarded themselves as progressives and selectively adopted Western patterns of behaviour and modern ideas and values while retaining some aspects of their African cultural heritage. As missionary-educated Africans in the Eastern Cape, they did not simply assimilate into western culture, but were constantly adapting and re-working western cultural influences based on their changing socio-cultural experiences as they moved between traditional and colonial worlds. They viewed some western markers, like education, as beneficial but at the same time, they battled with questions of identity related to being both African and modern. An article in the newspaper *Isigidimi samaXhosa* published in 1888 is testament to this complexity.¹ The article’s author notes that Christians continued to practise traditional rituals in secret away from disapproving

¹ The original isiXhosa version of extract in the newspaper article reads as follows: “Kuzelwe umntwana, kusilwa indywala, kuxelw’ozibokwe, kubingw’amadini. Igama kutiwe kupum’umdlezana. Kantike lo mntwana ubapitiziwe. Wafakwa upau, lokub’unikelwe ku Nyange-lemihla. Ngok’ubingelelwe. Kunqulw’iminyanya, namatiletile. Ndingatini betu, kungeko nanye nje kwinto zama-Xosa engab’isasele? Ubuti bukuni, amagqwir’akuni, onk’amabedengu, asezikolweni. Uti manditini, mfondini wakw’etu? Pikis’ezondawo, wayek’amagwevu. Nigqobok’emini, kuhlwe nizincuka. Nisezinkantini, nisel’imipanda. Inani lenkosi ilahlwa ngokudla? Nipate kubusa, kwa nokutakata?” (Isigidimi samaXhosa, 1888)

colonial society. Part of the process of identity renegotiation for abantu basesikolweni entailed grappling with the possibilities of integrating their African-ness into their new modern persona (Ntombana, 2015). The process of consolidating these two worlds happened as part of the development of an African understanding of modernity when both abantu basesikolweni and abantu ababomvu began to re-imagine the meaning of social and cultural behaviour such as faith and ways to practise African traditional rituals alongside Christianity (Ntombana, 2015). Consequently, the socio-cultural experiences of abantu basesikolweni were influenced by their position somewhere between colonial society and indigenous communities: the lessons learnt and adopted from missionary education, the value they saw in being upwardly mobile in colonial society, their experiences of racial discrimination and their struggle to be both modern and African. All these factors in one way or another influenced how they socially constructed meanings of concepts such as impucuko at the end of the 1800s and in the early 1900s

A discussion of the socio-cultural context of a group of isiXhosa speaking professionals at the turn of the 21st century who live in the small Eastern Cape town of Engcobo now follows. As in the previous section, the focus is on their personal backgrounds, education, experiences of work, religion and politics.

5.2 isiXhosa-speaking professionals at the turn of the 21st century

The professional class at the turn of the 21st century had grown substantially when compared to the number at the turn of the 20th century. The overall historical legacy of South Africa, formal institutionalisation of education and the need for professional qualifications to participate effectively in the economy contributed to the growth in the number of professionals within the isiXhosa socio-linguistic group. Drawing on interviews, literature and personal observations as a person from Engcobo, it was possible for me to provide an overview of their socio-cultural experiences. Five respondents were interviewed for this project and although their collective socio-cultural experiences cannot be considered as representative, their contributions offer insights that provide a glimpse into the socio-cultural experiences of professionals in Engcobo. The respondents all originally from and currently live in Engcobo. An exploration of their socio-cultural context and their experiences is by no means exhaustive, but it provides a backdrop to frame the context within which their meanings of impucuko emerge. As part of an emerging black middle class in the Eastern

Cape, their social status and social location is in some respects like that of abantu basesikolweni more than a century ago.

As professionals, they embrace a modern and westernised lifestyle fostered initially through their exposure to the city during schooling and early careers. The exposure to city life as youngsters or young adults was brokered primarily through their township experiences in Cape Town. They all attended secondary and tertiary schools while living in the townships of Nyanga, Langa and Khayelitsha. The motivation to stay in urban townships in or near Cape Town has historically been based on the perception by many people from the Eastern Cape that Cape Town provides better access to resources, services and opportunities such as higher education and employment. The township has therefore been imbued with negotiating the coexistence of western and traditional lifestyle patterns in an implicit or explicit effort to construct a black urban identity (Molapo, 1994). Western lifestyle influences are seen in, for example, education because the urban schooling experience remains dominated by western cultural values and capitalist ideologies (Southall, 2014). In addition, African urban communities in Cape Town have adopted previously British or western leisure activities such as sports, social engagements and religious activities (Molapo, 1994). The township's location in an urban environment does not mean that social and cultural activities present in rural communities are disregarded. For example, cultural activities such as weddings, funerals and ceremonies such as the lobola, which is part of the marriage the process, and the rite of passage to manhood known as ulwaluko, continue to demonstrate the influence of indigenous traditions in the urban township. In addition, social and religious spaces are used to forge networks like family or clan networks in rural communities. Spaces like shebeens, though they can be considered to represent the colonial legacy of the introduction of alcohol to Africans, have become spaces that provide a sense of identity, community and belonging in an urban environment that has at times been alienating (Molapo, 1994). It is this type of context in which the city experience of the professionals was mediated – a space which itself highlights a constant negotiation and renegotiation of the growing influence of westernisation alongside the attempt to maintain selected indigenous traditions and rural lifestyle particularities.

The professionals in this study lead lifestyles that can be considered as westernised and this can be assumed to be attributed to their experiences of urban township culture, education, Christianity and the growing presence of urban particularities within the rural setting of Engcobo – not least provided by the ever-present mass and social media. Based on personal

observation, middle class professionals in Engcobo have a tendency to gravitate towards Pentecostal type Christian churches. These churches formally teach that the practice of traditional ancestral rituals is incompatible with the born-again Christian faith, a view like the one held by missionaries in the 1800s . This can be drawn from how the respondents express themselves when it comes to religion. This quote is from one respondent, but it expresses a common thought:

“Ngokwenkolo yam andiboni amasiko man esebenza. Ndikholelwa okokuba uThixo is a jealous God, akathandi xa kukhonzwa ezinye iziThixo. Awukwazi ukukholelwa kwabaphantsi nakuThixo ngexesha nye. Nangona kunjalo abantu bayazidibanisa ngoko kubona kwabo.” [According to my religion, I do not see traditional rituals working. I believe that God is a Jealous God, he does not approve of the worship of other Gods. You cannot believe in both the ancestors and God. Even so, people do combine the two according to how they see fit.] (Tshangisa – respondent)

This is in line with Southall’s (2014) argument that the black middle class is increasingly drawn to conservative Christian churches, including Pentecostal and charismatic denominations. This does not mean many of them only attend these types of churches. Affiliation with the Christian faith and the belief in the mediatory role of ancestors cannot be distinguished that clearly and they cannot simply be considered as mutually exclusive because the lived experience of people rejects that simplification, as the quote above also shows. Differentiating between Christianity and the practice of traditional rituals is more complex in practice.

Churches hold diverse views regarding the coexistence of Christian beliefs and traditional practices (Ntombana, 2015), such that, church members decide and use their own discretion when it comes to participating in ancestral veneration and rituals (Ntombana, 2015). Thus, some professionals do not practise of African traditions by virtue of being Christians and believe their faith and the practice of traditional rituals are incompatible. In contrast, there are those who engage and partake in traditional rituals freely like “ukubuyisa (the ritual reincorporation of the living-dead), imbeleko (ritual inclusion of babies into the clan), ukwaluka (rite of passage into manhood), and visiting of traditional healers to seek guidance from ancestors” (Ntombana, 2015: 105). There are also those who restrict their participation in African traditional rituals to specific practices, for example, they will not participate in ancestral veneration but will attend ceremonies such as ukutyhilwa kwelitye (unveiling of the tombstone) and imigidi (celebration of the homecoming of young men from initiation schools

either in forests or the mountains). Alternatively, they will attend all traditional rituals and ceremonies but will not eat meat slaughtered in honour of the ancestors. The way these behaviours are negotiated varies according to the individual, home life, religious persuasion and cultural choices. Be that as it may, there is a lingering appreciation for the influence of traditions in establishing and maintaining social relations, encouraging respect and promoting justice in society – social characteristics they believe are deteriorating in today's society (Khunou, 2015).

The professionals and the middle class in general in Engcobo work in the public sector as educators and local government employees. The professional environment is endowed with western elements because the structure of education, government institutions and businesses is a result of the integration of multiple apartheid and colonial bureaucracies into the structures of the new South Africa (Southall, 2014). In this way, the culture in the workspace is modern and even though the location is largely rural, due to the level of education and retention of western business culture, certain behaviours are associated with their social position like the language of engagement, dress style and mannerisms (Kok, Coetzee & Elliker, 2017). Thus, there is a continuous reinforcing of professional western values and manners. The increase in mobility between rural and urban spaces has resulted in the movement of not just people but also of information and resources and this has influenced the explicit presence of western particularities even in workplaces in rural Eastern Cape towns. Their immediate social circle and friendship ties include people of similar educational backgrounds and professional skills; however, this does not mean that they are a homogeneous network of people of the same social status. Their networks appeal to their subjective experiences and their location in Engcobo.

The daily and weekly routines of the professionals in the study involve the general 8-hour working day, which includes evenings spent with spouses and children. Meeting up with friends and attending an evening church service is typical from Monday to Friday. The weekends are generally dedicated to family, social activities, church attendance and leisure. The experiences may differ between men and women due to the socialisation of gender roles where women take on the bulk of the reproductive work alongside productive work. For women, the weekend would probably be dedicated to domestic duties because the week is mostly dedicated to work; men have more freedom to structure their weekends to include more social activities. Occasional visits to their homes of birth outside of town in the rural surrounding parts are included in some of their weekend activities. Based on how they

negotiate or reconcile their Christian and traditional identity, they might participate or assist in umcimbi (traditional ceremony – these vary). These professionals do not reside in their traditional homesteads, but they live with their immediate nuclear families in the township/suburb of Msawawa in Engcobo. The residents in the township are mostly younger established professionals, youth who are pursuing educational or employment opportunities and workers working in and around Engcobo. Periodic visits to their rural village homes are an important part of their monthly or annual routine to maintain the connection with their culture and to give their children an opportunity to learn about and be influenced by their culture to balance out the western traditions and values that are reinforced through education, their social circle and the media.

Because of their professional status, their peers, family members and the wider community perceive them as more wealthy than they really are. Their occupations imply a level of economic prosperity and this influences expectations for them to offer financial support to those in need (Burger et al., 2014). One consequence of being upwardly mobile is the constant pressure to assist less fortunate members of the family or community. This is sometimes referred to as “black tax” as it means family and community members lean on them for financial support. This expectation can be burdensome and can contribute to nepotism, especially by government officials who can end up giving contracts or employment to family and friends out of this sense of obligation rather than based on merit. It is one of the ways in which connections are maintained with family and the community to show that “success” has not made them aloof. It is essential in the negotiation of identity to show that one has not abandoned family or community roots due to upward mobility and social status. These expectations that are implicitly and explicitly placed on these professionals are influenced by the low socio-economic status of the majority of people in Engcobo.

Politically, these professionals identify with the African National Congress (previously the SANNK), largely because of its history as a liberation movement; however, they explicitly share their dissatisfaction about corruption within the organisation and among its leaders. They observe this through current affairs and encounter it in the local government structures and staff they are in contact with professionally and on a personal basis. It is an open secret that in the local government structures of Engcobo, public resources are diverted into private pockets which has excessively contributed to the stagnant state of development. This is most evident in the poor state of infrastructure of health, education and social services in the town. Ultimately, the professionals are impacted because the socioeconomic struggles of their

relatives and the larger community affects them. Such socioeconomic and political circumstances necessitate a negotiation of their identity while balancing the expectations society has of them because of their socioeconomic status and their agency.

The experiences of the socio-cultural contexts at the two points in history show that the identity of isiXhosa speaking professionals is constructed from a negotiation of both the African culture they have inherited and the western culture they have adopted. A significant difference between the two contexts is that at the turn of the 20th century the professionals' political conscientisation was more evident than in the contemporary period, while at the turn of the 21st century, consumerism or materialism seems more evident than 100 years ago. These factors influence the socially constructed meanings of impucuko in these two eras.

