



**The 3rd International Biennial Conference of the
African Association for Rhetoric**

Theme:

*Intercultural-Negotiation of the
Global Space: African
Perspectives*

Local Organising Committee

Dr Segun Ige, JOI Consulting

Dr Busayo Ige, DHRS, UCT

Att. Peggy Gumede, IMEL, UCT

Contact

ige.segun@gmail.com

Busayo.ige@uct.ac.za

URL: www.afrhet.org.za

Phone: +27 72 461 7415

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Town,**

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Programme

Time	Day 1
7.30-8.45	Registration and Tea on Arrival
8.45-9.00	Opening Address Dr Segun Ige
9.00-10.00	Keynote Address Chair: Dr Segun Ige
	<i>Normative theory as a cornerstone for media practice and policy: The case of ubuntuism</i> Prof Pieter J. Fourie
10.00-12pm	Session 1 : Chair: Jairos Kangira
	Perpetual Presence: Images of Power in Nigeria's Fourth Republic <i>Akin Iwilade</i>
	Recall of Politics of Identity in the narratives of the Nigerian Press Prof. Abiodun Salawu
	One Lens Fits All: Globalized Images of African Identity in the Western Media Iwebunor Okwechime
12-12.15	Tea
12.15-1.15	Session 2 Chair: Abiodun Salawu
	African Migrant Discursive Exits and Entries into South African Ports of Entry: The Airport Geography of Power as Site and Limit of the Rhetoric of Profiling Dr Michaelangelo Kgomotso Masemola
	"I am angry! But what can I do?": Interplay of Discourse and Praxis in a South African Church Community Dorothee Holscher
1.15-2.15pm	Lunch
	Session 3 Chair: Pieter Fourie
2.15.-4.00pm	African proverbs and conflict management: A case study of selected Shona, Oshivambo, Yoruba and Swahili proverbial expressions R. Makamani
	"Cultural Rhetoric and Nation-building: The Logic of Nation Building as a function of Public Relations" Mpho Phil Chaka
6.30 pm	Welcome Reception / Cocktail
	Welcome Address

Time	Day 2	
	Tea	
9.00-10.00	Keynote Address Makamani	Chair: Rewai
	African Presidential Rhetoric: Parameters for Transformational Politics Segun Ige	
10.00-12pm	Session 1	Chair: Michealangelo Masemola
	Playing or Proving the Enemy? The Rhetor's Ethical Test Kermit E. Campbell	
	Praiseworthy values and subtleties in President Hifikepunye Pohamba's epideictic speech marking Namibia's 20th anniversary of independence <i>Jemima N. Hipondoka, and Jairos Kangira</i>	
	Rhetoric in AU Declarations: Intersection of Executive Deliberation and Citizenship in Africa Segun Ige and Tim Quinlan	
12-12.15	Tea	
12.15-1.15	Session 2	Chair: Busayo Ige
	'In search for Kairos, Problems and solutions for the collaboration of speechwriters and speakers' Jaap de Jong	
	Re-creating African Identity? The 'New Media' and the Virtual World in the 21st century Meshach Ofuafor	
1.15-2.15pm	Lunch	
2.15-4.00pm	Session 3	Chair: Iwebunor Okwechime
	Play rhetoric across generations within family: A window of opportunity to discern the African Condition Ramugondo Elelwani, PhD	
	Intercultural Communication: A Comparative Study of Japanese and South African Work Practice Authors: Paulene Naidoo, Yasmin Rugbeer & Hemduth Rugbeer	
	Pressing the Right Button to Motivate Student Learning in a Multicultural African Context Busayo Ige	
6 30 pm	Dinner : Venue Southern Sun Hotel	
	Opening Remarks : Dinner Roundtable <i>Prospect of Rhetoric in Africa</i>	

Abstracts

Normative theory as a cornerstone for
media practice and policy:

