Very Rural Background: on how a land-composition challenges Higher Education in South Africa and Zimbabwe

DOI
http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/2179-0892.ra.2020.178183

Antonádia Borges

University of Brasília | Brasília, DF, Brasil
antonadia@gmail.com | https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2403-8869

ABSTRACT

The article does some analytical and political considerations on zombification and bewitching within the University and higher education. The article relies on diverse data from fieldwork experiences in South Africa and Zimbabwe: biographic fragments, diaries on academic life and literary novels. Its ethnographic argument dialogues with two main interlocutors, whose theories inspire the idea of "land-composition". Both struggle to free themselves from the colonial and racist annihilation that restricts their lives to a "plantation-composition". They meditate on how human beings are reduced to mere Human Resources at the University, higher education and beyond. From their interrogations emerge strong ethnographic arguments able to confront the capitalist devastation promoted in the name of a universal subject of knowledge. Therefore, the main proposal of the article is an analytical transformation of the concepts of Otherness, equality, and difference.

KEYWORDS

Tsitsi Dangarembga, fallism, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Higher Education, Plantation, Land,

Very Rural Background: South Africa and Zimbabwe's Land-Composition Challenging the So-Called Higher Education

ABSTRACT Drawing from various sources (fragments of biography, diaries of my own academic life, literary novels) the article aims to deepen the hypothesis that ethnography is a necessary condition for life against plantation as a destructive matter in countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe. Devoted to tackling with the process of capitalist zombification or bewitching, our interlocutors understand the university and its promises of higher education as challenges to their land-composition. The main proposal of the article is, therefore, an analytical transformation of the concepts of otherness, equality and difference in order to challenge university itself as a plantation driven by the exploitation of human resources.

KEYWORDS
South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tsitsi Dangarembga, Higher Education, Plantation, Land, fallism

To Sam Moyo (in memoriam)

INTRODUCTION

Brazilian social scientists who have spent some time in Southern Africa, especially in South Africa and Zimbabwe, are pretty unusual[1]. In both countries, although the research projects in which I was personally involved had other subjects, I ended up, due to circumstances, involved in higher education institutions, where I have experience the daily life of local academics, either professors or students. In countries with previous settler-colonial experiences, academic conviviality occurs between locals and foreigners, with the English language mediating their transactions.

The type of Colonialism that marks the historical experiences of these countries does not spare their academic environment. Here we have an excellent object to think of this double existence of Science or academic life as universal and, concomitantly, as particular, marked by local singularities. We continuously live in such a dilemma. On the one hand, we believe that we can dialogue across national borders because we dedicate ourselves to joint research and teaching areas. On the other, we are aware that ordinary local contexts of knowledge production imprint crucial inflexions on its movements. In Southern Africa, the "rediscover the ordinary", as Njabulo Ndebele suggests, enables us to pay attention to dimensions of existence incommensurable and hardly contained in the master narrative framed by apartheid and State racism[2].

It will never be possible to exhaust the various features of each academic universe. We will never reach an immovable plateau of discussion on this matter, as we can see from the great deal written on academic life history in contexts traversed by apartheid. Some works aim to understand academic transits between the North and the South since these institutions have been locally established. Other researches indicate the centrality of constant European scrutiny on intellectual life in the Global South. In this short mapping, I follow some coordinates. International approval of locally produced academic agendas and products guarantees financial investment (from Global Capital) in academic institutions and their projects. In this way, some South African institutions warrant legitimacy that attracts future capital investments in a virtuous circle.

One aspect pointed out in the literature concerns the precarious balance amid these very different demands: on the one hand, the efficiency of academic production for the Capital; on the other, the role expected of higher education institutions, in contexts marked by Colonialism, namely challenges related to racism and inequality. Research and Higher education institutions produce knowledge reduced to a simple commodity for capitalist expansion. Universities' plantation-composition

1 | Moutinho (2019) presents the scope, reach and limitations of recent research works done by Brazilian social scientists in the African continent.

2 | Njabulo Ndebele is a well-known South African intellectual and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town. He called attention to the importance of "rediscovering the ordinary" on analysing South African literature. There is a remarkable similarity between the political and aesthetic proposal of Ndebele and the work of Veena Das (2006), who finds inspiration in Stanley Cavell's philosophical writings. According to them, it is on the edges and fractures of the hegemonical that transforming resistance emerges.

predate diverging alterities to perpetuate its means of production. In order to tackle this aporia, concepts like alterity, equality and difference have to go through an analytical transformation that aims to disentangle the University from its plantation-composition. Once in Harare, I heard from academic colleagues a telling acronym. They have been talking about someone who was not properly a VIP but a VRB. A short word made of three initials that could synthesise a very complex and heterogeneous academic politics. According to them, though a scholar like all others in the room, that particular person had a Very Rural Background, therefore VRB. Due to the recent spatial segregation that imposed on them the mandatory residence in the city or the countryside and, consequently, their constant, often clandestine, transit between one place and another, to meet or to take shelter with distant relatives, it is not wrong to state that virtually all black people have a rural background.VRB here refers to something more specific, a trait that distinguishes a distinct intellectual disposition towards academic life, its reason for being and its values. To deal with this more recondite meaning, in the next section of the article, I present the reflections of Archie Mafeje and Franz Fanon about the production of this "rural" Otherness and its effect similar to madness or bewitching.

IN THE LIGHT OF MAFEJE AND FANON

Rural, in this context, as Archie Mafeje said in his ethnographic texts of the late sixties, or rather, having a very rural background, implies another ontology, a challenging existence. As my friends in Harare mentioned, it indicates a non-negligible difference that arouses derision and contempt. Mafeje analytically builds this problem from his ethnographic study of the violent relationship between State racism (apartheid), spatial segregation and internal differentiation processes in Langa's township. Langa was a housing development with a modernist layout with explicit purposes of racist spatial segregation, violently erected and maintained by the State. The township nomenclature continues to be used for peripheral urban areas today. At the time of Mafeje's research, people classified by the apartheid regime as black, who had no right to ownership of their homes, would be removed and confined in places like Langa (Borges, 2011).

After the Group Area Act of 1950 (which legislated on the spatial segregation of the population, based on their racial classification, establishing privileged spaces as white-only residential areas), blacks living in rural areas or even in cities would be confined in Homelands, that is, in depleted rural areas destined for the population classified as Bantu (Mabin, 1991). The State has also produced a scheme of social differentiation based on the opposition between the modern township world and the material and cultural backwardness of the homeland. It aimed to dismantle the links between city and countryside.