The meanings of the concept impucuko are discussed and compared in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF IMPUCUKO

Uhlobo iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezicaciswa ngayo yahlulwe kabini. Okokuqala, kugxilwe kwintsingiselo ezakhiwe phantsi kwefuthe lesimo sentlalo kunye namava ngobomi abantu basesikolweni kwisithuba sokuqosheliswa kweminyaka yama1800 nokuqala kwama1900. Okwesibini, kugxilwa kwintsingiselo ezakhiwa phantsi kwesimo sentlalo namava ngobomi akutsha nje ezifundiswa ezingabathethi besiXhosa. Olu hlobo lokuphanda iintsingiselo lubalulekile kuba iintsingiselo esezisekiwe neziqulathiweyo kwizichazi-magama zilinganiselwe kuhlobo lokucacisa amagama. Unobangela woku kukuba zigxininisa kuluhlu kunye nokwahlukana kweentsingiselo kunonxibelelwano nokuhlangana kwinkqubo yokwakhiwa kwentsingiselo zamagama. Ezi ntsingiselo azisithatheli-ngqalelo isimo sentlalo, amava okuphila, imbali kunye nenkcubeko ukubonisa inkalo ezohlukeneyo zentsingiselo ezithi zityebise umyalezo ozama ukugqithiswa lelo gama.

Iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ezivezwayo apha zibonisa indlela iintsingiselo ezakhiwa ngayo ngokunxulumana rhoqo nesimo sentlalo, amava entlalo leyo kunye nenkcubeko. Ngokuphangaleleyo iintsingiselo zegama impucuko ngokwakhiwa liqela elikhethiweyo ukufezekisa iinjongo zolu phando zingoluhlobo:

- Impucuko njengolwazi olutyhilayo
- Impucuko njengenkqubela-phambili
- Impucuko njengokusuka kwinkcubeko yesiNtu
- Impucuko njengenkqubo ehlaziyekileyo esekwe phantsi kwefuthe namava abantu abantsundu equka uphuhliso

Impucuko is the nominalisation of the verbs ukuphucuka/ukuphucula/ukuphuculwa as well as the adjectives uphucukile/baphucukile/ziphucukile/iphucukile. In linguistics, nominalisation is the process of producing a noun from another part of speech such as a verb, an adjective or an adverb. These groups of words have the same core meanings but are different parts of speech. Ukuphucuka (v) is the act of becoming better or advanced; ukuphucula (v) is the act of making something or someone better or civilised and ukuphuculwa (v) is the act of being made better or improved. The words ukukhanyiseleka / ukukhanyiselwa / ezikanyiselweyo, inkqubela-phambili / inkqubela and uphuhliso are conceptually associated with impucuko and contribute to the meaning of the concept.

In dictionary by Kropf (1915), the following record can be found: “impucuko, civilisation”. A hundred year’s later the same entry is found in the dictionary by Reynolds and Zotwana (2014). The dictionaries have no illustration of the meaning of impucuko; they simply provide the Xhosa-English equivalent terms. As a result, there is no comprehensive record of meanings for the term. The dictionary is therefore limited in that, with a lack of a comprehensive record of the meaning impucuko, it records impucuko merely as the isiXhosa translation for the term civilisation. In addition, dictionary accounts are limited in their value because dictionary meanings emphasise range and variation rather than connection and interaction. They do not account for the invaluable contribution of considering the socio-historical and socio-cultural in showing the different facets of meaning for a single term and the rich meanings that have been socially constructed over time. Furthermore, dictionary words do not consider developments in meanings that take place in everyday speech well before they are recorded.

The inquiry into the evolution of the socially constructed meanings of impucuko draws on a particular voice, that of isiXhosa speaking professionals. This social grouping is important because the earliest recorded isiXhosa writings, which included the use of impucuko and associated terms, by Southern African intellectuals came from a professional class of intellectuals whose work offered critical commentary on the social, political and economic aspects of a colonial South Africa. The positionality of an African professional class offers compelling insights by virtue of their historical exposure to different worlds. The meanings of impucuko shown here have been used by the isiXhosa-speaking professionals and the construction of meaning happens in constant relationship with their socio-cultural experiences. Thus, the meanings are constructed in relation to their upward mobility, class, race and cultural background.

6.1 An overview of the meanings

The socially constructed meanings of impucuko are discussed in two parts. First, the focus is on the meanings of impucuko as they were socially constructed through the experiences of isiXhosa-speaking professionals, known as abantu basesikolweni (school people), at the turn of the 20th century. Secondly, the contemporary meanings socially constructed by selected isiXhosa speaking professionals are discussed. Meanings of impucuko and related concepts were delineated and analysed, and these meanings revealed different perspectives about the nature of impucuko. These perspectives about impucuko are not intended to be rigid or

inflexible. They are not regarded as expressing the universal meanings of *impucuko* within the isiXhosa socio-linguistic group as they are biased towards a single class of people's experiences. The meanings of *impucuko* emerge as:

- enlightening knowledge
- *inkqubela phambili* (progress)
- detachment from *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage)
- a reimagined system for development that uplifts.

The focus now turns to elaborating and substantiating the findings.

6.2 Impucuko at the turn of the 20th century

The meanings are drawn from the work of isiXhosa speaking professionals written from 1880–1940, a class of professionals that has historically been referred to as *abantu basesikolweni*.

6.2.1 Impucuko as ukanyo (enlightenment)

Abantu basesikolweni first associated *impucuko* with *ukanyo* (also referred to as *ukukanyiseleka/ukukanyiselwa* in some parts of the text). *Ukanyo* was mainly associated with *iZwi*, the Word – teachings of the bible. *Ukukanyiseleka* referred to the acceptance of Christian values derived from the teachings introduced and taught *emaXhoseni* by missionaries. *Ukanyo* in the English language means light or illumination and *ukukhanyiseleka/ ukukhanyiselwa* means to be enlightened. In the context of the texts, *ukanyo* meant that an enlightened view of the world was consistent with Christian belief and the basis for rational thought was support for the existence and benevolence of God.

Abantu basesikolweni understood *impucuko* as indicating superior reasoning and rational thought. In addition, *ukanyo* was associated with progression because it existed in opposition to the backwardness of devotion to *inkolo yesiNtu* or indigenous African religion practiced by *aBantu*, which was perceived by settlers and later – initially at least - by *abantu basesikolweni* as barbaric and heathen. The specific association of *impucuko* with *ukanyo* or enlightenment, which was constructed by *abantu basesikolweni*, was predicated on the missionaries' influence. This can be seen in the religious overtones present in their understanding of *ukanyo* and the reality that the majority of *abantu basesikolweni* were Christian converts at that time. The following selected excerpt from an article best expresses this understanding; here *ukanyo*

is referred to as civilisation, the interpretation is like Kropf's dictionary reference to *impucuko* as civilisation. This interpretation of *impucuko* indicates the injection of western civilisation meanings into the isiXhosa term *impucuko* which influenced this early socially constructed meaning of *impucuko* as *ukanyo* among *abantu basesikolweni*:

“Bekungeko nto yimbi ibe ingalindelekayo kakade, kuba Amangesi aneminyaka emawaka mabini enokukanya (civilization) babe abantsundu balapa bese ngamabaribari, nabangati abananto kunabanye basaqingatise nje kodwa ekukanyeni—kuba aba kutiwa bafundile, kutetwa inteto nje kodwa” [Indeed nothing else could be expected because the English have had civilization for 2000 years while all this time black people have been leading barbaric lives, even those (blacks) who seem better than others are still struggling with civilization – even though it is said that they are education, it is just in the words] (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1885: 2).

In the quote below, there is a specific link between light or becoming enlightened with the Christian religion. This suggests that adhering to Christianity gave the enlightened ones a sense of direction and guidance which they felt they would otherwise be lost without.

“Ibiyakuba lilinga linqanqatekile Ukuti sifikelwe lungaka singenz' igazi, Sibingelel' ukanyo esilupiwe ngesisa...Sitambis' inyawo zabafundisi, Zaba Hlekaz' Omhle ka Nyawoshe. Ukub' olubingelelo besinga lwenzanga, Besingayi kulungelwa nto napambili, Besiyakuba sesise Lundini, Besiya kuxakeka sesipambili,” [It would be a wonder rare indeed if we did not spill blood on receipt of such news, and offer in sacrifice the light freely given us, so we could anoint the ministers' feet, the feet of the Royal Preachers. If we had not made this sacrifice, nothing good would lie in store for us, we would still be in the Drakensberg, with nothing but trouble in store,] (Mqhayi, 1902: 79).

Alongside Christianity, being educated was considered to exhibit an enlightened character, but to an extent. The character *Dingindawo*, in Jordan's book *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* is referred to as “*wayekhanyiselwe kancinane*” meaning he was enlightened to a limited extent and the perception of him being enlightened comes from the fact that he saw education as valuable. The assumption in this story is that full enlightenment was held back because he was *umntu obomvu*, a traditionalist and not Christian. This is illustrated in the excerpt from *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*:

“UDingindawo wayekhanyiselwe kancinane, elazi ixabiso lemfundo kula maxesha,” [Dingindawo was enlightened to some extent, he knew the value of education in those times] (Jordan, 1940: 80).

In the quote below from Mqhayi, ukhanyo is understood as existing in conflict with certain aspects of the amaXhosa way of life, specifically traditional leadership. This is shown in the indication of ukhanyo threatening or leading to the destruction of ubukumkani bukaNgconde (Ngconde's Kingdom). The gap between the time of the previous quote from Mqhayi and the one below informs us of the grappling with the meanings over time and the problematising of interpretations or meanings of ukanyo (and by extension impucuko) being present not only in Mqhayi's work but also in work by Jordan as the 1900s progress. There is an initial incorporation and use of the meanings borrowed from missionaries but as the years progress, there is a rethinking and questioning of these meanings or interpretations.

“Phakathi kweeKumkani zakwaXhosa, uNgconde lo yenye yeenkosi ezibe namandla ekumiseni imithetho, wabuseka ngokutsha ubuzwe, babuse busekuchithakaleni; bema ubukumkani, abaze bubuye buxengaxenge, naxa se buchithwa lukhanyo.” [Among the Xhosa Kingdoms, Ngconde was one of the chiefs that was influential in setting governing laws, he re-established the nation which was already in ruins; the kingdom was established and never relented even when it was threatened by the times of enlightenment] (Mqhayi, 1931: 119).

In the following excerpt, Mqhayi further reflects about ukanyo within the context of amaXhoseni. He mentions that initially the European settlers' arrival was characterised by a period of Christian conversion and enlightenment because these seemed to offer a superior guide for organising government, law and society in general than the indigenous amaXhosa ways. Mqhayi claims that as Christianity, enlightenment and western ways of governing spread, those in power seemed to draw on amaXhosa values and principles. Mqhayi shares that the introduction of aspects of western culture contributed to social damage and destabilisation. Ukhanyo was initially associated with western attributes' influence and therefore interpreted as good and beneficial. When social cohesion and order deteriorated, indigenous values were drawn upon to address the challenges of the changing social environment. This influenced the critique that emerged about the influence of Christianity and education.

“UXhosa noKhanyo. —Imithetho nemikhwa yesiXhosa, awayisekayo wayiqinisela uNgconde, yema, yamila ngohlobo lokuba ngoku ngezi mini zokhanyo neliZwi, kubuyelwa kwa kuyo, se ikwayiyo encedayo nephilisayo. Phofu ekufikeni kwabafundisi beliZwi neemantyi zikaRulumente, kukhe kwaakho ukulahlwa okuthile kwale mithetho, nala masiko, kwathiwa ukuthethwa ngayo yeyobuhedeni: Kuthe kwakwenjiwa njalo, kwavela umonakalokazi omkhulu kwakhula ukungeva, nobuboja, noburalarume

nokuphela kohloni, nokungoyiki hlazo, nokunxila, nokungabi nambeko. Kuthe kwakuba nje wahamba nzima umthetho kaRulumente; lanchola iliZwi lagxekeka, yaphela isidima imfundo” [Xhosa and Civilization – Xhosa guidelines and habits established and strengthened by Ngconde, were sustained such that during these days of the Gospel and Civilization (or Enlightenment) the same guidelines and habits are drawn upon to inform the establishment of healthy societies. When the missionaries and magistrates arrived these guidelines and traditional practices were condemned as heathen practices. Upon their neglect, society experienced turmoil with the growth of disobedience, corruption, alcoholism and shameless over wrongful doing. When these things occurred the colonial government’s regulations failed, the Gospel was compromised, education lost dignity] (Mqhayi, 1931: 120).

At the point in history under discussion, the standard superior abilities in understanding, insight and knowledge were viewed as mainly western influenced because the dominant meanings and attitudes of abantu basesikolweni towards ukhanyo were passed on from missionaries. “Imini zokanyo neliZwi” (period of enlightenment/civilisation and the Word) was associated with the arrival of Europeans settlers. At the end of 1800s and the beginning of 1900s, Christianity and education were understood as signifiers of impucuko because of their perceived positive role in influencing individuals’ mindsets, attitudes and values. However, from Mqhayi through to Jordan, a thinking about ukanyo beyond a western construction emerges. This includes problematising ukanyo and by extension impucuko as it was initially understood in relation to Christianity and western education.