The case of *ubuntuism*

Keynote Address

Prof Pieter J. Fourie, Department of Communication Science

University of South Africa

E-mail: fouripj@unisa.ac.za

In South Africa, conflicting views about the role of the media in society often underlie conflict between the government and the media. In the discourse about this the African moral philosophy of *ubuntuism* is occasionally raised as a framework for African normative media theory. At this stage, the *ubuntu* discourse can, however, not yet be described as a focused effort to develop a comprehensive theory on the basis of which media performance could be measured and media policy could be formulated from “an African perspective”. To the contrary, the discourse should rather be seen as an intellectual quest to rediscover and re-establish idealised values of traditional African culture(s) and of traditional African communities and to apply them to media. Yet, given South Africa’s history of apartheid in which Christian nationalism was misused as a moral philosophy to mobilise a patriotic media in the service of *volk* (nationhood) and *vaderland* (fatherland), it is not too early to ask critical questions about *ubuntuism* or any moral philosophy as a possible framework for normative media theory. Such questioning is the purpose of this paper. Against the background of postmodern and postcolonial perspectives on normative media theory, questions related to the following are raised: the expediency of *ubuntuism* in the context of changed African cultural values, the distinctiveness of *ubuntuism* as an African moral philosophy, the vulnerability of moral philosophy to political misuse, *ubuntuism* in the context of the future of normative media theory in a globalised world and changed and technologically converged media environment, and, the implications of *ubuntuism* for journalism

practice. As other moral philosophies, it is concluded that *ubuntuism* may pose a threat to freedom of expression. Given the nature of contemporary South African society and its media system, the postmodern (and even post-postmodern) emphasis on diversity and pluralism as the cornerstone of future normative theory for media practice and policy is supported.

African Migrant Discursive Exits and Entries into South African Ports of Entry: The Airport Geography of Power as Site and Limit of the Rhetoric of Profiling

Dr Michaelangelo Kgomotso Masemola,

BA&BAHons(WITS), MA(Natal), PhD(Sheffield, UK)

This paper inaugurates a postcolonial critique that takes stock of the fact that, beyond the much-avowed free transnational flow of capital and the restricted flow of migrants, a critical function of post 9/11 surveillance worldwide is to manage the terrorist spectacle in public spaces such as airports through a paradoxical discursive rhetoric of visibility and invisibility buttressed by a scientific discourse of racial profiling that is invidious to Africans in general. The resultant profile picture of surveillance, argues this paper, is in monochrome: black terrorists-cum-traffickers and white tourists-cum-investors. Ironically, the spectacular discursive address of this profile unfolded with the infamously unfair detention of Wole Soyinka at OR Tambo International Airport in South Africa, gratuitously insulting and inconveniencing the Nobel Prize Laureate who was officially invited to give an address in honour of Nelson Mandela. This, in a country whose government officially propounds the rhetoric of African Renaissance and conventions of Pan-African geopolitical cohesion. Mobilizing the analytical category of the assemblage whose provenance is Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical work on deterritorialization—based on the destabilization of traditional concepts of territory—aviation ports of entry are seen to discursively become points of entry into the public

discourse of the Islamic/Arab/African militant terrorist-cum-trafficker with the aid of profiling, biometrics and even nanotechnology. Accordingly, this paper takes its cues from Hempel & Töpfer (2009) as it grounds the question of airport regulation on the notion of the “surveillant assemblage” such as it is applied by Haggerty & Ericson (2000) to explain regulation as part of a surveillance consensus that creates “the illusion of total inclusion” by means of technologies that increase visibility as they work invisibly. Surely this exclusive visibility does not redeem what the socially invisible and unnamed Afro-American protagonist in Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (1952) decried but recalls instead what Fredric Jameson sees as “a problem with the body as a positive slogan”(2003:17), as well as racism against blacks of African descent. In this context, airport regulation of exits and entries into airport terminals arguably renders that space what Bigo (2006a) calls the “ban-opticon” (which is distinct from Foucault’s “panopticon” with regard to emphasis on mobility instead of the fixed gaze), in that “only the few profiled as “unwelcome” are monitored by a few” (Hempel & Töpfer, 2009: 160)

Presidential Rhetoric, Nigerian Style: Exploring the Politics of Empty Promises and Missed Opportunities in a Deeply Divided Society.