In this regard, two of Mafeje's articles stand out as an unfolding of the main work, published as a book, co-authored with Monica Wilson. Mafeje explores the production of abjection for the chief and the bard's knowledge. The epithet traditional produced their obsolescence. Concomitantly there was the human disintegration urban and segregated life required. In a township like Langa, there was an internal differentiation. From one side, those considered in coherence with racist modernism and its way of recognising the existence of black people. On the other hand, those with more significant difficulties adapting to the time, space and purpose in life assigned to them by the nationalist and racist government. The latter was fiercely criticised for their backwardness. Instead of believing in traditional chiefs or being mesmerised by the bard's poetic enchantment, rural people should refuse these representatives, what they represented, and their subaltern role for the regime (Ntsebeza, 2005). To the others, more fluent in colonial languages (English and Afrikaans) and city customs, would be granted, also by whites, however ironic this may be, rationality and reasonableness. Our author reveals that subjects - in the city or the countryside, in the township or the homeland - do not ignore what is behind the power of traditional or modern chiefs. Conversely, in political reply, rural people assert that the supposed autonomy of the aspiring subjects of the modern world would indeed be a sign of their absolute alienation and deprivation of reasonableness (Mafeje, 1962 and 1967). The debate proposed by Mafeje is still alive today, and one of its most inflamed stages is the University, where clashes take place over academic life and higher education.

My research group and I have been introduced to an academic world in South Africa and Zimbabwe. In both contexts, despite their differences, there is immense difficulty in welcoming subjects with VRB. The challenges imposed by the colonial fetish of integrity, coherence, perpetuity arehard to accommodate within a scientific endeavour. On the contrary, qualities related to a supposedly universal standard are instead usually understood as inherently positive, intrinsically impossible to dispute. It would not be an exaggeration to say that for our academic colleagues to refute them would imply practically going crazy.

In South Africa, my academic colleagues say, students miss too many classes because they often attend relatives' funerals in rural areas. A close friend, who is European, once told us in exasperation that she never expected to come across countless death certificates brought by students to justify their absences. Another colleague pityingly lamented the result of a recent survey indicating malnutrition among students on his campus. He, a white person, could not believe in something he was aware of. It was hard for him to realize that he taught people who, like millions of black workers in the country, eat, at best, a loaf of bread, divided into two daily meals. Despite this empirical evidences, these social scientists made an effort not to pronounce judgments too readily about irrationality or lack of commitment to academic life comme il faut. Nevertheless, caesura still guided them as a requisite

for being in the academic world. They often related their amazement to a personal confrontation with the colonial legacy that had forged their students' unwanted familist and despotic beliefs and practices. Earnestly, they asked themselves: after the overwhelming destruction imposed by Colonialism that has transformed indigenous life, how is it possible to be tormented by ancestors and return periodically to distant villages to promote rituals to appease them? How is it possible to continuously break their immersion in the city, in modernity, in capitalism?

My colleagues' observation departs from a certain point of view, according to which some people do not deviate from the inexorable advancing line of modern values and concepts. They "believe" a complete capture happened, which led people to a painful though coherent existence: no fractures, no dissent. Others, however, still lived in oblivion, and their alienation or, at the limit, insanity, worried my colleagues a lot.

According to Frantz Fanon, the troubles mentaux simultaneously indicate an illness and a reaction to the colonial that transforms oneself into an Other. Psychoanalyst Alice Cherki (2016) reminds us that even today what Fanon called sideration effect (l'effet de sidération) persists. The Other is not a double of the colonising subject because no positive image is attributed to him. Not even the human condition is granted to him. More contemporarily, intellectuals such as Grada Kilomba (2008) have highlighted the political role of psychoanalytical listening. According to her, the marginal position of the white subject' Other indicates how the hegemonic psychic constitution is fundamentally racist. These authors challenge the above-diagnosed insanity of the colonised. For them, a coherent existence resembles non-existence, deeply alienated from what, in Mafeje's terms again, would be a combative ontology:

> One of its fundamental dimensions [of combative ontology] is recognising the validity and intelligibility of all experiences, regardless of external references, gazes, logic or appreciations. [He] abdicates the task of producing understanding between differences due to its lack of heuristic value. For Mafeje, in an asymmetrical knowledge relationship, only the Other and the idea of otherness is under investigation. (Borges, 2015)

The liberal leftist admonition against the exhausting transit between the countryside and the city, between worlds of the living-living and the living-dead, between University and extramural, indicates worrying praise for devastating ruptures. Fanon and Mafeje turned inside out colonial blankness and its inner violence.

WHICH BODY INTERESTS THE *PLANTATION*?

Dispossession in the name of development is repeated daily as a civilising mission:

primitive accumulation animated by the annihilation of everything understood as primitive (Moyo, 2011). Work as solely production and reproduction exclude from our field of attention much of the performative action that constitutes us beyond and within work. Such a narrow perspective reinforces the irrelevance of everything that has no immediately recognised value. It contributes to the obliteration of everything that does not generate value (yet). What is in the cracks of ordinary life is simply ignored as meaningless.

The University resembles a plantation whenever it reduces its people to a labour force. The higher education industry is interested in its subjects' attributes to extract and accumulate wealth or resources, reducing them to mere human resources (Oaks, 1977).

Some readers might object to a general, even overwhelming definition of the University as a plantation or its plantation-composition. Our critical stance departs from discourses about the body. These arguments guide and determine hegemonic perceptions on who belongs to Humanity and who is expendable, and therefore evicted and tortured in threatening spaces, far from any public scrutiny reach (Povinelli, 2011:22). Woman's body as a colony or the colony as a woman's body (as Alice Walker states in The Color Purple, 1982, or in Possessing the Secret of Joy, 1992) constitutes the colonial archive par excellence, considered available for scrutiny, often to the limit of its annihilation (Derrida, 2008). It reveals the violence intrinsic to modern dualisms, especially to the notion of fetish — so central in the classical understanding of capitalism — which, in turn, refers to the partial cognitive reach indigenous people have as opposed to what "indeed" animate the world (Matory, 2018).

In South Africa, the colonial and racist roots of the University are indisputable. However, unlike Zimbabwe, which has experienced the so-called "radicalisation of the state" (Moyo and Yeros, 2007), after 1994, in South Africa, there was no attempt in breaking with the Capital. The University, although public, was never exclusively maintained by the government. Its existence and continuity have depended on non-stop global financial flows. Political compromise prevented internal dissident voices from threatening its excellence or, in other words, of "putting everything to waste". For democracy and the reconciled nation, post-apartheid students have not engaged in protests like those from back in the day. Instead of protesting as before, universities gave student organisations a seat in their structures. As academic community members, they should understand that there was no longer a government to oppose. Above all, they would understand that the irreconcilable contradiction between Capitals' interests and the demands of excluded students would take a long time to be solved (Cele, 2009).