6.2.2 Impucuko as inkqubela-phambili (progress)

Closely associated with impucuko is the process of inkqubela-phambili (and associated words: inqubela or inkqubekela) which is recognised in lifestyle improvements as well as through infrastructural development. Inkqubela-phambili is progress in English. In this instance, impucuko indicated a process of improvement or advancement. People with a lifestyle that could be dominantly regarded as ephucukileyo (one that is improved or advanced) were people who drew on the influence of religion and education. “Izinto zempucuko” (attributes of advancement) indicated progress and played a role in refining mannerisms, “sophistication” in manner and taste, the material improvement of lives, elevating one’s social status in a changing, western-dominated society and access to privilege (Sigenu, 2018). Such developments in an individual’s life were associated with success because of the association with western notions and symbols of modernity (Sigenu, 2018). In

Ingqumbo Yeminyanya, Jordan uses the term “niphucukile”, which means to be in a position of privilege that evokes better treatment and respect from people.

“Hi! Major, sibali wam, nisezimbekweni ningatsho nje? Whosh! inene niphucukile”
[Major, my brother-in-law, you are in a place of honour don't you say? You are truly in a position of privilege (or superiority)] (Jordan, 1940: 42).

In the excerpt below, the meaning of progress is shown to include physical or infrastructural advancement. This is shown in *Abantu Besizwe* where Mqhayi (2009) discusses the evidence of progress in the form of infrastructural development to improve the quality of life of the Centane people:

“Ndifike izakiwo kwa Centane zje loko fuda zinjalo. Imfundo ndifike ilangazeleleka kakulu, amadoda esalusa kuba amakwenkwe ase mfundweni. Ndibone amadodana amaninzi abeqaba angasaqabiyo, amanye angene efunda... Ute akufika u Basayi ka Mdluka (ifiva yomrweme), kuba batsho ukusiteketisa, batofa ikakulu lelali, ayabiko lanto yokungalifuni icebo lomlungu, abatofileyo basindelwe; ndati yin[k]qubela ukutofa oko” *[I found the buildings in Centane to a much better condition than they had been in. Education is highly prized, and men were herding because the boys were at school. I saw many young men who used to smear themselves with ochre who had stopped doing so, and some of them were studying... When there was an outbreak of coastal fever (Mdluka's Basayi, as they playfully called it), most people in the area were vaccinated, contrary to the practice of rejecting the white person's advice, and those who were vaccinated survived; I said vaccination was a sign of progress]* (Mqhayi, 2009: 121).

An economic connotation is attached to inkqubela-phambili and this is expressed in *Ityala Lamawele*, where Mqhayi (1931) discusses inkqubela-phambili in the context of amaXhoseni (literal translation: where the amaXhosa reside). He writes about inkqubela-phambili as something that characterised the laws and values that informed the governing of communities before the Europeans' arrival. Through inkqubela-phambili, communities experienced development. In the excerpt below, Mqhayi discusses inkqubela-phambili to mean progress or development over time by highlighting the different stages in an evolving economic system:

“AmaXhosa akudala wona ayengenje ngathi la ezi mini, baye ke besitsho nje bengekaqondi ukuba ngabo bawuguzule umthetho kaXhosa, owawungajongiswe konakaliseni nawo, wawujongiswe ekwakheni nasekulungiseni. Zithathu iziganga zenkqubela-phambili yohlanga (1) sisiganga sobuzingeli (2) sesolimo nemfuyo (3) sesomsebenzi wezandla. Nditsho lula ukuthi izizwe ezimhlophe zisifikele se sinazo zozithathu ezo ziganga.” *[The Xhosa people from ancient times were unlike the ones*

from today who do not understand that they have overlooked the laws of Xhosa which were not to destroy but were to build and ensure society functioned in an organised way. There are three stages of progress that the group has undergone (1) the stage of hunter-gathers (2) the stage of agriculture and livestock (3) the stage of craftsmanship. I can say with certainty that the white nation arrived we had already undergone these three stages,] (Mqhayi, 1931:120).

This reference to inkqubela-phambili as evolving, sophisticated and specialised indigenous economic systems breaks with the interpretation of progress as exclusively a western process. Below, Mqhayi reflects on inkqubela-phambili and concludes that having seen and experienced progress from the Europeans' perspective, he has learnt that progress is not standardised but contextual. Mqhayi states that the increased exposure to progress from the west's perspective and how it has been implemented among isiXhosa speaking communities made him realise that progress was part of the amaXhosa communities in precolonial times.

“Nditsho ke ngoko ngombulelo ukuthi ngale minyaka isekhulwini lufikile ukhanyo phakathi kwethu, lusiza nezizwe ezimhlophe, se kukho ulutho olubonisayo ukuba inkqubela phambili ingene eluhlangeni; yaye ibihleli ikho kakade” [I say with gratitude that within the 100 years that civilization/enlightenment was introduced to us, by the white nations, there are signs of that progress has permeated to our race; and it has always existed] (Mqhayi, 1931: 134).

Drawing from this understanding, impucuko means change that is considered to be progressive. These meanings show that there existed among the abantu basesikolweni an understanding of impucuko borrowed from missionaries and officials and an understanding that recognised that progress had taken place independently of western influence.

6.2.3 Impucuko as detachment from amasiko nezithethe (traditional practices and customs)

As seen in the preceding sections, the construction of early meanings of impucuko drew on the relationship between the Christian religion and education and their capacity to be institutions or vehicles for socialisation or a resocialisation of indigenous society. Christian conversion and education guided primarily by missionaries undermined indigenous amaXhosa ways. In this respect, the socialisation by missionary institutions of abantu basesikolweni into modernity seemed to exist exclusively in relation to the practice of amasiko and izithethe (traditional rituals and customs). Abantu basesikolweni initially embraced being English and retained English attributes in their pursuit of upward mobility and a modern, sophisticated lifestyle (Sigenu, 2018). Particularly in the early days of colonial

conquest, Christianity as taught by missionaries influenced the detachment from traditional practices that were distinctive to their Xhosa-ness or African-ness (Sigenu, 2018).

Earlier on in their response to Christianity and missionary education, there was an enthusiastic acceptance of ukhanyo (enlightenment) among isiXhosa speaking people and this served the expansion of impucuko, from a western perspective. Initially, even though this was later challenged, abantu basesikolweni's (school people's) regard for and subscription to African beliefs decreased. There appears to have existed a genuine pride in the expansion of ukhanyo, especially in the late 1800s and this can be observed in dialogues recorded in the early newspapers such as *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Their transformed belief system and the status of abantu basesikolweni influenced an initial detachment from their indigenous traditions which lead to some underlying tensions between them and abantu ababomvu (red people), as shown below:

“Baqala abantwana bawo babavalela kumakhaya awo ukuze bangadibani nabantwana bamaqaba abathukayo. Abantwana bawo bathi basuswa ukuba basondele kwindawo apho kwenziwa khona amasiko. Eyona nto kwathiwa mabayiphakamise kakhulu zizithethe zesiLungu eziluphawu lwempucuko neziza kubenza abona bantu baphucukileyo elizweni” [They (school people) started prohibiting their children from mixing with the red people's children because of their foul language. Their children were removed from areas where traditional rituals were performed. The children were taught to value English culture which is a sign of civilization which would make them the most civilized people in the nation] (Makuliwe, 2019).

The relationship between abantu basesikolweni and the English did not unfold entirely positively. Even though they adopted aspects related to Christianity and modernity and were educationally, professionally and morally on par with the English, they still were treated as inferior and unequally to Europeans. In the context of the Cape Colony and its social order, they were above abantu ababomvu (red people) in status, but at the same time were inferior to Europeans; this could partly be explained by the fact that Europeans thought of themselves as the forebears of Western civilisation. However, a younger educated generation argued against the black people's systemic inferiority to the Europeans because they argued that the isiXhosa speaking nations had had great leaders – specifically chiefs of amaMfengu and abaThembu, who had influenced the acceptance of Christianity and valued education. These men were also considered great leaders in their own right. This is referred to below:

“Nangapandle koko eyona ndawo ingangeniyo kwesi sizukulwana sinyukayo yile yokungati wonke umntu omhlope ungapezulu nakubanina ontsundu. Bambalwa kwesi sizukulwana abakolwayo ukuba nabanina omhlope okwesi sika Kama ungapezulu kuka William Kama; ukuba kweliya la Mamfengu bonke abamhlope bangapezu kwamadoda anjengo Feltman no Mazamisa, namanye; ukuba e-Batenjini bonke abamhlope bangapezulu ko Mawonga no Mankayi Rengqe, no Sigenu” [Regardless of that [.] what the emerging generation does not want to accept is the assumption that every white person is better than any black person. There are few among the current generation who believe that every white person is greater than William Kama; that among the amaMfengu all white people are greater than men like Feltman and Mazamisa, and others; that among abaThembu every white person is greater than Mawonga, Mankayi, Rengqe and Sigenu] (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1885).

The negotiation of identity for abantu basesikolweni happened in the context of tensions between the abantu basesikolweni and the abantu ababomvu as well as between the abantu basesikolweni and the European settlers. The social construction of the meanings unfolded within the context of such social conditions. The above excerpt indicates an emerging critical consciousness and a grappling with a western interpretation of impucuko that privileged everything western or English in relation to amaXhosa. Implicitly expressed in the excerpt is the view that there are leaders within the isiXhosa socio-linguistic group who had contributed more to progress than some white people. This is a problematising of the understanding of impucuko as civilisation and challenges progress as exclusively western. The situating of indigenous leaders under the banner of drivers of progress forces one to think about how within this socio-linguistic group there is a recognition and acknowledgement of the capacity to initiate and drive progress endogenously.

In the excerpt below, Jordan (1940: 217) narrates a discussion between Father Williams and Ngxabane, a councilman under the Zwelinzima chieftaincy. Ngxabane expresses disappointment in impucuko as ukhanyo and the lack of openness to accommodate the practice of traditional rituals. Inkqubela-phambili, as introduced in the context of impucuko, was considered positive among abantu ababomvu (red people) until such a point that it threatened to destabilise and dismiss their traditional practices and indigenous ways of life. In *Inqumbo Yeminyanya*, to defend their way of life from the threat of ukhanyo or impucuko, the abantu ababomvu (red people) decided to stop allowing their children to participate in the missionary schooling system:

"Saphanga sanincoma, mfundisi, ngokhanyo lwenu, sathi kanti asazanga ukuba ngolu gqobhoko nale mfundo yenu nifundisa abantwana bethu ukulahla amasiko. Namhlanje soyisakele, kuba sibonil' ukuba asifundiswa buntu; sifundiswa ubuLawu. Inkosi ke seyonakele yona. Niyithimbile. Aba basakhulayo ke abantwana sisenendlela yokubahlangula. Siyabahlangula ke" [We complimented you too early, reverend, about this enlightenment of yours, we did not know that through this state of being modern and this education, you are teaching our children to disregard the traditions. Today, we feel defeated because we have seen that we are not being taught our humanity: we are being to be formless and without culture. The chief is already compromised. He is your captive. We have a means to rescue the young from this captivity. We are rescuing them] (Jordan, 1940: 217).

Jordan further illustrates the struggle with identity that confronted the young chief Zwelinzima; as an educated Christian, he was expected to lead his people who were steeped in traditional culture. Through Zwelinzima, Jordan provides a window for the reader to view the complexities and contradictions that abantu basesikolweni faced because they valued their African heritage and their modern identity. Zwelinzima's educated, Christian and modern identity existed in tension with the beliefs of his people, and this played out in different scenarios during his leadership. In the excerpt below, Zwelinzima is in discussion with a fellow chief where he is advised to recognise the fact that imposing his enlightened ideas about life on his people would lead to a lack of harmony during his rule between his councilmen and the community at large. Here a glimpse is caught of the complex identity negotiation Zwelinzima experienced:

Efikile eSulenkama wacela inkosi ukuba ikhe imchazela ngale nto yezi bhokhwe, imxelele ukuba nene-nene iyakholelwa na ukuba ziyafuneka emagqirheni. Yathi ukuphendula, "Hayi, Jola, wena uyafika kule nto yokuphatha. Nam ndandinje ngawe lo... Kanti hayi, Jolinkomo, ezaa zinto sizicingayo xa sisesemfundweni zifika zisimise kakubi aph' elizweni. Inkolo yaba bantu sibaphetheyo yendele ebuthini nasemagqirheni okuvumisa. Abafuni kungxanyelwa; bafun' ukuvelwa. Ukuba akuvelani nabo ngeenkolo zabo, ngokwenene ngokwenene, yiva mna, uya kuxakana nabo" [Upon his [Zwelinzima's] arrival in Sulenkama he asked the chief to explain whether he really believed in traditional healers. The chief answered, "No Jola, you are new in this area of leadership. I was also just like you... In fact, Jolinkomo, those things that ponder over during our time at school cause conflict for us in the real world. The system of belief of the people we govern is inclined to the supernatural, to traditional healers and the consultation with the ancestors. You do not want to act in haste with them, they want

to be heard. If you do not want to learn and understand their system of belief, believe me you will always be at odds with them] (Jordan, 1940: 212).