Obinna Ihunna

Federal University of Technology, Owerri, Nigeria

It is not unusual to observe or mention that States exist to enhance the social conditions of its citizens. This fact finds a convenient place in political theory with the ancients, and remains a sustained social standard defining contemporary state- society relations. Thus it speaks directly to the purpose for which a state exists and that which should direct the action of leaders – the good life. However, the leadership therein holds the promise to either give effect to this hallowed objective, or shatter such dreams and impose pain,

poverty and disillusionment. These concerns are at the core of state – citizen relations in Africa, but appear to have been answered more in the imposition of pains, poverty and public disillusionment arising from the prevarication of leaders on the score of their presupposed visions of good governance and promises to secure same. Such visions can be evaluated from the standpoint of leadership commitments to set objectives that are expected to manifest in their being steadfast to such visions and promises as well as in towing a sympathetic course to the problems of the people, not in the dashing of hopes and in prevarications with public covenant. In this study, we focus on the challenges of postcolonial leadership in the Nigerian State, one that pales at any serious attempt to take stock of its positive achievement. The litany of woes that inundate the landscape in political, economic and cultural terms appear to suggest the failure of leadership to live up to public expectations predicated on the crucial pronouncements in power about how best to secure the good life for all. Against this backdrop, we interrogate the specific scripts of a number of presidents in the Nigerian State. The study takes interest in exploring the dominant rhetoric of presidentialism along broad lines of engagement that has seen this “household of experiments” persistently fail to satisfy public expectation and bring back social peace and happiness to the people. Essentially, it hopes to demonstrate that the rhetoric of presidentialism in the Nigerian state hardly holds any promise to concrete realization as suggested in the successive state decay, increasing public disillusionment, un-mellowed misery and marked disengagement from the people.

Perpetual Presence: Images of Power in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Akin Iwilade

Department of International Relations,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
iwiladeakin@yahoo.com, +234 80 33549687

This paper examines the personalization of political power in Nigeria's fourth republic and its implications for democratic consolidation. The military period was distinct for its tendency to prevent public scrutiny of not only the actions of the state but also the very personalities of state officials. Since the return to civilian rule in 1999 however, politicians have made it a point to routinely inundate the public with the activities of the state. This would appear to suggest an erosion of the authoritarian character of the state and the emergence of a culture of robust public engagement with the society. This paper however contends that the perpetual presence of politicians in the public sphere represents a dynamic shift not in the depth of authoritarianism, but in the mode of its delivery. For instance, in some states of the federation, public projects like roads, schools and hospitals are routinely plastered with the names of state governors or their political slogans. This suggests that these projects, funded with tax payer's funds, are a personal gift from the governor. This personalization of state plugs crucially into the overall nature of political power and to its authoritarian exercise in Nigeria. Within the context of a political economy that thrives on primitive accumulation and political patronage, this paper argues that the deliberately constructed perpetual presence of political office holders deepens tyranny. This is largely because the attachment of state responsibility to individuals undermines institutional capacity that is ultimately crucial for the deepening of democracy and the reversal of authoritarianism. In demonstrating this, the paper examines the use of government personalities by three states in Nigeria. The first is Kwara State between 1999 and 2003 and Osun State in the period between 2007 and 2010. The public images of these two states have been largely appropriated by

the respective governors. The third state, Lagos, in the period between 2007 and 2010 will provide a countervailing analysis. This state is largely free from personalization. The three samples should provide a sound basis to rigorously test the impact of personalization on the authoritarian and arbitrary exercise of power and its implications for institutional capacity. The paper concludes by arguing that such personalization of power demonstrates the survival of the authoritarian ethic within the Nigerian state and raises important questions about the quality of democratization in the fourth republic.