The economic stability achieved by the country had somehow made this orchestration practically irrefutable during the first two decades of post-apartheid. The most recent student political movement, known as fallism, emerges in a multifaceted way. Its different tendencies raise a common observation: the university

structures of privilege have not changed. Its profit and unshakeable quality are proportional to its contempt for a more egalitarian and truly anti-racist society (Jansen, 2017). Before this recent massive uprising, numerous and even voluminous protests took place over twenty years in post-apartheid South Africa. Their causes, however, have been invariably despised as punctual and self-referred demands, like the problem of economically vulnerable customers without conditions to pay the "fees". The 2014 demonstrations against the colonial legacy, embodied by the #rhodesmustfall movement, added an essential layer to former protests. In 2016 they reached an unprecedented pinnacle with the nationally broader #feesmustfall.[3]

> Not only did students wage struggle about fees, which directly affected them and their parents, they also joined forces with university-based workers who had been fighting their own battles of being outsourced since neoliberal principles of managerialism were introduced at South African universities in the late 1990s. (Ntsebeza, 2016: 934).

The so-called *fallism*, in its many variants, claimed to be representative of these numerous silenced demands, which did not reach the *status* of collective cause defended by student representatives in legitimate institutional instances. Notwithstanding, people with a *very rural background* agree that even fallism has not promoted a proper epistemic rebuttal.

THE BURDEN OF A VERY RURAL BACKGROUND

In the different places where I do research, I turn my attention to the growing entanglements in capitalism and its intimate relationship with struggles for a place to live, whether alive or dead (Borges, 2011; 2018; 2020). These struggles are carried on by people who are politically and theoretically engaged in actions against their obliteration. The main person behind the reflections gathered in this article is Sibongile Khubeka, granddaughter of Mangaliso Khubeka, the notorious leader of the Landless Peoples Movement. We first met at the beginning of our research Kwazulu-Natal, back in 2007 (Rosa, 2011).

Bongiwe, as she is affectionately called, was a child. She went to school in the township of Madadeni (in Kwazulu-Natal), wearing her uniform of colonial design, like everyone else. There she was taught in a language she did not use in her daily life: English. Years later, when her mother passed away, she was already a young woman. Then she lived in her grandfather's house in the township of Thokoza (in Gauteng), the same township she was born in and moved from as a baby after her father's murder in the late 1990s (Donham, 2011). Around this time, she studied computer science at the University of Johannesburg while working for the airline Mango as a flight attendant. None of the occupations lasted. In 2018, she was back in Kwazulu-Natal, living on the farm her grandfather had received in a redistribution process in the rural village of

5 | At the turn of the 2010s, platforms like Twitter opened up a space for a political action known today as hashtag activism. Bonilla and Rosa (2016) argue that digital protest invites for a hashtag ethnography. In 2015, South Africa's protests mentioned above went viral through the hashtag #rhodesmustfall and later with #feesmustfall. For an analysis of the different claims at stake during students' post-apartheid protests, see Neves et al. (2019).

Ingogo (in Kwazulu-Natal). In her arms, a baby, whose father, like all men, was no more than an Inja or a dog[4].

What she resented most was the fact that she had discovered that neither the University nor Mango would accept her for what she was, that is, a person with ritual obligations to her ancestors, which required her to make periodic requests for leave. Entangled in the complex web of attributions related to descent and alliance, Bongiwe plays an essential role in ritual ceremonies enacted by her family members. In order to go on at peace with her existence, her plans to continue studying or travelling the world, she had to periodically make herself present in the land where her ancestors lay. The urban plantation considered her absence unacceptable. Not because it despises something vital to her success in Johannesburg, the city known as Eldorado (Egoli), but because she resisted giving in to the caesura. Therefore she became an expendable being. Instead of assuming as true or accurate the colonial claim about her existence, Bongiwe returned that derision to her detractors. In her words, "there was no space for people, just for zombies" in the city.

Bongiwe's claim demands a détour. In order to engage with her thoughts, I turn my attention to the work of two South African vital authors. They are present in almost all contemporary debates in anthropological theory. Their main subject is precisely the phenomenon of zombification. An analytical framework of Marxist inspiration is behind Comaroffs' central thesis. Such a position is not their prerogative but a common ideological ground for many leftists white intellectuals. Like the colleagues I mentioned at the opening of this article, they are engaged in anti-racist struggles, interested in the "nature of historical consciousness" in that country. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1987). In their analyses, with great attention to ethnographic data, the authors indicate that nationalist ideologies have lost ground to identity policies and their promise of freedom and self-fulfilment. Consumers who have no well-paid job are suspicious. From one side, they are chased by the white liberal abjection to the so-called conspicuous consumption. On the other hand, they face rumours of making spurious use of an abject object to enrich themselves: a corpse turned into a zombie.

An important commission of inquiry to investigate violent xenophobic events clarifies how Comaroff's hypotheses are politically strong. Amidst lack of employment, foreigners or makwerekwere are the easiest targets of suspicion and violent reprisals (Pereira, 2016). Faced with what they diagnose as epidemic violence, the authors ask for State action to regulate the "concrete" effects that the belief in "chimaeras" produce.

Taussig shares the Comaroffs'assumptions. He establishes a relationship between alienation and the plantation. For Taussig, magic can reinforce critical awareness and create divisions and "crippling conformism" among workers (Taussig, 1980: 230). According to him, Fanon had misunderstood a hypothetical reality as an

4| In Borges (2017), I make an approximation between ethnographic data and literary novels. After the work of J.M. Coetzee, among others who write on South Africa, I reflect on how racist and hate speeches associate properties related to the dogs to drain any Humanity from those people addressed in the hideous analogies.

"undoubted reality". After quoting Fanon, Taussig sentences: "surely this is exaggerated—a blind belief in the blind belief of the primitive (Taussig, 1980: 230).

Against Taussig interpretation of The Wretched of the Earth, Bongiwe seems to reiterate Fanon. For her, beyond the constant supply of energy to Capital, there is life. The zombie figure should not be restricted to that of life drained by Capital, by Colonialism. Bongiwe reflects on a life that bypasses the plantation's imprisonment, the confinement into the squared limited space. She understands life as marked by random movements, creativity and transformation. She cherishes movements usually ignored or rejected by academics because of their erratic existence. She meditates that what has no "immediate purpose" is not accepted in the plantation since it does not fit colonial expectations and categories of understanding. The Comaroffs or Taussig are heirs of class politics. Like them, we easily ignore what goes on outside the salaried work environment, the union, and the corporate claim. We ignore the work of women and youth, like Bongiwe, who employ their time in multiple things: sometimes in paid jobs, but usually in unprofitable rituals. Playing the role of State's eyes, we might make people like Bongiwe invisible as their chores and consequently undesirable within the academic walls (Lalu, 2019).