Amasiko nezithethe (traditional rituals and customs) have played an intrinsic role in the history of the amaXhosa. Amid expanding modernisation, traditional beliefs and customs remained for many both a connection to the past and a guide for the future (Sigenu, 2018). While this was the case to a greater or lesser extent, the introduction of Christian missionary education in the 19th century, which was against African traditional beliefs and practices, put many missionary- educated, modern upwardly mobile Africans at odds with amasiko nezithethe (traditional rituals and customs) (Sigenu, 2018). The challenges confronted by Zwelinzima, the protagonist in Jordan's book *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*, illustrate these kinds of socio-cultural dilemmas with which the abantu basesikolweni grappled. They struggled with being upwardly mobile in colonial society while also retaining a sense of belonging linked to their African heritage and communities. A struggle that continues to this day.

6.2.4 *Reimagining impucuko*

Pressure from and socialisation by missionaries influenced their initial understanding of modernity and progress. This process of socialisation can be linked to the meanings of impucuko in the previous section. In time, the discourse of Christian modernity was imposed and thus the initial missionary and western education inspired meanings of impucuko were challenged in favour of more nuanced and complex meanings. In as much as abantu basesikolweni were educated, Christian and modern, it became difficult for them to dismiss and disregard their African heritage because they still belonged to families and communities that affirmed their African traditional identity. Abantu ababomvu (red people) also played a pivotal role in challenging abantu basesikolweni's (school people's) uncritical acceptance of western culture at the expense of inkcubeko yamaXhosa (Xhosa cultural heritage) by abantu basesikolweni. In *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*, Jordan (1940) illustrates this struggle experienced by abantu basesikolweni:

"Mntwan'omhle, nathi singabantwana bakaNgwanya; nathi singabantwana bakho. Oko wafika apha wondla eli wele lifana nawe likhumshayo. Khawondle thina ke ngoku."
[Mntwan'omhle, we are also children of Ngwanya, we are also your children. Ever since you took up your rightful place on the throne, you have given you attention to the educated who like you, are English speakers. Mind us now.] (Jordan, 1940: 200).

In the general sense, Jordan reveals how the dominant culture under colonialism privileged the English informed lifestyle, views, beliefs and norms while Africans who had not accepted ukhanyo were regarded as inferior. It also reveals how the identity and positions of abantu basesikolweni in the modernising world automatically meant an implied disregard for their own people because of their divided loyalties. This is because missionaries imposed a discourse of Christian modernity detached from traditional beliefs that were constructed as heathen. Abantu basesikolweni initially accepted this and then later began to question this discourse, which led to a more complex understanding of the concept. As such, as the appeal made to the chief Zwelinzima shows, abantu basesikolweni needed to go through a process of reimagining impucuko, or at least aspects thereof, driven by new imperatives (Sigenu, 2018). Because there were obviously aspects of impucuko that they embraced, this made the process of reimagination possible.

In the following excerpt from *Ityala Lamawele*, Mqhayi argues that inkqubela-phambili or progress becomes effective when it is guided endogenously and not externally imposed. He goes on to acknowledge the role of European settlers in introducing ukhanyo, which has contributed to progress, but he notes that progress is not a new process in the amaXhosa communities. He observes that amaXhosa have long been progressing as a “nation” even before ukhanyo was introduced by missionaries and the colonial system:

“Le nto iyinkqubela phambili yesizwe, ilunga kukuthi iphume ngaphakathi kuso, asiyonto ilunge ngokuvela ngaphandle. Nditsho ke ngoko ngombulelo ukuthi ngale minyaka isekhulwini lufikile ukhanyo phakathi kwethu, lusiza nezizwe ezimhlophe, se kukho ulutho olubonisayo ukuba inkqubela phambili ingene eluhlangeni yaye ibihleli ikho kakade” [This idea of progress for the nation, can only work when it originates as an internal process and not as something from an external origin. I say this with gratitude because within the 100-year period that enlightenment has materialized among us, brought about by the white nations, there is evidence of progress taking shape and that in fact progress has long existing among us as a people] (Mqhayi, 1931: 134).

The quotation is an indication of abantu basesikolweni’s (school people’s) questioning of the meanings that led to a more complex understanding of the concept. An example of this gradual move in critical reflection can be observed by comparing the views that Tiyo Soga held earlier in his life to the ones he held at a later stage in his life (De Wet, forthcoming). In the quote above, Mqhayi’s calls for thinking about impucuko beyond the confines of western conceptions drew on his knowledge of African history and his ability to observe the changes

in his society. He raised critical questions about progress as an endogenous process and thinking of *impucuko* as being context-specific rather than progress emerging similarly in all societies. His position captures the emerging views of his peers and represents the changes in the meaning of *impucuko* that reflected the views of his social class. Mqhayi reflects dialogues happening around him evident in the questioning of old ideas and engaging with current socio-cultural experiences (Sigenu, 2018). The combination of these two processes begin to shape reconstructions of the meanings of *impucuko* (Sigenu, 2018). The process of reimagining *impucuko* was influenced by the *abantu basesikolweni*'s experience navigating a changing world as modern, Christian and African.

Attention now turns to the meanings of *impucuko* 100 years later at the turn of the 21st century.

6.3 Impucuko at the turn of the 21st century

The meanings included in this section have been gleaned from contemporary isiXhosa-speaking professionals and articles written by journalists in isiXhosa newspapers. Today the educated among the *amaXhosa* are no longer referred to as *abantu basesikolweni* but they are known colloquially as *abantu abafundileyo* (educated ones).

6.3.1 Impucuko as knowledge

Impucuko is generally understood as knowledge. It is understood as insight, information and awareness that builds on knowledge that was already there. This gives greater knowledge and understanding about a subject or situation, where one can see things differently from before or have more understanding. The quote below captures this understanding:

“Impucuko kukufika kwento ubungayazi. Okanye ubuyazi but uyazi ngendlela enye okanye ngendlela ezimbini. Then ikwenzele lula... Lulwazi” [Impucuko is when you are introduced to something you had no knowledge of. Or you are introduced to a new way of knowing. Then this makes things easier for you. It is knowledge (or awareness)]
(Tolo – respondent, 2020).

The quote below further builds on this understanding of *impucuko* as knowledge by highlighting that it can be understood as a change in how a person thinks in a way that leads to improvement or advancement in knowledge and awareness. The impact of advanced knowledge is not limited to changed or improved thought processes, it can also influence improvement in action or behaviour.

“Impucuko kukutshintsha kohlobo lokucinga komntu loo nto ikhokelisa kukuphucuka. Ayipheleni impucuko apha ekucingeni, kodwa iqala khona ize ichaphazele ukwenza nendlela yokuziphatha emntwini.” [Impucuko is a change in the thought processes of a person in a way that leads to improvement. Impucuko is not just limited to this, but it starts in the mind and affect actions and conduct] (Tshangisa – respondent, 2020).

Both quotes indicate that impucuko as knowledge leads to change, improvement or advancement that affects the mind, particularly thoughts and the ability to perceive, and understanding. Involved in this is a process of learning, which affects human knowledge and capacity. This can influence embodied change in behaviour, which is expressed in the quotation above and the following quote builds on the idea of impucuko as knowledge, possibly leading to some embodied change:

“Kuye kubonakala ukuba xa impucuko ihluma, indlela yokuphila neyokwenza izinto iye ichaphazeleke kanobom” [Exposure to greater (or more) knowledge affects the way of life and the way things are done enormously] (Lukes, 2018).

The impact of impucuko as knowledge on a human can be both positive and negative. The quote below highlights that even though greater knowledge is something positive, it can have negative results specifically within society:

“Baninzi abantu yonke le mpucuko abayisebenzisa ngeendlela ezigwenxa kakhulu” [There are many people who use this advanced knowledge in negative ways] (Lukes, 2018).

Subsequently, impucuko is understood as knowledge acquired through a learning process. The knowledge can lead to an advancement or improvement in thought processes, understanding and perceptions. It influences the development of a human being’s intellectual and moral capacity which in turn informs their conduct and behaviour. The embodied impact of the knowledge on a person can be either negative or positive.

6.3.2 Impucuko as inkqubela-phambili (progress with a consumerist slant)

As was the case more than a century ago, impucuko is still understood as inkqubela phambili or progress seen in lifestyle improvement and infrastructural development and by extension, in the current period, as science and technology. The quote below expresses an understanding of impucuko as progress in the different technological innovations that make everyday life different and easier than before:

“When I think about impucuko, I think of people who are educated. Today we have electricity, TVs, cell phones, smartphones, different technologies. Things are different from when I was growing up. Life has become advanced” (Mvulane – respondent).

Another quote that indicates an aspect of impucuko as progress is highlighted below. The informant discusses lifestyle changes and uses young brides today to make an example. Embedded within this example is also an expression about the changing traditional gender roles, which is a sign of progress:

“Oomakoti emizini baneeduties abazenzayo emzini. Namhlanje bayakwazi ukuqasha umntu. Ngenxa yempucuko abanye abasakwazi nokubasa phandle, kusetyenziswa ubuxhakaxhaka bochwepheshe. Nangaphandle kobuxhakaxhaka bahoye ukufaneleka bafakela amazipho anganyibilika uba bangayobasa phandle. Yile mpucuko. [Brides have dedicated duties at home, today they employ domestic helpers. Because of progress some cannot cook outside using firewood because of technology. Besides technology, they have modern appearances seen in their long and artificial nails which could possibly burn if they would attempt to cook outside using firewood” (Mzangwe – respondent).

The following quote also builds on the idea of impucuko as progress specifically through the development of technology. In addition, the newspaper article talks about how technology as a marker of progress can be used for development:

“Sele kuphilwa kwilizwe apho impucuko ize nezinto zobuchwepheshe. Masiqhubeke sibusebenzise obubuchwepheshe bukhoyo njengesona sixhobo sinokusetyenziswa sitsale ulutsha luphuhle, lubuyele kwinkcubeko yakwaNtu” [We live in a world where progress has brought along technologies. Let us continue using technology because it is a useful tool for the development of the youth and to remind the youth of our African cultural heritage] (Ginya, 2016).

Impucuko as progress in lifestyle improvement and infrastructural technological innovations has become linked to financial resources or wealth. This has the implication that progress has a consumerist slant attached to it, which can be understood from the quote below:

“So sesikwixesha apho ngoku sesiphila sikwimpucuko. We are striving nathi ukuba kube nale nkqubela phambili. We’re all looking for a faster network. Yonke into nje seyikhawuleza futhi sesiqhele ubomi obunjena nathi sesifuna ubomi bubenjalo. Sifuna futhi sidinga imali ukuze sibe nobomi obuntofontofo. Sifuna ukuphangela kwindawo ezisemgangathweni, siqhube iimoto zoodidi oluphezulu. Siphile ubomi emnandi nentsapho zethu. Ubabona njalo ukuba abantu baphucukile” [We live in a world that is

progressing. We also want to gain from the progress. We're looking for a faster network. We are used to a fast-paced life. We want and need money so we can live comfortably. We want good jobs, nice cars and to lead better lifestyles with our families. That's how you see people have progressed] (Tshangisa – respondent, 2020).

The quote below builds on the understanding of *impucuko* as progress with a consumerist slant. The informant highlights that being financially wealthy and having material possessions is understood as *impucuko* (progress). He further raises the point that the association of progress with having money and material possessions has some influence on why there is corruption in society:

“Abantu baxakekile yimpucuko bafuna ukuxhamla kubutyebi ngoba ukuze ukwazi uphila obomi obuphucukileyo uyazidinga ezi zinto. Ngoku ukuba unemali then sithi yimpucuko leyo. Yiyo le nto eli lizwi linobuqhophololo kangakanga ngoba abantu baphela bengohloh'esakhe kuba kaloku bafuna impucuko” [People pursue wealth because to have a better life you need money (or possessions). When we see someone with money, we see someone with progress. That is why there is so much corruption because people end up filling their own pockets so that can have progress]” (Tolo – respondent, 2020).