African Presidential Rhetoric: Parameters for Shaping the Continent Segun Ige

Of all the underdeveloped aspects of rhetoric in Africa, the profuseness of the production of 'speech' and other forms of rhetorical documents by African presidents is remarkable. Africa, like most other parts of the world, is constantly undergoing major political as well as institutional changes. Change seems to be the more constant feature of the African presidential rhetoric in the recent past, but such that has been dogged by tension, conflict, and insidious challenges. These changes progress from anti-colonial rhetoric that earned most countries their independence, while most of the movement leaders later became presidents, right through to the establishment of indigenous rule, which has also been riddled by new and perhaps unforeseen developments, some positive and others negative. My thinking over the past couple of years has been around the instrumentalisation of rhetoric in political practice and governance and as means of, not only, understanding a president's political posturing, but also, as an instrument of evaluation. This paper will initialise a constructive engagement with appropriate theories and methodologies with which to make a case transformational politics through rhetorical best practice.

Re-creating African Identity? The 'New Media' and the Virtual World in the 21st Century

Meshach Ofuafor

Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Email: meshachofuafor@yahoo.com; mofuafor@oauife.edu.ng

The dominance of the global space by innovations in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's), particularly in the last decade of the 20th century, has helped to remodify the concept of identity. This has been made possible through the usurpation of mainstream media by the new media platforms.

The fallout from this development has been the emergence of an electronic community based on the web. Essentially, this convergence on the web; virtual community, has further deepened the debate on the question of identity crisis in Africa.

Thus, the paper will interrogate the following questions: can the new media platforms be used as a tool for mediating the debate on the question of re-creating African identity? Will the convergence on the web not create more identity crisis for Africa and the Africans? What are the challenges the convergence on the web will pose to re-creating African identity? What are the challenges encountered by Africa and the Africans as a consequence of this convergence on the web?

In essence, the paper will provide answers to these questions within the context of desk research and minimal oral interview contacts with about 10 respondents drawn from; Liberia, Kenya, Niger Republic, South Africa and Nigeria.

The findings will be that; in spite of the challenges posed by rate of penetration, low technological development, lack of political will and the seeming lack of awareness, new media forms have tremendously impacted on the distortion of the African identity. Thus, the paper envisages that these new media forms, if properly deployed, will facilitate the re-creation of African identity. And, rather than set the limit for

participation in the re-creating process, the paper envisages that new media forms will become the ultimate embodiment for making the individual to become 'the God of his or her own universe.'

'In search for Kairos, Problems and solutions for the collaboration of speechwriters and speakers'

Jaap de Jong

Leiden University, Netherlands

I will use short cases from a Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs, Ben Bot, Obama and Bush, but mostly draw on stylistical analytical work I did on the speeches of speechwriters of Dutch ministers. I will end with some advice for speakers and speechwriters and draw some lessons from Dutch experience.

"Cultural Rhetoric and Nation-building: The Logic of Nation Building as a function of Public Relations."

Mpho Phil Chaka,

Department of Communications at North-West University

This paper is concerned with the theoretical perspective of the use of Public Relations (PR) to buttress the extant rhetoric of nation-building and, in so doing, advance a participatory development communication perspective for South Africa. The foundation of this paper is interdisciplinary as a scientific process. From an interdisciplinary approach, mobilizing political science and development communication, this paper will explore an approach that sets up the rhetoric of nation-building as function of PR. Since South Africa is enmeshed within the geopolitical locus of Pax Africana, directly through the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the Pan African rhetoric of the African Renaissance, an appropriate culture-bound, meta-theoretical framework will also be provided for this study. According to Ferreira (1999:30), "PR is practised from

different perspectives and definitions by different organisations and in different countries, depending on, among other things, the culture of the particular country and the evolutionary level that PR has attained in that particular country.”