I propose an analytical transformation related to the political lesson taught to me by research hosts like Bongiwe. Her experience of violence involves an understanding of capitalism as a poison, like a spell, against which there is no definitive antidote. Witchcraft poisons kill. Moreover, the contempt for witchcraft explains the eternal return to the colonial encounter — to the foundational moment when reasonable Europeans meet irrational natives and, in their benevolence, dedicate themselves to their annihilation — either by extermination or by their conversion into a specular Other (Borges, 2013). How to survive bewitching, poisoning? Thanks to a discernment that is not transcendent, alien, superior. On the contrary, the condition for survival is disentanglement, a ritual understanding that one's existence does not bend to the scrutiny of the Capital (Borges, 2020). As Pignarre and Stengers (2005) summarise well, while such bewitching has no precise authorship, all the hands are involved in this planetary destructive operation.

Turning a closer look at academic life, let us recognise our action (mainly through inaction) in producing the dispensability of the different, to the point of taking their lives, that is, of producing their death. In short, we ignore slavery (and racism) on the plantation of the academic world.

In other words, democracy enthusiasts, who considered it a transcendent achievement, would be closer to death by abduction (as zombies) than those who make sure not to be devoured by the monster. Women like Bongiwe, "excluded" from the market, University, and public life, are aware of how things work and never drop their guard. While we, at University, for example, do not think twice about issuing criticisms against popular alienation.

In short, if we understand that so-called ordinary people are deeply engaged in various fronts of investigation, we might acknowledge them as intellectuals dedicated to the urgent task of disentangling us from our sedation. Furthermore, we ought to thank Bongiwe for her time offering us the necessary wisdom to operate on ourselves an unbewitching process.

NERVOUS CONDITION

Bongiwe evokes a drained, emptied, "zombified" human being. The same image inspires the Zimbabwean artist Tsitsi Dangarembga. Analysing her fictional work, I consider the unshakeable weight of the colonial burden and the relationship of this persistence with the structures of higher education in Southern Africa or, perhaps, in the global South[5]. Dangarembga delves into issues like madness and insanity in her praised trilogy, with academic contexts as background. As we have seen above, those from a Very Rural Background are expected not to look to their past. They should avoid this back and forth unacceptable transit to bypass periodic metamorphosis that light up an uncomfortable combative ontology.

Tambudzai Sigauke is the main character of Nervous Condition[6], The book of Not and This Mournable Body. Nervous Condition has become a constant reference in postcolonial and feminist debates[7]. In the 1988 novel, we follow Tambudzai life in the countryside. She arduously dedicates herself to the vegetable garden her grandmother had taught her to cultivate. She becomes a cornfield expert. Gradually conflicts arise with her father for favouriting her brother. Tambudzai's mother is timid in defending her daughter. The brother cheats on everyone. Eventually, he dies. Moreover, she is suddenly invited to replace her brother in a mission school where an uncle works. There she gets closes to Nyasha, a cousin who is her age. Nyasha is a conflicted soul, unable to accommodate in her body the distressful experience of having lived in colonial Rhodesia, South Africa and England, during her father's doctorate.

In 2006's The Book of Not, the author addresses Tambudzai's subsequent secondary education at the Young Ladies College of the Sacred Heart. She violently breaks up with her rural past. Odd jobs disappoint her. Against the background of the independence war (chimurenga), years go by in the boarding school where she lives. In the armed conflict, her sister loses a leg in a mine explosion. Her paternal uncle is disabled after a violent spanking. Later on, she discovers her mother was the one who snatched him. Above all, her unprecedented status of Zimbabwean when Rhodesia comes to an end suffocates Tambudzai (Kennedy, 2008). In the last novel, published in 2018, Tambudzai studied sociology at the University of Zimbabwe. She has worked in an advertising agency, whose white owner, a former high school classmate, usurps her ideas. She is dragged at rock bottom. When she rises, she is emptier

5 | Writer and visual artist Tsitsi Dangarembga, born in 1959, is an unavoidable reference for literary studies. Her artistic works are politically inspiring for discussions on intersectionality(Makoni-Muchemwa, 2009). She points out many sources for her work. Nevertheless, some exegetic critics highlight the importance of her biography for the trilogy started with the book Nervous Condition (Zondi, 2013).

6 | Coincidentally the title reminds us of Sartre's introduction to The Wretched of the Earth. Dangarembga has only read Fanon's book after finishing her novel Nervous Condition (Bhana, 1999).

7 | After publishing Nervous Condition, Tsitsi Dangarembga has been constantly asked about the book that should follow it up. (Lee, 2006).

and more torn than before the fall.

After the war, Tambudzai moves to Harare. In the capital, she neither connects with the rural area or with those she lived in her schoolyears. The majority of her white classmates has fled the country. Few blacks like her, who have completed higher education, are abroad, waiting tables or changing diapers.

She neither identifies with those who have never entered academic walls, like most war veterans. After a long time of wandering, she is a jobless desperate middle-aged woman. Finally, she gets a public job at a girls' secondary school as a biology teacher, despite having no expertise in this field. Upon admission, the principal, who does not hide her nationalist proclivity, praises her for still being in the post-independent country, unlike all other educated people, who fled "even" to countries like Zambia, Mozambique or Malawi.

Tambudzai is devoted to giving excellent classes, despite her aversion to the principal and the students hanging on their cell phones, pleasing their sugar daddies (Tiriba, 2019).

Unforeseeingly, the school incriminates her for physically assaulting a student. As a result, she is locked up in an institution devoted to appeasing hallucinations of old white people traumatised by the war. They put her down with drugs. Nevertheless, ants climb her body and mocking hyenas observe fate's dire end in store for her. In short, Tambudzai had gone mad, just as people in Johannesburg had suggested to Bongiwe.

Quando recebe alta, vai morar com Nyasha. Somente chegando à casa da primaEventually, the hospital discharges her. She moves in with her cousin Nyasha. At her arrival, she discovers her husband is German. In one of their first conversations, the cousin's husband reveals the reason behind his wife commiseration (Muponde, 2011). Like other young women who attend recycling workshops in their backyard, Tambudzai is a mere wasted Human Resource. She is met with bogus hospitality. They would tolerate Tambudzai existence only if she agrees to be fuel for her cousin's small-scale undertaking and humanitarian mission[8].