The emphasis on consumerism is affected by the fact that we exist in a period of pronounced inequality, which can be primarily attributed to wealth and income disparities in the population. The quote below illustrates these perspectives:

“Ngoku sele kuphilwa kwilizwe apho impucuko ize nezinto zobuchwepheshe ... Into osuka uyibone, kukuba iindawo ezihlala zinobutyebi, ziye zityebe ngakumbi, ukuze ezo zihlelekileyo (ingakumbi ezabantu abantsundu), zime ndawonye okanye zingabi nampucuko kwaphela ngokwezoqoqosho” [Now we live in a world where progress has brought with it technological advancement...What is clear to see is that the wealthy are becoming wealthier so that the poor become poorer (especially black people), they are stagnant or they do not experience economic progress] (Mavela, 2017).

In this section, *impucuko* is understood as progress through lifestyle improvements, infrastructural developments and advancements in technology that make life easier and comfortable. In addition, progress needs a person to have financial resources to access the benefits. Therefore, possessing the financial resources and material possessions is considered as progress. Embedded in this is the tendency to want to have and acquire more financially and materialistically, which is why progress also has a consumerist slant.

6.3.3 *Impucuko as detachment from inkcubeko (cultural heritage)*

The meanings for impucuko in this section focus on impucuko as introduced to African communities by European settlers and the wider western world today. The meanings that are highlighted are first from an understanding of impucuko as imposed by the west. Second, impucuko is understood from the views that emerge and link the concept to cultural heritage. The two perspectives from which to understand impucuko are expressed below.

The distinction between “western impucuko” and “African impucuko” is referred to many times in the newspaper articles and the informants also refer to a “Western impucuko”. The quote below demonstrates this:

“Zibubuvuvu zonke izifundiso ezifundiswe abantu baseAfrika ngenxa yempucuko yaseNtshona. [All the lessons taught to Africans because of Western civilisation (modernity) are nonsense]” (Mqikela, 2016).

The quote below refers to impucuko that is African:

“Ngokunokwabo, ukuphila nokuxabisa kwethu isiko lethu esasikholose ngalo, yayikukungakhanyiselwa nokungaphucuki, kanti ke yayiyeyona mpucuko kwaye ikukukhanya ekwakugqibelele ukuphila ubuntu bethu nesiko lethu” [Our lifestyle and regard for tradition was considered (by Europeans) as ignorance and backwardness, when in fact this was our civilization (or way of life). It was our enlightenment to embody ubuntu (our humanity) and traditions] (Mavela, 2019).

In the proceeding text the first perspective of impucuko is discussed at length.

Impucuko is understood as having influenced a separation of Africans from their identity and that identity is associated or connected to a system of belief in African societies. This system of belief is referred to as inkolo kaNtu (African religion). The arrival of Europeans who came with their impucuko influenced the displacement and disregard of African religion that is associated with identity in the extract from the newspaper article . Ultimately, partly because of this, impucuko is referred to as impuncuko, a word that means escape, displacement or loss. In this case, African religion is increasingly neglected or displaced because of impucuko. See the quote below:

“Phaya ntlandlolo, kwakukho inkolo ngaphambili kokuba kufike oondlebe zikhany’ilanga, yilo nkolo ke le sikhonza yona olwa hlobo laseMbo, olwa hlobo lookhokho bethu phambili kwempucuko le esithi yimpucuko, kanti saphuncukana nobuthina” [In the olden days before the arrival of white people, there was a religion

practiced in the way it was in Mbo, our place of origin. We practice it, in the same as our forefathers before all this displacement called progress took place. We have lost who we are] (Hlazo, 2019).

One of the interviewees confirms this link between impucuko and loss of African religion:

“Le mpucuko inobugqobhoka phakathi ize nabelungu. into yokugqobhoka komXhosa ifike nomlungu nokuphucuka. AmaXhosa ayezikholelwa into yoba kufuneka wona aziyele kuQamata, okanye axhele egameni lezinyanya kugqityiwe apho. Impucuko yasohlukanisa yadelela indlela esasiphila ngayo” [This progress (or modern state) that causes a loss of African belief systems and values came with Europeans and progress. Xhosa people worshipped God, slaughtered to appease the ancestors and that was it. The modern way separated and disregarded our way of life] (Dlamini – respondent, 2020).

Inkubeko (cultural heritage) refers to the legacy of cultural resources and intangible attributes such as values and beliefs that isiXhosa speaking people inherited from their forebears, including traditional rituals that are central to the practice of African religion. Another important part of inkubeko is ubuntu, the principle that is a part of African cultures and communities that promotes extending humanity to others and encourages compassion. Impucuko is understood as having influenced the decrease in the expression of ubuntu among people. This is shared among the respondents and the quote below best expresses this:

“Uyabona ke, impucuko isithathele ubuntu. Impucuko ize, xa sinosebenzisa nje la magama asemzini, nento ekuthwa yiselfishness. Iye yathatha ukucingelana kwabantu” [You see, this modern state or progress has taken ubuntu from us. Progress brought along with-it selfishness. We are no longer considerate towards one another as people] (Tshangisa – respondent).

The quote below expresses the influence that impucuko has had on isiXhosa. In the extract below, the writer highlights that African languages are disregarded because they are not a sign of being modern:

“Impucuko ivulele ulwimi lwethu lesiXhosa ingcwaba. Eli ngcwaba lilinde ngomonde ukugqumelela oko ikokwethu. Yonke into xa kuzezi ntsuku itolikeka ngcono ngesiNgesi kwaye ke nempilo kunye nempucuko yethu nazo zothi ukuze zibe ziphucukile kube kanti isiNgesi sikhonya entla kakhulu” [Progress (or the modern state) has opened a grave for our language isiXhosa. The grave is patiently waiting to bury all that is ours. These days everything sounds better when translated into English, even our way of life is

considered better or civilised if it is dominated by the English language and culture]
(Nolutshungu, 2020).

Further about language, the quote below associates with impucuko the homogenisation of languages spoken by the people of the Eastern Cape to just one formal isiXhosa. The teaching of only isiXhosa in missionary schools led to a decrease in the use of other dialects such that today only a few communities still retain them and no official record of them is as extensive as that of isiXhosa. This is relevant because it indicates a loss of dialects that are an important part of inkcubeko (cultural heritage). The following passage highlights the homogenisation process in relation to isiBhaca, which is regarded as a dialect, but some argue that it is a distinctly different language:

Ulwimi lwesiBhaca lwafulathelwa yimfundo yasesikolweni eyeza nempucuko, apho kufundiswa kuphela isiXhosa” [Western education institutions where only isiXhosa was taught led to the neglect of isiBhaca] (Makuliwe, 2020).

This section introduced the two perspectives held about impucuko: that there is a western and an African way of understanding impucuko. Impucuko was addressed only as it was associated with the Western culture and behaviour. My research shows that impucuko is understood as having influenced the disregard of numerous aspects of the isiXhosa language, cultural heritage and ubuntu.

6.3.4 *Impucuko as culture and a system for development*

The second perspective about impucuko is discussed in this section. First, impucuko for isiXhosa speaking people, according to the sources, is carried within culture. The cultural resources, such as the practice of traditional rituals as part of African religion and the intangible attributes such as ubuntu are an embodiment of impucuko. In the quote below, the writer introduces impucuko as living according to and valuing traditions as these are a source of knowledge and bring forth understanding about life and how to live it:

“Ukuphila nokuxabisa kwethu isiko lethu esasikholose ngalo, yayikukungakhanyiselwa nokungaphucuki, kanti ke yayiyeyona mpucuko kwaye ikukukhanya ekwakugqibelele ukuphila ubuntu bethu nesiko lethu” [Our lifestyle and regard for tradition was considered (by Europeans) as ignorance and backwardness, when in fact this was our civilization (or way of life). Living according to ubuntu and practicing our traditions was our enlightenment] (Mavela, 2019).

The quote below also links impucuko to culture. The cultural heritage of a society shapes the way in which impucuko is conceptualised. A society's impucuko and the future of that society need to draw lessons from history, values and beliefs and culture, among others. The following passage explains that the foundation for progress and development rests on such knowledge:

“Akukho sizwe siceba ukwakha ingomso ilaso phezu kwenkcubeko yamanye amazwe. Onke amazwe anoxanduva lokuzingela nzulu imbali yawo, inkcubeko, inkolo nendlela yokuziphatha eyiyo ukuze lifikelele kwezona nto zingundoqo nezisisiseko sophuhliso nenkululeko, impucuko kwakunye nephawu laso. Into engaphaya kwaleyo kukuzibulala” [No nation plans to build its future upon another nation's cultural heritage. All nations have the responsibility to dig into their history, their culture, their religion and their proper conduct so that it can find out core foundations of development and freedom, impucuko as well as its own mark. Anything beyond those results in the death of that nation's society] (Isaac, 2015).

The quote suggests the dominant form of impucuko in society today is founded on a culture of a nation that historically values different things when compared to amaXhosa and the African continent in general. Therefore, impucuko, which draws its guiding principles based on a different nation's worldview will be unable to meet African needs and there will be challenges in using it as an avenue to benefit the those subject to its imposition. This means that for different people and contexts, development or progress means different things, it manifests differently and it serves different purposes.

Impucuko is also understood as individual or collective efforts to mobilise physical, intellectual, and moral resources for the betterment of members of society. It goes beyond having access to financial and material possessions, it is the mobilisation of resources in a way that will uplift and empower.

“So besihleli siphucukile ngoba – kangangokuba besiphucukile bekuthi noba kuxheliwe uba simelene ngolu hlobo ngomso okanye namhlanje uthatha umkhono uwuse pha. Uthatha iimbambo ezimbini, usika iimbambo ezimbini uzithathe uzise kulo mzi ungaphambili njalo njalo. Kulemizi umelene nayo, besiphucukile. Sazalelwa empucukweni” [We were already progressive – we were so progressive that if an animal was slaughtered in the neighbourhood, the meat would be shared among neighbours. You would divide the meat such that you could be able to share with the households close to you. In that way we were progressive. We were born into impucuko] (Tolo – respondent, 2020).

The quote emphasises that *impucuko* as progress or advancement is directly connected to interdependency and humanness. This is a critically important and new perspective. This understanding challenges western concepts of progress in relation to, for example, science and technology which neglect humanness, i.e., *umntu ngumntu abantu* (I am because we are).

In the next chapter I turn my attention to a discussion of the key findings.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

Esi sahluko sibandakanya ingxogo ngeziphumo eziphambili. Ingxoko igxila kwemixholo emithathu. Umxholo wokuqala unika ingxelo ngonkqubela notshintsho kwiintsingiselo zegama impucuko ngokuchaphazelwa sisimo sentlalo, amava ngobomi kunye nenkcubeko yezifundiswa ezingabathethi besiXhosa. Umxholo wesibini uxoxa ngendlela ulwakhiwo lwentsingiselo olunokuthi lube negalelo ngayo kwingxoxo malunga nembali yobukolonyali kuqeqesho kwezemfundo. Umxholo wokugqibela uhlatutya uhlobo ukwakhiwa kweentsingiselo zegama impucuko olungaba negalelo ekukhuthazeni ukucinga ngezifundo zoPhuhliso, nangokuphangaleleyo izifundo zeNzululwazi yezoLuntu, ngohlobo olukhokhelisa imbono namava amaAfrika.

Indlela esiqonda ngayo amagama neenkqubo ezifana nenkqubela-phambili, uphuhliso, inkqubo yokuphucula (modernity) yakhiwe phantsi kwefuthe elonganyelwe ziimbono zaseYurophu. Ukuthatha la magama nokujonga ukuba iintsingiselo zawo zakhiwe njani na ngesiXhosa kwiphondo leMpuma Koloni eMzantsi Afrika kuyasisusa ekuqondeni nje amagama esiXhosa njengamagama atolika into ethethwa kwimo yegama kwisiNgesi. Olu phando lubalulekile kuba ukwakhiwa kweenkcazo-bungcali ezihambisa phambili imbono zaseAfrika kudinga iingcamango ezakhiwe phantsi ngefuthe elityhila ulwazi oluqalathwe ngaphakathi kwimbali, kuluntu kwinkcubeko kunye nolwimi lwenkobe. Ngaphandle koko akunako akwakhiwa izifundo ezikhokhelisa imbono zaseAfrika.