One Lens Fits All: Globalized Images of African Identity in the Western Media

Iwebunor Okwechime

Department of International Relations,

Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria.

E-mail: bokwechime@yahoo.co.uk

Mobile phone: +2348034287168

This paper examines Western media coverage of African identity to the global community. It presents a critical assessment of mass media images (identity) of Africa and Africans in foreign media. It argues that the presentation of African identity in the Western media perpetuates stereotypes and half-truths about Africa, with the result that the global community is frequently fed with a distorted view or perception of Africa. Tracing this tradition to colonial writers such as Blixen and Joseph Conrad to post-colonial scholars like Klare, Kaplan, Homer-Dixon and Jacobson, to name but a few, the paper contends that the Western media paint Africa with broad-brush strokes as a place of endemic violence, ridden by crisis, corruption and poverty beyond salvage, and ruled by despotic ignorant dictators.

The paper contends that this “one lens fits all approach” of the Western media in their reporting of Africa to the global community is devoid of objectivity, as it ignores the other side of the story. The paper recognises the fact that, though Africa is bedevilled with all kinds of problems ranging from political, social, economic to leadership, significant achievements worthy of reporting have been recorded in several African states over the past decades.

Finally, the paper argues that globalized images/reporting of African identity in the Western-dominated international media, more often than not, ignores Western complicity in terms of policy failures and general lack of good governance that have characterized African development crisis in the post-colonial period.

Intercultural Communication:

A Comparative Study of Japanese and South African Work Practice

Authors: Paulene Naidoo, Yasmin Rugbeer & Hemduth Rugbeer

The rapid increase in business globalisation has brought with it an increased need for effective international working environments. As a result, businesses demand a global mindset from their workforce to ensure that the organisation efficiently reaches its goals (Chaney & Martin, 2011: 4).

Cultural awareness is important to global business and, partnered with good communication, is an essential component in successful business worldwide. Our values, priorities, and practices are shaped by the culture in which we grow up. Understanding other cultures is crucial for intercultural communication. Therefore, intercultural communication is no longer an option, but a necessity for the survival of an organisation (Meyer, 2006:293-294).

Against this background, this paper aims to assist international organisations and their employees, by providing guidelines for conducting business specifically in Japan and South Africa. The study focuses on Toyota employees from Japan and South Africa, also known as ICT's (Inter-company transfers) and coordinators and their work practice. Existing models and theories regarding intercultural, globalisation and cultural transformations in today's society are examined. Social customs and business etiquette are also outlined and some specialties for each country are specified.

The paper argues that organisations could encapsulate a more intercultural and global environment and explores how advanced technology and the media are vital components of intercultural communication, used to influence communication across cultures and across geographical locations (Steinberg, 2007:15).

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Recall of Politics of Identity in the narratives of the Nigerian Press

Prof. Abiodun Salawu, Dept. of Communication

University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.

asalawu@ufh.ac.za, salawuabiodun@gmail.com

The phenomenon of differentiation in Nigeria is pervasive as a result of the nation's ethnic and religious diversities. The ethnic configuration of Nigeria is multi-layered. It is first broadly divided into North and South. Separately, each of the North and South is made up of different geo-political zones with each zone made up of peoples of differing cultures and identities. Again, the strand of religion is usually intertwined with that of ethnicity in Nigeria as each of the two major religions in the country – Christianity and Islam – is usually identified with a particular broad division of the country. In clear terms, while the majority of Northerners are Muslims, a large number of Southerners are Christians. This ensures that practically all conflicts between any of these groups of

people could easily degenerate into religious or sectarian conflict. The fact that Nigeria largely remains an aggregation of ethnic nationalities with each ethnic – and religious – group looking out for its own interest explains the perennial and bitter nature of politics of identity in Nigeria. During conflicts, propaganda is a major tool; and the various groups in Nigeria employ the tool well against their opponents whenever there is a conflict. A major technique of propaganda used in this instance is the selective recall of past misdeeds of the opposing group or individual(s) in the group.