8 | Tambudzai and Nyasha are journey partners and antagonists. Nyasha allows the author to demonstrate a colonialist morality that might be shared by the novel's reader, who shows compassion for her: "Dangarembga's ironic tone can be detected from the contrast between Tambudzai's inability or unwillingness to understand and the putative readers' superior insight. It can also be seen from the discrepancy between what the narrator says and what she does later" (Njozi, 2005:7).

LAND-COMPOSITION

LGBTQI+ activists intellectual contribution to the University should not be minimised. Matebeni (2017) warns us that homophobic and epistemic attacks go hand in hand. Every time they take place, they jeopardise the so-called higher education castle as a whole. According to the author, xenophobia and middle-classism also reiterate a border separating legitimate members of the academic world and those who are unwelcome. What this sharp criticism emphasises is how racist democratization operates. Partial victories might reinforce status segregation that reinstates colonial territoriality and its separated slots for deserving citizens.

What is at stake here is that in South Africa, an invisible academic world of makwerekweres, waiting tables, cleaning babies' butts is not acknowledge by social movements such as #rhodesmustfall. Eventually, some Zimbabweans entered universities in South Africa and elsewhere. Nonetheless, as Nyamnjoh (2016) warn us, there is a gap between protesters' anti-racist horizontality and its coexistence with next-door persistent xenophobia and extraction of surplus value from people seen as "mere Human Resource" - either nationals or foreigners.

Bongiwe has long been poring over such paradoxes. Before having her son, before returning to the rural village, while still circulating on the "plantation" in Johannesburg, Bongiwe observed the contempt for her accent, which she tried to shred by alluding to her grandfather's farm[9]. Though closely following the growth of student movements for the decolonization of South African academic life, she has never been invited to participate in one of their activities. As a black worker who also studied, she never had free time for the effervescent meetings conducted by the most privileged students. Bongiwe comes to conclusions close to those of Nyamnjoh. Both realize that students' decolonization agenda was unable to challenge the plantation-composition of academic life. Bongiwe understood that she, as she was, was not welcome in the University. Now or in the postcolonial future envisioned, her fellow students would mock her as the hyenas heard by Tambudzai (Oaks, 1977; Elon Dancy II et al., 2018; Squire et al., 2018).

9 | In South Africa, there was no land expropriation without compensation, as happened in Zimbabwe. For an analysis of the Family Khubeka land redistribution process, see Rosa (2012).

Haraway (Haraway et al., 2015) is one of the most outstanding and inspiring intellectuals to fuel debates in contemporary anthropological theory on the Plantationcene (another name given to the Anthropocene). She has championed changes in the compositions of what becomes a matter of ethnographic interest, evolving a perspective today called post-humanist. Haraway rebels against a fragmented understanding of ancestry and genealogy. According to her, the concept of kin does more than combining humans and non-humans (Haraway, 2016). She calls for an analytical transformation that extends the possibility of politics to those seeing as non-political beings. To be more precise, she might be taking out politics from everyone, restoring all of us to the common condition of Earth Beings (La Cadena, 2015).

Though undeniable relevant, the abovementioned debate has its limits. Aware of the centrality of racism to capitalism, some scholars point to heuristic gaps in the literature on multispecies ontology (Pulido, 2018). Their critique suggests that arguments akin to Haraway's minimize black struggles because they ignore enslaved life as inspirational for cultivating multiple worlds (Davis et al., 2018). They claim that it was on land, in the vicinity of the plantation, but far beyond the lords' scrutiny, that enslaved people refuted the violent plantation project of reducing them solely to the labour force (King, 2016). The land was a fundamental condition for their emancipation. Beyond the toil, in the land, a future could be envisioned for those considered

non-humans, as McKittrick (2013) noted.

Gillespie & Naidoo (2019) refute the South African student movement's detractors, whose leftist activism against apartheid drives them to a nostalgic perspective upon the present actions. For both authors, what black students do today is challenging a stagnant and racist capitalist project with their subjectivities. Despite their analytical commitment, they still ignore persistent segregation within contemporary student politics, mainly excluding people like Bongiwe and their land-composition. South African land-composition persevere amidst massive mineral extraction and territorial dispossession. Those who criticize Bongiwe's behaviour solely take into account what land means in a strictly economic sense. Indigenous claims like hers are undermined and emptied of any significant meaning. A land-composition is and will always be a curse like a black body riddled with ants in a frenzy. As Matebeni observes, the queer body is loathed for carrying too many things, lacking focus, being unrestrained, in short, too laborious to profiteering (Tiriba and Moutinho, 2017: 183). Fallism anti-colonial struggle does not accommodate this queer body. Even in equality-promoting experiments, the University reiterates a long-lasting plantation-composition to which very rural background bodies and their ontology are disposable.

Until 1980, Zimbabwe had only one public University, then with 2,000 students and today with 20,000[10]. It has opened its gates in the early 1950s as The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland affiliated with the University of London. The British colonial State financially sponsored it. It attracted students from the whole former British empire. Less than 1% of its students were black. It became the University of Rhodesia in 1971 and, in 1980, the current University of Zimbabwe. In the post-independence period, it continued to attract academics worldwide, engaged in socialist and anti-racist struggles.

O Zimbábue tinha até 1980 apenas uma universidade, naquele ano com 2 mil alunos e hoje com 20 mil[13]. Esta universidade pública abriu suas portas no início dos anos 1950 como The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland vinculada à University of London. Com bem menos de 1% de estudantes negros, era mantida financeiramente pelo Estado colonial britânico e atraía acadêmicos e estudantes de todo o antigo império britânico. Tornou-se Universidade da Rodésia em 1971, e em 1980 a atual Universidade do Zimbábue. No pós-independência seguiu atraindo acadêmicos do mundo, engajados nas lutas socialistas e antirracistas.

Moyo and Yeros (2007) criticise a developmentalist literature, exclusively interested in the production of agricultural commodities, to which the so-called "fast--track" land reform process, as conducted in Zimbabwe, from the year 2000 on, was seen as chaotic and anarchic. However, for the authors, it is imperative to study the effects of State-promoted land reform. According to them, land expropriation and land occupation have transformed political participation at the local level and the country's postcolonial mentalities. We should follow this reservation regarding the

10 | After the University of Harare, other higher education institutions flourished. According to data from the Ministry of Education Higher and Tertiary, Science and Technological Development, there are 14 public and ten private universities today in the country, comprising 100 thousand enrolments.