This chapter engages in a discussion of the key findings. The discussion unfolds in three parts. The first part reports on and engages with the continuities and changes in the meanings of impucuko in relation to the socio-cultural experiences of isiXhosa professionals at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. The second part discusses how the social construction of meaning can contribute to debates about decolonisation. The last part analyses how the meanings of impucuko and the insights gained from this enquiry can promote a re-imagining of Development Studies from an African and decolonial perspective.

7.1 Comparing the meaning construction of impucuko in two social contexts

Earlier, the socio-cultural contexts and experiences of isiXhosa professionals a century apart were sketched out. That discussion is used to illustrate how the meanings of impucuko over time were influenced by the social experiences of this socio-linguistic grouping. In so doing,

attention is drawn to the relationship between meaning construction and social experience as well as the evolution of the concept under investigation. This is valuable because it contributes to a nuanced understanding of the evolution of the concept and how a socio-linguistic group has grappled with the notion of impucuko or progress over time. Table 1 provides a summative overview of the changes and continuities in the meanings of impucuko. It also demonstrates the co-existence of multiple and sometimes competing meanings in each era.

Table 1: Summary of the meanings of impucuko 100 years apart

	Meanings of impucuko at turn of 20 th century	Meanings of impucuko at turn of 21 st century
Impucuko as enlightening knowledge	Enlightening knowledge gained from Christianity and missionary education. It is understood through the Enlightenment ideology which is distinctively European.	Enlightening knowledge understood beyond European connotations, as all knowledge that drives improvement and wellbeing.
Impucuko as inkqubela-phambili (progress)	A new emerging meaning of progress based on western notions of modernity with distinct symbols or hallmarks, e.g., western industrial technology, behaviour, clothing/fashion, values, status, fluency in English.	Continued meaning of impucuko as infrastructural and technological advancement as well as improvement of the standard of living as progress. Attributed to westernisation. Understanding of progress represented by individual's and society's ability to acquire goods that indicate a materialistic "sophisticated" lifestyle
Impucuko as detachment from inkcubeko (cultural heritage)	Impucuko understood as the villainising and neglect of amasiko nezithethe (African traditions and customs)	Retained meanings of neglect of amasiko nezithethe (traditional rituals and customs). Includes the neglect of African language, traditional values and social behaviour.
Impucuko reimagined	Reimagining impucuko or progress driven by new hybrid imperatives and forms of African nationalism (and Pan-Africanism) that engage and re-appropriate selectively certain African traditions and western notions of modernity that genuinely contribute in new ways to wellbeing.	This meaning builds on the 20 th century reimagination of impucuko. It is an understanding of impucuko as the impact of values drawn from inkcubeko of isiXhosa communities historically. Impucuko is understood as the mobilisation of physical, intellectual, financial, technological and moral resources for upliftment. Arising from the critique of European imposed impucuko regardless of its positive contributions.

Note: The various meanings within a single column co-exist and are sometimes in competition.

The similarities and differences in the socio-cultural experiences of isiXhosa speaking professionals a century apart show how context has influenced the construction of meanings of impucuko. Furthermore, the meanings of impucuko show the influence of a western perspective and a perspective rooted in the professional class's indigenous communities, both

of which influence their identity. This can be seen in the co-existence in the socio-linguistic group of a western bias in the meanings of *impucuko* and the re-imagining of *impucuko* from an African perspective. As such, the meanings that emerge show the coexistence of multiple and even contradictory meanings. The socially constructed meaning of *impucuko* as enlightening knowledge shows that the meanings of *impucuko* have changed from merely being associated with knowledge that is distinctively European, informed by primarily western education and Christianity to a contemporary understanding of *impucuko* as useful knowledge that exists even outside of the western framework of enlightenment. Knowledge is understood as driving the process of enlightenment in a way that inspires and influences improvement and well-being.

At the turn of the 20th century, *abantu basesikolweni*, by virtue of their exposure to missionary education and European (English) culture, went through a process of (re)socialisation that initially led them to view Europeans as bearers of superior knowledge compared to Africans. Gradually, *abantu basesikolweni* came to recognise that superior knowledge was not synonymous with Europeans. For example, in Mqhayi's reflection about *ukanyo* (enlightenment), he argues that even though *ukanyo* was associated with the influence of the western attributes and therefore interpreted as beneficial for social cohesion and order, he proposes an understanding of *ukanyo* beyond a western construction. He argues that *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage) inspired or influenced the evolution of modern understanding, insight and knowledge (Mqhayi, 1914). This shows how alongside the growing influence of western ideals, there was a recognition of the important role that African culture plays in ways of knowing and of being, and this challenges the idea that western knowledge is superior.

In the contemporary period, this recognition seems to have grown among isiXhosa speaking professionals who understand the important role of learning about and sharing indigenous knowledge and culture to inform social, political and economic institutions. The recognition has, however, been uneven; some professionals interviewed – especially those influenced by charismatic or Pentecostal Christian denominations – embrace conservative western Christian worldviews and lifestyles that reject traditional African cultural values and practices because they contradict their western Christian worldview. Other isiXhosa-speaking professionals are critical of eurocentrism. Influenced by African renaissance thinking they selectively integrate modern and traditional understandings of *impucuko*. Pato (1989) illustrates this with the common African Christian practice of unveiling of tombstones which integrates traditional African and Christian rituals associated with burial, remembrance and

memorialising the deceased as well as interpretations of life after death. Various (sometimes competing) discourses linked to impucuko as enlightenment co-exist within this socio-linguistic grouping.

From the turn of the 20th century, the professionals' understanding of impucuko as inkqubela-phambili has included multiple discourses, both on an observable level and on an ideological level. Impucuko as inkqubela-phambili (progress or advancement), understood as material development of infrastructure, technologies and lifestyle improvements, has remained relatively similar in both periods. The physically observable changes are attributed to westernisation and linked to an economic influence. In both periods under consideration, inkqubela-phambili is evident in the professionals' own upward mobility, infrastructural development, technological advancement and increase in standard of living. There is evidence among isiXhosa speaking professionals at the turn of the 21st century that a consumerist perspective was increasingly shaping the socially constructed meanings of impucuko as inkqubela-phambili; wealth accumulation has become a disproportionately important marker for the black middle class in society. The understanding of impucuko as inkqubela-phambili has become framed and skewed by a capitalistic perspective and often reduced to personal financial gain.

At the turn of the 20th century, there are debates about inkqubela-phambili, especially its meaning in relation to western notions of modernity. An impact of colonial imposition was how the missionary ideology introduced European modernity (and modernisation of society) tied to Christianity as superior and necessary for the progress of societies. This peddled Western Europe: its history, culture and people as superior to all other peoples and societies across the globe. Tiyo Soga, in the mid-1800s, represented abantu basesikolweni who were ambivalent about modernity. Faced with racial prejudice and limited upward mobility at the hands of Dutch and British settlers and the colonial government, many became disillusioned with Eurocentric understandings of modernity and began to re-interpret its meaning in more critical ways (Masilela, 2014). Competing discourses on modernity/progress emerged within this social grouping and they are most notable in the competing views of Jabavu and Rubusana. Jabavu supported white governance, which was evident in his support for the formation of an electoral pact with the Afrikaner Bond in 1898 and Land Act of 1913, which angered many African nationalist thinkers at the time (Mangcu, 2013; Mills, n.d.). This indicated his implicit support for European-led modernity/progress. Rubusana, however, identified with the view that the progressive improvement of black people and society at large

needed to be achieved through an inclusive process based on principles of multiracialism, equality and equity (Mills, n.d.). He advocated for black self-representation in government. Rubusana was part of the growing number of the black elite at turn of the 20th century that supported and contributed to an African nationalist discourse. African Nationalism promoted multi-racialism (later non-racialism), democracy and national self-determination (Mills, n.d.). Missionary education led to upward mobility in colonial society – albeit with limits – but the vision abantu basesikolweni had about the possibilities this offered differed from that of missionary and colonial society. The emergence of African nationalism as early as the late 19th century contributed to the conceptualisation by abantu basesikolweni of an African modernity or modernities that were free from European bias and domination (Masilela, 2014).

The disillusionment with Eurocentric modernity and the attempt to reimagine it was important within the African professional class because the process was tied to their social identity or collective sense of self as modern and upwardly mobile Africans. Historically, there has been a tension between being modern and African and having an African cultural heritage. This is evident in the understanding of *impucuko* as detachment from *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage). *Inkcubeko* encompasses *amasiko* (traditional rituals), *izithethe* (customs), value systems, indigenous language(s), social habits and behaviour. The detachment from *inkcubeko* at the turn of the 20th century was marked by an initial rejection of the practice of *amasiko nezithethe* (traditional rituals and customs) because of the influence of missionary ideals and their views about African traditions at that time. As a result, alongside the emergence of a political consciousness in the form of African nationalism, abantu basesikolweni went through a self-initiated cultural conscientisation in the form of what Masilela (2014) refers to as a Xhosa renaissance. This was an intentional seeking out of African history to try to preserve their cultural identity which was under threat alongside their modern identity. The threat posed by colonialism could potentially lead not only to the suppression of political rights, but also to the possible disintegration of the cultural environment and loss of self-respect and African standards (Mangcu, 2016). Therefore, it was important for abantu basesikolweni to engage in a historical project of engaging with possibilities for an African modernity (Masilela, 2014).

At the turn of the 20th century, African professionals promoted an emerging African renaissance understood as being modern, progressive and advanced in relation to westernisation. In addition, they encouraged ways in which *impucuko* could be articulated according to an African perspective or understanding. This was opposed to those who were

more conservative and anti-African tradition. At the turn of the 21st century, professionals grappled with indigenous ideas of advancement and progress that exist in rural communities to give rise to meanings of *impucuko* that indicate it is an endogenously driven process and state that is influenced by culture and history. It is recognised as endogenous because *impucuko* in this regard is associated with what is referred to as the principles of ubuntu like respect, compassion, human dignity, solidarity and consensus. This is a continuation of some African nationalist thinking and views on the importance of self-determination. For example, on the re-imagination of the meaning of *impucuko*, Mqhayi reflects that for progress or advancement to be effective, it should be guided endogenously and not imposed externally.

As a continuation, at the turn of the 21st century, *impucuko* is understood as multiple and contextual and there is a recollection of history, similar to what Mqhayi does, to show the endogenous emergence of *impucuko* in isiXhosa speaking communities. The reimagination of the meaning of *impucuko*, although less overt and conscious, indicates a continuity of the intellectual ideas of abantu basesikolweni such as Mqhayi, Rubusana, Gqoba and Jordan who raised the importance of not rejecting or neglecting the influence of *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage) as people adopt a western worldview. Furthermore, this shows that even with increasing westernisation and the appeal of urban experiences, modern professionals still negotiate ways to affirm their African identity and culture and it is essential to their humanness. In both contexts, the reimagination of the meaning of *impucuko* therefore has a significant relationship with consolidating the class of African professionals' identity as modern and upwardly mobile Africans.

7.2 Christianity among isiXhosa-speaking professionals

Christian values and teachings have substantially influenced South African society. This is evident, for example, in politics and religion/spirituality. There is a need for a separate section about the influence of Christianity because throughout the years, the religion has influenced the value system of the professional class as many isiXhosa speaking communities have seen Christianity as a part of their lives. The meanings of *impucuko* have also been influenced by this reality and the role that Christianity has played such that some of the meanings speak directly to the influence or role of this religion.

The existence of Christian mission stations and their educational institutions in the Eastern Cape began a process where many Africans became Christianised (Erlank, 2009). At the turn

of the 20th century, isiXhosa speaking people who identified as Christian were a minority. A census conducted in King William's Town in 1881 showed the ratio of abantu basesikolweni or amakholwa (believers) to abantu ababomvu (red people) was 1:4 (Davis, 1979). A century later, the 2001 census reported that 87.1% of Eastern Cape dwellers identified as Christians (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010).

At the turn of the 20th century, many abantu basesikolweni were Christian clergy and a significant number of others were active, non-ordained members of Christian churches (Mills, n.d.). From the onset, missionaries held negative perceptions of the traditional beliefs and way of life of the people of the Eastern Cape who, according to the understanding of missionaries, were practising "pagan" rituals. The goal of the missionaries was to influence Africans to have no reference to their traditional kinship-based social structures (Ntombana, 2015). For a while, Christianity appeared to have achieved this although the reality is more complex. Tiyo Soga, a product of missionary education, was not initiated/circumcised (ulwaluko); Soga abstained from the practice of traditional rituals and customs. At the same time, Soga increasingly wrote about cultural identity that existed alongside an increasing preoccupation with the history of isiXhosa speaking peoples (Mangcu, 2016).