Using Selective Retention as a theoretical framework, this paper considers a number of instances where selective recall of past misdeeds of a group or a member of a group has been used as a technique of propaganda in a conflict with the group. Selective retention is the tendency for the recall of information to be influenced by wants, needs, attitudes, and other psychological factors. Significantly, the Nigerian Press abstracted from the ethnic configuration of the Nigerian nation, and they therefore become veritable sites for the selective recall of the past misdeeds of opposing groups. For instance, this paper looks at recall of past events in the Nigerian press during ethno-religious conflicts. Religious conflicts between Christianity and Islam are usually triggered in the North. Thus, whenever there is any conflict of such, the belligerent nature of the Northern Muslims is usually recalled, particularly in the Southern press. One of such religious crises was the one induced by a Southern newspaper (*This Day*) publication in November 2002 bordering on the then approaching Miss World Beauty Pageant. Expectedly, Northern newspapers came hard on *This Day* and the writer of the offensive article. From the writings of Northern newspaper columnists, it was evident that the *This Day* story only provided an opportunity for them to inveigh against their Southern counterparts. There had been deep-seated grudge against the Southern journalists on their (critical) writings about Sharia, the Islamic legal code that was introduced in a good number of Northern states at the wake of the rebirth of democracy in the country in 1999.

Pressing the Right Button to Motivate Student Learning in a Multicultural African
Context

Dr Busayo Ige

DRHS, UCT, Cape Town

Despite the numerous academic support programmes introduced in higher education, globally (South Africa inclusive) to improve learning and teaching, studies show that some group of students remained unsupported when supported. There is now a shift toward researching and understanding student identities and their impact on student learning, given that learning and 'self' intertwine. Grounded in intercommunication paradigm, this paper attempts to show that student identities are core to learning and that self-conception of independence, confidence and legitimacy may constitute barriers to successful communication and thus learning. To demonstrate this, I draw on one-on-one encounters with students that were identified as at risks at two top South African Universities. The analysis highlights the politics of recognition and the different strategies employed by the different group of students. The unblocking of the student emotional blocks required an understanding of multicultural and multilingual nature of the context.

Play rhetoric across generations within family:

A window of opportunity to discern the African Condition

Ramugondo Elelwani, PhD, University of Cape Town

That children's play across generations is changing globally may no longer be disputed. It is the nature of the change, factors associated with it, as well as its impact on society that may bring forth differing views from scholars on play across various disciplines. Much of the documented research on play has focused on the transactional relationship between technology and children's everyday culture in recent decades (Danish

University of Education, 2003), highlighting children's agency in determining the place for technology and the media in their lives, especially as children interact with each other. In much of the texts about children's play, adults have been cast as either irrelevant (Barnes & Kihely, 2003) or as powerful social agents whom children constantly have to elude, deceive, or resist as they craft their own play cultures (Formanek-Brunell, 1992; Grudgeon, 1988; Wilkie, 2000). This often dichotomous view of children versus adults in relation to children's play has obscured a candid analysis of what the changing rhetoric of play means for family and society, and what signals may be read in the forms that it takes as it transforms from one generation to the next. By using a case study of one family, and describing how across three generations the rhetoric of play changed from being about collective identity, to being complex, this paper aims to argue that the nature of change in children's play over time may mirror a general societal struggle for identity, as well as reflect African families' local negotiation of the global space.