University experience in Zimbabwe. High-impact experiments in that country have taken place at the University. A sort of trial balloon, it has experienced structural adjustment policies, the war veterans movement and the agrarian reform program. From one perspective, there was a loss of status and quality, given the dilapidation of academic infrastructure (Mhlanga, 2008:322). Another point of view emphasises the emergence, within the new University, of a welcoming landscape for voicing silenced demands: precisely the voices of those with a very rural background (Chikwanha, 2009).

While in the neighbouring country, student movements known as fallism call for epistemic decolonisation of the University, in Zimbabwe, at least since 1989, faculty strikes and student protests have occurred. Research attentive to daily rearrangements indicate how Zimbabwean students have been aware of the political damages colonial academic fortification might cause. Students have highlighted that internal cleavages are part and parcel of a decolonial agenda (Zembere, 2018). According to such arguments, the dilemmas the University of Zimbabwe lived in post-independence are related to a shameful colonial legacy called academic excellence. Based on academic excellence and state financial support, this academic model has fallen apart with increased student enrollment. A shortage of international sponsorship fell as a burden on these new students shoulders (Chikwanha, 2009).

Repeatedly, in various spheres of its existence, land-composite people have had their indigenous claims mistaken as neoliberal demands because of their guileless language (Garwe and Thondhlana, 2019). Dangarembga stresses out this aspect with her main character. Tambudzai holds a PhD in Sociology. Nevertheless, she does not comply with academic and NGO's bonds. She prefers to get an odd job, though not lured by the liberal market. In the blatantly racist advertising agency world, run by her former white teenage classmate, Tambudzai never lets her guard down. There, she is not taken by surprise for being reduced to a mere Human Resource.

Tortured for experiencing what she had learned at school not to exist — hallucinations, Tambudzai realises that when scrutinised by ants, she becomes a being with ants - which is part of her land-composition (Toda, 2009). Tambudzai is not Zimbabwe, but Zimbabwe, like Tambudzai, is a land-composite being. The academic refusal to accept and welcome land-composition resembles the classification of the Other—person or country—as a mere (Human) Resource. At the end of the novel, Tambudzai resumes contact with Tracy, her white high school classmate, who again becomes her boss, this time building Green Jacaranda (after the tree that colours colonial lanes across the planet). The eco-village was built in her home community to providing European tourists with something genuine — the farm life or the very rural background she has tried to get rid of her whole life. On the opening day, after having led the women of her family, including her old mother, to dance bare-chested, to the

delight of Europeans, in a frenzy with their cameras, an embarrassed Tambudzai flees away (Shange, 2020).

Depelchin (2011) equates colonial fragmentation to the nuclear bombing of the African continent. Moreover, this relapsed attack repeats itself in daily academic life, every time a good cause – whether Science or development - bulldozes those with a very rural background. We should take South Africa and Zimbabwe radically different academic experiences seriously, especially to consider how much consent there is, on our part, in the constant production of nervous conditions or neuroses in what we are used to calling democratic or postcolonial societies.

CONCLUSION

Bongiwe and Tambudzai experiences reveal a particular politics that goes against the grain. It happens outside established forums like those of the so-called fallism debates. Their politics operates in the negative. That is, they act by refusing to act or by preventing harmful things from being done (such as Bongiwe and her job resignation or Tambudzai flight from the Green Jacaranda). State, Science, Academy, and Capital cannot narrate these autonomous experiences with shifting demands and predilections. These women went from the countryside to the city and returned, and nothing says they will not do it again. If they stay alive as they intend, they will never be contained here or there within a scrutinised space. The life of their ancestral and future land-composition strives against the death produced by the memoryless plantation.

In the present article, we have reflected on everything that goes on in life beyond the plantation-composition. Between zero and one, there is more than being a mere human resource. Carelessness to ordinary problems and ethics, no matter if they happen at the University, resemble the very same statal indifference that produces the inexistence of everything that is not acknowledged[11]. We tend to study subjects that are unintelligible through absent features. In doing so, we think about them or frame them as the State does, that is, taking into account what they apparently lack. The idea of a void is related to paradoxically important democratic issues: equality and the right to be different. We regret the absence because equality is an epistemological assumption. Since discernment, food, utopias thrive in our ideal common world, why do our subjects lack them? The Other so defined assures segregation, as Nyamnjoh (2016) and Mbembe (2019) noted. These authors politically strive to assert that the precise contours and perennial natures required by Colonialism (of today and yesterday) ignore social formations which constantly transformation depends on borrowing from an Other. The plastic constitution of any being relies on the difference. They advise us against the error of taking equality for similarity. On the steps of Fanon and Mafeje, these contemporary authors envision a future instead based on

11 | Pignarre and Stengers (2005) develop the concept "faire attention". According to them, a theoretical antidote to capitalist bewitching departs from analytical practices and politics. Ndebele (2006) and Das (2006) share similar concerns about political feature and methodological orientations.

transformation than on repetition.

In this wake, what existence would we have if we started to pay attention to what is seen as despicable, expendable, as Bongiwe and Tambudzai did? What if we realised, like they did, a hidden agenda behind those tricksters who wanted them emptied, without land, without their land-composition? What transformation would academics, intellectuals, and scientists go through if they could acknowledge what is usually unnoticed and therefore dismissed as irrelevant? As Ailton Krenak (2019) says, it is easy to despise those whose engagement has a non-recognisable form, that is, those who chose to move instead of following a movement. Alternatively, when acknowledged, they might be considered a threat. These are uncertain movements—because neither zero nor one. In this sense, it is possible to say that those who are either contemptible or desirable in a capitalist democracy are also in the academic plantation world, always fearful of the "productive" colonial latifundium invasion.

In South Africa, Zimbabwe and all countries where so-called public institutions dedicated to higher education need to be considered productive, from a single, global standard, universities will end up, like a plantation, by annihilating modes of existence that are not profitable, that is, bodies that are not docile to Capital. Plans to accommodate in the future everyone in the plantation do not differ much from annihilating them. The privileged point of view perpetuates its irrefutable relevance either through blatant exclusion mechanisms or this unreachable inclusion in the sameness that precedes equality. When that happens, there will be no need for walls anymore; however, while this does not happen, better to have gates, electric fences, cameras, guns, entrance exams, believing that these barriers chase away only undesirable Others but not the land-composition of all Humanity.