While Christianity has increased in relevance and significance in the wider social, economic and political life of professionals, it has not entirely displaced African heritage in regard to domestic and family concerns. The reimagining of the meaning of impucuko shows that the construction of the meanings of impucuko are influenced by a western framework and draw on the experiences and history of African communities. This is also seen in the emergence of a conceptualisation of African modernity or modernities by early black intelligentsia drawing on Christianity, historical lessons and constructs of civilisation, education, progress and knowledge. At the turn of the 21st century, professionals engaged in ways to contextualise Christianity within their African cultural context (Mokhoathi, 2017). In addition, churches, particularly Pentecostal denominations, the denomination of the sample respondents, suppressed without necessarily eliminating the belief and practice of rituals and customs. Ultimately, though some staunch Christians do not practice traditional rituals, isiXhosa-speaking professionals selectively choose for themselves what rituals and customs to practise, as well as when, where and how. Ceremonies are now practised that would not be viewed as traditional in orientation but have the underpinnings of traditional rituals. For example, the ceremony of the unveiling of tombstones has similarities to and incorporates the essential features of ukubuyiswa ceremony (Pauw, 1975 & Pato, 1989).

The identity negotiation done by the professional class to reconcile their identities influences the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko*. For example, the socially constructed meaning of *impucuko* as enlightening knowledge shows the process of reconciling that enlightening knowledge is not just European but that knowledge constructed by Africans is also enlightening because it facilitates growth in understanding. In addition, the reimagination of *impucuko* accommodates the fact that both western and African perspectives influence the meanings socially constructed for the *impucuko* concept and these are valid because they draw from lived experiences regardless of the differences in these experiences.

7.3 Contribution to the conversations about decolonisation

The social construction of a reimagined meaning of *impucuko* at the turn of the 20th century reflects an attempt to find coherence between two seemingly contradictory identities that originate in having a traditional African background but adopting European culture, albeit selectively. This endeavour is a constant negotiation of the possible co-existence of modern and traditional identities and worldviews. For example, in the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* at the turn of the 21st century, class identity can be seen to impact the construction of meaning where *impucuko* as *inkqubela-phambili* is associated with consumerism and materialism. At the same time, *impucuko* as upliftment can be linked to the language of people-centred development with its origins in *inkcubeko* (cultural heritage) characterised by a philosophy of *ubuntu*. The western or modern and African aspects of their identity influence the construction of the different dimensions of meanings of *impucuko*.

The negotiation of identity (or identities) as both modern and African contributes to the construction of the meanings of *impucuko* that appear to coexist and sometimes to contradict one another. Adesina (2002) writes that such negotiation provides the basis for a framework or a paradigm that stresses nuanced discourse rather than binary opposites. It allows for a sociological orientation to societal life that embraces the coexistence of opposites and the open-endedness of outcome between contending forces (Adesina, 2002). The negotiation shows a pursuit to construct or negotiate identity in a way that creates a situation where the embodied cultural heritage and western cultural attributes coexist as part of a person's identity. The project of reimagining ways in which the two may coexist coherently indicates an important sociological instinct. In the meaning construction of *impucuko*, there are meanings of *impucuko* that are socially constructed influenced by western attributes; however, there are also meanings that are constructed based on indigenous communities'

experiences and history. The social construction of a reimagined meaning of *impucuko* embraces the coexistence of meanings of *impucuko* influenced by different contexts indicating an open-ended engagement with the different forms of *impucuko*.

The reimagined meanings of *impucuko* are influenced by the competing identities of the professional class rooted in their context-bound, socio-cultural experiences. The interpenetrative-ness and mutual embeddedness allow us to understand that lived experience is multi-layered, contradictory and situated in context (Adesina, 2002). In terms of identity, we are not either/or; instead, we are many things embedded in one (Adesina, 2002). Multiple identity negotiation is part of navigating the socio-cultural context; it is something that is part of everyday living. When the negotiation involves contradictory identities, it becomes a noticeable phenomenon, making it seem like a profound and rare occurrence, whereas identity negotiation is part of the socially constructed and evolving culture or context (Adesina, 2002). The attempt by the professionals to make of their lived experience between the modern and traditional social worlds in relation to the construction of the meanings of *impucuko* shows this negotiation. The constructed meanings of *impucuko* are influenced by the attempt to go through the process of identity negotiation. Implicitly, the professionals perform multiple identity negotiations as they navigate their socio-cultural context. The constructed meanings of *impucuko* are influenced by their identities that have been constructed because of their socio-cultural experiences. There is an identification with western influenced understandings of *impucuko* because they have experienced it through education and Christianity and an African influenced one because it has been part of their experience and their history. The reimagined meanings are hybrid meanings with multiple origins that are not exclusively western or Africa but somewhere in-between, incorporating selectively elements of both worldview orientations. This entails the process of endogeneity, which is an intellectual standpoint that distinguishes the work of Mafeje.

Endogeneity refers to centring the experiences and ontological discourses of Africans as the basis for intellectual work (Mafeje, 2000; Adesina, 2008). Endogeneity is pivotal in the social construction of the meanings of *impucuko* because the meanings are anchored by the socio-cultural experience. The situatedness in the process of meaning construction highlights an endogenous process.

Embracing the coexistence of opposites and the open-endedness of outcome in the social interaction between two social forces, in this case western and indigenous knowledge

traditions, is important in forging an academy that does not rearrange the epistemological hierarchy that has privileged western knowledge systems, and in turn creates a hierarchy that privileges indigenous bodies and knowledge systems (Mbembe, 2016). The emphasis on the important role of indigenous or endogenous knowledge is not exclusively linked to deeming important a single knowledge system, rather it is linked to the recognition of socio-cultural diversity (Mbembe 2016). The emphasis on the indigenous claims space for knowledge systems and intellectual traditions to counter the hegemony and ignorance of a Eurocentric knowledge system. The indigenous knowledge systems that have been historically marginalised are brought to bear on dominant knowledge traditions and teaching through a dialogical process (Garuba, 2015). Mbembe (2016) argues that critical engagement with the dominant expression of knowledge and pursuing endogeneity should contribute to an academy that embraces a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among many epistemic traditions and should not be simply about de-westernising knowledge. For the horizontal dialogue among epistemic traditions to take place, the pursuit of endogeneity is important as endogeneity seeks to locate indigenous knowledge systems that have been disregarded and marginalised (Mafeje, 2000).

There are parallels between conversation and debates happening in the South African academy and issues that isiXhosa intellectuals grappled with at the turn of the 20th century even though among contemporary professionals, this may be less driven by African Nationalism. They, themselves, grappled with how to socially construct meanings and negotiate their identities in a changing, multi-cultural society. Colonialism and imperialism have interwoven European particularities in spheres such as education, science, technology, politics and production, and although it might seem that there has been progress in dismantling the hegemony and ignorance of Eurocentrism based on the successful overthrowing of political colonisation, an enormous amount of work still needs to be done to reconnect with and reposition African modes of knowledge to affirm their place among the different discourses and frameworks that inform social, economic and political institutions at the macro level. The innovative project of African renaissance pioneered by early isiXhosa intellectuals and professionals in the 20th century does not appear to have moved substantially in over 100 years. It has been reworked and added to on paper and in conversations in and outside of the academic space, but there has been no thorough and effective institutionalisation of this project because most institutions, whether they are government, business or political structures, are informed by capitalist and western values (Mangcu, 2016).

The framework adopted by abantu basesikolweni in the reimagination of impucuko is helpful in seeking to recuperate and renegotiate from the past while socially constructing meanings that recognise contemporary imperatives of hybrid society and identities as well as history(ies). The following section shows how the socially constructed meanings of impucuko can contribute to a Development Studies informed by decoloniality.

7.4 The value that the concept impucuko can add to the study of development

The inquiry into the socially constructed meanings of impucuko by isiXhosa speaking professionals aims to contribute to the study of development – my subject specialisation. The process of meaning and identity renegotiation and construction over time, as seen in the process of the social construction of the meanings of impucuko, contributes substantially to decolonising knowledge, including concepts and theory. Through impucuko, we learn about the meanings of the concept progress informed by ideas, practices and history of a particular group of Africans. The evolution of the meanings of concepts by a professional class of Africans is not a neat process and inevitably it is tied to their class position and interests. However, their meaning construction as an African socio-linguistic group nevertheless contributes to the making of African social sciences.

A focus on the socially constructed meanings of impucuko allows one to see the process of building concepts and constructing meaning from the perspectives of African people. The construction of the meanings clarifies the connection between identity, socio-cultural experiences and meaning construction by demonstrating that people inject meaning into concepts based on their socio-cultural experiences. This understanding is important because in the presence of both internal and external influences, meaning construction happens through an organic and endogenous process. It is important to understand that already established disciplines comprise building blocks or concepts that contribute to the bigger discipline. The process of a socio-linguistic group of Africans defining concepts for themselves is therefore important because it demonstrates one of the principal aspects of Mafeje's work – pursuing endogeneity.

This thesis demonstrates the practice of endogeneity on a small scale by taking a single isiXhosa word, impucuko (and associated terms), and demonstrating how endogeneity works organically in the process of the social construction of meanings in the vernacular by African socio-linguistic groupings. The different dimensions that come out of the meanings show that

the meanings are constructed from a particular socio-cultural and socio-linguistic grouping or class perspective. For example, in the meanings that emerge for *impucuko*, the professional class at the turn of the 21st century has tended to associate the concept in a reductionist way to consumerism and some have neglected the idea of a kind of development that takes a bottom-up approach, a meaning that is tied closely to the language of people-centred development. The meanings are therefore not void of problematic constructions or political incorrectness. Some of the meanings are influenced by humanistic, Afrocentric ubuntu-fication but at the same time, there is an indication that some of the meanings draw from the western aspects influenced parts of their lives. Be that as it may, the most important thing is that both the worst and the best parts of the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* are constructed within a particular socio-cultural context. The multiple dimensions of *impucuko* do not detract from the endogenous process because the meanings demonstrate the capturing of meaning as people work with the concept and because people do not socially construct meaning in a politically correct or perfect context, the dimensions capture that nuance.

The endogenous process, which in this study focuses on a key isiXhosa term (and associated words), creates boundaries within which the social construction of meanings for *impucuko* centres the perspectives and experiences of Africans. The boundaries are important because they define the condition under which meaning construction takes place. In this case, the boundaries are defined by a particular category of people and a set of linguistic tools, i.e., professionals who are a part of the isiXhosa socio-linguistic group. Importantly, the meaning construction is done without the interference of the English because it happens in the vernacular and draws on the speakers of isiXhosa's socio-cultural experiences. The process is not governed by a conscious set of decisions to do meaning construction, rather it is an organic, endogenous process. In this process of meaning construction, the isiXhosa speaking professionals have operated within space that is defined by *their* language and *their* socio-linguistic experiences. The meanings of *impucuko* have emerged within this bounded space, which is defined by the vernacular, the everyday experiences the socio-linguistic group, and the relative absence of Western thought police. These conditions for meaning construction favour endogeneity.

The way we have previously been taught the concept's progress, advancement, modernity and development have been constructed from a European perspective. Taking the loose equivalents of these concepts and investigating how their meanings have been constructed in isiXhosa in the Eastern Cape province in South Africa moves us away from simply translating

and understanding the terms in isiXhosa as the English equivalent. This study has followed a process whereby there is an intentional and endogenous grappling and working with the social constructed meanings of a concept from the perspective and lived experiences of indigenous people instead of imposing borrowed meanings that have evolved in different socio-cultural contexts. What is then brought to the Development Studies table is the concept of *impucuko* and its meanings. The vernacular concept is important because the meanings have been constructed endogenously and so do not fit neatly within Eurocentric rules and definitions. Working with concepts such as *impucuko*, *inkqubela-phambili* and *uphuhliso* within Development Studies gives scholars and students the opportunity to think differently about concepts like modernity, development, advancement and progress. It provides the building blocks, albeit on a small scale, for indigenous knowledge.

Working with these concepts is important because one cannot build African or decolonial theory in Development Studies (and other social sciences) in South Africa without endogenously and socially constructed meanings of terms such as *impucuko*.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

Igama impucuko kunye namanye amagama asondeleleneyo neli gama ngokwentsingiselo anika ithuba lokucinga ngohlobo oluhlukileyo ngamagama neenkqubo ezifana nenkqubo yophuculo, uphuhliso kunye nekqubela-phambili kwizifundo zoPhuhliso. Impucuko njengengcamango inokusetyenziswa kunye nengcamango zesiNgesi ezakhiwe phantsi kweembono zaseYurophi ukwenza ukutyebisa ulwazi kwesi sifundo. Iingcamango ezibalulekileyo kwizifundo zeNzululwazi yezoLuntu ezakhiwa ngamaqela eelwimi ngeelwimi aseAfrika angaba sisiseko apho kunokubandakanywa kwakhiwa ulwazi lwemveli. Olu phando lunegalelo ekukhuliseni ukuqondwa kwamava abemi baseAfrica kunye nakumsebenzi wokuseka iNzululwazi yeZentlalo kunye noLuntu yaseAfrika.