This paper straddles the following two sub-themes:

- African Identity, the Media and the Virtual World
- Cultural Rhetoric and the African Condition

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Playing or Proving the Enemy? The Rhetor's Ethical Test

Kermit E. Campbell

Associate Professor, Department of Writing & Rhetoric
Colgate University, 13 Oak Drive
Hamilton, NY 13346, USA
Email: kcampbell@colgate.edu

In one instance in director Clint Eastwood's *Invictus*, the newly elected South African President Nelson Mandela (played by Morgan Freeman) expresses considerable dismay that staff members of the previous administration had assumed that because they were white their services to the new government would be no longer needed or desired. Consequently, he summons them from their packing to tell them that, in fact, he wishes that they would stay, that their country needs their service. This and other similarly magnanimous gestures in the film cast Mandela as a larger than life figure, a kind of ideal hero. Because Mandela chooses not only to exact no retribution against the perpetrators of apartheid but also to embrace a key symbol of their dominance, that is, the national rugby team the Springboks, he appears in many ways to embody the Ciceronian ideal orator/statesman, one who possesses the requisite good character for

artful speaking. However, according to John Carlin, author of the book (*Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game that Made a Nation*) that *Invictus* was based on, Mandela was not a good orator, was not the type of speaker who captivated audiences with the quality of his voice. And yet, as depicted in the film and the book, Mandela is the consummate rhetor; he is keenly aware of the motivations of his audiences and understands instinctively how to appeal to their best interests. Carlin seems to suggest that this was largely the product of Mandela's shrewd calculation, that Mandela simply manipulated his enemy into submission to his will. While it is clearly true from both accounts that Mandela had to "play" both sides (blacks and whites) to achieve unity among traditional enemies, I argue that his doing so was less a matter of manipulation and politicking and more a matter of the ethos he was attempting to cultivate as leader of a new South Africa. Drawing on the aforementioned texts as well as Mandela's *Conversations with Myself*; in this paper, I explore the rhetorical contours of this highly effective ethos.

African proverbs and conflict management: A case study of selected Shona,
Oshivambo, Yoruba and Swahili proverbial expressions

R. Makamani,

Department of Communication, Polytechnic of Namibia

Abstract

This study employs a Dialectical – Relational Approach to analyse selected Shona, Oshivambo, Yoruba and Swahili proverbs in a bid to show that African proverbs have vast potential in mitigating and possibly preventing conflict that has ravaged the continent thus almost threatening to reverse gains made in economic, political, educational and social spaces in recent years on the continent. Informed by *Ubuntuism*, the study argues that African proverbs have a role to play not only in the economic

development of the continent, but also in maintaining positive social relations with the rest of the world as is demanded by modern diplomacy and the quest for dignified social existence. In the study, I reveal that the Aristotelian three proofs of ethos, pathos and logos are inherent in African proverbs and can be used in all spheres of life in modern Africa to add value in education, commerce, politics and socialization systems both for the youth and adults. The study makes a critical analysis of proverbial expressions that deal with love, respect, endurance, care, goodwill and humility to reveal not only how this should inform African education systems, but that their incorporation in many spheres of life would provide answers to vices such as greed, brutality (e.g. killing of people for various reasons), lack of ethical conduct, lack of respect for adults, sexual promiscuity and corruption. A purposive sampling of proverbs has been employed in this study.

Praiseworthy values and subtleties in President Hifikepunye Pohamba's epideictic speech marking Namibia's 20th anniversary of independence

By Jemima N. Hipondoka, Polytechnic of Namibia and Jairos Kangira, University of Namibia

Abstract

Namibia can be described as an 'African Athens' if we consider the flourishing democracy in a country that was ravaged by apartheid for decades, and this in stark contrast to totalitarianism obtaining in other *independent* African countries where leaders' grip on power for decades on end, and their ruthless crush of voices of dissent seem to have become fashionable. In his speech marking the 20th celebration of Namibia's independence on 21 March 2010, President Hifikepunye Pohamba made it clear to the audience that this was his "second and last term of office as President of [the] Republic", a rare feat as many an African President would regard such a public

revelation a taboo. In this paper we explore President Pohamba's epideictic rhetoric focusing on the democratic values worth pursuing and some subtleties contained in the speech. Why worry about a ceremonial or epideictic speech? We attempt to answer this question bearing in mind Aristotle's view of epideixis: "the present is the most important; for all speakers praise or blame in regard to existing qualities, but they often make use of other things, both reminding [the audience] of the past and projecting the course of the future" (*Rhetoric*, 1358b". Following rhetorical tradition, we demonstrate that President Pohamba's speech takes stock of the achievements of the democratic government and how he sees his SWAPO Party steering the future as espoused in the Constitution.