Instead of putting the present into brackets, leaving aside the hardships that constitute us, in the name of an idyllic future picture, I suggest that we face this attitude as harmful in itself. Any sanitising attitude is a genocidal attitude. In the name of elaborating—in thought, for now, as we believe— a world as it should be, we first promote a cleanse of inconveniences of those who are despicable to our taste. We dedicate ourselves with indifference to difference every time we accept the role of standing at any border, like a customs guard, reiterating colonial concepts like otherness and equality as sameness. We hold up the freedom of Bongiwe or Tambudzai and our freedom.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Important interlocutors inspired the arguments of this article. I apologise for those names I might have forgotten. I thank Beatrice Mtetwa, Catarina Morawska, Divine Fuh, Eliane Veras, Femke Brandt, Giovanna Isis Castro Alves de Lima, Iracema Dulley, Jacques Depelchin, Laura Moutinho, Lauren Paremoer, Lungisile Ntsebeza, Luiz

14 | Pignarre e Stengers (2005) reúnem na fórmula "*faire attention*" (prestar a devida atenção) uma reflexão sobre a prática analítica e política que seria antídoto ao embruxamento capitalista. A orientação é metodológica e política, como alertam igualmente Ndebele (2006) e Das (2006) com sua proposta de redescoberta do ordinário.

Ricardo de Souza Prado, Maíra Vale, Marcelo Rosa, Paris Yeros, Pauline Wynter, Paulo Neves, Remo Mutzenberg, Richa Nagar, Stella Paterniani (and all my fellow students), Susana Durão and Walter Chambati.

Antonádia Borges *é* is Associate Professor at the Antropologia of University of Brasília (UnB).

FUNDING: CAPES and CNPq have provided crucial financial support to this research.

AUTHORSHIP CONTRIBUTION: Not applicable.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

BHANA, Hershini. 1999. "The Condition of the native: autodestruction in Dangarembga's Nervous Conditions". *Alternation, v.* 6: 117-137.

BONILLA, Yarimar e ROSA, Jonathan. #Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. American Ethnologist, v. 42 (1), pp. 4–17.

BORGES, Antonádia. 2011. "Sem sombra para descansar: etnografia de funerais na África do Sul contemporânea". *Anuário Antropológico*, 2010, pp. 215-252.

BORGES, Antonádia. 2013. "Ser embruxado: notas epistemológicas sobre razão e poder na antropologia". *Civitas. Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 12(3): 469-488.

BORGES, Antonádia, COSTA, Ana; BELISÁRIO, Gustavo, CIRNE, Michelle; LIMA, Natascha; VIANA, Talita e PATERNIANI, Stella. 2015. "Pós-Antropologia: as críticas de Archie Mafeje ao conceito de alteridade e sua proposta de uma ontologia combativa". *Sociedade e Estado*, v. 30: 347-369.

BORGES, Antonádia. 2017. "Cães e preconceito na África do Sul: um diálogo entre literatura e etnografia". *Horizontes Antropológicos*, v.23: 225-252.

BORGES, Antonádia. 2018. "Ethnographic Alliance: Hope and Knowledge Building through a South African Story". In: LAWSON, Victoria & ELWOOD, Sarah. (Orgs.). *Relational Poverty Politics: Forms, Struggles, and Possibilities*. Athenas, University of Georgia Press, pp. 183-200.

BORGES, Antonádia. 2020. "Land as Home in South Africa: The Living and the Dead in Ritual Conversations". *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*. *No prelo*.

CHERKI, Alice. 2016. "Fanon au temps présent. L'assignation au regard". *Politique africaine*, v.3(143): 145-152.

CHIKWANHA, Annie Barbara. 2009. "Zimbabwe". In: CHIMANIKIRE, Donald P (ed.) *Youth and Higher Education in Africa: The*

Cases of Cameroon, South Africa, Eritrea and Zimbabwe. Dakar, Codesria, pp. 79-107

COMAROFF, Jean L., & COMAROFF, John. 1987. "The madman and the migrant: Work and labor in the historical consciousness of a South African people". *American Ethnologist*, v. 14(2): 191–209.

COMAROFF, Jean L., & COMAROFF, John. 1999. "Alien-Nation: Zombies, Immigrants, and Millennial Capitalism". *Codesria Bulletin*, n. 3/4 :17-28.

DAVIS, Janae; MOULTON, Alex; VAN SANT, Levi; WILLIAMS, Brian;. 2018. "Anthropocene, Capitalocene... Plantationocene?: A Manifesto for Ecological Justice in an Age of Global Crises". *Geography Compass, n*. 13(5): pp 01-15.

DAS, Veena. 2006. *Life and Words. Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

DEPELCHIN, Jacques. 2011. *Reclaiming African History*. Bangalore, Pambazuka Press.

DERRIDA, Jacques. [1995] 2008. *Mal d'archive. Une impression freudienne*. Paris, Galilée.

DONHAM, Donald L. 2011. *Violence in a Time of Liberation: Murder and Ethnicity at a South African Gold Mine, 1994*. Durham, Duke University Press.

ELON DANCY II, T.; EDWARDS, Kirsten e DAVIS, James. 2018. "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era". *Urban Education*, v. 53(2): 176-195.

FANON, Frantz. [1961] 1968. *Os condenados da terra*. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira.

GARWE, Evelyn Chiyewo e THONDHLANA, Juliet 2019. "Higher Education Systems and Institutions, Zimbabwe". In JUNG-CHEOL Shin e TEIXEIRA, Pedro Nuno (eds.) *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions*. Dordrecht: Springer. n.p.

GILLESPIE, Kelly e NAIDOO, Leigh-Ann. 2019. "Between the Cold War and the Fire: The Student Movement, Antiassimilation, and the Question of the Future in South Africa". *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, v. 118(1): 226-239.

HARAWAY, Donna J . 2016. *Staying with the trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, Duke University Press.

HARAWAY, Donna; ISHIKAWA, Noburo; GILBERT, Scott; OLWIG, Kenneth; TSING, Anna e BUBANDT, Nils. 2015. "Anthropologists are talking. About the Anthropocene". *Ethnos*, v. 81(3): 535-564.

JANSEN, Jonathan. 2017. *As by fire. The End of the South African University*. Cape Town, Tafelberg.

KENNEDY, Rosanne. 2008. "Mortgaged Futures: Trauma, Subjectivity, and the Legacies of Colonialism in Tsitsi Dangarembga's The Book of Not". *Studies in the Novel*, v. 40(1-2): 86-107.

KILOMBA, Grada. 2008. *Plantation Memories. Episodes of Everyday Racism*. Münster, Unrast.

KING, Tiffany Lethabo. 2016. "The labor of (re)reading plantation landscapes fungible(ly)". *Antipode*, v. 48: 1022-1039.

KRENAK, Ailton. 2019. *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras.pp.

LA CADENA, Marisol de. 2015. *Earth beings, ecologies of practice across Andean worlds*. Durham, Duke University Press.