Kulo msebenzi kubalulekile ukuba kubandakanywe umsebenzi wababhali neengcali ezibhinqileyo zesiXhosa kuba abantu ababhinqileyo badlale indima ebalulekileyo kwimbali kodwa igalelo labo amaxesha amaninzi lityeshelwa phantsi. Kuphando lwexesha elizayo ndizimisele ukubandakanya imisebenzi yababhali abafana nembongi uNontsizi Mgwetho, uNoni Jabavu nabanye.

Iincwadi ezingundoqo ezisetyenziswe koluphando zisuka kwiSouth African Literary Archive. Eli ziko liquka uncwadi namaxwebhu anoba negalelo elikhulu ekusekeni iNzululwazi yeZentlalo kunye noLuntu yaseAfrika.

The intellectual project towards a decolonised academy in South Africa is an important one, not only for the academy but also for the development of society as a whole. There is a need for social thinkers to search for a meaningful understanding of the world and themselves through innovative ways of developing an African scholarship, centring the voices and experiences of the previously neglected. This is because we need to develop a type of scholarship that is relevant to our own society, one that empowers us to respond to our own challenges in a quest to forge a way to craft a better future.

This thesis contributes to the decolonial project. The study worked with the notion of endogeneity to investigate the socially constructed meanings of impucuko by isiXhosa-speaking professionals at two moments in history, a hundred years apart. The research first turned to Rubusana, Gqoba, Mqhayi and Jordan, individuals who form part of a generation of early isiXhosa speaking intelligentsia writing at the turn of the 20th century. Their writings were attempts to make sense of and engage with their changing social world brought about

mainly by colonialism. The study then turned to the insights and experiences of a selected number of the black middle class at the turn of the 21st century who were grappling with their own social world. These few but key individuals, who are part of a class of isiXhosa speaking professionals, open our eyes to the fact that centring the experiences and languages of the previously neglected can offer innovative ways to develop contextually relevant concepts and critical conceptual tools, which can contribute to African theory making and challenge the hegemony assumed by western scholarship and the English language.

The comparative historical analysis of the socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* demonstrates that meaning making is associated with the socio-cultural experience and this contributes to the type of knowledge developed. The socio-cultural experiences of a group and their linguistic tools create boundaries for a space where an endogenous process of meaning construction can take place. The meanings of *impucuko* that emerge are influenced by both a western and a contextual African perspective. Therefore, the meanings that are socially constructed both coexist with and exist in contradiction to one another. Nevertheless, the most important aspect of the process of the meaning construction of *impucuko* is that the meaning construction takes place organically, is continuous and changes over time and it is done in isiXhosa, therefore the influence of English on the construction is limited. The core space of meaning construction is held or driven by isiXhosa speakers and above everything, their experience of the socio-cultural world and their identity negotiation is tied together with meaning construction.

Impucuko and the associated terms, *inkqubela-phambili* and *uphuhliso* provide the opportunity to think differently about concepts such as modernity, development, advancement and progress within Development Studies. The key concept can be used alongside or in dialogue with terms that have been constructed from a European perspective. The concept is important because the meanings constructed have gone through an endogenous process where meaning formations is taking place from the perspective and draws on the sociocultural experiences of black isiXhosa speaking professions – who form part of a greater African community. Organically and freely constructing meanings of terms, such as *impucuko*, in the vernacular is also significant. While this may be less of an issue today among black professionals, it certainly was a conscious political decision among the missionary educated isiXhosa writers of the late 1800s and early 1900s to write in newspapers and other publications in the vernacular for isiXhosa-speaking readers beyond the gaze of the British colonizers.

A concept like *impucuko* is important to the process of constructing African or decolonial theory. Sociologically significant concepts constructed in the vernacular by people who form part of African socio-linguistic groups can provide the building blocks for engaging with and building indigenous knowledge. This study makes a small but important contribution to articulating and understanding African experience and to the building of an African social science.

Ultimately, the most important component of the meaning construction process for the term *impucuko* is that it is organic, ongoing, and changes over time. Speakers of isiXhosa control or drive the core space of meaning construction, limiting the effect of English on the constructed meanings. This demonstrates an endogenous epistemology.

8.1 Areas for future research

Masola (2017) writes that African women have played an important part in both the history and the intellectual life of the continent, but their contributions in history have been erased, silenced or simply ignored. This was highlighted in my research which ended up only working with texts that were written by men. This was not a conscious decision; they were the only texts accessible at the time. An area for future research involves engaging with the work of female isiXhosa writers. This includes work from Nontsizi Mgqwetho, the first and only major poet to write in isiXhosa in the early 1900s. There are other great female writers, such as Noni Jabavu, and although she wrote in English and this research focused on isiXhosa texts, she was an intellectual who posed questions about identity and what it means to be black in South Africa that are still relevant even today. Similarly, I would like to interview a group of isiXhosa speaking women professionals to solicit their socially constructed meanings of *impucuko* in contemporary South Africa. A comparative analysis of what I found in this thesis with these women's perspectives could take the form of a publication and contribute to ongoing research in the Department of Sociology at UCT.

8.2 The value of the archive

The isiXhosa texts used in this study are from a number of archives which includes valuable intellectual and socio-political writings that can be used to develop a decolonial social sciences. The literary archive in the South African indigenous languages in general is not just valuable for its literary attributes or its ability to inform us about the biographies of the

writers, the works can add to a body of knowledge in various disciplines in the academy. These writings, in particular the isiXhosa newspapers and books, reflect how isiXhosa-speaking people have made sense of their social world(s), both past and present, and how they envision their future. The archive is therefore useful for unearthing African thought and ways of knowing. It is also critical for centering or mainstreaming African languages in the entire academy, beyond the African Languages Department, and in the production of indigenous knowledge.

My study forms part of a broader research endeavour by the IsiXhosa Sociological Concepts and Intellectual Traditions Research Group, which is housed in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town. The research project examines the meanings of sociological concepts in isiXhosa over the past 100 years. One of the project's primary goals is to investigate how the changes and continuities in the meanings of selected isiXhosa sociological terms are similar to or different from the English equivalent words that are discussed by Raymond Williams in his book *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (De Wet, 2018). This project involves actively engaging with the archive to unearth the conceptualisation of significant concepts by a specific African social grouping through an endogenous process. Some of the concepts worked with as part of this project include *imfundo* (education), *impucuko*, and *umsebenzi* (work). Such a project is important because part of the goal of developing a decolonial social sciences is to develop theories. To develop theories and critical perspectives that reflect African experiences, the appropriate African concepts are needed to frame them without perpetuating negation. This project focuses on the centrality of endogeneity in decolonising social sciences and draws on UCT's IsiXhosa Intellectual Traditions Digital Archive (<https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/isixit/page/welcome>) as one of its main sources.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

**Socially Constructed Meanings of Impucuko in a Comparative Historical
Analysis Research Project**

Participant Consent Form

- I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.
- I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous.
- I understand that anonymised extracts from my interview may be included in the thesis or related research papers and presentations.
- I understand that I can request a copy of the information I have provided while participating in the interview.
- I understand that I am free to contact the researcher to seek further clarification and information.

Research participant

Signature of participant

Date

Researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

Signature of researcher

Date

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Socially Constructed Meanings of Impucuko in a Comparative Historical Analysis Research Project

Topic Guide

1. Introduction

- Introduction of the researcher
- Introduce the study topic
- Explanations of the aims and objectives of the study
- Explain confidentiality and anonymity
- Explain recording, estimated length and nature of discussion, outputs/reporting
- Remind participants that participation is on a volunteer basis
- Go through consent issues explaining that they may withdraw at any time from the interview as whole and do not have to answer any questions they would prefer not to
- Check whether they have any question
- Check that they are happy to continue

2. Background

Aims: to get participants talking and find out their contextual information and current circumstances

- Participants to introduce themselves
- Educational background and current occupation
- How it was growing up in the Eastern Cape
- Effect of background on current circumstances
 - Factors that have been important in directing their lives to this point
 - Reason(s) why the factor(s) is viewed as significant

3. Thoughts on the concept impucuko

Aims: to understand what the participants understand the meanings of impucuko as and what they believe has informed the meaning(s) they raise.

- Understanding of the concept impucuko?
 - What kind of lifestyle do you think of?
 - What kind of people do you think of?
 - What type of mindset do people touched by impucuko exhibit?

- Why do you say so?
- Can you think of any synonyms and/or antonyms for impucuko according to your own understanding?)
- Influence(s) on understanding of impucuko
- The role of impucuko
 - Influence on your life?
 - Influence on your community?
 - Influence on the country?

4. Religion and impucuko

Aims: to understand what the participants think of impucuko in relation to religion, specifically Christianity. This is to find out whether they see an existing relationship between religion and impucuko, what they view this as encompassing and their idea on how social reality is influenced by this relationship or lack thereof

- Thoughts on the relationship between religion and impucuko
 - Is there a relationship?
 - What type of relationship do they have?
 - Is it positive or negative? Are they attracted or do they repel each other?
 - Why do you say so?
 - Factors that could have possibly contributed to this relationship?
- The influence of impucuko on religion now and in the future
 - What makes you say this
- Attitudes towards and view about religion
 - Influence(s) on these views?

5. Education and impucuko

Aims: to understand what the participants think of impucuko in relation to education. This is to find out whether they see an existing relationship between education and impucuko, what they view this as encompassing and their idea on how social reality is influenced by this relationship or lack thereof

- Thoughts on the relationship between education and impucuko
 - Is there a relationship?
 - What type of relationship do they have?
 - Is it positive or negative? Are they attracted or do they repel each other?
 - Why do you say so?
 - Factors that could have possibly contributed to this relationship?
- The influence of impucuko on education now and in the future
 - What makes you say this
- Attitudes towards and view about education

- Influence(s) on these views?

6. Culture and impucuko

Aims: to understand what the participants think of impucuko in relation to culture, specifically beliefs and customs practiced within the community of amaXhosa.. This is to find out whether they see an existing relationship between culture and impucuko, what they view this as encompassing and their idea on how social reality is influenced by this relationship or lack thereof

- Thoughts on the relationship between culture and impucuko
 - Is there a relationship?
 - What type of relationship do they have?
 - Is it positive or negative? Are they attracted or do they repel each other?
 - Why do you say so?
 - Factors that could have possibly contributed to this relationship?
- The influence of impucuko on culture now and in the future
 - What makes you say this
- Attitudes towards and view about culture
 - Views on ubugqobhoka nobuqaba?
 - Influence(s) on the these views?
 - Where do you position yourself?
 - Why do you say so?

7. Thoughts on my findings from Honours

Aims: to get insight on the thoughts that the participants have in regard to the research findings from my honours project, the meanings of impucuko that were identified.

- Thoughts on these meanings from previous research
 - Do you think there has been change?
 - What do you believe the change has been/has not been?
- Any other aspect of impucuko do you believe should be included in the meanings of impucuko?
 - What is characteristic of impucuko that you believe has not been included, any changes that are not taken into account in these meanings?
 - Why is that so?
- Thoughts on reimagining impucuko as an African project
 - Do you think this goal has followed through from the time of Mqhayi to now?
 - Has impucuko been a positive/negative process for Africans (specifically amaXhosa)?
 - How can impucuko be a positive/negative for African people?
- What would it mean for you to have impucuko reimagined as an African inspired and influenced process
 - Is this possible?

- Do you see proof of it/do you not see proof of this?
- What would this mean for religion/education/culture/any other important areas in society?
- What would this mean for society in general?
- Relationship between impucuko, inkqubela-phambili, uphuhliso, ukhanyiseleka
 - How do you think they are related?
 - In what way do you think they affect our society
- Anything else that you think would be helpful for me to know when it comes to your view on impucuko?

8. In conclusion

Aims: to reiterate confidentiality and to ask permission to achieve participant's transcripts for research purposes

- Thank the participants for their time. Reiterate that the interview will remain confidential. Tell them that they are welcome to contact you to ask questions at a later date if they wish.

Ask participants for permission to archive the transcript of the interview. Explain that it will be fully anonymised and will allow other researchers to use the information they have given for research purposes.

APPENDIX C: AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CODES