"I am angry! But what can I do?":

Interplay of Discourse and Praxis in a South African Church Community

Dorothee Holscher, Lecturer

School of Social Work & Community Development

University of KwaZulu Natal: Howard College Campus

Durban, 4041, South Africa

In May 2008, South Africa was swept by a wave of xenophobic violence, which killed 62, injured more than 740, and displaced about 80 000 people (SAMP, 2008). Amongst the displaced was a group of just under fifty Durban-based Congolese and Burundian refugees who found themselves accommodated at a local church community which in turn comprised a fairly large percentage of white, upper and middle class South Africans. With this event began a process of engagement and integration between groups who differed vastly in terms of race, citizenship and socio-economic status (compare Elias & Scotson, 1965).

Over a period of 18 months, I participated actively in this process. Having worked on the issue of social justice for a while, I understood the church community's context to be one of deep structural, socio-economic, cultural and political injustice and exclusion of non-citizens in South Africa (compare Fraser, 2008; see also Benhabib, 2004; Lister, 1997; Nussbaum, 2006), which preceded, and continue to exist beyond the 2008 outbursts (Human Rights Watch, 2005; SAMP, 2008). Not everybody in the church community shared my views. Hence, my contributions to the said engagement and integration process were guided by notions of structural/anti-oppressive social work, with particular attention being paid to issues of identity, negotiation of power and encounters with the *Other* within and across groups (Bauman, 1993, 2004; Dominelli, 2002; Mullaly, 2002, 2007; Foucault, in: Smart, 1985, 2002). One of my expressed aspirations for the outcomes of this engagement – one that was not embraced by all – was to develop joint responses to the realities of structural injustice and exclusion of non-citizens in South Africa. To date, this goal has been partially achieved at the most, but it continues to inform a process of continued engagement.

During this episode, I collected qualitative data comprising personal diary notes, sermons, various church documents and ten depth individual interviews. The proposed chapter is based on an iterative analysis of this data and the theoretical frameworks referred to above. It confirms that structural and anti-oppressive social work do hold opportunities for emancipation on either side of existing socio-economic and cultural divides and membership boundaries, even within a context of deep structural injustice and exclusion as exist in the field of social work with refugees. And yet, the depth of such injustices and exclusions can be so severe as to undermine the practice of structural/anti-oppressive social work itself. It is my hope that the presentation and discussion of this experience will contribute to the development of a modest yet realistic and practicable assessment of the limitations and possibilities of anti-oppressive social work in diverse and divided community contexts.

Key words: Anti-oppressive social work, structural social work, social work with refugees, social justice, social exclusion

Rhetoric in AU Declarations: Intersections of Executive Deliberation and Citizenship in Africa

Segun Ige and Tim Quinlan

In this paper, we present issues concerning the perennial fallout in the idea of African citizenship. Centrally, we test Derrida's philosophical claim of citizen as an enemy as a result of negative posturing of state policy. Policies are by nature futuristic positions of government to cater for the needs of their citizens. However, there are numerous factors that militate against timely and successful implementation of these policies. These range from internal political unrest, poverty, to corruption and incompetence or lack of requisite capacity. In this paper, we attempt to chart AU's attempt to solve the public health crisis that gripped the world, and the opportunities that Africa in particular had in dealing with the pandemic but could not due to the myriads of problems confronted several African states at this period.

Notes