LALU, Pramesh. 2019. "What Is the University For?". *Critical Times*, n. 2(1): 39-58.
LEE, Christopher Joon-Hai. 2006. "Desperately

Seeking Tsitsi: A conversation with Tsitsi Dangarembga". *Transition*, v,13: 128-150.

MABIN, Alan. 1991. "The dynamics of urbanisation since 1960". In: SWILLING, Mark; HUMPHRIES, Richard e SHUBANE, Khehla (eds.) *Apartheid City in Transition*. Oxford University Press, Cape Town: Oxford University Press. pp.33-47.

MAFEJE, Archie. 1962. "A chief visits town". *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, v. 2: 88-99.

MAFEJE, Archie. 1967. "The role of the bard in a contemporary African community". *Journal of African Languages*, v. 6(3): 193-223.

MCKITTRICK, Katherine. 2013. "Plantation futures". *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, v. 17(3): 01-15.

MAKONI-MUCHEMWA, Upenyu. 2009. "How can you be balanced at the moment of unhinging? Interview with Tsitsi Dangarembga".Disponível em: http://archive.kubatana.net/html/archive/artcul/090805inzwa3.asp?sector=gen&year=2009&range_start=31. Acesso em: 26 de outubro de 2020.

MATEBENI, Zethu. 2017. "Perspectivas do Sul sobre Relações de Gênero e Sexualidades: Uma Intervenção Queer". *Revista de Antropologia*, v. 60 (3): 26-44..

MATORY, J Lorand. 2018. *The Fetish Revisited: Marx, Freud, and the Gods Black People Make*. Durham, Duke University Press.

MBEMBE, Achille. 2019. "Future Knowledges and their implications for the decolonisation project". In: Jansen, Jonathan D. (ed.). *Decolonisation in Universities. The Politics of Knowledge*. Johannesburg, Wits University Press. pp. 239-254.

MHLANGA, Ephraim. 2008. *Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Southern Africa: The Case of the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Zimbabwe and Botswana*. Johannesburg, tese de doutorado. University of the Witwatersrand.

MOUTINHO, Laura. 2019. "Cooperação internacional, parcerias acadêmicas e afeto na perspectiva Sul-Sul". *Revista Estudos Feministas*, Florianópolis, v. 27(3):, e67310

MOYO, Sam. 2011. "Land concentration and accumulation after redistributive reform in post-settler Zimbabwe". *Review of African Political Economy*, v. 38(128): 257-276.

MOYO, Sam e YEROS, Paris. 2007. "The Radicalised State: Zimbabwe's. Interrupted Revolution". *Review of African Political Economy*, v. 34(111): 103-121.

MUPONDE, Robert. 2011. "'I am well if you are well': nervous conditions of African philanthropy in Tsitsi Dangarembga's novels". *African Identities*, v.9(4): 387-400.

NDEBELE, Njabulo. 2006. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary. Essays on South African Literature and Culture*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

NEVES, Paulo Sérgio da Costa; MOUTINHO, Laura; SCHWARCZ, Lilia Katri Moritz. 2019. "Herança colonial confrontada: reflexões sobre África do Sul, Brasil e Estados Unidos". *Revista Estudos Feminista*, Florianópolis , v. 27 (3): e66960

NJOZI, Hamza Mustafa. 2005. "Utilitarianism versus Universalism in Dangarembga's Nervous Conditions". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. v. 14 (1): 1-14.

NTSEBEZA, Lungisile. 2005. *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa*. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 326p.

NTSEBEZA, Lungisile. 2016). "What Can We Learn from Archie Mafeje about the

Road to Democracy in South Africa?"". *Development and Change*, v. 47(4): 918-936.

NYAMNJOH, Francis. 2016. *Rhodes Must Fall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*. Bamenda, Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative.

OAKS, Dallin.1977. "Universities as Government Plantations". *Learning and the Law*, v. 4(1): 20-51.

PEREIRA, Luena. 2016. "Feitiçaria e esfera pública: Estado e cultura no pós-guerra angolano". *Sankofa*, v. 9(16):135-161.

PIGNARRE, Philippe e STENGERS, Isabelle. 2005. *La sorcellerie capitaliste. Pratiques de désenvoûtement*. Paris, La Découverte.

POVINELLI, Elizabeth. 2011. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. Durham, Duke University Press.

PULIDO, Laura. 2018. "Racism and the Anthropocene". In: Mitman, Gregg; Armiero, Marco e Emmett, Robert (org..) *Future remains: A cabinet of curiosities for the Anthropocene*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. pp. 116-128.

ROSA, Marcelo. 2011. "Mas eu fui uma estrela do futebol! As incoerências sociológicas e as controvérsias sociais de um militante sem-terra sul-africano". *Mana*, v. 17(2): 365-394.

ROSA, Marcelo. 2012. "A terra e seus vários sentidos: por uma sociologia e etnologia dos moradores de fazenda na África do Sul contemporânea". *Sociedade e Estado*, v. 27(2): 361-385.

Shange, Kholela. 2020. "Sixosh' abathakathi: Ukuthwebula and the photographic image". Disponível em: [https://mg.co.za/friday/2020-02-18-sixosh-abathakathi-ukuthwebula-and-the-photographic-image/]. Acesso em 26 de outubro de 2020

SQUIRE, Dian; WILLIAMS, Bianca e TUITT, Frank. 2018. "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism in Higher Education: A Framework for Reconstructing Anti-Racist Institutions". *Teachers College Record* (120), Columbia University, 20p.

TAUSSIG, Michael. 1980. *The devil and commodity fetishism in South America*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

TIRIBA, Thais. 2019. "Sugar relationships: sexo, afeto e consumo na África do Sul e no Brasil". *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v.27(3): e66921.

TIRIBA, Thais e MOUTINHO, Laura. 2017. "Olhares compartilhados": (des)continuidades, interseccionalidade e desafios da relação Sul-Sul. Entrevista com Zethu Matebeni. *Revista de Antropologia*, 60(3): 181-185. https://doi.org/10.11606/2179-0892.ra.2017.141743

TODA, Yukiko. 2009. "Images of Queen Bee/Ant/Termite and Female 'Selfhood': Sylvia Plath, Alice Walker, and Toni Morrison." *Gengo to Hyogen* (Journal of Language and Expression), v. 5: 11-24.

ZEMBERE, M. 2018. *Democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's higher education system and its implications for teaching and learning*. Stellenbosch, tese de doutorado, Stellenbosch University.

ZONDI, Nompumelelo. 2013. "Position of Women in Zulu and Shona Societies: The Case of Uvalo Lwezinhlonzi and Nervous Conditions". *Alternation*, v. 20(2): 164-182.

Received on May 4th, 2020. Accepted on June 10th, 2020.